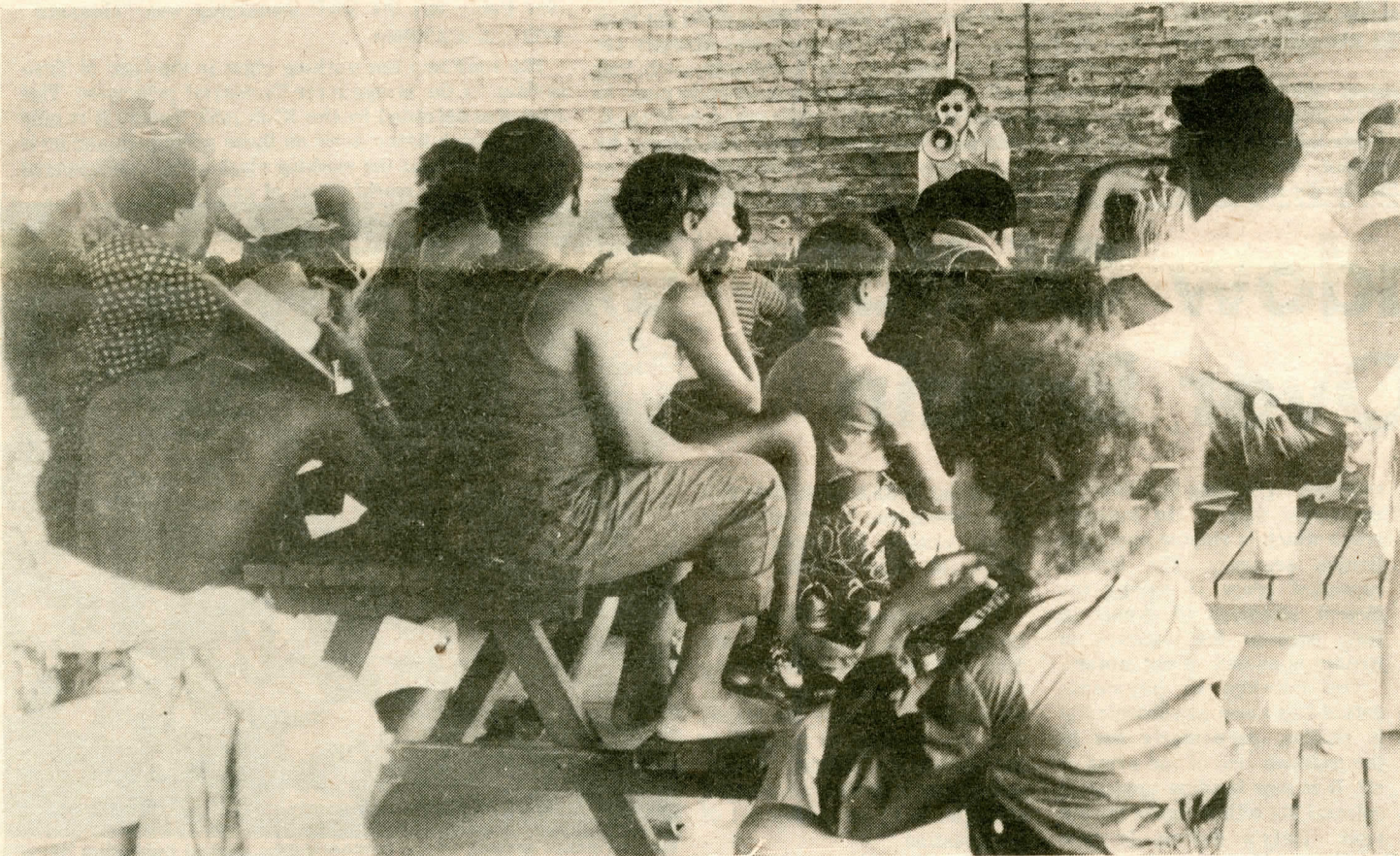


Norwood Out, St. Louis Next

STRIKES SHAKE GM EMPIRE



Over 100 workers and youth from Minneapolis, Chicago and St. Louis attended a highly successful Workers League-Young Socialists outing held near the Ozarks, south of St. Louis. Above, Tim Wohlforth speaking on Watergate: The Ugly Face of Capitalism.

BY DAVID NORTH
ST. LOUIS, June 24—
Auto workers are threatening to strike the GMAD complex here Friday as the massive strike offensive of American workers continues to drive forward.

Demanding a local contract and the resolution of more than 14,000 grievances, UAW Local 25 has issued a five day letter extending the rebellion of auto workers that is staggering all three major corporations.

Norwood GMAD was shut down Friday by a four day strike called by the UAW to win a local contract.

Chrysler Dodge workers in Warren, Michigan have voted to renew their strike in spite of arrests and threats of court action.

Ford workers in Chicago won major concessions from the company on work rules last Thursday as their 11 day strike shut half the Ford plants in North America and was about to force a total shutdown by the corporation, wreaking havoc with its production schedule for the 1975 models.

Auto workers are now spearheading the biggest strike wave seen in this country since 1970, and, with more than four million workers entering into contract struggles, may surpass the historic 1946 strike offensive in scope.

Norwood GMAD workers expressed the determination of
(Continued On Page 12)

Overwhelming Strike Vote At Dodge

BY A
REPORTER

DETROIT, Mich.—
Workers at Chrysler's Dodge truck plant in Warren, Michigan, voted to renew their strike by an 84 percent margin on Thursday, June 20.

The vote was a tremendous victory for the workers who returned to work last week pending the vote under the threat of mass arrests, injunctions, and a high-

geared campaign of pressure by the UAW leadership.

The UAW leadership was forced to call the vote which mandates an official strike within seven days if none of the grievances are resolved.

Second shift Dodge workers wildcatted on June 10 and succeeded in almost shutting the plant over working conditions.

The workers have been subjected to an intense combination of attacks by the police, courts, management, and the UAW officials.

Members were evicted from their own union hall by riot police when they objected to the

UAW's refusal to support them.

•Continuous spot announcements every half hour on local radio and television stations by UAW officials and Chrysler ordering the men to go back to work.

•Court Judge Hunter Stair appeared in court robe at the picket line and ordered police to arrest the chief shop steward and 20 others for contempt of court.

•Hundreds of discharge notices sent out to everyone identified by Chrysler from films taken on the picket lines.

“For the past 10 years, the metal shop has been the trouble

spot at Dodge. Nothing has been done to change it either,” Clarence Green, who has worked at Dodge truck since 1950 told the *Bulletin*.

“I quit the metal shop to take a lower paying job, because of the rotten conditions and the foreman who treats the guys really bad.

“The union's done nothing about it. We voted down the local contract three times and I still question whether we really do have a contract.”

A leaflet signed by Local 140 representatives and posted on the door of the union hall notified workers of the special strike
(Continued On Page 12)

In The Weekend
Edition

•“Portugal in Revolt,” a new seven part series by Alex Mitchell, Workers Press correspondent, who recently returned from Lisbon.

Inside:

Withdraw the Troops From Ulster! Statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International See page 6

Bulletin

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

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

VOLUME TEN NUMBER FIFTY 386

TUESDAY, JUNE 25, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

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Joseph Hansen - An Aging Liar Peddles His Wares Part 2

Hansen's introduction to Marxism vs. Ultraleftism: The Record of Healy's Break with Trotskyism, not only falsifies the history of the 1953 split, but also falsifies the history leading up to the reunification.

Hansen seeks to maintain that the fundamental differences which caused the 1953 split had "receded" by 1956. But Cannon had written in April 1954: "The struggle against Pabloism becomes less and less an internal factional struggle and more and more an ideological and political struggle between conflicting tendencies

What We Think

which have grown farther apart and which, in the main, are already functioning in separate organizations." (emphasis ours.) No wonder Hansen tries to minimize the depth of the split in 1953. How could differences so

deep "recede" in a year and one-half?

What makes this statement even more absurd is the recent experience of the struggle within the United Secretariat. Hansen, who writes that as early as 1956 the differences were receding, has been writing accusing the Mandel group of abandoning the Lenin-Trotsky strategy of party building, and on the Vietnam issue, claiming that Stalinism is a revolutionary force. Thus, by Hansen's own account, the differences of 1954 persist within the United Secretariat to this minute.

Next Hansen decides to be really inventive. Rather than distort events which everyone knows about, he makes up events which never occurred. He writes that Gerry Healy "secretly" sabotages reunification in the 1950s. He not only offers no proof of this, but goes on to create a "motivation" for this action.

"Healy feared that the attention of the international might be called to his stewardship in Britain. He had good reason for such fears, since he had introduced practices in his organization of the most arbitrary and undemocratic nature.

"Healy did not indicate his real reasons for delaying, postponing, and if possible derailing reunification. For example, at one point, he publicly advanced the thesis that the differences separating the two sides were not narrowing, but widening."

First, it was the British movement which first proposed a parity commission with the Pabloites as a basis for new discussions. Gerry Healy made this proposal in 1954 because he wished to continue the political struggle with the Pabloites for the clarification of the

movement. The SWP rejected this proposal because by the middle of 1954, they had decided to pack up the struggle with the Pabloites and turn exclusively to American activities.

There was no change in the position of the British movement right up to the 1961 discussion. The position favored discussion with the Pabloites, but was politically hostile to Pabloism as a tendency. The British movement never shared the illusion of sections of the SWP in the great changes taking place within the Pabloites.

The organizational question which Hansen raises is not only an absurdity, but it is clearly borrowed from the arsenal of Pablo himself. All Hansen does is accuse Healy of what Pablo accused the SWP in 1953.

In actual fact, a factional struggle broke out within the British movement in 1959. The main figure was an ex-Stalinist, Peter Cadogan, who opposed the discipline of a proletarian party and used the public press to attack the party. This dispute was not hidden from the international movement. All the documents pertaining to it were sent to the leadership of the SWP. The SWP in turn distributed this material for the information of the National Committee.

In the opinion of the Political Committee, this material did not even need a cover letter. After all, the National Committee members had experienced both the struggle with Shachtman and with Cochran and could spot the slanders of a petty bourgeois tendency.

The position of the SWP in this period in relation to the Socialist Labor League was clearly indicated when the SLL was formally constituted. There were tremendous witch-hunts within the British Labor Party directly against the British Trotskyists.

The Pabloites, instead of defending our comrades from this attack, sided with the right wing and denounced our comrades for forming the SLL.

The SWP leadership assigned Murry Weiss to write a series of articles in *The Militant* in 1960 defending the formation of the SLL and attacking the Pabloites for their traitorous conduct—conduct, we might add, completely in keeping with the political position of Pabloism in 1953.

An accurate assessment of the SWP's position in relation to Pabloism from 1959 to 1960 is different than that of Hansen. The SWP's position was actually far more confused. Sections of the leadership, including Hansen himself, had undoubtedly moved quite close to the political positions of Pablo, while others held back. The SWP leadership was steered quite consciously by Cannon away from political considerations of Pabloism. The question was only dealt with on the level

of organizational proposals aimed at neutralizing Pablo's influence within any future reunified body.

We have dealt elsewhere with the slanders of Hansen about the 1961 to 1963 period: the split of the International Committee and the reunification of a faction of the IC with the International Secretariat. Clearly, the SWP proposals in 1961 for reunification differed from earlier proposals. This time they were politically motivated on the basis of the SWP's going over to the outlook of the Pabloites. The Cuban Revolution was utilized for this purpose.

The Socialist Labor League took the initiative on its own, and not under pressure from anyone, to propose a parity commission with the IS because it sought to clarify the differences with the Pabloites. The SWP was forced to go along with this proposal. It acted in the whole period to minimize discussion, since it already had covertly come to a political agreement with the Pabloites.

In the summer of 1963, the SWP broke up the parity commission, urged its supporters within the International Committee to organize an illegal rump IC meeting and fused with the International Secretariat at an international conference of the IS. This rump IC did not even meet prior to the IS conference, but held a formal meeting at the same time.

No real discussion had taken place within the IC prior to the reunification. The main document of the SLL, had only been distributed at the SWP convention in 1963 and not discussed beforehand in the membership.

We stress these points because of the great emphasis the SWP, and Joseph Hansen in particular, have placed upon proper time to discuss documents during their present dispute within the United Secretariat. It was at their urging that the United Secretariat waited over four years before holding its recent inconclusive conference.

In 1963, the SWP would not even wait a few months. They rushed into a reunification without any serious discussion of the very issues now so sharply posed within the United Secretariat: the issues at the heart of the original split with the Pabloites in 1953.

Hansen claims that we are "obsessed" with Pabloism. We do not mind the accusation. After all, in 1953 Pablo felt the SWP leadership was "obsessed" with anti-Stalinism.

The road into the working class is the road of Trotskyism, of the struggle for Trotskyist principles. This road was defended by the IC in 1953. Today, it is only the IC which bases itself on these principles and so is prepared to lead the working class under conditions of the developing world crisis of capitalism.

The Shadow Of Italy Hangs Over Britain

BY FRANK MARTIN

One student was killed and scores were injured when squads of heavily armed police on horseback and foot made repeated attacks on a group of antifascist demonstrators in London on June 15.

The police brutality succeeded in clearing the way for a march and meeting by 750 members of the extreme right-wing National Front through central London. Fifty-five of the left-wing demonstrators were arrested.

These events take place at a time when Britain moves closer to economic collapse and unprecedented political crisis. Already in Northern Ireland, the extreme right-wing Protestant leaders have assumed virtual control following their two week general strike.

Every reactionary element, particularly the extreme right wing Tories and organizations like the National Front have drawn encouragement from this.

National Front leader John Tyndall went recently to Ulster to establish links with the Loyalist leaders. "We hope to give them a dimension they do not possess at the moment—over the whole of the United Kingdom," Tyndall said.

The growing activity of the

extreme right wing in Britain is the surest sign of the massive crisis which is ripping apart the British economy. The British capitalist press is paying the closest attention to events in Italy because the situation in Britain is as bad, if not worse.

