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## Industrial Slump Raises

# Danger Of Depression

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BY A REPORTER

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The walkout began mid-night Friday after the union rejected the company's final offer of a 7.5 percent wage hike over the next year.

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He said that the union is demanding a 10 percent raise over one year and 14 percent over the life of the 16 month contract.

Wisconsin Electric has refused to discuss provisions for a cost of living clause, but union members are insisting on one. Guse stated that workers will become more determined to get an escalator clause as the strike goes on.

The company is attempting to intimidate the workers by taking movie pictures and snap shots of the picket line. There have been no negotiations since the strike began.

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Electrical workers have been hit hard by the inflation. In 1971, the Pay Board slashed a 7 percent increase won by the Local 2150 ranks down to 5.4 percent.

Last year, the Cost of Living Council limited the local to a 7 percent raise.

"I figure that we're behind 15 percent just since last year," said a union spokesman.

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President Ford has been brought into office to carry out the ruthless requirement of big business that massive unemployment and savage budget cuts be imposed on the working class.

Ford and his closest economic advisor, Arthur Burns of the Federal Reserve Board, are prepared to continue their policy of deflation, even at the risk of a total collapse of the economy.

Every statistic now shows that not only has an industrial slump taken a deep hold, but all the conditions for depression and mass unemployment on a scale far beyond the 1930s now exist.

The Commerce Department reports that business sales dropped a full two percent in June, the first decline for any month since 1970.

Businesses may now be forced to liquidate their stocked up inventories and halt all new orders which would further depress production and create unemployment.

Industrial production in July remained completely stagnant for the second consecutive month, while production of consumer goods was down 2.2 percent over last year.

The slump in housing construction continues to get worse. In July, production of construction products declined one percent, for a total decline of 3.8 percent since last year.

A tremendous crisis is hitting the major department stores. Bankruptcies have been filed by increasing numbers of discount chains and by Peck and Peck, a prestigious women's apparel chain.

Another large clothing chain, Bond Company, is closing 20 stores in New York.

Sears Roebuck, the country's largest retailer, registered only a 3.8 percent increase in sales



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This crisis will have drastic repercussions on textile plants as they lay off because of falling orders.

On top of this, the balance of payments of the United States went sharply into a deficit for the second quarter this year after showing a surplus in the first quarter.

The deficit of \$6.3 billion was due to the amount paid by the US for higher oil prices as well as a large increase in loans by US banks to Europe and Japan.

This crisis in production threatens the very existence of the banks and threatens a chain of crashes throughout the banking system, like the one that shook Franklin National.

All over the world, there is a drastic contraction in banking activity, as confidence evaporates.

In the United States, only the largest banks are benefitting from the flow of dollars from the

Arab oil producing nations, while the smaller banks are desperate for cash.

These small banks are forced to offer high interest rates to attract capital. But in order to stay competitive, they must offer loans at low interest rates, thus losing tremendous profits. A collapse in any of these banks would wipe out the savings of millions of workers and represent an enormous blow to the economy.

This crisis is far graver than anything in the 1930s, for the slump and unemployment is combined with absolutely wild inflation.

The fact that all gold backing to the dollar has been removed since 1971 means that not only is there no limit to inflation, but this inflation will continue to wipe out profits and deepen the slide towards depression.

The interlinking of the capitalist system internationally is far greater than in the

1930s, so that no nation can cushion the impact of this crisis.

In Europe, England expresses the crisis the most sharply. A major travel company just collapsed, stock prices are at a 16 year low, and the pound is falling on the foreign exchange markets. This, in turn, will have repercussions in every other country.

This is why big business and Ford now prepare for all-out war on the working class and seek to destroy living standards.

Robert Gordon, of the American Economic Association, once a "liberal," now says: "Now we've got to pay a price in higher unemployment...Reluctantly, I think we must take the risk of slowing down the economy."

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# Bulletin

NOW  
TWICE A  
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Twice-Weekly Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League

VOLUME TEN NUMBER SIXTY SIX 402

TUESDAY, AUGUST 20, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

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## The Communist Party Goes Begging To Ford

The Communist Party has announced that it wants to participate in the economic summit conference which Gerald Ford called for in his speech before Congress last week.

In a telegram dated August 14 to Democratic Party leaders Carl Albert and Mike Mansfield, Gus Hall, general secretary of the CP, declared:

"We are ready to present to the conference a people's program for jobs and security without inflation, a program that would represent the best interests of the

### What We Think

working men and women of our country rather than the interests of profiteering monopoly corporations.

"We are therefore requesting an opportunity to appear before the conference and urge you to invite

spokesmen from trade unions, consumer groups, tenants' organizations, Black and other minority people's organizations."

The American Stalinists are now offering their services to the Ford government in driving back the living standards of millions of workers through mass unemployment, wage cutting and speedup. As Ford explained in his congressional speech, the purpose of this conference would be to "say no" to the working class.

With this obscene statement of support to Ford, the CP wants to create a cover for the trade union bureaucracy which is already trooping into the White House to discuss corporate state measures to be imposed on the backs of workers as the economic crisis rapidly deteriorates.

The Stalinists are desperately seeking to prop up this right-wing unelected government which has absolutely no support among the working class.

This right wing movement to bolster Ford reveals both the utterly counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism and the enormous crisis into which the Stalinists have been thrown by the resignation of Nixon.

Throughout the Watergate crisis, the Stalinists emerged as Nixon's most consistent defenders. No mention of Watergate was made within the Soviet press. The Russian working class was not permitted to learn of the criminality and corruption of the leader of world imperialism.

Instead, Brezhnev arranged annual summit conferences with Nixon. The last one occurred just seven weeks ago in Moscow.

The Soviet bureaucracy sought to maintain Nixon in power in order to maintain its policy of detente—peaceful coexistence—with American imperialism. The heart of this policy is the strangling of revolution in order to maintain the privileges of the bureaucracy.

It was the policies of detente that lay behind the betrayal of the Vietnamese Revolution, the desertion of the Arab masses, and the disarming of the Chilean working class before the junta.

The American CP carried out the Kremlin's support to Nixon by opposing any action by the labor movement to force Nixon out. The CP never demanded Nixon's resignation. It refused to call for the building of a labor party as the alternative of the working class to Nixon.

Nixon's resignation has thrown the Stalinists into crisis because it is the sharpest expression of the powerful forward movement of the working class in the United States and throughout the world. The Stalinist bureaucracy fears this movement as a force breaking

up detente and unleashing a new wave of revolutionary struggles.

The bitterness of the Stalinists over Nixon's resignation is stated most clearly by the official government statements in TASS, which called Nixon the unfortunate victim of an "inter-party struggle."

TASS director-general Leonid Zamyatin presented Nixon's version of Watergate, writing that "The Democratic Party had to work out some sort of base or platform for the midterm election this November, and the presidential election of 1976."

The Stalinists are attempting to salvage detente by endorsing Ford, even though events prove every day that detente is a bloody deception of the working class. The American imperialists are now seeking to transform Cyprus into an American colony in order to make that island a staging ground for war in the middle east and against the Soviet Union itself.

It is to promote these counterrevolutionary policies that the American CP extends its hand to Ford, offering its assistance to a government that is determined to drive workers back to conditions worse than those of the depression.

The CP's call for a "people's" coalition with Ford is modeled on the collaboration of the European Stalinists with the crisis-stricken regimes in Portugal and Greece, where the Stalinists act as the principal props of the governments against revolution.

The American CP stands with Ford against the millions of workers who will not accept the policies of this government. It seeks to carry out policies which would mean the betrayal of the working class.

Stalinism must be exposed and driven out of the labor movement as we construct the Workers League based on historic principles fought for by Trotsky against the bureaucracy.

## Turkey Seizes Control Of Northern Cyprus

With the tacit support of the United States government, Turkish military forces are driving across Cyprus to establish control over the northern tip of the island.

Turkish troops are now extending their control by pushing south.

On Monday, the Greek Cypriot National Guard assaulted the US Embassy in Nicosia, critically wounding the American Ambassador.

After air strikes and a naval bombardment on Thursday, a force of 30 tanks moved into Famagusta, the third largest city in Cyprus, and Turkish troops rapidly defeated any resistance.

Turkey's aim is to secure a Turkish zone that stretches from Famagusta on the east to the Bay of Morphou on the west, including the northern section of the capital, Nicosia.

In Nicosia, heavy fighting is raging as Turkish soldiers crossed over the "Green Line" between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot areas of the city and other divisions moved towards the airport.

Hundreds of thousands of Greek Cypriot refugees are fleeing their homes in the north and have been streaming south.