The balance of payments deficit has risen astronomically in Britain, particularly due to the massive rise of the price of oil. It is now heading towards a colossal \$14 billion figure for the year. Italy's deficit is now running at \$12 billion.

This massive balance of payments crisis has already forced the Italian government to resign opening up an unprecedented political crisis.

The British banks have been meeting their deficit by taking out massive loans on short term in the international money markets, particularly from the Arab oil sheiks. Then they loan out this money on long term to British industrialists to meet their debts and pay for their materials.

Having just witnessed the events in Italy, these creditors could demand payment on these loans at any time. They will demand that Britain backs up these loans, just as in Italy, with its gold reserves.

But Britain's gold reserves are down to only \$2.4 billion, hardly enough to meet current debts, much less loans that are presently being negotiated by the Labor government on the Euro-dollar market.

This creates the conditions in

which the British capitalists will find themselves in a position of being unable to repay their debts, in other words, bankruptcy.

The *Financial Times* of London stated recently: "...We may well find ourselves drifting towards an Italian-type crisis if we cannot overcome the forces that are tending to perpetuate our payments deficit. Which, seeing that it is such an unequal struggle, is by no means out of the question."

Every indicator points towards a massive recession in Britain. The London Stock Exchange is down to its lowest level in 12 years.

Under these conditions, there is growing danger of the formation of a coalition government between the Labor Party, presently in power, and the Tories. Such a coalition would have only one purpose: to usher in a major recession, throw millions out of work, and slash the living standards of the working class.

Liberal Party leader Jeremy Thorpe stated last week: "Nothing short of an immense united national effort is going to cure the appalling economic crisis which I believe is going to hit this country very soon."

Under the claim of "saving the nation" the right-wing Labor leaders have begun behind-the-scenes preparations for such a coalition. Home Secretary Roy Jenkins and Foreign Minister James Callaghan are leading this move. Labor Member of Parliament Norman Atkinson



London police brutally attack demonstration against right-wing National Front. One student died.

has already accused Callaghan of visiting the Queen to discuss the formation of a coalition government.

From the very moment of its election, the Labor government has continued to carry out the attacks on the working class initiated by the previous Tory government. It has retained all the reactionary Tory laws against the unions—the Industrial Relations Act and the state pay laws. It abandoned every promise it made to the working class, scrapping its minimum program of nationalization.

It has received the willing collaboration of the trade union leaders who have pledged to voluntarily hold back any demands for wage increases.

But these policies have run into powerful opposition by the British working class. Plessey workers have occupied their plant near Nottingham, while local government workers and nurses have walked out in

national strikes demanding pay increases.

The bankers and industrialists are demanding that the working class pay for the crisis. Their spokesmen in the Tory Party have stiffened their opposition to the government.

Twice in the last week, the Tories have combined with the Liberals to defeat government measures—first over a tax measure and then over plans for nationalization. They are giving the Laborites a clear choice: either join up with the Tories in a coalition or get out.

Only the Workers Revolutionary Party, the British Trotskyist movement, has prepared and warned the working class of the dangers posed by this crisis. The WRP has fought to expose the treacherous role of the Labor Party reformists by demanding an emergency conference of the Labor Party to decide on socialist policies and to drive out the right-wing Tory collaborators.

Firemen Hit With 3 Year Strike Ban

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—
Officials of the United Firefighters Association have pleaded guilty to charges of "reckless endangerment of life and property" for leading a five and one-half hour strike on November 6, 1973.

Under a plea-bargaining arrangement, UFA President Richard J. Vizzini and the union's recording-financial secretary and sergeant at arms were sentenced to three years on probation with \$1000 fines. The terms of the probation include a three year ban on strikes; union officials face one year in jail if they "advocate, threaten, cause, call, or support" a strike.

This paves the way for the wholesale smashing of working conditions won by the city firemen, which have already de-

1900 Now Out In GE Strike

LYNNE, Mass.—Striking workers at General Electric now number 1900 as the strike enters its second week.

The strike began when supervisors were moved in to replace nine lathe gap operators who were striking for reclassification.

Friday, June 14, 800 workers walked out. On Tuesday and Wednesday, 400 left, and another 700 workers struck GE Thursday, June 20.

One thousand out of 2500 workers in the Medium Steam Turbine Generator Department are out, posing a serious threat to production.

The nine lathe gap operators have had to use a more difficult procedure, involving skills outside their classification. They are demanding a 13 cents an hour raise over their present \$5.38 an hour.

GE aims to deny this reclassification as a blueprint to impose any speedup or change in production on any department.

Miners Walk Out Over Coal Imports

SPECIAL
TO THE BULLETIN
BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—
More than 8000 miners in UMWA District 20 went on strike Monday and 2000 demonstrated in the city to protest the importing of South African coal.

A large shipment is scheduled to arrive in Mobile shortly after July 15, and this week's one day walkout was a warning that bigger action will be taken if the coal is unloaded.

Sam Littlefield, a District 20 leader, told the Bulletin that miners are receiving no support from the International Long-

shoremen's Association which has instructed Mobile dockers to unload the coal.

"I've written a letter to Thomas Gleason asking for backing and so has Arnold Miller," he stated, "but he won't even answer our letters. It shows you what type of union man he is."

The import of cheap South African coal threatens the jobs of thousands of southern miners. If the ILA persists in its refusal to support the miners, UMWA officials plan to set up pickets on the Mobile docks.

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Terry Delgado, Workers Party candidate for the 12th Congressional District speaks to youth in Bushwick shopping area during street rally on Saturday, June 15.

Greek Trotskyists Tortured

Three members of the Workers International League, Greek section of the International Committee, are included on a list of torture victims smuggled out of Greece and published by the Sunday Times in London.

They are Ageliki Stavropoulou and Iraklis Logothetis, who were arrested on February 23 with three other WIL members, Theodoros Koutsoubos, Kostas Kortessis, and Manolis Zakais.

The prisoners in Greece are held indefinitely, without a warrant, charge, trial, or even explanation. Relatives are not informed of the whereabouts of those jailed and spend months searching from one prison to the next.

Tony Ambatielos, a leader of the Greek Communist Party was tortured so brutally in Boyati prison that all his ribs were broken.

Brigadier Demetrios Ioannides, director of the Greek Military Police, who played a leading role in the overthrow of the former dictatorship of General Papadopoulos, directs this torture. Students and workers, as well as socialists are tortured by the regime.

The dictatorship of General Gizikis fears the upsurge of the working class and desperately seeks to cut off the development of revolutionary leadership.

All workers organizations must demand the immediate release of the Greek Trotskyists and all the political prisoners of the Gizikis dictatorship and send telegrams to the Greek Embassy, 69 East 79 Street, New York, N.Y.

CP Attacks Portugal Mailmen

BY A REPORTER

Striking postal workers in Portugal have been beaten back to work under a threat by the Spinoza government to draft them into the army and a vicious slander campaign led by the Communist Party.

The Portuguese Communist Party organized a counterdemonstration in front of the central post office June 19. They shouted, "fascists," at the pickets, "Go back to work; you are sabotaging democracy."

In an official statement at the start of the strike, the CP warned workers not to make demands "which are incompatible with existing conditions in the national economy." They said Communist Labor Minister Goncalves would go along with Spinoza in drafting new measures against the strikers, who were demanding about \$200 a week and a 35 hour work week.

This action by the Stalinists represents a new stage in their collaboration with the military junta. It is Alvaro Cunhal, CP general secretary and Minister Without Portfolio in Spinoza's cabinet who works with fascists against the working class.

COMPLICIT

The Communist Party is also complicit in severe new restrictions on freedom of the press, drafted by Spinoza in a secret meeting with his backers in the military.

The government has taken over the television network, and is setting up new laws banning "abuse" of Portuguese or foreign government officials. Disclosure of "military secrets" is also forbidden, a sweeping clause in a nation that is ruled by the military.

These measures were announced just before the official state visit by Nixon, the first government leader to meet with Spinoza. Spinoza assured Nixon in the June 19 meeting that the US will continue to have the use of the vital Lajes Air Base on the Azores Islands where they met.

Nixon told Spinoza: "An independent, free, prosperous Portugal is vital not only to the Atlantic alliance, but vital also to the interests of the United States."

UAW Fights United Aircraft Suit

BY A REPORTER
MONTREAL, Canada—
Local 510 of the United Auto Workers faces an attack that threatens its right to exist.

United Aircraft Corporation at Longueil, which has been struck by the UAW since January 7, has filed a \$5.4 million suit against the local and five individuals.

All picketing has been banned

for a week, and the union faces a possible \$50,000 a day contempt of court fine for disobeying a previous injunction, limiting pickets to three per gate.

The company is trying to break the strike, by openly provoking confrontations on the picket lines and by bankrupting the union with fines and court suits.

DESTROY

The suit, filed against Local 510 and Gaetan Lacelle, Andre Choquette, Andre Normandin, Serge Raymond, all strikers, and Robert Dean, UAW director in Quebec, is the culmination of a campaign by UAC to destroy the union.

The suit charges that the union "flouted and ignored" Superior Court injunctions. It accuses the strikers of damaging 750 cars, assaulting employees, attacking over 100 of their homes, as well as making 1000 threatening phone calls to nonstriking employees.

The strike began January 7, when management imposed a lockout after the union demanded a 31 percent wage increase and a cost of living clause. Prior to the strike, United Aircraft had refused to recognize union stewards, answered complaints with suspensions, and imposed seven days straight time, refusing to give men their choice of which two days they could have off.

The UAW members answered the lockout by breaking through the gates and by occupying plants 1 and 2 in Longueil. Several days later, the workers were forcibly evicted by police.

Since then, the pickets have remained solid in the face of continual police and court attacks. Workers have been attacked and continually harassed. One had his arm gashed open by an axe. The Justice Minister has been forced to admit that security police have tried to infiltrate the union.

SUPPORT

Workers in the area have given the strike tremendous support. Over 8000 demonstrated in front of the plant gates March 29. However, the UAW International has consciously attempted to isolate the strike. McDermott, UAW Canadian Director, has promised to give money to the strikers, yet has given almost nothing. The strike has remained isolated, leaving the strikers open to the courts and police.

The battle at UAC where the company is now threatening to close down its plant, is the preparation for the attacks in auto and aerospace across North America. Only by mobilizing the power of the UAW, through a fight against Woodcock and McDermott, with a national strike can the rights of UAW workers be defended.

What Nixon Really Said To John Dean

BY DAVID NORTH

Just back from the Middle East, Nixon will be off again in several days to the Soviet Union where he will be given a hero's welcome by his Stalinist admirers in the Kremlin.

Nixon's new strategy is to stay out of this country as much as possible while the goods on his own corruption continue to pile up.

Hated by millions of workers and unable to show his face in the United States, Nixon figures he is better off telling politicians in the Middle East and Europe to stage triumphant welcomes in his behalf.

A full two years after the initial discovery of the Watergate breakin, Peter Rodino, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, has stated that the coverup may still be going on.

In Nixon's version of the tapes, he is intentionally made to appear uncertain of facts and indecisive. However, as the Committee version makes clear, Nixon did not call John Dean into his office to learn about Watergate, but to give instructions as to how hush money was to be paid and the coverup continued.

The most important changes were made in the crucial tapes of Nixon's March 21 conversation with John Dean, in which

the payment of hush money to Howard Hunt was discussed.

In Nixon's version, the following exchange took place:

NIXON: Your major guy to keep control is Hunt?

DEAN: That is right.

NIXON: I think. Does he know a lot?

DEAN: He knows so much. He could sink Chuck Colson.

In the undoctored version, Nixon does not ask questions and it is he who points out the danger presented by Hunt.

NIXON: Well, you, your major, your major guy to keep under control is Hunt.

DEAN: That's right.

NIXON: I think. Because he knows—

DEAN: He knows so much—

NIXON: About a lot of things. He knows so much. Right. Uh, he could sink Chuck Colson.

Often, Nixon jumbled up phrases in his version of the tapes, so that it is unclear what he is actually saying. But his instructions become quite clear in the Committee's transcripts.

In Nixon's version, the following statement appears:

NIXON: Well, also so let's leave you (Dean) out of it. I don't think on the obstruction of justice thing—I take that out. I don't know why, I think you may be over the cliff.

Nixon's version makes it appear that Nixon is warning Dean that he may be in trouble. But, in reality, Nixon said just the opposite.

NIXON: Let's, let's leave you

and—I don't, I don't, I don't think on the, oh, the obstruction of justice thing—I think that one we can handle.

Perhaps the most important difference occurs on the discussion of obtaining the one million dollars demanded by Hunt to keep his mouth shut.

In his own version, Nixon says: "Well, it sounds like a lot of money, a million dollars. Let me say that I think we could get that. I know money is hard to raise. But the point is, what we do on that—let's look at the hard problem—"

Nixon is more specific in the Committee's transcript.

NIXON: But let's now come back to the money, a million dollars and so forth and so on. Let me say that I think you could get that in cash, and I know money is hard but, there are ways.

The committee has obtained an affidavit from former Attorney General Elliot Richardson revealing that Nixon made up his mind to fire Archibald Cox, former special prosecutor, when the latter began looking into the financing of San Clemente.

According to Richardson, Nixon blew his top when he read last July that Cox had initiated this investigation. Richardson received a call from Gen. Alexander Haig who warned that it "could not be a matter of Cox's charter to investigate the president of the United States."



Haig ordered Cox to deny press reports of an investigation of Nixon. Cox complied, but Haig called again to tell Richardson that the denial was not strong enough. Nixon broke into the telephone conversation to demand a firmer denial.

Nixon also wanted a "tight line" drawn around the investigation of bugging, and Haig told Richardson that "if Cox does not agree, we will get rid of Cox."

Nixon is seeking to counter these latest reports with vitriolic attacks on the press and Judiciary Committee for leaking memoranda from the proceedings.

White House Communications Director Kenneth Clawson declared that the press reports raise "the serious question whether or not this leaking has been a contrived tactic of the dirty tricks division of the Judiciary Committee."

What perverse arrogance! Here is a government led by a gangster only recently fingered

by a grand jury screaming about insinuations against Nixon's character.

As Nixon knows only too well, the Judiciary Committee is handling him with kid gloves and holding all its deliberations behind closed doors. The committee's laborious process of collecting evidence has degenerated into a big time-waster designed to allow Nixon to complete his term.

SURVIVE

In the Middle East, whole sections of Damascus and Jordan had to be closed off in order for Nixon to survive several hours in the two countries. While Nixon met with King Hussein in Amman, thousands of Palestinians were guarded by the army.

Nixon remains in office not because of his own strength, but through the refusal of the trade union bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO to mobilize the full power of the labor movement to throw him out.

The Portuguese Revolution And The Renegade Mandel

BY MELODY FARROW

The openly counterrevolutionary betrayal of Stalinism in Portugal—expressed in the alliance of the Portuguese Communist Party with fascist generals—is seconded only by the more insidious betrayal of Ernest Mandel's Pabloite United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

In Portugal today, the true face of Pabloite revisionism stands exposed.

The struggle of the Portuguese working class is in a critical stage as the Spinola government, with Stalinist support, launches a crack-down and prepares a new dictatorship. At this point, when masses of workers can be broken from Stalinism, Pabloite steps in to give the Stalinists a left cover.

More than that, the United Secretariat's "sympathizing" section, the International Communist League (LCI) through its so-called "United Front" in Portugal, is in alliance with Stalinists.

On May 19, Mandel spoke at a meeting in Lisbon attended by the members of this amalgam, including the LCI, the Revolutionary Proletarian Party (PRP), the Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Unity (URML), and the Socialist Base Commissions (CBS).

A report on this meeting by Gerry Foley of the American



Portuguese soldiers and sailors demonstrate in Lisbon.

Socialist Workers Party (in political solidarity with the United Secretariat) and the text of Mandel's speech appears in the June 17 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

Just who are these "left" organizations?

The PRP, in Foley's own words, is "reminiscent of Castroite young left formations" with close relations to a Portuguese guerrilla group called League for Revolutionary Unity and Action (LUAR).

A representative of the LUAR spoke at the Lisbon meeting in praise of Spinola and of the Portuguese armed forces!

URML is an openly Maoist organization, while the CBS does not even call itself a party and exists for the sole purpose of uniting all centrist organizations.

Only one thing holds this unprincipled amalgam of cen-

trists and Stalinists together: their hostility to Trotskyism and to the construction of a Bolshevik type party based on the central role of the working class.

Mandel did not find himself in such company by accident as his speech makes clear.

Mandel and his cothinkers in the SWP reject the characterization of the Moscow bureaucracy and the Communist parties as counterrevolutionary, which Trotsky was forced to conclude after the bitter betrayals of Stalin and the German CP in the 1930s allowed Hitler to conquer.

In fact Mandel drops all references to the Portuguese Communist Party as Stalinist and simply calls them "reformists."

Using a quote from the French bourgeois revolutionist, Saint-Just, Mandel addresses himself to the Stalinists in these words:

"Listen comrade leaders of the Socialist and Communist Parties. Woe to revolutionists who make a revolution only half way. They only dig their own graves."

The men who Mandel calls "comrades" have not only joined hands with fascists in the government, but now declare they will support military action against postal workers unless they end their strike for higher wages.

But Mandel covers the true role of the Portuguese CP by maintaining that they only go "half way." Thus the task of Mandel's united front is to put pressure on the Communist Party to carry out the revolution all the way.

Mandel substitutes this united front for the construction of an independent revolutionary party based on the experiences of Lenin and Trotsky and tested out in the Russian Revolution.

Mandel counterposes to Lenin's conception of a party, "the unity in action of the industrial workers and workers on the land, of white collar workers, of soldiers, sailors, of oppressed women; all this great mass is the decisive force that can open the way for the only solution to the historic crisis of Portuguese capitalism..."

The vital lessons of the long struggle against Stalinism by Trotsky and by the International Committee of the Fourth International, lessons learned through the murder and suffering of millions of workers, are thrown out the window by Mandel.

Foley's pathetic attempts to make it appear as if the more "Marxist" elements control the united front was exploded by an incident at the end of the May 19 meeting.

A question by an LCI representative from the floor about Stalinism set off a storm of protest from the Maoists, some of whom shouted out "Long Live Stalin!"

Foley concludes from this: "Can this reservoir of young radicals be mobilized around a concrete program of action that can overcome the sectarian features that were not entirely absent from this meeting...?"

By sectarian, Foley and the SWP mean any criticism of Stalinism.

The program of the Pabloites for workers councils and a Constituent Assembly in Portugal must be seen as nothing more than alliances with Stalinists and other enemies of the working class who are allowed to control such organs.

PABLO

In 1953, the International Committee struggled against the theories of Pablo that the Stalinist bureaucracies would be forced to the left under the pressure of the masses. The events in Portugal prove the struggle was not only correct, but was vital to prepare for the new period today, when Trotskyism can become the actual leadership of the working class.

It was over these issues that the SWP broke with Pablo and Ernest Mandel in 1953. Mandel was one of the most ardent advocates of liquidating the Trotskyist party into the Stalinist and Social Democratic movements.

The fruits of the SWP's reunification with Mandel's United Secretariat in 1963 can be seen in Portugal today.

Those like Mandel and company who follow the Stalinists into the arms of the capitalist class, are indeed, digging their own graves.

Reprinted from Workers Press, daily Trotskyist newspaper of the British Workers Revolutionary Party.

BY JOHN SPENCER

Since March of this year the mountains of northern Iraq have become the scene of a savage war in which the ruling Ba'ath party is using all means at its disposal to try and crush the Kurdish national movement.

The Iraqi government is being backed in its struggle to achieve the destruction of the Kurdish forces by the Soviet Union, Syria, and Turkey. Moscow has a powerful vested interest in keeping the key Kirkuk oilfield firmly in Iraqi hands.

The Kurdish side is gaining assistance from the Shah of Iran, who has an interest in keeping his closest neighbor weak and divided.

The Iraqi Ba'athists have been trying at intervals to crush the Kurds over a long period. Though Moscow's propaganda tries today to present the Baghdad government as a "progressive" formation, it is in reality a gangster dictatorship with a long record of ferocious anticommunism.

The eruption of struggle in Kurdistan is intimately linked with the insoluble crisis of world imperialism. The financial and economic crisis characterized by uncontrollable inflation is shattering the division imposed on the Middle East by imperialism.

Iraq, like most of the other states in the area, is an artificial formation. Given its vast oil wealth, the imperialists have taken good care to see that their interests are upheld. They know very well that despite the posturing of the Ba'athist government the oil resources are safe in their hands.

National oppression is an inevitable accompaniment of the arbitrary partition of the Middle East imposed by the imperialists. The Kurdish movement is a national movement—the movement of a people who have for many years been deprived of the elementary right to self-determination and parcelled out between different neighboring states.

One thing that stands out very clearly in the current struggle is the brutality of the Iraqi rulers and their callous disregard for the lives of the Kurds living in the areas outside their hands.

They show all the contempt of men who consider themselves part of a superior race in the way they wage the war and treat the Kurds under their control. At the start of hostilities, for example, the town of Qala Diza, housing the "free" university of Suleimaniyah was bombed and strafed by the Iraqi Air Force in an unprovoked attack killing at least 130 people.

Eye witnesses report that despite the savagery of the bombing and the total blockade of the north enforced by the Ba'athist regime there has been a mass exodus of more than 100,000 Kurds from the mixed population cites further south into the areas under attack.

The basic demand of the Kurdish movement is summed up in the slogan "Democracy for Iraq—autonomy for Kurdistan." The second aim was supposedly embodied in the March 11, 1970, agreement,



Iraq is waging a savage war against the Kurdish people who are fighting for self-determination.

The War Against The Kurds

which brought a pause in the long war which has now erupted again.

The Ba'athists have superior weaponry: planes, tanks, and heavy artillery. But they have been unable to shake the determined resistance of the 100,000 Pesh Mergas, the Kurdish guerrillas whose name means "facing death."

The Pesh Mergas are led by Mustafa Barzani, the veteran leader of the Kurdish national movement who has been fighting for an independent Kurdistan against British, Russians, Persians, Turks, and Arabs since he was 16. He is now 71.

The Kurds, like the Armenians and the Palestinians, are victims of imperialist policy in the Middle East. Despite promises made in the Treaty of Sevres after World War I they were robbed of the right to a country of their own when the Ottoman empire was broken up.

Kurdish lands were arbitrarily parcelled out between Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria, despite the Kurds' vocal protests. In all these countries they are now treated as a despised national minority and severely discriminated against.

Such is national oppression of the Kurds in Iraq, for example, that though they form a quarter of the country's population they make up only five percent of the country's student population.

This position was dictated by British imperialism, which drew straight lines over the ruins of the Ottoman empire and set up its own proteges to rule the countries that were formed in this way.

In Iraq, where the Emir Faisal was placed on the throne, the British Indian Army prevented the secession of Kurdistan. The Kurds were in fact the first victims of the new military technique of mass bombing used by the Royal Flying Corps.

SAVAGE DETERMINATION

The succeeding period is studded with unsuccessful revolts put down with savage determination by the British colonial forces and their Iraqi puppets. In 1931, ten years after the first Kurdish uprising, the RAF and the Indian Army were again in action against the Kurds.

Among those imprisoned in

ensuing repression was Mustafa Barzani, the present leader of the Pesh Mergas forces. War flared up again in 1943 and the British army under General Frazer was again ordered in to crush the Kurds.

The revolutionary upsurge in Kurdistan after World War One was so powerful that the Iraqi regime maintained its position only with the crudest trickery, inviting Barzani for talks and then starting the fighting again while a truce was in operation.

In neighboring Iran, where the north was under Soviet occupation, a Kurdish republic was established. But it proved short-lived when the Soviet troops under Stalin's orders were pulled out of Iran under the terms of the Yalta agreement and the republic abandoned to be crushed by the Shah.

The Iranian regime captured Quazi Mohammad, the president of the short-lived republic, and hanged him on March 30, 1947. Barzani fled to the USSR after an epic march through the mountains and remained there until 1958.

The leadership of the Kurdish movement from 1945 has been the Kurdish Democratic Party which until 1958 was in alliance with the Iraqi CP. The overthrow of the king, the advent of Brigadier Abdul Karim Kassem in the 1958 revolution raised the Kurds' hopes of achieving autonomy.

The Stalinists supported Kassem's regime and entered into a tripartite pact with the Ba'ath Party and the political representatives of the national bourgeoisie. The Ba'ath refused to allow the KDP to join this agreement, and it formed instead a separate pact with the Communist Party.

Kassem moved steadily to the right, supported at each step by the CP, and in September 1961 turned his force against the Kurds in a bid to crush their movement for autonomy. Kassem's heavy losses in the attempt to subdue the Kurds weakened his regime and the Ba'athists overthrew him in February 1963.

A new regime, with General Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr as premier was installed and immediately began a blood purge of the communists. At least 8000 communists were massacred by

the Ba'athists with whom they had previously been in common front.

Al-Bakr issued a declaration that all communists, communist sympathizers and atheists were to be shot on the spot. If this could not be done their whereabouts were to be reported to the police and authorities.

The cream of the country's intellectuals were savagely massacred. Not long afterwards, after haggling with the Kurdish leaders for some time, al-Bakr again launched his troops against Kurdistan.

Al-Bakr is still in the saddle today, having contrived to avoid elimination in the fratricidal struggles within the Ba'ath leadership and played off his rivals so as to ensure his continued prosperity.

And his policy is being supported by the Communist Party Stalinists, who have become the regime's most servile apologists in line with Moscow's foreign policy requirements.

In the interim there have been four punitive expeditions into Kurdistan—all notably unsuccessful—and a number of unstable Bonapartist regimes in Baghdad. The repression against the left has continued under them all.

Many CP members found refuge from the Ba'athist repressions in Kurdistan, where they were protected from the regime's repressive forces by the guns of the Pesh Merga.

A vital turning point came in 1970 with the signing of the March 11 agreement between the KDP and the regime strongman, Saddam Hussein. Hussein's aim in signing the agreement was to divide the Kurdish movement and isolate the guerrilla wing led by Barzani.

In the event his maneuver backfired. The Iraqi regime had not the least intention of implementing the terms of the agreement, under which the Ba'athists for the first time recognized, on paper at any rate, the national rights of the Kurds.

Having guaranteed the Kurds' rights on paper, the Ba'athists proceeded to violate them systematically in practice. It became the regime's policy to move Arabs from the south into

the Kurdish areas, particularly in the Kirkuk oil region.

The Kurdish Democratic Party lists five main ways in which the Ba'athists violated the agreement:

- The bringing of Arab tribes in large numbers for the purpose of settling them in Kurdistan.

- The creation of animosity and hatred between the Kurdish people and the ethnic religious minorities inside Kurdistan.

- Resort to terror and other inhuman means against the Kurds of these areas.

- The constant pursuit of policy of open discrimination against the Kurds of these areas through the rejection of their just demands by government authorities.

- The purchase of land and property from Kurdish landlords with the intention of forcing the emigration of Kurdish farmers from these areas and replacing them with Arabs.

In September 1971 the Iraqi authorities drove 40,000 Faily Kurds over the border into Iran where many are still living as refugees in tents. In the course of this arbitrary deportation, the Iraqi Army stripped many of its victims of their Iraqi citizenship certificates and destroyed them.

The same month was the first of two treacherous attempts to assassinate General Barzani, the second being made in July 1971. These crude efforts at murder had all the hallmarks of Ba'athist assassination techniques.

These violations of the agreement with the KDP were only the prelude to a much more serious attempt at a solution of the Kurdish problem. Autonomy was due to come into operation on March 11, 1974—four years after the agreement was signed.