The Greek Cypriot National Guard has been completely overpowered and has been ordered to withdraw from the north.

Greek Premier Caramanlis declared that Greece was not powerful enough to go to war against Turkey but would withdraw from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as "a diplomatic protest" against the invasion.

The Geneva talks collapsed last Wednesday when Turkey issued an ultimatum to the Cyprus and Greek representatives for a geographical carve-up of Cyprus that would give Turkey six areas under its administration.

Caramanlis knows that any

new military adventure in Cyprus could bring down his government in the same way that the military dictatorship was forced to resign last month after the fiasco of the coup d'etat by the Greek National Guard against Cyprus President Makarios.

Thousands of Greeks demonstrated in Constitution Square in Athens shouting, "Americans Go Home," a reference to the military bases maintained by US imperialism in Greece.

The United States has tactical nuclear weapons, maintenance and fueling facilities for the Sixth Fleet, a big communications network and an Air Force cargo handling operation in Greece.

The collapse of the Greek junta and the movement forward of the working class in all the Mediterranean countries, including Cyprus, has thrown US imperialism into a deep crisis.

While publicly trying to appear as a mediator in the Cyprus war,

the US is now "tilting" towards the Turkish regime in an attempt to restore US interests on Cyprus, which imperialism needs as a base of attack against the oil rich Arab countries.

At the same time, the decision of the Turkish bourgeoisie to invade Cyprus was not motivated by concern for the rights of the Turkish minority but to use the war as a way out of the economic crisis ravaging Turkish capitalism.

The price is being paid by countless thousands of Greek and Turkish Cypriot workers and peasants who are being driven from their homes and slaughtered.

The International Committee of the Fourth International stands for a policy of:

•No partition of Cyprus! Withdraw all troops from Cyprus!

•For a workers and peasants government in Greece and Cyprus. For the right of the Cypriot people to self-determination.

## Park Hee In Crisis

South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee is desperately trying to charge that the assassination attempt on his life last Thursday was a "communist conspiracy" by North Korean leader, Kim Il Sung.

The gunman who fired on Hee while he was delivering a Liberation Day speech in the new National Theater shot and killed his wife instead. Hee's guards returned the fire and killed a teenage school girl.

A young man named Mun Se Kwang was captured and Hee's secret police now claim that he has "confessed."

Hee is cynically using the murder of his wife to whip up an anticommunist campaign against North Korea as a diversion from the explosive political and economic crisis in the south.

Over the last several months, Park has taken unlimited power

into his hands and unleashed a reign of terror against all political opponents.

The latest in a series of closed military trials has condemned 23 to prison on the same day the assassination attempt took place. The day before, 36 were jailed with terms ranging from five years to life.

So far, a total of 194 people have been convicted of plotting to overthrow the government.

The average factory worker in Seoul works an 11 hour day, seven days a week, and makes \$23 a month. Discipline is enforced again by the ever-present secret police. Unions are illegal.

Consumer prices went up 30 percent last year and are rising even higher this year.

Park's rule would not have lasted without the massive military and political support of the Nixon government, aid which Ford pledges to continue.



Turkish bomb attack near Nicosia.

## Peron Declares War On Guerrilla Army

BY A REPORTER  
Juan Peron's widow has mobilized the army against the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) in an attempt to wipe out the main guerrilla organization in Argentina.

Twenty-one guerrillas were killed and 23 captured by the army following an unsuccessful attack by 60 ERP commandos on the 17th airborne regiment in Catamarca province.

The decision by Mrs. Maria Estella Peron to use the army against the guerrillas marks a change from the policy of her late husband, who only used the police against the guerrillas.

The army tracked the guerrillas down in the mountains after their bus was intercepted by police.

Mrs. Peron's decision to use the army against the ERP coincided with a major shakeup in the cabinet. Mrs. Peron replaced the ministers of Defense, Interior and Education. She also

prepared legislation to give the government more power in dealing with the guerrillas.

The political situation in Argentina is explosive. The death of Juan Peron six weeks ago left the Argentine ruling class without a powerful political figure to take on the working class.

Since Peron's death, at least 40 people have been killed in political violence. Most recently, an extreme right-wing organization, the "Argentine Antiimperialist Alliance," (AAA), claimed responsibility for the murder of four left-wing members of the Peronist movement. In a communique distributed in Buenos Aires the AAA said it had "executed" the four, whom it called "traitors of the fatherland."

The mounting class tensions are expressed in the step-up by the government of repression and the expanded scope of guerrilla activities on the part of the ERP.

The ERP announced in their newspaper, Red Star, shortly before the attack on the 17th airborne regiment, that they had declared war on the army.



# Court Line Collapses In Britain

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The sudden collapse of Court Line, England's largest package-tour company is an unmistakable warning that the British economy is on the verge of an economic disaster.

More than 50,000 tourists have been left stranded by the collapse. There were angry scenes outside the company's headquarters as the bankruptcy of the firm was announced. Many would-be tourists wanted to know why Court Line was still taking their money only hours before the bankruptcy was made known.

The collapse of Court Line sent the British stock exchange reeling to a 16-year low. The British pound fell in value to a five-month low.

The break-up of Court Line reflects developments throughout British industry. The slump is making itself felt throughout the economy. As inflation skyrockets at a rate close to 20 percent annually, industrial production is stagnant.

United Dominions Trust, a powerful banking group, has released an annual report showing that it has made virtually no profit at all over the last six months.

Corporate statistics have led, according to the Confederation of British Industries, to a "startling collapse of business confidence" and the threat of mass unemployment now confronts the British working class.

The Sunday Telegraph predicted:

"It seems that unemployment as a whole will touch the million mark before the end of 1975.

"The good feature about a labor shakeout of this magnitude is that output for each man will show some improvement."

The implications of this statement is clear. The diseased organism of British capitalism must destroy the working class in order to survive. But the ruling class knows full well that it cannot impose such levels of

unemployment upon the working class without full scale class war.

This is what is on the agenda in Britain. The development of the world recession now finds its most devastating impact on the oldest capitalist country in the world.

Among the most powerful influences on the rapid collapse of the British economy is the attempt of the American ruling class to control inflation in the United States through tight money and credit restrictions.

Tight credit policies must lead to a cut in foreign imports into the United States. Britain, in particular, faces the destruction of one of its most important markets.

Prime Minister Harold Wilson has announced that Labor wanted to see capitalism "enterprising, responsible, alert, and profitable."

Referring to the demands of building workers for wage increases of 70 to 100 percent, Wilson told the big business press: "Of course, we cannot afford anything of that kind. What is more, the building industry, which is depressed with the total collapse of the housing program, could not begin to pay anything like that without going utterly bankrupt."

The collaboration of the Labor government with the Tories and corporate leaders is the ground upon which the capitalists prepare for dictatorship. They know that the economic situation is hopeless without a decisive defeat of the working class.

This is what underlays the preparation of the military and police in Britain for action against the working class. The army maneuvers in Heathrow, originally explained as an emergency action against the imminent danger of terrorists last winter, has now become a permanent feature of British life.

The police have announced that special units will guard all English airports on a round-the-clock basis.

These dangers can be met only by the construction of a revolutionary leadership of the working class—by the building of the Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain and the Workers League in the US.



Radiographers picketing the Royal Free Hospital, London.

# What Happened To The Watergate Tapes

BY DAVID NORTH  
The most damning evidence against Richard Nixon is being withheld from the public by Judge John Sirica.

Nearly one month has passed since the Supreme Court ruled that Nixon had to turn over 64 subpoenaed Watergate tapes to the Court. But since then, the only tapes that have been made public are those which Nixon himself was forced to release upon admitting that he had participated in the Watergate coverup.

Previously, transcripts of released tapes quickly became available. But now they are being withheld as part of a new conspiracy to suppress the full story of the Watergate crimes.

Justifying the delay, the Federal prosecutors' office stated that "It seems only fair that the defendants be afforded a reasonable opportunity to listen to the tapes and verify the accuracy of the government's transcripts and integrate this new material into this trial strategy."

Leon Jaworski has not committed himself on the question of prosecuting Nixon now that he is

no longer immune from standing trial. However, it is clear already that he is doing everything possible to help Nixon escape prosecution.

Jaworski recommended to Sirica that the date of the upcoming Watergate conspiracy trial, now slated to begin on September 9, be moved back.

This would be an important reprieve for Nixon, who has been subpoenaed by attorneys for former White House aide John Ehrlichman.

It has been reported that Ehrlichman is prepared to incriminate Nixon in order to save his own skin. Nixon cannot refuse to obey the subpoena, as he has in the past, without facing contempt of court charges. If he appears in court, Nixon may find it necessary to plead the Fifth Amendment.