In the event on March 11, the entire Iraqi armed forces were mobilized and sent into Kurdistan, on what the Defense Minister said would be "a spring stroll." Within 24 hours of this attack the Kurdish minority from other parts of Iraq began streaming towards the KDP-held areas in an unprecedented mass migration.

The treachery of the Ba'athists is only equalled by the cynicism of the Stalinists. Backing the regime in line with the policies of Moscow, the Stalinists have entered a completely unprincipled national pact with the butchers of their comrades.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

At the beginning of the year, as tension grew in the area, fighting broke out between Pesh Merga and armed Communist Party units in the northern Iraq mountains. Since the outbreak of full-scale war, Moscow has accused the KDP of "threatening the country's unity and the social development of both Arabs and Kurds." (P. Nadezhdin in Pravda.)

He actually claims the Ba'athist regime "relying on progressive forces, is pursuing an anti-imperialist line in foreign policy and is carrying out social transformations in the interests of the country's working people."

Naturally, the Soviet Press makes the most of the aid Barzani has received from Iran. But this is hardly a principled objection. The Soviet government has very cordial relations with the Shah and the Iraqi regime is composed of anticommunists who are just as hardened as the Shah's functionaries.

What Moscow wants to avoid at all costs is a revolutionary explosion which would sweep away the imperialist-imposed status quo in the Middle East. They prefer the oppressed nations to stay that way.

WITHDRAW THE TROOPS

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In Northern Ireland, a strike-demonstration imposed by right-wing para-military bands, politically led by the extreme Tories and Unionists, has successfully forced the resignation of the British imperialist puppet "power-sharing executive" and the dismissal of the Northern Ireland Assembly. In "law" the colony is under direct rule from the Labour government at Westminster, effected through a military force of some 18,000 troops. In reality, the fascist bands have asserted their power in the streets, under the direct protective surveillance of the army. Paisley, West, Cragi and Powell have laid the position before the British and Irish bourgeoisie and the Labor government: "We are the ones who have found the way to control and rule the working class."

This is the first open mobilization of the counterrevolutionary forces on the streets. Thanks to the treachery of the reformists and their Stalinist and revisionist hangers-on in the whole period of armed intervention since 1969, reaction has achieved a considerable tactical success. This strike was anticipated in the preparations made already at the level of legislative changes (anti-union laws) and military police changes under the Tory government. Only the independent mobilization of the working class in Ireland and Britain can stop these reactionary forces. The most dangerous illusion of all would be that bourgeois democracy and "power-sharing" can be restored through alliance with the "democratic" (pro-Sunningdale) bourgeoisie. Both the Tory Party and the Labor government are politically paralyzed, and are capitulating completely to Paisley and Craig.

RAPIDLY

The decision of the right-wing forces to proceed so rapidly after the British General Election, and the open acquiescence of the army command in what was virtually a dress-rehearsal for a putsch, is clear indication of the effects of the worsening economic crisis on the decisions of the political representatives of the bourgeoisie. That section which, like Powell in Britain, advocates the urgent preparation of extra-parliamentary, fascist-type forces from the middle class and backward sections of the workers, grows in support and seeks to demonstrate its strength and claims to leadership. Behind the various demagogic appeals to "Ulster nationalism," "anti-Popery," "the democratic Protestant tradition," "the Union with Britain," lies the reality of the welding together of a fascist force against the working class and its unions. The internal contradictions in ideology are characteristic of all such movements. They draw their strength not from ideological consistency but from the frustrations engendered by the inability of the old bourgeois political structure to meet the problems forced by economic crisis and the polarization of class forces.

The next step of the right wing in Ulster will be to try to break the trade union and factory organization of the working class. This is the meaning of the claim to organize and represent them as "Ulstermen" and not as workers. They know that the Protestant workers remain well-organized and combative in the struggle for wages and conditions against the employers. This strength has already begun to pose demands which are intolerable as the crisis deepens. The workers will very quickly discover that the demagogy of Paisley, Craig and Powell can answer none of these questions of inflation and unemployment.



To smash trade-union organization and disperse the militants is therefore a top priority for the right wing. Everything depends, for them, on successful use of the sectarian divisions in the working class to carry through the armed UDA and UVF bands. The terroristic assassinations of Catholic workers will be turned against Protestant workers who resist Paisley's and Craig's aim of controlling the factories and unions as "Vanguard" associations under the ultra-right "Ulster Workers Council." This is the reason for Powell's speech at Enniskillen (June 3), advocating the return of the "B" specials, the legally armed and uniformed right-wing Protestant forces who were used in 1969 to smash the first upsurge of the Catholic working class. In the same speech Powell advanced his preparations for the whole of Britain, proposing that all Irishmen be treated as "foreigners" and deprived of travel rights. This is his preparation for unemployment and the use of nationalism and racialism to divide the working class in the crisis.

COLONY

These are not the policies of a maniac fringe minority of the bourgeoisie. It is a profound historical truth that the oldest colony provides always the base for the most reactionary elements in the British ruling class. It is here that the political

reflection is to be found for the interests and preparations of the aristocratic and military castes who strengthen the top layers of the bourgeoisie. Not only did the army command never move against the armed bands which marched from factory to factory; not only did the right wing picket in numbers and with weapons which would have assured long jail sentences for trade unionists on strike in Britain and Ireland; in addition, the army had, in the preceding six months, turned a blind eye to the continuous murders of Catholic workers by UDA and UVF gangs, while stepping up their anti-IRA arrests and repressions. The day after the end of the strike, the army proudly announced a great success in arresting in Belfast...a leading IRA organizer!

Just as the reactionary Carson in 1912 drilled his armed "rebels" and received the open support of mutinous British officers at the Curragh and "friends" in Whitehall in his opposition to Home Rule, so today the class nature of the army and the whole state machine determines its role in relation to the growth of reaction in Northern Ireland.

Decisive in this matter is the political balance-sheet of the period since August 1969, when the Labour government sent in the army. Every Stalinist, reformist and revisionist tendency in Britain and Ireland

supported the armed intervention. Without exception, they entrusted the "protection" of the working class against the extreme Protestant thugs, led by the most ruthless bourgeois politicians, to the imperialist state and its army. Most sophisticated of the capitulators were the "International Socialists": they claimed that by preventing a pogrom, the British troops provided a "breathing-space" for the Catholic workers to re-arm and re-organize for the struggle. Today, nearly five years later—with "Bloody Sunday" intervening—the same Catholic workers have seen the ex-"B" Specials and their supporters carry out a reign of terror on the streets with 18,000 British troops standing by in support. The reformist "Civil Rights" leaders of 1969, in whom at the Stalinists' and revisionists' behest the Catholic workers placed their confidence, had meanwhile long-since joined with Faulkner in a "power-sharing" which provided the ideal conditions for the right wing to organize their putschist strike.

Paisley and Craig had used the intervening five years to at least temporarily re-establish the crumbling Unionist control over the Protestant working class, this time under new and much more reactionary leadership, orientated in a definitely ultra-right direction. At the same time they provide a base for Powell and the

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Statement Of The International Comm

BOOHS FROM ULLSTER



blow to the rising ultraright tendency. The SDLP, proteges of the Stalinists and revisionists, will follow suit with proposals for talks on "power-sharing" with the Paisleyites. All this does is disarm the working class while the Fascists feverishly prepare the next step, intending to share power with no one. The very fact that an important section of the bourgeoisie is impelled towards fascist-type solutions instead of parliamentary methods indicates precisely that "power-sharing" is now an intolerable luxury. The Sunningdale power sharing agreement put into operation by Whitelaw and the Tories, and to which the Labor Party and the SDLP were indispensable props, was a deception and maneuver to divert the Irish working class while Paisley's next step was prepared.

The "Council of Ireland" proposal in the Sunningdale agreement was the conscience formula of a "step to a united Ireland" to permit the SDLP to preserve a shred of the allegiance of the Catholic workers while completely capitulating to the imperialists. After a week of strike they dropped the "Council of Ireland" on the grounds that this was the only way to keep the Unionists in the Executive! They were persuaded to abandon even this fig-leaf by the Labor "left" and Stalinist supporter, Stanley Orme, now Minister of State for Northern Ireland and a member of the Privy Council.

Throughout the last five years, the International Committee has warned that the military occupation of Ulster was the anticipation of the preparations of the bourgeois state for the class struggle in Britain. Now the same conclusions must be drawn, immediately, in relation to the political preparations for a middle class fascist-type movement, hoping to attract the support of backward workers. It is necessary also to learn the lessons from the role played by the reformists, "right" and "left," and their Stalinist and revisionist hangers-on. The policy of the Workers Revolutionary Party in Ireland, in relation to the mobilization of the working class in unity against the capitalist enemy, must be firmly based on these lessons.

Working class unity can never be achieved except on the basis of the most implacable struggle to defeat these treacherous leaders and tendencies. All those revisionists and Stalinists who work to obstruct the exposure of the trade union and reformist bureaucracy share responsibility for the effect of the stunt attempted by Murray and the TUC in the "return to work" march of May 20, which played into the hands of the reactionary forces. The absence of support for this march was the pay-off for the craven pro-imperialism of the British Labor bureaucracy throughout the recent struggle in Ireland.

As for the IRA, both "Official" and "Provisional," their bourgeois nationalist character and rejection of any working class orientation not only rendered them powerless in the strike, but took their degeneration further than ever before. The "Officials," Stalinist-led, could not organize a single action or make one clear call, after having for so long advocated a "political solution" which amounted to support for the opportunists of the SDLP. The Provisionals, similarly paralyzed in the strike, announced the day after it ended that they would welcome a "declaration of intent" from the British government that they will agree to a new version of partition, with nine northern counties instead of six. Thus the struggle against imperialism is shamelessly abandoned at a time when young men and women are still going to their death in British jails in the mistaken belief that the IRA represents the anti-imperialist struggle of the Irish people.

British and Irish workers have been warned. The collapse of the Ulster Executive and the usurping of power by the extreme right wing is due entirely to the bankruptcy of all the traditional repub-

lican, Stalinist and reformist leaderships in Ulster and the impotence of a reformist Labor government in Britain.

These events constitute the most powerful indictment of the revisionists of the IS, IMG, "Militant and OCI who uncritically support and rely exclusively on the minimum program of the Labor government on the grounds that pressure on the Labor leaders can force them to secure the historical interests of the working class. On the contrary far from carrying out a socialist program or even their own minimum program the Labor leaders continue their policy of class collaboration and capitulation to the pressure of the monopolies and their state.

The Labor government is the instrument of betrayal and defeat. In every sense it is a Trojan Horse of Tory reaction. The refusal of the Wilson regime to carry out a single socialist measure, to boldly put an end to inflation and to withdraw troops from Ulster threatens all the basic democratic rights of British and Irish workers alike. Facetious taunts by Wilson and impotent threats by Rees will not deter the growth of this reaction in Ulster and Britain. The basic democratic rights of the working class can be defended and reaction smashed only through the mobilization of the working class in a struggle to expropriate monopoly capitalism and establish a planned economy on nationalized foundations.

The International Committee of the Fourth International declares that this struggle can and must be conducted only on the basis of the Transitional Program of the Fourth International which expresses the historical interests of the working class.

At the same time the ICFI appeals to Irish workers in the South to intensify the struggle against the venal tool of British imperialism—the Fine Gael-Labor coalition. As in 1920-1922 so too today. The Catholic bourgeoisie of the South cannot lead a consistent and successful struggle against imperialism but—as was shown in Sunningdale—continues to betray the democratic and nationalist aspirations of the Irish people while it tramples on the rights of Irish workers with its repressive legislation.

The fig leaf for its latest betrayal was the All-Ireland Council. This myth has been shattered by Paisley and Craig, with the connivance of Wilson. The Cosgrave regime now stands stripped of its last vestige of bogus nationalism and this coincides with an enormous sharpening of the economic crisis in Eire and a powerful upsurge of the working class against the economic crisis in Eire and a powerful upsurge of the working class against the economic policies of the government. The liberation of Irish workers demands imperatively the construction of the ICFI section in Eire.

Although the Tories and the Unionist bourgeoisie have won a battle they have not won the war against the Irish and British working classes. These events must become the stimulus for an intensified struggle in Britain to expose the reformist leadership completely discredit it and replace it with a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership.

The ICFI calls on British and Irish workers to fight for the following program.

1. Withdraw the troops from Ulster.
 2. Disband the army—arm the workers in Ulster to fight the Unionist thugs.
 3. Demand an emergency conference of the Labor Party now!
 4. Reject partition.
 5. Withdraw all aid to the Unionist regime.
 6. Build the sections of the ICFI in Britain and Ireland.
- Long live the socialist unity of Irish and British workers!
Throw out the Wilson-Rees clique of traitors!

June 6, 1974

counterrevolutionary forces in Britain.

In the space of three months, the state in Britain has already been twice successfully challenged from the side of the working class. Parliamentary democracy was being sharply exposed as utterly unable to assert the control necessary in the new stage of the crisis. The miners' strike forced the resignation of the Tory government 18 months before the end of its term; and the engineers' action in May annulled the decision of the National Industrial Relations Court set up by parliament under the Tories. This strength of the working class, together with the undermining of the conditions for parliamentary democracy, predominate in the situation. And now, in the conditions created by the betrayals of reformists and Stalinists, assisted by the revisionists, the right wing have been able to advance their own preparations and place the workers of Ulster in a highly dangerous situation. They have defied and defeated the authority of parliament and the government.

Both Heath for the Tories and Rees for the Labor Party warned their own members (in the House of Commons on June 3-4) that withdrawal of troops from Ulster would lead to civil war not only there but also in all Ireland and in Britain. They were saying to the bourgeoisie: "You are surely not yet ready to take on the

working class in this way anywhere else except in Ulster!" Before that can be done, the reformists and bourgeois democracy have much to do in creating the necessary conditions of disillusion in the middle class and division in the proletariat. And still one Tory MP replied that a "short sharp civil war" would be preferable to the spilling of blood "drop by drop."

In the strike in Ulster, not only Catholic workers in Derry and elsewhere but also Protestant workers in important factories like British Enkalon defended their union and factory organization and defied the strike call and pickets. They showed that if a determined struggle for the independence of the working class and the unity of Protestants and Catholics is carried through, against the Stalinist and reformist acceptance of sectarian divisions, then unity against the right wing is possible. But this unity can be achieved only through the most thorough and consistent fight for a Marxist leadership against the reformists, Stalinists and revisionists.

These treacherous leaders plan even greater betrayals, and they are assisted in their work by the bankrupt bourgeois nationalists of the IRA. The Labor spokesman Rees has already "consulted" with Paisley and is calling for a new "recognition" of "Ulster nationalism." Here is social democracy capitulating at the first

Committee Of The Fourth International

WITHDRAW THE TROOPS FROM ULSTER

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In Northern Ireland, a strike-demonstration imposed by right-wing para-military bands, politically led by the extreme Tories and Unionists, has successfully forced the resignation of the British imperialist puppet "power-sharing executive" and the dismissal of the Northern Ireland Assembly. In "law" the colony is under direct rule from the Labour government at Westminster, effected through a military force of some 18,000 troops. In reality, the fascist bands have asserted their power in the streets, under the direct protective surveillance of the army. Paisley, West, Cragi and Powell have laid the position before the British and Irish bourgeoisie and the Labor government: "We are the ones who have found the way to control and rule the working class."

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RAPIDLY

The decision of the right-wing forces to proceed so rapidly after the British General Election, and the open acquiescence of the army command in what was virtually a dress-rehearsal for a putsch, is clear indication of the effects of the worsening economic crisis on the decisions of the political representatives of the bourgeoisie. That section which, like Powell in Britain, advocates the urgent preparation of extra-parliamentarian, fascist-type forces from the middle class and backward sections of the workers, grows in support and seeks to demonstrate its strength and claims to leadership. Behind the various demagogic appeals to "Ulster nationalism," "anti-Popery," "the democratic Protestant tradition," "the Union with Britain," lies the reality of the welding together of a fascist force against the working class and its unions. The internal contradictions in ideology are characteristic of all such movements. They draw their strength not from ideological consistency but from the frustrations engendered by the inability of the old bourgeois political structure to meet the problems forced by economic crisis and the polarization of class forces.

The next step of the right wing in Ulster will be to try to break the trade union and factory organization of the working class. This is the meaning of the claim to organize and represent them as "Ulstermen" and not as workers. They know that the Protestant workers remain well-organized and combative in the struggle for wages and conditions against the employers. This strength has already begun to pose demands which are intolerable as the crisis deepens. The workers will very quickly discover that the demagogy of Paisley, Craig and Powell can answer none of these questions of inflation and unemployment.



To smash trade-union organization and disperse the militants is therefore a top priority for the right wing. Everything depends, for them, on successful use of the sectarian divisions in the working class to carry through the armed UDA and UVF bands. The terrorist assassinations of Catholic workers will be turned against Protestant workers who resist Paisley's and Craig's aim of controlling the factories and unions as "Vanguard" associations under the ultra-right "Ulster Workers Council." This is the reason for Powell's speech at Enniskillen (June 3), advocating the return of the "B" specials, the legally armed and uniformed right-wing Protestant forces who were used in 1969 to smash the first upsurge of the Catholic working class. In the same speech Powell advanced his preparations for the whole of Britain, proposing that all Irishmen be treated as "foreigners" and deprived of travel rights. This is his preparation for unemployment and the use of nationalism and racialism to divide the working class in the crisis.

COLONY

These are not the policies of a maniac fringe minority of the bourgeoisie. It is a profound historical truth that the oldest colony provides always the base for the most reactionary elements in the British ruling class. It is here that the political

reflection is to be found for the interests and preparations of the aristocratic and military castes who strengthen the top layers of the bourgeoisie. Not only did the army command never move against the armed bands which marched from factory to factory; not only did the right wing picket in numbers and with weapons which would have assured long jail sentences for trade unionists on strike in Britain and Ireland; in addition, the army had, in the preceding six months, turned a blind eye to the continuous murders of Catholic workers by UDA and UVF gangs, while stepping up their anti-IRA arrests and repressions. The day after the end of the strike, the army proudly announced a great success in arresting in Belfast... a leading IRA organizer!

Just as the reactionary Carson in 1912 drilled his armed "rebels" and received the open support of mutinous British officers at the Curragh and "friends" in Whitehall in his opposition to Home Rule, so today the class nature of the army and the whole state machine determines its role in relation to the growth of reaction in Northern Ireland.

Decisive in this matter is the political balance-sheet of the period since August 1969, when the Labour government sent in the army. Every Stalinist, reformist and revisionist tendency in Britain and Ireland

supported the armed intervention. Without exception, they entrusted the "protection" of the working class against the extreme Protestant thugs, led by the most ruthless bourgeois politicians, to the imperialist state and its army. Most sophisticated of the capitulators were the "International Socialists": they claimed that by preventing a pogrom, the British troops provided a "breathing-space" for the Catholic workers to re-arm and re-organize for the struggle. Today, nearly five years later—with "Bloody Sunday" intervening—the same Catholic workers have seen the ex-"B" Specials and their supporters carry out a reign of terror on the streets with 18,000 British troops standing by in support. The reformist "Civil Rights" leaders of 1969, in whom at the Stalinists' and revisionists' behest the Catholic workers placed their confidence, had meanwhile long-since joined with Faulkner in a "power-sharing" which provided the ideal conditions for the right wing to organize their putschist strike.

Paisley and Craig had used the intervening five years to at least temporarily re-establish the crumbling Unionist control over the Protestant working class, this time under new and much more reactionary leadership, orientated in a definitely ultra-right direction. At the same time they provide a base for Powell and the

counterrevolutionary forces in Britain.

In the space of three months, the state in Britain has already been twice successfully challenged from the side of the working class. Parliamentary democracy was being sharply exposed as utterly unable to assert the control necessary in the new stage of the crisis. The miners' strike forced the resignation of the Tory government 18 months before the end of its term; and the engineers' action in May annulled the decision of the National Industrial Relations Court set up by parliament under the Tories. This strength of the working class, together with the undermining of the conditions for parliamentary democracy, predominate in the situation. And now, in the conditions created by the betrayals of reformists and Stalinists, assisted by the revisionists, the right wing have been able to advance their own preparations and place the workers of Ulster in a highly dangerous situation. They have defied and defeated the authority of parliament and the government.

Both Heath for the Tories and Rees for the Labor Party warned their own members (in the House of Commons on June 3-4) that withdrawal of troops from Ulster would lead to civil war not only there but also in all Ireland and in Britain. They were saying to the bourgeoisie: "You are surely not yet ready to take on the

working class in this way anywhere else except in Ulster!" Before that can be done, the reformists and bourgeois democracy have much to do in creating the necessary conditions of disillusion in the middle class and division in the proletariat. And still one Tory MP replied that a "short sharp civil war" would be preferable to the spilling of blood "drop by drop."

In the strike in Ulster, not only Catholic workers in Derry and elsewhere but also Protestant workers in important factories like British Enkalon defended their union and factory organization and defied the strike call and pickets. They showed that if a determined struggle for the independence of the working class and the unity of Protestants and Catholics is carried through, against the Stalinist and reformist acceptance of sectarian divisions, then unity against the right wing is possible. But this unity can be achieved only through the most thorough and consistent fight for a Marxist leadership against the reformists, Stalinists and revisionists.

These treacherous leaders plan even greater betrayals, and they are assisted in their work by the bankrupt bourgeois nationalists of the IRA. The Labor spokesman Rees has already "consulted" with Paisley and is calling for a new "recognition" of "Ulster nationalism." Here is social democracy capitulating at the first

blow to the rising ultraright tendency. The SDLP, proteges of the Stalinists and revisionists, will follow suit with proposals for talks on "power-sharing" with the Paisleyites. All this does is disarm the working class while the Fascists feverishly prepare the next step, intending to share power with no one. The very fact that an important section of the bourgeoisie is impelled towards fascist-type solutions instead of parliamentary methods indicates precisely that "power-sharing" is now an intolerable luxury. The Sunningdale power sharing agreement put into operation by Whitelaw and the Tories, and to which the Labor Party and the SDLP were indispensable props, was a deception and maneuver to divert the Irish working class while Paisley's next step was prepared.

The "Council of Ireland" proposal in the Sunningdale agreement was the conscience formula of a "step to a united Ireland" to permit the SDLP to preserve a shred of the allegiance of the Catholic workers while completely capitulating to the imperialists. After a week of strike they dropped the "Council of Ireland" on the grounds that this was the only way to keep the Unionists in the Executive! They were persuaded to abandon even this fig-leaf by the Labor "left" and Stalinist supporter, Stanley Orme, now Minister of State for Northern Ireland and a member of the Privy Council.

Throughout the last five years, the International Committee has warned that the military occupation of Ulster was the anticipation of the preparations of the bourgeois state for the class struggle in Britain. Now the same conclusions must be drawn, immediately, in relation to the political preparations for a middle class fascist-type movement, hoping to attract the support of backward workers. It is necessary also to learn the lessons from the role played by the reformists, "right" and "left," and their Stalinist and revisionist hangers-on. The policy of the Workers Revolutionary Party in Ireland, in relation to the mobilization of the working class in unity against the capitalist enemy, must be firmly based on these lessons.

Working class unity can never be achieved except on the basis of the most implacable struggle to defeat these treacherous leaders and tendencies. All those revisionists and Stalinists who work to obstruct the exposure of the trade union and reformist bureaucracy share responsibility for the effect of the stunt attempted by Murray and the TUC in the "return to work" march of May 20, which played into the hands of the reactionary forces. The absence of support for this march was the pay-off for the craven pro-imperialism of the British Labor bureaucracy throughout the recent struggle in Ireland.

As for the IRA, both "Official" and "Provisional," their bourgeois nationalist character and rejection of any working class orientation not only rendered them powerless in the strike, but took their degeneration further than ever before. The "Officials," Stalinist-led, could not organize a single action or make one clear call, after having for so long advocated a "political solution" which amounted to support for the opportunists of the SDLP. The Provisionals, similarly paralyzed in the strike, announced the day after it ended that they would welcome a "declaration of intent" from the British government that they will agree to a new version of partition, with nine northern counties instead of six. Thus the struggle against imperialism is shamelessly abandoned at a time when young men and women are still going to their death in British jails in the mistaken belief that the IRA represents the anti-imperialist struggle of the Irish people.

British and Irish workers have been warned. The collapse of the Ulster Executive and the usurping of power by the extreme right wing is due entirely to the bankruptcy of all the traditional repub-

lican, Stalinist and reformist leaderships in Ulster and the impotence of a reformist Labor government in Britain. These events constitute the most powerful indictment of the revisionists of the IS, IMG, "Militant and OCI who uncritically support and rely exclusively on the minimum program of the Labor government on the grounds that pressure on the Labor leaders can force them to secure the historical interests of the working class. On the contrary far from carrying out a socialist program or even their own minimum program the Labor leaders continue their policy of class collaboration and capitulation to the pressure of the monopolies and their state.

The Labor government is the instrument of betrayal and defeat. In every sense it is a Trojan Horse of Tory reaction. The refusal of the Wilson regime to carry out a single socialist measure, to boldly put an end to inflation and to withdraw troops from Ulster threatens all the basic democratic rights of British and Irish workers alike. Facetious taunts by Wilson and impotent threats by Rees will not deter the growth of this reaction in Ulster and Britain. The basic democratic rights of the working class can be defended and reaction smashed only through the mobilization of the working class in a struggle to expropriate monopoly capitalism and establish a planned economy on nationalized foundations.

The International Committee of the Fourth International declares that this struggle can and must be conducted only on the basis of the Transitional Program of the Fourth International which expresses the historical interests of the working class.

At the same time the ICFI appeals to Irish workers in the South to intensify the struggle against the venal tool of British imperialism—the Fine Gael-Labor coalition. As in 1920-1922 so too today, the Catholic bourgeoisie of the South cannot lead a consistent and successful struggle against imperialism but—as was shown in Sunningdale—continues to betray the democratic and nationalist aspirations of the Irish people while it tramples on the rights of Irish workers with its repressive legislation.

The fig leaf for its latest betrayal was the All-Ireland Council. This myth has been shattered by Paisley and Craig, with the connivance of Wilson. The Cosgrave regime now stands stripped of its last vestige of bogus nationalism and this coincides with an enormous sharpening of the economic crisis in Eire and a powerful upsurge of the working class against the economic crisis in Eire and a powerful upsurge of the working class against the economic policies of the government. The liberation of Irish workers demands imperatively the construction of the ICFI section in Eire.

Although the Tories and the Unionist bourgeoisie have won a battle they have not won the war against the Irish and British working classes. These events must become the stimulus for an intensified struggle in Britain to expose the reformist leadership completely discredit it and replace it with a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership.

The ICFI calls on British and Irish workers to fight for the following program.

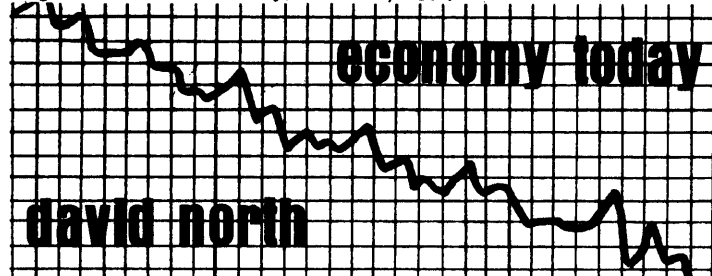
1. Withdraw the troops from Ulster.
2. Disband the army—arm the workers in Ulster to fight the Unionist thugs.
3. Demand an emergency conference of the Labor Party now!
4. Reject partition.
5. Withdraw all aid to the Unionist regime.
6. Build the sections of the ICFI in Britain and Ireland.