## CONSPIRACY

These legal maneuvers continued as the final draft report of the House Judiciary Committee charged Nixon with having engaged in "deliberate, repeated and continued deception of the American people" during the two years of the Watergate conspiracy.

But the Judiciary Committee stated that the report would lie "dormant" and no action would be taken on it by the full House of Representatives.

The draft report outlines the massive conspiracy organized by Nixon. It states that "the President adopted a course of conduct, which caused illegal surveillance for political purposes, and the concealment of responsibility for that surveillance: obstruction of justice, perjury, destruction of evidence—all crimes."

Among the factual conclusions drawn by the Committee are:

- Nixon erased personally key portions of the June 20, 1972 tape of his conversation with H.R. Haldeman.

- Nixon discussed clemency for the Watergate plumbers with John Ehrlichman before indictments were returned.

- Nixon deliberately lied on August 29, 1972 when he claimed that an investigation had shown that White House staff members had no role in the Watergate breakin.

- Nixon congratulated Dean on September 15, 1972, for his conduct of the coverup.

- Nixon ordered the payment of hush money to E. Howard Hunt.

While the legal maneuvers go on, the government and Jaworski act to conceal as much of the damning evidence as possible. The labor movement must organize an independent inquiry to expose the full dimensions of the Watergate conspiracy.

# Workers And Youth Prepare For Summer Camp

The following are interviews with youth and trade unionists on why they are attending the Workers League summer camp in Canada.

Freddie, South Bronx, N.Y.

"I am going to the camp to get people jobs. People should get more raises. People who are working don't get paid enough.

"They shouldn't fire people who have been there a long time. They have the experience. They should take over the place.

"I want to go to the camp to speak up because I feel I'll have the same problems myself.

"Any place I want to get a job, it's the same thing. I know I won't get enough pay and they'll fire me.

"Nixon and Ford are both the same. Ford's not going to lower

the food prices. He's not going to build new cities or new roads.

"We have to get everybody together, by making people understand what it is all about. Puerto Ricans, Blacks, whites, have to get together.

"I hope that out of the camp, we can run everything for ourselves. Because if the rich get over, we won't have anything. We have to get things straightened out and organized."

Leroy Chatmon, taxi driver, Crown Heights, New York.

"A lot of things prompted me to come to the camp this year. Things are really exploding now in my union.

"Two years ago, they really ripped us off. The bosses wanted a strike to get more profits. Now they automatically deduct ten

cents from every fare. Drivers are really angry.

"The union representatives didn't tell us anything. They're right with the bosses. They're supposed to represent the members who voted for them but they're with the company.

"One thing about this year's strike is that people seem more aware that it's not the drivers who want the strike but the bosses.

"They want the meter to start at 80 cents which would actually mean a pay cut for us because we get our salary according to the meter and our tips.

"Drivers will be killing each other to get the few fares there are plus the average tip will drop from 25 or 35 cents to maybe 15 cents.

"The capitalists try to buy off

the union leaders or destroy the unions."

William Woodford, long-shoreman, Brooklyn, NY:

"We had a Young Socialists party at my house to raise money for the camp and a lot of people came. People from the block asked what it was for, so I tried to explain what you all were doing, trying to straighten out the mess with this government.

"I think at the camp we will start taking up a fight against Ford—lay out what he's going to do, will he pull us up from where Nixon put us, or keep right on.

"I think he's going to bring us into a Depression. I thought Nixon was going to do it before he left, but maybe he planned all along to set up Ford to do it. That

way, they can blame each other for it.

"I believe a Depression is coming, and we have a big fight on our hands to stop it, because a lot of people don't seem to understand. I'm going to the camp because I want further information about it and I want to see just what I could do to help.

"Are we going to let him carry us into Depression? That's the fight. Running the Workers Party campaign is a good idea because you let them know they don't run the whole show.

"The campaign shows everyone there are people out here willing to take up a fight against them, people who are not afraid of them or their money. I'm proud of you all and what you are doing, and the camp will help us go on from here."



# CWA Men Angry At Pay Offer

**BY A REPORTER**  
**NEW YORK—There is strong opposition to the new contract negotiated by the CWA among workers at the new Western Electric plant in Flushing.**

Although mail balloting is supposed to be completed within a few days, most workers know very little about the actual terms of the contract.

However, the ranks are dissatisfied with the wage settlement made by the union. The union leadership claims that it won a 10.6 percent increase, still far below the rise in the cost of living.

But the 10.6 percent is actually the maximum increase, applicable to only those workers with more than four years seniority.

The majority of workers in this plant will receive a 7.9 per-

cent raise or slightly higher, depending on their grade.

The wage increase during the second and third year of the contract will be fixed at 3.3 percent.

"Compared to the cost of living, this is not very much," said one worker.

He said that many workers disapproved of the CWA's failure to honor its commitment to strike with the IBEW against Western Electric.

## SUPPOSED

"If one goes, they all go. That's what the union was supposed to do," he said.

This Western Electric plant receives material from the facility in Kearny that has been shut down by the IBEW. If the Kearny strike continues, this plant may be forced to close.

"The cost of living is up so high that it's not fair for us to get such a small increase," declared Tom.



John Lantz

"And no one knows what the cost of living provisions in the contract are. You have to be a Philadelphia lawyer to understand it.

## NO GOOD

"This contract is no good. No one knows what's going to happen next year. Who knows what the prices will be. At this point, I'm seriously thinking of getting another part time job to support my family."

Workers accuse the union leadership of keeping them in the dark about the contract.

"I've got a motto about this contract," stated a younger worker. "Believe half of what you see and nothing of what you hear."

There has been increasing militancy in the plant. Last Thursday, workers walked out to demand the reinstatement of a steward who had been arbitrarily suspended. They forced management to reinstate the worker.

# Safeway Drivers Face FBI Probe

**BY A REPORTER**

**WASHINGTON, DC—The strike of Local 1699 of the United Transportation Union against Safeway Trails busline (a subsidiary of Continental Trailways) is now in its third year.**

For 28 months, the 300 drivers of Safeway have been fighting for a contract which amounts to only 5.5 percent a year, yet Safeway Chairman Marvin Walsh refuses to give in; neither will the drivers.

The union's charge against Safeway for unfair labor practices is due for a third hearing at a full meeting of the National Labor Relations Board. Previously the NLRB counsel ruled in favor of the UTU but this was then overturned by the court's administrative lawyer.

The strikers have been beaten, attacked with chemical mace, and constantly visited by the FBI.

Shortly after, Safeway got an injunction against the union for "acts of violence and vandalism."

More than 100 drivers, including their wives, neighbors, and friends have been questioned by the FBI in an attempt to intimidate the men. Ernest Smith, secretary-treasurer of Local 1699, has been harassed by the FBI eight times.

Records and officials of the UTU international have been subpoenaed and forced to appear before a grand jury.

John Lantz, chairman of Local 1699, has presented proof that Safeway sought to prevent his election as local president just before the strike began.

Two drivers have given written testimony that they were paid by the company to vote against Lantz. In addition, letters were sent to drivers with a lot of seniority, insinuating that Lantz should not be voted in since he had only been driving since 1967.

The company also attempted to rip up the 1969 contract by refusing to pay the pension plan. That contract was only won after a five month strike.

When the present strike began, service was halted for nine months but now the company claims it is running the usual 50 trips a day but with 175 drivers instead of the regular 308.

Safeway drivers were making only \$12,000 a year for a 60 hour week.

Even if this case is taken to the Supreme Court, as international UTU vice president George Legge vows, this is not how the struggle will be won.

The UTU must begin now to mobilize the full strength of the UTU membership in action behind the Safeway men. The UTU is now involved in contract talks with the major railroads.

A nationwide UTU strike can now unite the struggle of railroad workers and the Safeway drivers and will be a powerful blow against the antilabor Ford government.

# Cutback To Up Transit Fare

**BY BARRY GREY**

President Ford has started his budget slashing by declaring that he will veto any mass transit bill over \$11.6 billion.

The \$20 billion bill being debated in Congress is to provide funds for operating and constructing mass transit systems in nine major cities.

The slashing of this aid will automatically be a signal for Mayor Beame in New York to raise the transit fare from 35 cents to 50 cents or more.

The Democrats are in agreement that the aid should be cut and are only offering a "compromise" to reduce it to \$15.5 billion.

The House voted by a big majority—243-149—for a reactionary amendment by a Kentucky Republican to prohibit using any federal transit funds for busing "to achieve racial balance."