Long live the socialist unity of Irish and British workers!

Throw out the Wilson-Rees clique of traitors!

June 6, 1974

Statement Of The International Committee Of The Fourth International



Crisis Of The Nation State Part 2

The oil situation did not create the crisis, but was itself a product of the monetary crisis which in turn has aggravated all the tendencies toward an economic collapse.

Although the treacherous bourgeois leaders of the Arab states welcome Nixon with open arms, they cannot bring down the price of oil which reflects the collapse of confidence in paper currency. This produces tremendous pressure to raise the official price of gold.

Certain statistics explain the extent of the crisis of the entire monetary system. The total reserves of Britain (gold, dollars, and SDRs) equal about \$5647 million. Of this amount, only 800 million is held in gold.

Japanese reserves stand at \$18,365 million of which only \$800 million is held in gold.

Total Italian reserves stand at \$6079 of which \$3130 is in gold. A number of Italian leaders are thinking about paying their debts by selling their gold reserves at the market price of about \$160 per ounce. But this would be a desperate stopgap measure which would quickly leave Italy with absolutely nothing to guarantee its solvency.

The balance of payments deficits created by the inflationary crisis now forces the ruling class of every country to confront the fact that after 30 years of inflation, real value is not honestly reflected in any capitalist relations.

The vast amounts of capital created through fantastic credit arrangements and inflated paper currency have a claim to the ever-diminishing rate of profit produced by human labor though having contributed nothing to the real wealth of the nation.

While a country may write off its domestic budget deficits for a whole period as "paper losses," it cannot do this when its losses represent a sum of money owed to another country.

At this point, the nation's creditors step in and declare: "Italy (or Japan, England, France, and the US) has been living beyond its means."

In the language of the international bankers, this means that the ruling class of Italy must launch the most brutal attacks on the working class in history: mass unemployment, wage cutting, the elimination of all social services, and inhuman speedup.

This is the danger the working class in every country must face. Economic relations express, in the final analysis, relations between classes. The breakup of all the old postwar Bretton Woods relations based on a dollar convertible into gold now means a breakup of the old relations between classes.

The crisis is maturing very rapidly. The movement by every country to limit its imports in order to overcome its own payments deficit must lead to a precipitous decline in the volume of world trade.

At the same time, this contraction of the world economy must assume an extremely sharp character as the vast quantities of paper currency presently used to finance world trade become worthless.

Conditions of trade war will lead to an intensification of the imperialists' preparations for world war and the destruction of the living conditions of the masses of each country.

The depth of the economic crisis makes the construction of the revolutionary party the greatest task before the working class.

We must carry out this task with the greatest urgency, understanding that this crisis already reveals its revolutionary implications in the struggles between classes that are now exploding.

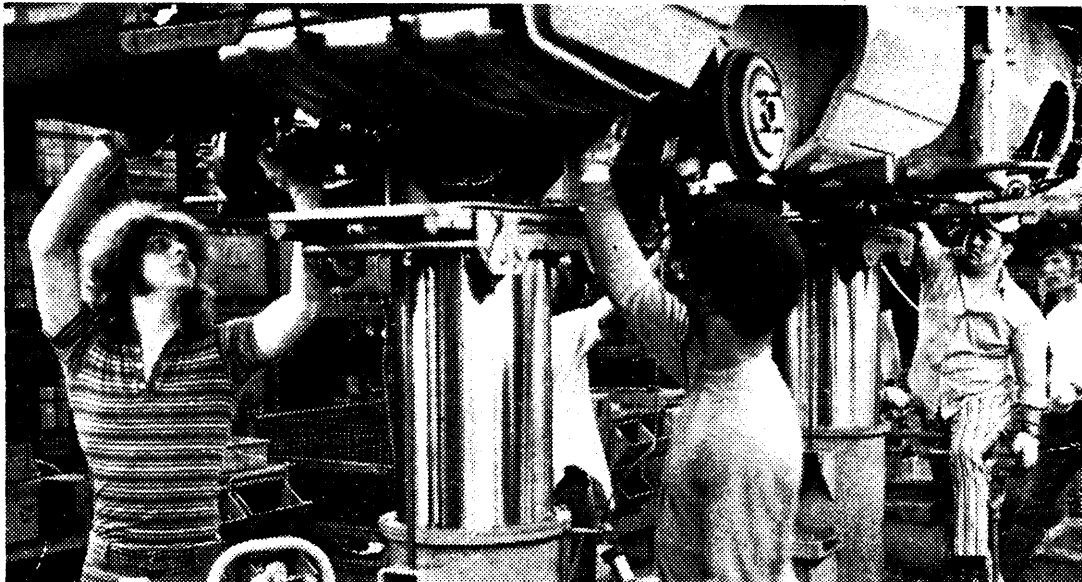
This is what gives every struggle internationally and in the United States such a degree of tension.

The future shows an aspect of itself in the burning down of management offices by Borax workers in California, in the wildcat of auto workers in Michigan, and in the rebellion of New York City minority youth against police brutality—all in one week.

These objective developments show the explosions now in a very advanced stage of gestation. The ruling class is forced to create conditions which will force masses of workers into insurrections on a scale unseen in history.

The capitalists will seek to survive first through the creation of popular fronts (as was formed in Portugal), as the fascist movement waits in the wings and develops its forces. Stalinism emerges in this period as a counter-revolutionary force far to the right of its position even in the 1930s.

Thus, the decisive force in the coming struggles will be our movement, the revolutionary party constructed on the basis of the fight for Trotskyism against Stalinism and revisionism.



'No One Will Take Much More Of This'

BY NANCY RUSSELL
LORDSTOWN, Ohio —
"As soon as GMAD was put in they began headhunting, building cars as cheap as they could."

"Let me put it this way, they say it is good money, but it is not worth it."

These are the words of a worker who has been in the Vega Assembly plant in the Lordstown General Motors complex since 1968. Lordstown has become synonymous with the ruthless productivity drive of the auto corporations.

Speedup is the aim everywhere, but GM has used the Lordstown plant to set the pace. They push the thousands of workers there to the limits of human endurance, and then apply these methods and experiences to other plants.

"I know on my job, when I first started in 1968," said the worker quoted above, "I smoked a pack of cigarettes a day. Now there is no time, I never smoke a cigarette on the line."

"We get a 23 minute break every four hours. For lunch, it takes seven minutes for me to get from my job to the cafeteria. Then I have to eat with a bunch, in a swallow, then I'm usually late."

"I'm a spot welder, welding on two parts on the top, four on the bottom, and another six on the top. But there are four welding guns I have to use, so I have to jump back and forth. Eight hours of jumping back and forth is exhausting."

"This is the way everybody has to work in the place. Some jobs are harder than mine. People who have to replace the absentees often just refuse to work the job."

"One man when he started the job opposite me weighed 240 pounds. He lost 12 pounds the first day, and you should see him now."

"There are at least 104 cars per hour, up to 110. We are doing, on the average, 840 a day."

"The rhythm is hectic. There is no time in between."

"We work for 35 parts per minute at my job, but you have no time because then you have to hop back to the next job."

The ruthless drive for profit led directly to the killing of Lordstown worker, Floyd Wade, several weeks ago. Several of the many thousands of grievances at the Vega plant had been filed in Wade's department, including on his job.

The company and the



Young workers on assembly line at GM's Lordstown plant where a worker was recently killed.

capitalist press have tried to hush this up. But the workers know the truth. Another member of Local 1112, who spoke to the Bulletin, explained:

"A defective conveyor machine was the cause of the accident. It was already written up as a safety hazard."

"The company knew about it and didn't do a thing. The place is full of areas that have been written up as hazards. The men should have shut it down long before this happened."

"I've seen a guy next to me get his shoes pulled off his feet because of bad equipment."

"Everybody complains about the safety conditions," said Frank Reyes. "There are a couple of places where I work and the conditions have been unsafe. I complained and they just make me work anyway."

"Today, next to me where the cars come down in the ramp, a chain broke, and the car sled all the way down itself. It was lucky that nobody was in front of the car, because his two legs would have been in pieces."

"There are many dangerous places where you could get killed. There are no warning lights or signs in many of them."

"The company does so much pushing that it can drive you crazy. You have no time even to go to the bathroom."

"You have to tell the foreman and he'll tell you that you'll go to the bathroom when he wants you to."

A federal safety investigator was supposed to have come to the plant after the fatal accident, and it is reported that the company is being sued by the federal government as well as the union.

Lordstown workers know that this is the kind of phoney gesture which will achieve nothing.

The one thing the union leadership refuses to do is to mobilize the auto workers themselves against these brutal conditions.

"We've had no local contract since September 1973," said Carl. "The International will not approve the five-day letter we passed for a strike."

"There are now 9745 grie-

vances. Recently, 88 were settled. At this rate, it would be more than a year before we had a contract."

"The same thing the International did at Norwood, they're doing here. They're letting the company do what it wants."

"I read in the Bulletin that when Woodcock tried to get his term of office lengthened at the convention, many delegates just left and walked out."

"We should be on strike ourselves in a couple of weeks. We have been neglected by the International for nine months. Nothing, no word from them to strike."

"We were one of the first locals, after the signing of the national contract, to vote for a local strike, but we never got anything."

On top of everything else, the Lordstown workers are now finding it hard to get to work, literally adding insult to injury.

STARTING

"They just switched the starting time for the Vega plant," said Jerome. "I don't know anyone who will get up at 3 am in the morning and be able to function right on the job. We are going to strike out here pretty soon."

"They've combined the Vega and the truck plant starting times and you could use one-eighth of a tank of gas waiting in line to get into the plant."

Another worker reported that he was just issued a warning after waiting in traffic for half an hour just to get into work. "No one will take it much longer than this."

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party and the Workers League are fighting for a national auto strike to mobilize the strength of hundreds of thousands of auto workers. This fight is not only for local contracts, but to throw out the whole 1973 contract, for an immediate wage reopener along with a full cost of living clause, and a rollback of layoffs and an end to speedup.

TUALP is leading the fight for a labor party to be built to gain these demands and throw Nixon out.

Chicago Strike Forces Ford To Back Down

CHICAGO—Members of UAW Local 588 returned to work Friday morning June 14 after voting by a four-to-one margin to accept a new local contract to replace the one that expired in September 1973.

Their 10-day strike, which crippled Ford production nationally by forcing a shut-down of half the company's North American assembly plants, was decisive in winning a number of important concessions from management on working conditions and disciplinary procedures.

Under terms of the new pact, Ford is barred from dismissing workers on the spot for discipline. The company must first

notify the union and allow sufficient time for an investigation before action can be taken.

Close to 300 disciplinary charges leveled against workers were dropped from their record.

Formerly, workers could be disciplined based on the accusation that they were not working at a normal pace. Management is now required to call a union representative and demonstrate that the accused worker is working below normal standards.

The local agreement requires that the company improve the lack of ventilation that created stifling work conditions.

The company must guarantee the installation of devices to maintain negative pressure at all floor openings that will prevent heat from rising from the plant basement. If Ford fails to take this action, the local can call a strike within several days.

Militant workers told the *Bulletin* after the ratification meeting: "We got just about everything we wanted in this contract and it's about time."

The ability of Ford workers to win this strike, after Woodcock refused to grant strike authorization for 10 months, demonstrates that auto workers have the power to defeat the companies and are determined to fight.

Faced with the prospect of a national shutdown, Ford was forced to retreat in Chicago. However, it will immediately seek to renew its attacks on Chicago Heights workers.

What is required now is a national shutdown by Ford, GM, and Chrysler workers to demand the reopening of the 1973 contract to win an immediate 20 percent wage hike and cost of living escalator, the immediate recall of all laid off workers coupled with a shorter work week, and an end to the speedup.

NLRB Backs KC Star

BY J. NELSON

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—The National Labor Relations Board has turned down the request of Pressmen's Local 14 to issue a complaint charging the Kansas City Star with unfair labor practices.

Thomas Hendrix, regional director of the NLRB said the union's charges "are not warranted."

This decision may seal the fate of 98 sacked web pressmen unless the Missouri labor movement acts immediately.

Local 14 charged that the Star "illegally revoked and rescinded a valid existing collective bargaining contract with the Kansas City Web Pressmen's Local 14 in violation of the (National Labor Relations) Act."

The NLRB ruled that the Star was justified in terminating the contract when the pressmen stopped work and refused to leave the presses May 3. The press occupation began because of the victimization of pressroom employee David Bowlen, who was fired without proper recourse to grievance procedure.

In the last year, 20 other pressmen have complained bitterly about incredible work loads and rotten equipment.

The unions second charge was that the Star fired Bowlen without due process and sacked the 98 pressmen for protesting the Star's "unfair labor practices."

The NLRB replied that the pressmen are not protected by the act because their protest led to a work stoppage which was in violation of the no-strike clause in the pressmen's contract.

Missouri AFL-CIO must act without further delay. Verbal protests and boycotts will not defend the pressmen. All craft unions operating in the Star must order their members out immediately.

The Star must be shut down until the men are back on the job and the union recognized.



Pickets at the Coated Fabrics plant in Columbus, Ohio, during their long strike. Borden now plans to move to a new facility in Massachusetts.

Borden Closes Columbus Plant To Bust Textile Workers Strike

BY LOUIS MILLER

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Columbus Coated Fabrics will shut down operations to break a four month long strike of 500 members of the Textile Workers of America Local 487.

The workers have been out since February 9 for wage increases of 50 cents, 40 cents, and 40 cents an hour in a three year contract, unlimited cost of living clause, improved retirement, and plant safety.

Last year, 90 workers were paralyzed with a nerve disease called peripheralneuropeny caused by chemicals used in the manufacture of Walltex and other vinyl fabrics.

At that time, workers walked off their jobs demanding safe working conditions and only returned after limited safety precautions, such as ventilation, were taken.