The House also voted to lower the proportion of transit subsidies paid by the Federal government from 50 percent to 33 percent, with the city governments paying the rest.

Representative Lamar Baker from Tennessee attacked New York City workers by declaring "There's no reason to bail out New York when they pay wages like \$7.24 an hour plus cost of living increments to subsidize motormen."

But there's plenty of reason, of course, for Baker and his other Democratic and Republican friends to keep getting their fat \$42,000 a year salaries which are

paid for out of the pockets of working people.

In an action which has been kept quiet, twelve programs in the Addiction Services Agency have been closed down for allegedly providing "inadequate services."

Since becoming Commissioner of the Agency last January, Jerome Hornblass has embarked on a ruthless cutback on drug programs. One of his tactics is to charge corruption as an excuse to close down entire programs.

He is also planning on shutting down seven other centers in New York.

## Copper Workers End Strikes

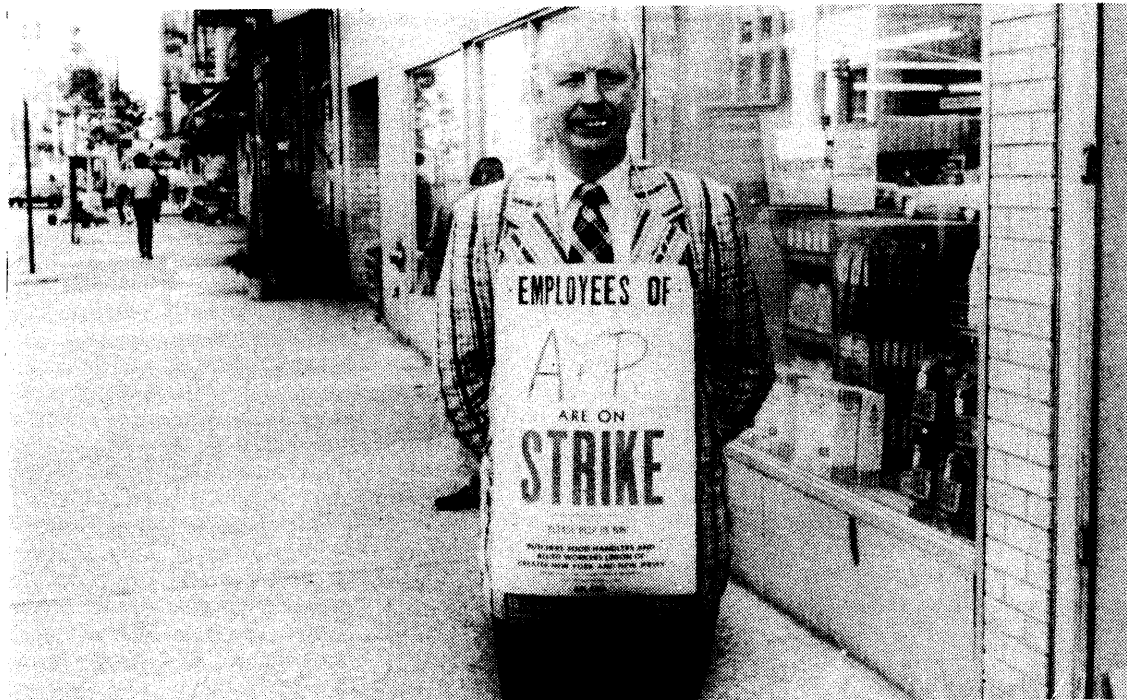
Copper workers at the Baltimore and New Jersey plants of American Smelting and Refining returned to work last Friday as copper workers throughout the country ended strikes.

600 workers who have been on strike at Phelps Dodge in Arizona and New Mexico have been ordered to go back after the union made a tentative accord.

Two days earlier, a tentative agreement was made with Magna Copper company where 4600 workers have been on strike.

Cass Alvin, the union's spokesman, said the contract "matches or exceeds the value of contracts with Anaconda and Kennecott."

This would mean only 86 cents an hour over three years. The Abel bureaucracy in the USWA deliberately sabotaged the powerful copper strike by dividing and negotiating separately with each company.



A&P worker on picket line last week.

# Railroads Facing Financial Crisis

**BY DAVID NORTH**

The major railroads are preparing for an industry-wide battle with the rail unions as the December 31 expiration date on the contract approaches.

The unions will be demanding a 35 percent wage increase, with 20 percent the first year.

These negotiations will take place at time of deep financial crisis for the railroads. They are looking to the Ford government to come down hard on the unions with the Taft Hartley no-strike law, a measure that became law with Ford's support, in the event of a strike.

William Betts, vice-president of Economics for the Association of American Railroads declared that if the 35 percent was granted, "it would bankrupt the railroads...all of them."

There is no doubt that many of the railroads face bankruptcy, but not because of the wages won by the workers.

In fact, the major carriers were just granted a ten percent rate increase and are already applying to raise rates an additional 15 percent.

They are desperately in need of capital to attain the rate of return that is necessary to attract capital, and are using the rate increases to obtain it.

A study by the Interstate Commerce Commission states that a 10 percent rate of return is needed to attract capital while most railroads only received a return of 3 percent in 1973, and the eastern lines a disastrous .56 percent.

Betts told the Journal of Commerce that taking into account the value of the dollar, the second quarter net earnings of the

railroads in 1974 was a full third less than in 1966.

Twenty four of the 64 railroads reported lower net incomes in the second quarter of 1974 than for the comparable period of 1973.

Despite that fact that the railroads reported their operating revenues up 11.6 percent in the first quarter of this year, the effects of inflation mean that the real income has fallen from \$203 million to \$168 million in one year.

These figures reveal that many of the nation's freight carriers are dangerously close to bankruptcy, especially as inflation continues to rise.

A national rail strike can only be fought out around the fight for a labor party to nationalize this industry under workers control, as part of the battle for wages ahead.



**BY BARRY GREY**

The downfall of Nixon was the product of the tremendous economic and political crisis of capitalism and the inability of Nixon to solve this crisis by defeating the working class.

But the alternative to Gerald Ford and the Democrats must be built now. Only the Workers League fought for the unions to force Nixon out and construct a labor party to replace him with a government of the working class.

Today, we must take forward the fight for a labor party pledged to socialist policies, as Ford seeks to impose Nixon's policies of mass unemployment and inflation on the working class.

Nixon was brought into power by the ruling class in 1968 to make a sharp break with the methods of liberalism which had been the mainstay of capitalist rule in America since World War Two.

The international crisis of capitalism had reached a new stage in 1967 with the devaluation of the British pound. This signalled direct attacks by European and American capitalism on their own working classes. The full meaning of the economic crisis was expressed in France in the revolutionary struggles of May-June, 1968.

In the US, it was no longer economically feasible for the capitalists to make reforms and concessions to the working class. This meant several things politically. The Democratic Party began to break up, as it could not put forward any alternative to the Republicans.

The Republicans chose as their nominee, Richard Nixon, a man who had made his political career as a cold war red-baiter and anti-labor man. And at the same time, the ruling class prepared the forces even further to the right, in the Independent Party campaign of George Wallace.

The actual class relations in 1968 were clearly expressed in the full scale police riot against protesters at the Democratic Party convention in Chicago.

The Workers League campaigned in the broadest possible way in the working class and in the labor movement against Wallace. We said in the Bulletin:

"The Wallace campaign is qualitatively different from the 1964 Goldwater candidacy, as well as from such forces as Reagan, New York's Conservative Party or the John Birch Society. While Wallace tries to hide his racism in a cloak of respectability, appealing for the so-called moderate conservative votes, he also appeals much more directly to openly racist and fascist elements. His campaign is a clear break with the two party system in the direction of a fascist political movement."

In the November 11 issue of the Bulletin, we assessed Nixon's election victory: "We say that the Nixon victory will mean real blows against the organized trade union movement and the working class as a whole in the coming period. Nixon is committed to an economic policy of recession and unemployment."

"We predict that the Democratic Party controlled Congress will go with Nixon all the way in this planned economic and political attack against the workers."

In the spring and summer of 1970, the American working class launched a wage offensive to catch up with inflation. Electrical workers struck against General Electric, postal workers struck, the Teamsters went out and the United Auto Workers shut down General Motors.

This powerful movement of American workers was combined with a victorious military offensive by the workers and peasants throughout Indochina.

Nixon, as the head of US imperialism, was thrown into a tremendous crisis. The national guard was brought in to break the postal strike.

At Kent State University the Ohio national guard, who had been used against striking Teamsters in the area, were mobilized against students protesting the Cambodian invasion. The guards were ordered to fire on the students and four were murdered.

Kent State was a prelude to similar attacks on the working class. It meant that American capitalism, gripped by unbearable contradictions, had recognized the necessity and begun to test out the methods for civil war.

It was the wage offensive that forced Nixon to destroy at a stroke, on August 15, 1971, the entire monetary structure of the post war boom. When he removed the gold backing from the dollar on that date, he unleashed the uncontrolled inflation that has destroyed the economic basis for reformism and class compromise in every capitalist country. This was the meaning of the wage freeze against American workers which Nixon announced at the same time.

This new stage of the economic crisis meant that the 1972 elections would not be a repeat of 1968.

It was no longer a question, as in 1968, of capitalism being unable to make reforms. The crisis had become absolute and it was therefore necessary for the capitalists to push the working class back.

The Bulletin assessed the 1972 Republican convention. We said: "Nixon's talk about creating a 'new American majority' with his appeals to the Democrats 'who have been driven out of their home' are the preparations for the creation of one-party rule and bonapartist dictatorship."

In the Bulletin of November 6, 1972, the week of the election, we analyzed the Watergate break-in and exposed Nixon's involvement in a four-page feature, "From Watergate to the White House."

We said, "The Watergate conspiracy is without parallel in the history of the United States. More sharply than any other action undertaken by the Nixon administration, the conspiracy has exposed the preparations made by big business for the establishment of a police state and the destruction of the unions."

"Watergate is not another Tea-Pot Dome scandal. What is involved in Watergate is not simply politicians lining their pockets through one scheme or another. That sort of corruption is common enough in American politics."

"Rather, the Watergate conspiracy amounted to a full-scale police action designed to destroy the Democratic Party; and it was plotted and organized in the White House."

We insisted that Watergate had to be viewed as the expression of the economic and political crisis of capitalism and not as an isolated event.

"As the Bulletin has insisted for the past months, the



# Workers League Led Nixon Fight



Above, the Workers League Labor Party meeting in 1968 against Wallace and the Democrats and Republicans. Center, the St. Louis Conference of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, October 1972. Above, March on Washington, March 16, 1974.

mobilization of the capitalist class behind the Republicans and the collapse and persecution of the Democrats is rooted in the historic economic crisis that threatens the profit system with collapse. Big business is desperate as it confronts a working class that will fight to defend all its rights."

The Bulletin exposed how the billionaire bankers and industrialists mobilized the most right-wing, anticommunist and fascist elements around Nixon and the Republican Party to carry out their dirty work. All of the "plumbers" and Nixon's aides were fanatical labor-haters and right-wingers.

At the same time, we showed how the regime of Nixon represented a break from the traditional methods of bourgeois rule in America. Nixon ran the country with a handful of personal aides, beyond the reach of Congress, in conspiratorial fashion.

The Workers League turned sharply into the working class, beginning in December of 1971, when we launched the Young Socialists at a conference of revolutionary youth attended by 300 in New York.

Throughout the 1972 election campaign, the Workers League and the Young Socialists campaigned for the unions to convene a Congress of Labor to break from the Democrats and Republicans and build a labor party.

We published our manifesto, "The Case for a Labor Party," and held the National Conference for a Labor Party Now, in Chicago on October 21-22, just

two weeks before the elections.

Over 325 trade unionists and youth came to this conference in order to construct the alternative revolutionary leadership to the labor bureaucrats in the unions.

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, opened the conference. He said of the collapse of the Democratic Party, "We are witnessing an event as important as the break-up of parties on the eve of the American Civil War. This is because we face a new 'irrepressible conflict,' a period when compromise between capital and labor is no longer possible, when there is no economic basis for reform, where therefore the party of reform, the Democrats, is torn apart."

The Workers League moved forward by launching the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in February of 1973.

In September of 1973 the Workers League and Young Socialists held our first summer camp. The camp was a huge success and marked a turning point in the history of the League.

The new forces brought into the movement from the camp and the lessons of the struggle there enabled us to begin publishing the Bulletin as a twice-weekly in October of 1973.

On March 16, 1974 we mobilized 450 youth and workers in Washington, DC, 115 in San Francisco and 150 in Chicago in a national march to force Nixon out and build a labor party. This was the largest anti-Nixon rally ever organized.

Tim Wohlforth spoke of the purpose of the marches at the rally in Washington held across from the AFL-CIO headquarters.

"We did not come to Washington to beg George Meany to do anything. We have come here to create the movement within the working class that will throw the Meany out and construct a labor party. It is this movement that will force Nixon out and all the Democrats and Republicans and fight for socialism."

The Workers League and the Young Socialists led the fight to throw out Nixon. Nixon's resignation is the most powerful confirmation of our assessment of the depth of the crisis and the tremendous strength of the working class. But the resignation of Nixon and his replacement by the ultra-rightist regime of Ford makes more urgent than ever before the construction of a revolutionary leadership.

Thousands of workers and youth have turned to the Workers League seeking an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans and to capitalism itself.

Through the fight to unite the working class politically against the capitalist parties and to build a labor party, the Workers League can and must become a mass revolutionary party.

The theoretical and political preparations for carrying out this great task will be the center of this year's camp in Canada. We urge every worker and youth to come forward and attend the camp.



# THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM AND REVOLUTION

We are reprinting from the Workers Press, daily organ of the Workers Revolutionary Party of England, two important series of articles dealing with the renegade Blick-Jenkins group.

While this is a small group in England, it is part of an international tendency of liquidationists who have broken with Marxism. They reflect elements within the middle class who, hostile to the movement of the working class brought about by the capitalist crisis, seek to reinforce reformism and social democracy within the workers movement just as the reformist parties are being broken up by the crisis.

Above all, these tendencies seek to prevent the construction of mass Trotskyist parties to lead the working class to power.

These two series are extremely important for workers in the United States where the construction of a revolutionary party requires a constant struggle against the influence of middle class radicalism.

The series now beginning, "The Transitional Program and the Workers Revolutionary Party," will run consecutively in two issues.

Following the traditional week-long summer break in the publication of the Bulletin, the week of August 26, 1974, we will feature the second series by Michael Banda and Peter Jeffries, "Reply to the British Agents of the OCI Liquidationists."

## Part One

Characteristic of all revisionist attacks on Marxism since the founding of the Fourth International in 1938 has been the conviction that the working class, however militant and strong it may prove to be in struggle, cannot achieve the socialist revolution.

Revisionism teaches that the bureaucracies which usurped the leadership of the working class—the reformist Labour and trade union leaders, or the Stalinist bureaucracy and its followers in the apparatus of the Communist Parties internationally—will always find the way to use the strength of the working class for their own political ends of accommodation to imperialism.

Today, in 1974, it is "normal" that the Workers Revolutionary Party has come under attack from an international revisionist tendency for having undertaken to transform the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party.

Our party is declared to be "ultra-left" because we base our policies on the objective fact that the rapidly-developing capitalist crisis raises the question of working class power, and because we advance the task of building the revolutionary party in a struggle for a socialist program as the only preparation for power.

### REVISIONISM CORRODES MARXISM

Against us and against the working class, revisionists defend social democracy, as in the case of the minority Labour government in Britain and the trade union leaders who offer them the corporatist "social compact." The political source of this revisionism is the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) in France, renegades from Trotskyism.

The historical role of revisionism is to corrode Marxism from within the working class revolutionary movement, in order to render it politically harmless. Such a role is necessary to the ruling class because in the period of its decline and fall it cannot itself produce any political ideology capable of holding either the working class, the lower middle classes or the intellectuals.

By the beginning of this century, Marxism had triumphed internationally against all other socialist theories. At the same time, capitalism entered its final stage, the stage of monopoly capitalism or imperialism. Revisionism in various forms has come forward ever since then, and Marxism has always had to be developed in a struggle against it.

In the German Socialist Party, the first revisionist offensive, led by Bernstein, was successfully repulsed, but it foreshadowed the political degeneration of that party.

The privileged labor aristocracy, based on imperialist monopoly, provided the social foundation for this reformist betrayal. In the USSR, Stalin's "socialism in one country" was a crude denial of Lenin's and Marx's basic conception of revolution, but it met the requirements of the developing bureaucracy which grew out of the backwardness and isolation of Russia.

Within the Fourth International Trotsky fought during 1939 against the petty bourgeois opposition of Shachtman and Burnham, who represented the pressure of the bourgeoisie, through the petty bourgeois intelligentsia, on the vanguard of the working class.