Since then, several workers have been affected by the disease. Maurice O'Reilly, a spokesman for Borden, owners of CCF, issued a press release saying the safety issue had been resolved during the last negotiation session.

This claim was denied by a union spokesman who told the *Bulletin* the safety issue remained outstanding. O'Reilly arrogantly added that Borden's decision to move its vinyl and wall covering operation in Columbus to North Andover, Massachusetts, is "Phase 3" of the company's plan to leave Columbus if Local 487 does not accept the offer.

ELIMINATED

In March, Phase 1 eliminated 100 jobs by transferring plant equipment to North Andover and 150 more jobs were cut in April under Phase 2 closing of the CCF warehouse in nearby Werthington, Ohio.

CCF workers will be refused severance pay since they are without contract and under Ohio law they will not be eligible for

unemployment compensation for participating in a work stoppage.

O'Reilly ended the disclosure of his union-busting blueprint by inviting striking workers to apply for jobs at the North Andover facility saying: "They will be accorded the same treatment as other applicants."

Public opinion is against the company for the criminal crippling of workers and the use of thugs and police dogs against them. A bomb was set off inside the well-guarded plant. Some workers feel the bomb was planted by the company to turn the public against the strikers.

Full page advertisements have been run in newspapers urging workers to demand free union elections. The labor bureaucracy filed a complaint to the National Labor Relations Board that CCF had violated the Taft-Hartley act by refusing to negotiate. The union, which claims the Taft-Hartley act in part benefits workers, lost its court action when the NLRB justified the firm's action as being economically motivated and therefore legal.

Bergstrom Men Sick Of Slave Labor

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON, Ohio—A walk-out of the 500 workers at Bergstrom Paper Co., in West Carrolton has closed the plant over safety conditions, speedup and unresolved grievances.

One worker said: "There are 100 unresolved grievances. The equipment is unsafe. For example, there are faulty brakes on the roll grabs (the roll handling tractors)."

"The fire safety equipment is not inspected. Two fires have broken out in the last two years and the sprinkler system didn't work. A worker was killed two years ago when the bottom blew out of a fire extinguisher and pierced his jugular vein."

"The cranes are unsafe, and there are not enough machines. The company has refused to sit down with the committee to resolve these conditions."

"If they agree you're in the right on a grievance, they just repeat the same thing. You can win a grievance, but they don't correct the violation."

"If you don't follow orders, like working on unsafe machinery, you are disciplined. So many reprimands and suspensions, and you are out."

There is no cost of living clause. The wages range from \$3.23 for laborers to \$4.87 for the top jobs, with the average wage about \$3.80

Two head operators on the paper cutters told the *Bulletin* how the company is trying to speed up. "The company is using a gimmick, saying they want to know how long it takes them to get out an order, to time each job."

"The cutters we are on, are supposed to have two operators. Now, they've brought in an additional machine and put one operator on each machine."

"One worker, Larry Hopkins, got his hand caught between two rollers. The nerves in his hand were pierced and his hand swelled up."

"I've had two serious accidents. I slipped in oil that leaked out of the lift on the cut size trimmer and was off for three months with a back injury. I filed two grievances, then three more, but they still have the oil there."

"Where I work now, on a folio cutter, I fell six feet because of the wrong size skids being furnished."

"All the International boys do is tell us to go back to work. We're sick and tired of getting

treated like a bunch of dogs.

"They work you 12 hours a day, 7 days a week, and won't give a day off. I was told if I did not straighten up, I'll be fired."

Another stated that workers saw maggots in the gravy and they boycotted the cafeteria for some time. The cafeteria is not even open for the second and third shift. If the relief man doesn't show up, a worker may have to work 16 hours with no food.

Last night a meeting was called by the International and local leadership to try to get the strikers back to work. The union, leadership of Local 266, United Paper Workers, refused to conduct a vote to authorize the strike.

When the workers were not allowed to speak, they booed the International representative and the local president, and the meeting was adjourned.

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books

Trotsky And The Jews

Part 2 — by John Crawford —



Trotsky and the Jews by Joseph Nedava. The Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, 1972.

Trotsky, who earned from Riazanov the nickname "Lenin's cudgel" for his stand, especially enraged the Bundists for a contribution in which he pointed out that the "Iskra"-ite resolution "bears the signature of Jewish comrades, who, while working in the All-Russian party, regarded and still regard themselves also as representatives of the Jewish proletariat." (Quoted in Nedava, p. 94)

The author's comment on Trotsky's break with Lenin later in the Congress reveals most clearly the reactionary nature of Nedava's outlook.

"It may be that at this time a historic opportunity was missed... His alienation from the Bolshevik camp and his personal estrangement from Lenin might have brought him closer to the Bund's posture... In any case, it is too speculative to suggest that had the Bund manifested a greater sympathy for Trotsky at the time, it might have succeeded in bringing him into the party—and could thus have kept him away from the revolution when it erupted in full blaze." (Nedava, pp. 98-99.)

It is not just "too speculative": it is downright stupid! Trotsky's disagreements with Lenin were very important, but only episodes on the road to the Revolution. The Bundists, who did not become Bolsheviks, moved further and further to the right; Trotsky overcame his differences with Lenin and became his closest collaborator in 1917.

Nedava's attitude to October is quite repulsive. The greatest movement of our time is seen only from the point of view of its effect on the Jewish middle class, and so is Trotsky's place in it.

Nedava tries desperately to discern in Trotsky's attitude to Jews an "ambivalence." But he is forced to admit that the Commissar for War was, if anything, less sympathetic than other leaders to appeals from Jewish groups for help in the terrible conditions of the Civil War.

Much is made of Trotsky's refusal of the post of Commissar for Home Affairs when Lenin proposed it. For Nedava, Trotsky's fears that the position would have led to anti-Semitic reaction is "conclusive proof that Trotsky's internationalism was not, after all, as absolute as he pretended."

Trotsky himself comments: "Even in my early youth, the national bias and national prejudice had only bewildered my sense of reason, in some cases stirring in me nothing but disdain and even a moral nausea. My Marxist education deepened this feeling and changed my attitude to that of an active internationalist. My life in so many

countries, my acquaintance with so many different languages, political systems and cultures, only helped me to absorb that internationalism into my very flesh and blood. If, in 1917 and later, I occasionally pointed to my Jewish origin as an argument against some appointment, it was simply because of political considerations." (My Life, pp. 340-341.)

So when a delegation headed by the Petrograd Chief Rabbi came to point out to Trotsky that his presence in the government posed new dangers for the Jews, Trotsky sent them packing. (Nedava, p. 117.)

Principled Position

Nedava cites many illustrations of the hostility of the "official" leaders of the Jewish community to Trotsky. In 1918, the Rabbis of Odessa met to ceremonially curse Trotsky, Zinoviev and other Bolshevik leaders of Jewish origin. Zinoviev remarked: "No single hair of any of us turned grey because of grief." (Nedava, pp. 265-266.)

Trotsky's sensitivity on questions of national differences had nothing personal about it. He, like Lenin, was as careful in relation to Armenian or Georgian susceptibilities as with Jews.

It was from an objective materialist point of view that he fought to expose the anti-Semitism, employed more and more openly by the Stalinists, as an expression of the pressure of hostile class forces operating through the bureaucracy.

Nedava deals with the last decade of Trotsky's life only to try to discern a shift in his attitude to Zionism. Trotsky never understood the subject, says the writer.

But when, with his clear understanding of the implications of the betrayal of the German workers in 1933, Trotsky envisaged the need for massive migration to save the lives of millions of European Jews, this in no way altered his principled position.

Just before his assassination, Trotsky wrote: "The attempt to solve the Jewish question through the migration of Jews to Palestine can now be seen for what it is: a tragic mockery of the Jewish people... The future development of military events may well transform Palestine into a bloody trap for several hundreds of thousands of Jews. Never was it so clear as it is today that the salvation of the Jewish people is bound up inseparably with the overthrow of the capitalist system."

This was the standpoint of a revolutionary, a Marxist and an internationalist. It is the very antithesis of the reactionary and sentimental outlook of this book.

CONCLUDED



'Sweatshops In The Sun'

These pictures are re-printed from "Sweatshops In The Sun," by Ronald B. Williams, the story of the brutal exploitation of child labor by the big agricultural growers.



Carpenters Reject HBA Pay Offer

BY SHANNON JONES
 SAN FRANCISCO—
 65,000 workers have already been affected by the strike of 6000 California carpenters that began on June 17.

Carpenters voted against the tentative offer of Home Builders Association of \$1.74 an hour increase in wages and fringe benefits. A full ratification vote will be conducted on June 25.

Employer groups appear to be determined to suffer a long strike rather than agree to the union demands, claiming that a settlement even such as the one proposed by Home Builders Association would wreck the construction industry.

In retaliation against the strike, the Northern California Associated General Contractors is planning a lockout of their workers who are not yet on strike.

The strike, which may eventually affect 250,000 construction workers through-

out the state of California is now limited to the northern California and San Diego areas.

CEMENT

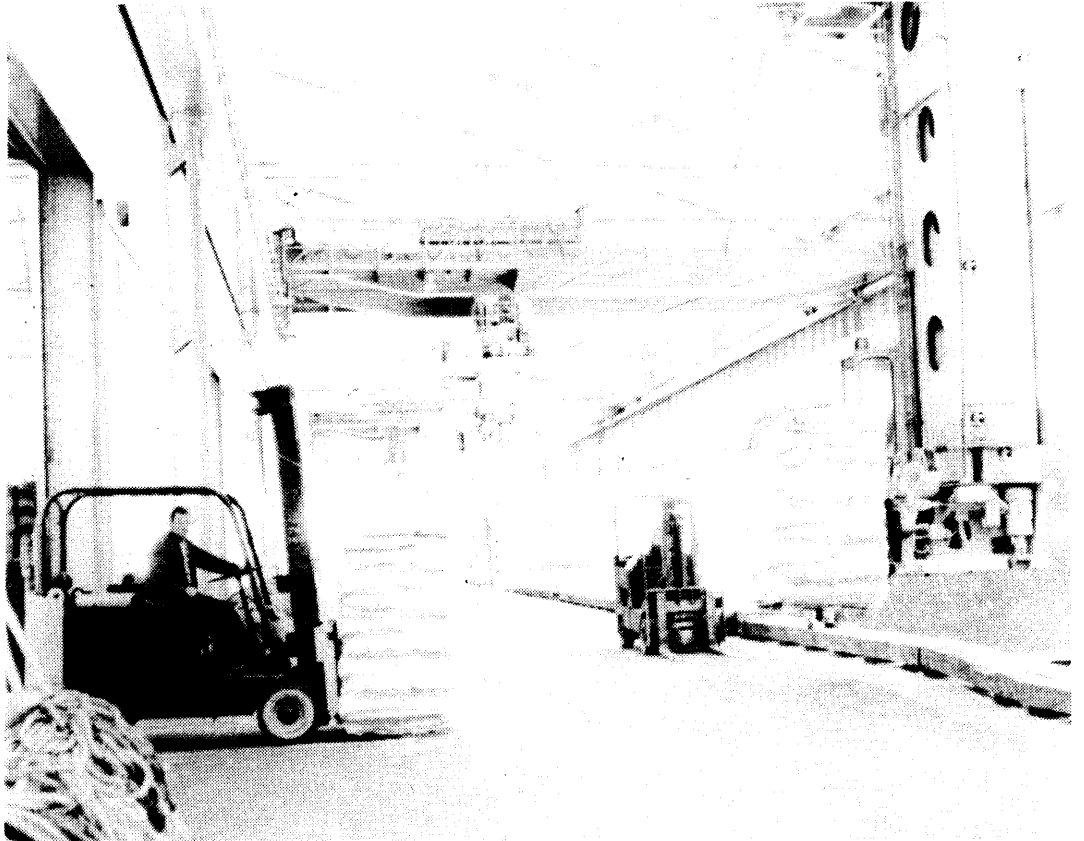
In San Diego, the strike of carpenters has been joined by the cement masons and laborers and has succeeded in shutting down most major construction sites. Over 15,000 workers are now off the job in this area.

The contracts of workers in 11 southern California counties expire on July 1. Already, there is strong sentiment spreading among carpenters in the Los Angeles area in favor of strike action, even before the end of the contract.

Carpenters in these counties now earn \$1.41 an hour less than carpenters in northern California.

All indications point to a long and bitter struggle. The major demand of the carpenters is for cost of living increases to keep pace with soaring inflation.

Southern California carpenters need \$3.15 an hour wage increases to match the contract the Home Builders offered to northern California carpenters.



Automation on the West Coast docks has drastically reduced the membership of ILWU Local 10. Longshoremens voted down a proposed assessment to pay union debts because of corruption in the ILWU leadership.

ILWU In Financial Crisis

BY TED BAKER
 SAN FRANCISCO—
 Unemployment and declining membership have driven International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 to the brink of financial bankruptcy.

Last Friday, the local was forced to hold a referendum vote to increase monthly dues by \$5 per member and to assess each member \$60.

With a large turnout of over 1500 for the vote, the dues increase passed, but the special assessment was defeated by a narrow margin.

One young dockworker told the Bulletin why: "If you're not going to work, how do they expect you to pay. Times are hard for everyone here, I'm not kidding you."

Local 10 was forced to call the referendum when the Bay Area Longshore Memorial Association (BALMA), the legal owner of the union's hiring hall, threatened "drastic action" including selling the hall, if the union did not pay over \$60,000 it owed to the association.

Each ILWU member pays \$3 a month over his \$15 union dues to support BALMA, whose directors are elected by local membership. \$33,000 of this per capita money has never been turned over to BALMA, but no explanation has ever been made for this missing money.

In addition to this money, Local 10 and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) jointly owe BALMA \$77,000 for rent, upkeep, and taxes on the hall.

The PMA refuses to pay its half until Local 10 pays. Local 10 officials claim they have been financially unable to make payment for the past 2½ years.

ASSESSMENT

With the defeat of the \$60 assessment, sale of the hall becomes a real danger. The union local could even be placed in receivership by the ILWU International.