### CONTINUOUS SURRENDER TO REFORMISM

These revisionists capitulated to the forces which inflicted the interwar defeats on the world proletariat and they granted to the Kremlin bureaucracy the historical status of a new ruling class, able to achieve total independence from the working class. Effectively, this meant abandoning the struggle to build an International which could mobilize the working class for revolutionary defense of the conquests of October and the development of the world revolution.

All the revisionism of Pablo, Mandel, and the Socialist Workers Party from 1953 to 1974 has been a continuation of this tendency. It has changed from time to time only by searching for new forces to whom it could surrender the historic revolutionary role of the working class.

During the post war boom in the advanced capitalist countries it capitulated first to the Stalinist bureaucracy, then to the nationalist bourgeoisie in the colonial countries. The results of this in the advanced countries were anticipated in the Belgian General Strike of 1960, when Ernest Mandel provided a "theoretical" cover for the "structural reform" program of the centrist Renard, in the French General Strike of 1953, and, above all, in the willing collaboration of revisionists with the British Labour bureaucrats in expelling Trotskyists from the Labour youth movement in 1964.

This last action showed clearly that for these revisionists, the phrases of Trotskyism were nothing but a "left" fancy dress for their role as experts in selling the reformists to the working class. With their politics, an opportunist could find excellent "theoretical" justification for keeping a following by "left" criticisms, but never breaking with reformism. This was why they turned so viciously against the Socialist Labour League.

The most consummate expression of this decay was the Militant group around Mr. Ted Grant, who stayed in the Labour Party YS after the split in 1964, accepting all the terms dictated by the right wing for an "official" opposition. This tendency today, for example, supports Transport House against the demands of Labour Party members in the Northeast and of Eddie Milne MP for an inquiry into corruption in the Party's affairs. They fight bitterly against the Clay Cross call for an emergency Labour Party conference and oppose the Workers Revolutionary Party and anyone else who demands anything beyond the election promises of the Wilson leadership itself.

They are now being echoed to the last word by the tiny Blick-Jenkins group of ex-members of the SLL, a group who never fought a single political battle while they were members, but now come together in a series of sniping attacks on the WRP. They defend the "left" Anthony Wedgewood Benn against any criticism; they are outraged by the criticism of transport union secretary Jack Jones and the TUC leaders as corporatist; they dismiss with contempt the principled warnings of the WRP against the Bonapartist military preparation of the bourgeois state. They advocate entry into the Labour Party.

The document "Why a Transitional Program" is the latest of a series of bulletins devoted to this defense of reformism. At first sight its "conclusions" are deceptive. The writer accuses the WRP of "parliamentary-road" illusions because of the demand that a Labour government legislate nationalization without compensation and under workers' control.

By doing this, he says, we end up by using

the slogan of workers' power as mere words, propaganda. Does this mean that our writer is someone who has rejected parliamentary illusions and is instead putting forward a policy of struggle for power through the mobilization of the masses? Not at all! His only concern is that the Labour leaders must not be asked to do such wild things! The working class is not ready for it; the Labour leaders' present policy expresses the present level of the working class.

Only when the working class has proved it can exercise "workers' control" will it make sense to ask such a thing of the Labour leaders! But surely by then the workers will have no need of asking the Labour leaders to do these things for them! What this critic means is:

a) The working class and its struggle have not reached the stage when socialist demands have any meaning. Consequently the present leadership reflects the working class.

b) Until the actual conquest of power, no struggle for socialist demands is permissible. He implies that to do so would be leaping over the development of the working class and provoking the danger of a dictatorship over the working class. This is the old anticommunist rubbish put forward by those who equate Stalinism with Bolshevism.

(e.g. p. 17: "Even assuming that the present Labour government, or a future one, were to legislate the WRP maximum program, then who would be responsible for the planned economy? Certainly not the working class because it would not have the necessary organizational and political experience. Perhaps the party machine? However in the latter instance, is this not equivalent to bureaucratic domination and the Stalinist concept of workers' management? Stalinism is distinguished in that it usurps political power from the proletariat, making that power its own birth-right.")

### THE ATTACK CENTERS ON THE PARTY

There is no question but that Trotsky was absolutely right when he said that, in our epoch, all basic questions of revisionism revolve around an attack on the Leninist concept of the Party. The documents we are concerned with here manage to discuss "transitional demands" and the relation between reformism and the working class without ever bringing forward this fundamental question. Who would dream that the same Trotsky from whom he quotes had written:

"The conception of the party as the proletarian vanguard presupposes its full and unconditional independence from all other organizations. The various agreements (blocs, coalitions, compromises) with other organizations, unavoidable in the course of the class struggle, are permissible only on the conditions that the party always turns its own face towards the class, marches under its own banner, acts in its own name and explains openly to the masses the aim and limits within which it concludes the given agreement." (Marxism and the Trade Unions, pp. 69-70.)

It was this kind of party Trotsky always fought for, not least when he wrote in the Transitional Program: "The building of national revolutionary parties as sections of the Fourth International is the central task of the transitional epoch." (Transitional Program, New Park Publications, p. 10.)

In the whole of the revisionists' document, we can find not one trace of this conception of the revolutionary party. At no point is the discussion ever related to this "central task." In this way the real content of every quotation from Trotsky and Lenin is emptied out.

The quotations are simply torn out of context for the temporary purpose of arguing some abstract case.

This is not accidental. It is the only way these quotations can be put to the use we have described above: to defend reformism, the enemy of Marxism.

As we go through the mountain of confusion that constitutes this document, we shall see that at every point it distorts Marxism into a version of idealism and formal thinking; and we shall have to restore the quotations he makes to their true revolutionary content, i.e., the building of the revolutionary party.

## Part Two

It is not surprising that on the most fundamental question of historical materialism, utter confusion reigns, even on the very first page of this pamphlet.

It says: "The planned economy of socialism rests on the subordination of the productive forces not to the whims and desires of owners of capital, but to the needs of mankind as a whole."

It would be difficult to imagine a more extreme caricature of "Marxism"! In the first place, the structure and development of the capitalist mode of production is not determined by "the whims and desires of owners of capital"!

It is a question of the objective laws of a system where all production is the production of commodities, and where labor power itself has become a commodity because of the dispossession of the direct producers.

Social relations of production are expressed only in the relation between these commodities in the value-form.

A basic contradiction exists between concrete and abstract (value-producing) labor.

### ELEMENTARY MARXIST FOUNDATIONS

Capitalist production is production of surplus value. From this develop the laws of capitalist accumulation, the average rate of profit, the tendency of the rate of profit to decline, and the capitalist crisis. These are the elementary foundations. As for the "whims and desires of owners," they are the product, reflection, an inverted "ideological" reflection of this process.

Our critic continues: "The basic contradictions of capitalism, i.e. those between the productive forces and the productive relations, are reproduced to their greatest intensity in this epoch."

Just a minute! There is not one correct thought in this assertion. The contradiction between productive forces and production relations is one which comes to a head at a late stage of development of every socio-economic formation in the history of society, after a period in which the production relations facilitate the development of the productive forces.

The basic contradictions of capitalism as a system are specific to capitalism and develop as the increasing socialization of production conflicts with private appropriation, with "the needs of capital itself." It is not just that "developments in science and technology are no longer exploited to their fullest extent." These developments are actually held back, and when they do take place they are turned against civilization, for destruction.

Although our critic quotes Trotsky at length on this question, he has not the faintest idea of the really revolutionary implications of these contradictions. They are not just contradictions to be observed on the face of society, so that if we recognize them our consciousness would become revolutionary, as he seems to think. With this conception, there is never any urgency, any real objective pressure of necessity, any danger! The exposure of reformism and the preparation of revolution will just have to wait until our education program is complete.

### ABANDONING THE QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP

When these dangers are considered by our critic it is only as an abstract warning. Thus: "The greatest weapon in the arsenal of capitalism is fascism and barbarism. (p. 3.) This is tantamount to revision of everything in Marxism and the Transitional Program! Fascism is not "a great weapon in the arsenal of capitalism" in that historically unqualified sense at all. In the first place, Fascism expresses the decay and historical doom of capitalism. Second, any so-called Marxist who describes fascism in this way and does not immediately qualify it with reference to the principled character of our epoch, the crisis of working class leadership, is a traitor to Marxism.

Trotsky writes in the Transitional



# THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

## THREE ARTICLES BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER ANSWERING A DOCUMENT PUBLISHED BY THE BLICK-JENKINS GROUP CALLED 'WHY A TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM?'



without contradiction, to the conquest of power! (This fits in perfectly, of course, with his idea that you must not raise in the working class demands which will upset the existing relationship between the working class and its reformist and Stalinist parties.)