An older longshoreman said: "We don't know what's going to happen to the hall now. Only the secretary would know that, and he hasn't told us anything."

"It would be a real shame if

we lose this hall. This is our union and we've got to support it.

"The trouble is a lot of the men don't trust the officials. A lot of money went, and no one knows where it went to.

"But it's still our union and we've got to support it. If people think the officers are crooked, then we've got to throw them out and get new ones."

Another dockworker told the Bulletin: "One big thing is that we've got members and thousands of dollars in unpaid dues, and the union can't collect."

"The other thing is the decline

in membership. Automation has really taken jobs away.

"I'm only working four days a week, and B men are hardly working at all. We didn't really have jobs for the last group of B men we took in in 1968.

"The union just let them in to get the dues money. The only thing keeping this outfit going now is the guarantee."

Many Local 10 members have fallen behind in dues because of the lack of work. In the last two months, the local has moved to deregister nearly a hundred members with back dues of over \$100 apiece.

Radio Director Jailed

BY A REPORTER
 LOS ANGELES—Wednesday, KPFK general manager Will Lewis was ordered jailed by US District Judge A. Andrew Hauk for refusing to turn over to the FBI the original of a tape recorded message the station received from Patty Hearst.

He was ordered in custody until he turns over the material the FBI wants and agrees to answer questions concerning his receipt of the tapes.

Lewis strongly feels that the turnover of the tapes would be a breach of a newsmen's responsibility to keep his sources of information confidential. In the LA Times, Lewis is quoted as saying that surrendering the letter and tape would mean that KPFK "would then have the reputation in the community as a station that would automatically cooperate with the FBI."

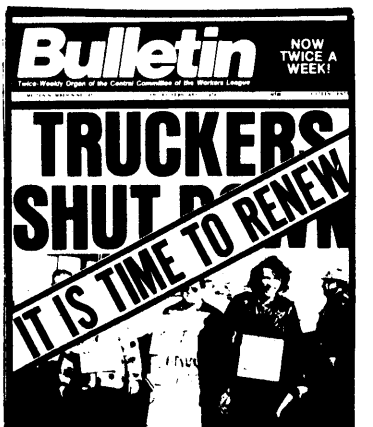
FLOW

He maintains that turning over the material would hurt the free flow of information to the public. Lewis said: "I don't think the judge had to do what he did. I think this takes us one step closer to a possible showoff."

After ordering Lewis be taken into custody, Judge Hauk immediately slapped down a gag order on all parties connected with the case.

At the same time that Lewis was being jailed, Superior Court Judge William Levit ruled that it was not likely that jailing would force Times reporter William Farr to reveal the names of two attorneys who provided him information on the Charles

Manson trial. However, Farr now faces a new sentence from Superior Judge Charles H. Older, the Manson trial judge who originally jailed him. Farr has been facing an indefinite sentence since 1973 for contempt for refusal to reveal his sources.



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San Jose Police Murder Trujillo In Cold Blood

BY JOHN ARMAND
 SAN JOSE—On June 18, Lawrence Trujillo, 30, was fatally shot by a San Jose policeman.

Police claim that Trujillo had turned a gun on them and refused to drop the weapon when told to do so.

The truth is that Andrew Talamantes, a friend of Trujillo, got into an argument in the Rumbaloo Tavern and started firing a gun. Trujillo was trying to wrestle the gun away from him, when police came to the scene and without warning shot Trujillo dead.

John V., who knew Trujillo well, said: "The cop didn't even tell him to stop and put the gun down."

"They think they can shoot people just because they have a license to carry a gun. The gun was empty when the police shot him."

The shooting of Trujillo follows the wave of terror by

Union City police in which youth have been searched and threatened at gunpoint.

Margie, a member of the Young Socialists stated: "My brother was hit nine times with a police billy club. Three of his teeth were knocked out. Just because they thought he was involved in a hit and run accident."

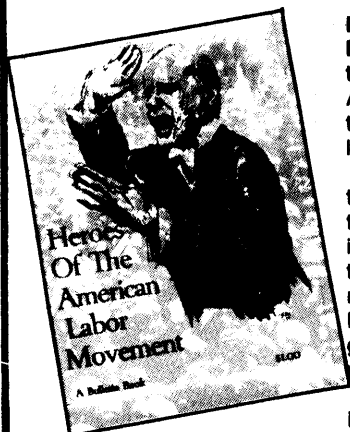
Robert M., was about to enter a restaurant when police stopped him for carrying a can of beer in his hand. They told Robert not to go inside because he was drunk in public.

"I had only one can of beer and they didn't even give me a breath test."

When he argued with the policeman, they shoved him against a car, then handcuffed and beat him with a flashlight and billy club.

Places which youth frequent are the cops favorite targets. Because of this, young people rarely go to the parks in numbers.

Just Out!



HEROES OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT—The history of the struggles of the American working class and the revolutionary fighters who led those struggles.

All the material contained in this book was first published in the Young Socialist paper in six installments—Nat Turner and the Slave Rebellion, The German-American Marxists, The Men of Haymarket Square, Eugene V. Debs, Big Bill Hayward, and John Reed.

This book is essential reading for workers and youth today as the American working class prepares to enter into a new period of revolutionary struggles. **\$1.00**

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lucha obrera

lucía rivera



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CONTINUARA

Bulletin 10th Anniversary Fund

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offensive of workers across the country now which can be mobilized in an independent political movement to force Nixon out. In this explosive situation, with police and courts used against strikers, it is urgent that we have a daily Bulletin to lead this fight against Nixon.

With inflation raising our costs for printing and paper, we do not want to raise the price of the Bulletin. Funds are needed to keep up with the inflation and to lay the basis for a daily.

Many individual supporters came forward to help. We wish to give special thanks to them and urge them to continue their very important contributions.

This just-completed drive was the first of a two-part drive. We will have a \$50,000 drive October 1 through December 1 to launch the daily in 1975.

GM. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

the entire working class on Friday, cheering as they walked out.

In statements to the Bulletin, they declared that strike action is required to settle the 5000 grievances and deterioration of working conditions produced by the killing speedup of the line.

However, workers were disgusted by Woodcock's attempt to hold back the fight by only authorizing a mini-strike rather than a full-fledged walkout backed up by a national strike.

One worker told the Bulletin: "It won't solve anything. It just works a hardship on the workers. The union won't pay anything and I'm sure General Motors doesn't care. The only thing I can see is the union working hand in hand with management."

Other comments were: "It's a dog—we should strike all the way."

Workers at Norwood are furious about what is taking place both in the shop and nationally.

Another worker said: "I'm leaving the country. The conditions are so bad here, the workers know it, but are afraid of another long strike. They are still hurting from the last strike."

One worker added: "They've put out 200,000 cars here. Pretty soon they won't care if we are working or not."

The Norwood plant has been hiring new workers and has been working overtime. It is accelerating its production of Camaros and Firebirds, filling up the showrooms and the warehouses only to launch mass layoffs when they are saturated.

These conditions are accepted by the Woodcock bureaucracy which will not fight the corporations or Nixon.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, industrial arm of the Workers League, demands that the UAW call a full-scale

strike at Norwood and back it up with national strike action.

This strike must make as its central demands the reopening of the 1973 contract for a 20 percent wage hike, the immediate recall of all laid off auto workers, a shorter work week, and an end to the speedup.

We call on all auto workers to take up the fight for these policies and for the construction of a labor party by joining the Workers League and constructing a new leadership in the UAW.

DODGE. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

vote over the following grievances: (1) work standards; (2) health and safety; (3) foremen working; (4) intimidation and coercion; and (5) speedups.

One woman who works in the metal shop where conditions led to the walkout declared angrily: "Even if we vote to strike, they'll work the hell out of us between now and then, and the union will probably delay it and give Chrysler the chance to stockpile."

"Right now, we're on a six-day, nine hour mandatory week, thanks to Woodcock. He really sold us out with that last contract."

Chrysler told workers upon their return Friday and Satur-

day that anyone who gave any information to newspapers would be immediately discharged. But Greg, an inspector in the compact division, asked that his experience be printed in the Bulletin.

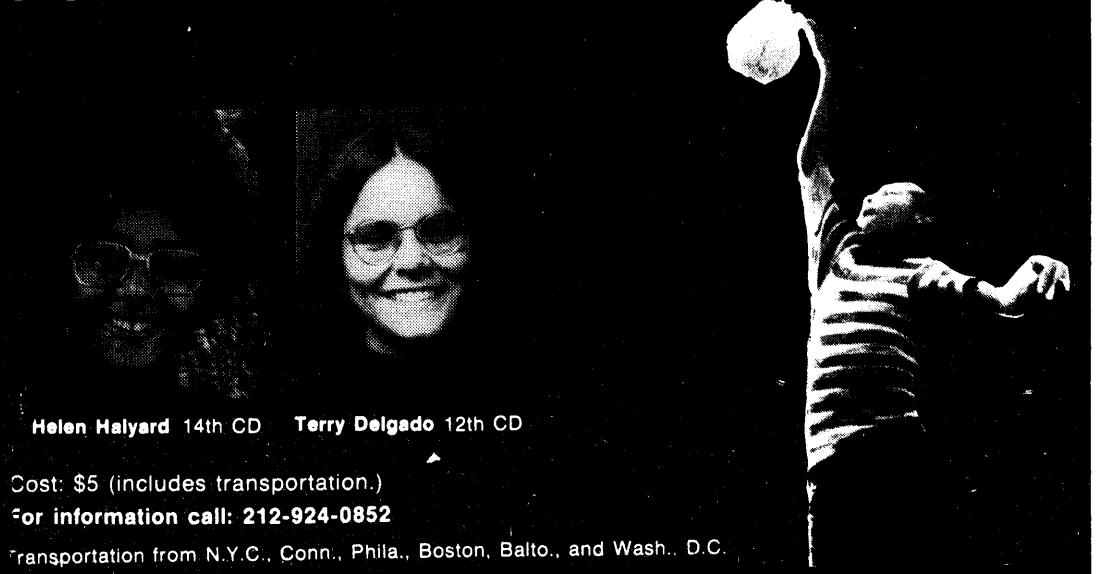
"I was fired twice, the first time on April 19 because they said I didn't call in for sick leave, even though I did. Then they said they didn't trust my doctor. The union's been trying to get me back in."

"Last week, I'm over at the gate just to see what's going on when a judge up on the truck says, 'stand still and listen,' which I did. The next thing I know I'm being handcuffed and hauled away and they tell me I'm under arrest."

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There is a powerful wage

offensive of workers across the country now which can be mobilized in an independent political movement to force Nixon out. In this explosive situation, with police and courts used against strikers, it is urgent that we have a daily Bulletin to lead this fight against Nixon.

With inflation raising our costs for printing and paper, we do not want to raise the price of the Bulletin. Funds are needed to keep up with the inflation and to lay the basis for a daily.

Many individual supporters came forward to help. We wish to give special thanks to them and urge them to continue their very important contributions.

This just-completed drive was the first of a two-part drive. We will have a \$50,000 drive October 1 through December 1 to launch the daily in 1975.

GM. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

the entire working class on Friday, cheering as they walked out.

In statements to the Bulletin, they declared that strike action is required to settle the 5000 grievances and deterioration of working conditions produced by the killing speedup of the line.

However, workers were disgusted by Woodcock's attempt to hold back the fight by only authorizing a mini-strike rather than a full-fledged walkout backed up by a national strike.

One worker told the Bulletin: "It won't solve anything. It just works a hardship on the workers. The union won't pay anything and I'm sure General Motors doesn't care. The only thing I can see is the union working hand in hand with management."

Other comments were: "It's a dog—we should strike all the way."

Workers at Norwood are furious about what is taking place both in the shop and nationally.

Another worker said: "I'm leaving the country. The conditions are so bad here, the workers know it, but are afraid of another long strike. They are still hurting from the last strike."

One worker added: "They've put out 200,000 cars here. Pretty soon they won't care if we are working or not."

The Norwood plant has been hiring new workers and has been working overtime. It is accelerating its production of Camaros and Firebirds, filling up the showrooms and the warehouses only to launch mass layoffs when they are saturated.

These conditions are accepted by the Woodcock bureaucracy which will not fight the corporations or Nixon.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, industrial arm of the Workers League, demands that the UAW call a full-scale

strike at Norwood and back it up with national strike action.

This strike must make as its central demands the reopening of the 1973 contract for a 20 percent wage hike, the immediate recall of all laid off auto workers, a shorter work week, and an end to the speedup.

We call on all auto workers to take up the fight for these policies and for the construction of a labor party by joining the Workers League and constructing a new leadership in the UAW.

DODGE. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

vote over the following grievances: (1) work standards; (2) health and safety; (3) foremen working; (4) intimidation and coercion; and (5) speedups.

One woman who works in the metal shop where conditions led to the walkout declared angrily: "Even if we vote to strike, they'll work the hell out of us between now and then, and the union will probably delay it and give Chrysler the chance to stockpile."

"Right now, we're on a six-day, nine hour mandatory week, thanks to Woodcock. He really sold us out with that last contract."

Chrysler told workers upon their return Friday and Satur-

day that anyone who gave any information to newspapers would be immediately discharged. But Greg, an inspector in the compact division, asked that his experience be printed in the Bulletin.

"I was fired twice, the first time on April 19 because they said I didn't call in for sick leave, even though I did. Then they said they didn't trust my doctor. The union's been trying to get me back in."

"Last week, I'm over at the gate just to see what's going on when a judge up on the truck says, 'stand still and listen,' which I did. The next thing I know I'm being handcuffed and hauled away and they tell me I'm under arrest."

Arrow Park Outing

Saturday June 29

Force Nixon Out!

meet the Workers League candidates for Congress



Helen Halyard 14th CD



Terry Delgado 12th CD

Educational Program

Watergate

The Ugly Face of Capitalism

Speaker:

Tim Wohlforth,
National Secretary,
Workers League

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