In the Organization Communiste Internationaliste, all this rotten centrism is justified by the abstractly correct assertion, repeated in all circumstances: "When the masses move, they do so in the first place through their traditional organizations." All the development takes place in people's heads.

From the published discussions of Trotsky on the Transitional Program (see Writings of Leon Trotsky 1938-1939) our critic chooses only one quotation, which by itself seems to serve his purpose: "This brings the reader only to the doorstep. It is a program for action from today until the beginning of the socialist revolution. And from the practical point of view, what is now the most important is how we can guide the different strata of the proletariat in the direction of the revolution."

But a closer reading of the very same interview with Trotsky shows that he conceived of the way forward as the very opposite of any such "gradualism," as the following quotations show:

"We have repeated many times that the scientific character of our activity consists in the fact that we adapt our program not to political conjunctures or the thought or mood of the masses as this mood is today, but we adapt our program to the objective situation as it is represented by the economic class structure of society." (Writings of Leon Trotsky 1938-1939 p. 50.)

Let us halt for a moment. Trotsky says we do not adapt the program "to political conjunctures." But our critic, telling us that he is "at great pains to develop the theoretical conception of the Transitional Program...." says: "The Transitional Program is based on each and every concrete situation to meet the demands of the situation." It is not easy to know what this means, but it certainly contradicts Trotsky's Marxist insistence that we do not start from "the political conjuncture."

Trotsky continues: "The mentality can be backward; then the political task of the party is to bring the mentality into harmony with the objective facts, to make the workers understand the objective task. But we cannot adapt the program to the backward mentality of the workers; the mentality, the mood is a secondary factor—the prime factor is the objective situation. That is why we have heard these criticisms or these appreciations that some parts of the program do not conform to the situation." (Ibid.)

### THE UNITY AND CONFLICT OF OPPOSITES

Here Trotsky is anticipating exactly the type of criticism made of the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Workers Press by the Blick-Jenkins tendency to which our critic belongs. They make great play of reports that they have come across workers who find it disturbing and unrealistic to be confronted with the warnings by our party about the military-police operations of the capitalist state. They use these reports to give credibility to their intention of abandoning any independent party position and joining the Labour Party.

Trotsky certainly would have dismissed them with contempt. He begins the discussion from which our critic quotes by placing all the emphasis on a party which will start from a unified conception of the necessities of the epoch, and bring these necessities into conflict with the consciousness of the masses:

"The significance of the program is the significance of the party. The party is the vanguard of the class...."

"Now, what is the party? In what does its cohesion consist? This cohesion is a common understanding of events, of the tasks, and this common understanding—that is the program of the party." (Ibid, p. 48.)

Just finally to correct the totally false picture given by our critic, who "has been

at great pains to develop the theoretical conception of the Transitional Program and the transitional demand," we quote from an article of Trotsky which he chose not to use:

"The political backwardness of the American working class is very great. This signifies that the danger of a fascist catastrophe is very great. This is the point of departure for all our activity. The program must express the objective tasks of the working class rather than the backwardness of the workers. It must reflect society as it is and not the backwardness of the working class. It is an instrument to overcome and vanquish the backwardness." (Ibid. p. 43.)

It is our critic's failure to understand these materialist foundations of the revolutionary party and its program that lands him in the position of a mere apologist for reformism. As against Trotsky's dialectical posing of the contradiction, a conflict between the party and the class as opposites in unity through internal conflict, against the capitalist class, he counterposes a purely mechanical development. He starts not from the "objective tasks of the working class" and "the objective situation" (Trotsky) but from the "fact" that "Reformism still dominates the leadership of the working class."

For him, tactics start from this and not from the objective situation and the revolutionary role of the working class. Thus, he continues: "The tactic of the united front has to be adopted towards the mass reformist parties (i.e. the Labour Party, C.S.); the struggle is then taken up to make the reformists fight to implement their program, insofar as this program coincides with the struggles of the proletariat for reforms. The working class in the course of this struggle experiences concretely the bankruptcy of reformism." (p. 9.) (My emphasis, C.S.)

### THE BREAK FROM REFORMISM

In some ways this is the most revealing passage, politically, in the whole document. It brings to a sharp point all the opposition to materialism in the introduction. The workers must take up a struggle to make reformism fight only "insofar as this (reformist) program coincides with the struggles of the proletariat for reforms."

The working class is to be restricted politically to the framework decided by the reformists, the agents of imperialism. The working class is to be taught by the party to judge the social-democratic program according to how far it fits in with the working class's own reformist, trade union consciousness, and not on the basis of its conflict with the urgent necessities flowing from the objective situation of capitalism in decay! In other words, the party has no role at all. The working class is not driven by the material conflict of opposites within society, between society and the rest of nature, but by its reformist ideas, to which "program" is counterposed as propaganda.

The advocates of this point of view are only the most sophisticated version of those centrists who have always tried to teach the working class that their "pressure" and "strength" on economic and reform issues is sufficient to produce a situation where they will gradually develop the consciousness necessary for socialism. All this is the inevitable political accompaniment of the OCI's rejection of Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*. There, Lenin developed the need for a revolutionary party based on scientific socialism, on Marxist theory, the materialist analysis of all the classes and their interrelations, and of the course of capitalist development, fighting to bring this consciousness into conflict with the existing consciousness, bourgeois consciousness, of the working class.

In this document we are examining, the class essence of reformism as never analyzed. It is seen as something like a necessary stage in the history of the working class, its own product, which is perhaps unfortunately no longer efficient but is refusing to go quietly.

TO BE CONTINUED

Program: "The German proletariat was not smashed by the enemy in battle. It was crushed by the cowardice, baseness, perfidy of its own parties." (p. 44.) Fascism could be used as a weapon against the working class only because the capitalists' greatest "weapon" in preserving itself is the counterrevolutionary nature of Social Democracy and Stalinism! The "answer" to fascism is thus not the revolutionary consciousness of the working class in general, but the building of a party based on this understanding which takes the working class through the struggle to defeat Stalinism and Social Democracy.

Is all this of any importance? Surely if the socialist mode of production is distinguished from the capitalist only by the suppression of the "whims and desires" of individual capitalists, then the claim of "scientific socialism" is thrown aside! Where are the laws of development of capitalist economy? Is it surprising therefore that our critic, like the whole of his tendency, makes no analysis whatsoever of the actual development of working class struggle and consciousness to this crisis? They are then able to discuss the relationship between the class and reformism entirely abstractly, just comparing one with the other.

Not only that. By dispensing with historical materialism and Marxist political

economy in this way, they discuss what they call "the subjective factor" in the development of the proletarian revolution entirely as a matter of formal comparison between the level of working class consciousness and the idea of the revolution.

For example, when Trotsky discusses the Transitional Program, on which the party fights to bring the class from the everyday struggle for necessities to the winning of state power, he has two primary concerns: first, the objective necessity of working class power because of the breakdown (decay) of capitalism; second, the necessity of a Bolshevik Party. Our critic performs the acrobatic feat of ignoring both!

We have seen how he counterposes "the proletariat conscious of its historical task" (p. 2) to "fascism...the greatest weapon in the arsenal of capitalism" (p. 3), and skates round the central question of the revolutionary party. Now we shall see how he deliberately ignores Trotsky's insistence on the working out of the Transitional Program as first and foremost the response to the objective necessity of capitalist crisis, a necessity which must be brought into conflict with the masses' existing consciousness in struggle.

Our critic wants us to believe that the Transitional Program means gently leading the masses by the nose, from their existing consciousness, in easy stages,



# THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM AND THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

We are reprinting from the Workers Press, daily organ of the Workers Revolutionary Party of England, two important series of articles dealing with the renegade Blick-Jenkins group.

While this is a small group in England, it is part of an international tendency of liquidationists who have broken with Marxism. They reflect elements within the middle class who, hostile to the movement of the working class brought about by the capitalist crisis, seek to reinforce reformism and social democracy within the workers movement just as the reformist parties are being broken up by the crisis.

Above all, these tendencies seek to prevent the construction of mass Trotskyist parties to lead the working class to power.

These two series are extremely important for workers in the United States where the construction of a revolutionary party requires a constant struggle against the influence of middle class radicalism.

The series now beginning, "The Transitional Program and the Workers Revolutionary Party," will run consecutively in two issues.

Following the traditional week-long summer break in the publication of the Bulletin, the week of August 26, 1974, we will feature the second series by Michael Banda and Peter Jeffries, "Reply to the British Agents of the OCI Liquidationists."

## Part One

Characteristic of all revisionist attacks on Marxism since the founding of the Fourth International in 1938 has been the conviction that the working class, however militant and strong it may prove to be in struggle, cannot achieve the socialist revolution.

Revisionism teaches that the bureaucracies which usurped the leadership of the working class—the reformist Labour and trade union leaders, or the Stalinist bureaucracy and its followers in the apparatus of the Communist Parties internationally—will always find the way to use the strength of the working class for their own political ends of accommodation to imperialism.

Today, in 1974, it is "normal" that the Workers Revolutionary Party has come under attack from an international revisionist tendency for having undertaken to transform the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party.

Our party is declared to be "ultra-left" because we base our policies on the objective fact that the rapidly-developing capitalist crisis raises the question of working class power, and because we advance the task of building the revolutionary party in a struggle for a socialist program as the only preparation for power.

### REVISIONISM CORRODES MARXISM

Against us and against the working class, revisionists defend social democracy, as in the case of the minority Labour government in Britain and the trade union leaders who offer them the corporatist "social compact." The political source of this revisionism is the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) in France, renegades from Trotskyism.

The historical role of revisionism is to corrode Marxism from within the working class revolutionary movement, in order to render it politically harmless. Such a role is necessary to the ruling class because in the period of its decline and fall it cannot itself produce any political ideology capable of holding either the working class, the lower middle classes or the intellectuals.

By the beginning of this century, Marxism had triumphed internationally against all other socialist theories. At the same time, capitalism entered its final stage, the stage of monopoly capitalism or imperialism. Revisionism in various forms has come forward ever since then, and Marxism has always had to be developed in a struggle against it.

In the German Socialist Party, the first revisionist offensive, led by Bernstein, was successfully repulsed, but it foreshadowed the political degeneration of that party.

The privileged labor aristocracy, based on imperialist monopoly, provided the social foundation for this reformist betrayal. In the USSR, Stalin's "socialism in one country" was a crude denial of Lenin's and Marx's basic conception of revolution, but it met the requirements of the developing bureaucracy which grew out of the backwardness and isolation of Russia.

Within the Fourth International Trotsky fought during 1939 against the petty bourgeois opposition of Shachtman and Burnham, who represented the pressure of the bourgeoisie, through the petty bourgeois intelligentsia, on the vanguard of the working class.

### CONTINUOUS SURRENDER TO REFORMISM

These revisionists capitulated to the forces which inflicted the interwar defeats on the world proletariat and they granted to the Kremlin bureaucracy the historical status of a new ruling class, able to achieve total independence from the working class. Effectively, this meant abandoning the struggle to build an International which could mobilize the working class for revolutionary defense of the conquests of October and the development of the world revolution.

All the revisionism of Pablo, Mandel, and the Socialist Workers Party from 1953 to 1974 has been a continuation of this tendency. It has changed from time to time only by searching for new forces to whom it could surrender the historic revolutionary role of the working class.

During the post war boom in the advanced capitalist countries it capitulated first to the Stalinist bureaucracy, then to the nationalist bourgeoisie in the colonial countries. The results of this in the advanced countries were anticipated in the Belgian General Strike of 1960, when Ernest Mandel provided a "theoretical" cover for the "structural reform" program of the centrist Renard, in the French General Strike of 1953, and, above all, in the willing collaboration of revisionists with the British Labour bureaucrats in expelling Trotskyists from the Labour youth movement in 1964.

This last action showed clearly that for these revisionists, the phrases of Trotskyism were nothing but a "left" fancy dress for their role as experts in selling the reformists to the working class. With their politics, an opportunist could find excellent "theoretical" justification for keeping a following by "left" criticisms, but never breaking with reformism. This was why they turned so viciously against the Socialist Labour League.

The most consummate expression of this decay was the Militant group around Mr. Ted Grant, who stayed in the Labour Party YS after the split in 1964, accepting all the terms dictated by the right wing for an "official" opposition. This tendency today, for example, supports Transport House against the demands of Labour Party members in the Northeast and of Eddie Milne MP for an inquiry into corruption in the Party's affairs. They fight bitterly against the Clay Cross call for an emergency Labour Party conference and oppose the Workers Revolutionary Party and anyone else who demands anything beyond the election promises of the Wilson leadership itself.

They are now being echoed to the last word by the tiny Blick-Jenkins group of ex-members of the SLL, a group who never fought a single political battle while they were members, but now come together in a series of sniping attacks on the WRP. They defend the "left" Anthony Wedgewood Benn against any criticism; they are outraged by the criticism of transport union secretary Jack Jones and the TUC leaders as corporatist; they dismiss with contempt the principled warnings of the WRP against the Bonapartist military preparation of the bourgeois state. They advocate entry into the Labour Party.

The document "Why a Transitional Program" is the latest of a series of bulletins devoted to this defense of reformism. At first sight its "conclusions" are deceptive. The writer accuses the WRP of "parliamentary-road" illusions because of the demand that a Labour government legislate nationalization without compensation and under workers' control.

By doing this, he says, we end up by using

the slogan of workers' power as mere words, propaganda. Does this mean that our writer is someone who has rejected parliamentary illusions and is instead putting forward a policy of struggle for power through the mobilization of the masses? Not at all! His only concern is that the Labour leaders must not be asked to do such wild things! The working class is not ready for it; the Labour leaders' present policy expresses the present level of the working class.

Only when the working class has proved it can exercise "workers' control" will it make sense to ask such a thing of the Labour leaders! But surely by then the workers will have no need of asking the Labour leaders to do these things for them! What this critic means is:

a) The working class and its struggle have not reached the stage when socialist demands have any meaning. Consequently the present leadership reflects the working class.

b) Until the actual conquest of power, no struggle for socialist demands is permissible. He implies that to do so would be leaping over the development of the working class and provoking the danger of a dictatorship over the working class. This is the old anticommunist rubbish put forward by those who equate Stalinism with Bolshevism.

(e.g. p. 17: "Even assuming that the present Labour government, or a future one, were to legislate the WRP maximum program, then who would be responsible for the planned economy? Certainly not the working class because it would not have the necessary organizational and political experience. Perhaps the party machine? However in the latter instance, is this not equivalent to bureaucratic domination and the Stalinist concept of workers' management? Stalinism is distinguished in that it usurps political power from the proletariat, making that power its own birthright.")

### THE ATTACK CENTERS ON THE PARTY

There is no question but that Trotsky was absolutely right when he said that, in our epoch, all basic questions of revisionism revolve around an attack on the Leninist concept of the Party. The documents we are concerned with here manage to discuss "transitional demands" and the relation between reformism and the working class without ever bringing forward this fundamental question. Who would dream that the same Trotsky from whom he quotes had written:

"The conception of the party as the proletarian vanguard presupposes its full and unconditional independence from all other organizations. The various agreements (blocs, coalitions, compromises) with other organizations, unavoidable in the course of the class struggle, are permissible only on the conditions that the party always turns its own face towards the class, marches under its own banner, acts in its own name and explains openly to the masses the aim and limits within which it concludes the given agreement." (Marxism and the Trade Unions, pp. 69-70.)

It was this kind of party Trotsky always fought for, not least when he wrote in the Transitional Program: "The building of national revolutionary parties as sections of the Fourth International is the central task of the transitional epoch." (Transitional Program, New Park Publications, p. 10.)

In the whole of the revisionists' document, we can find not one trace of this conception of the revolutionary party. At no point is the discussion ever related to this "central task." In this way the real content of every quotation from Trotsky and Lenin is emptied out.

The quotations are simply torn out of context for the temporary purpose of arguing some abstract case.

This is not accidental. It is the only way these quotations can be put to the use we have described above: to defend reformism, the enemy of Marxism.

As we go through the mountain of confusion that constitutes this document, we shall see that at every point it distorts Marxism into a version of idealism and formal thinking; and we shall have to restore the quotations he makes to their true revolutionary content, i.e., the building of the revolutionary party.

## Part Two

It is not surprising that on the most fundamental question of historical materialism, utter confusion reigns, even on the very first page of this pamphlet.

It says: "The planned economy of socialism rests on the subordination of the productive forces not to the whims and desires of owners of capital, but to the needs of mankind as a whole."

It would be difficult to imagine a more extreme caricature of "Marxism"! In the first place, the structure and development of the capitalist mode of production is not determined by "the whims and desires of owners of capital!"

It is a question of the objective laws of a system where all production is the production of commodities, and where labor power itself has become a commodity because of the dispossession of the direct producers.

Social relations of production are expressed only in the relation between these commodities in the value-form.

A basic contradiction exists between concrete and abstract (value-producing) labor.

### ELEMENTARY MARXIST FOUNDATIONS

Capitalist production is production of surplus value. From this develop the laws of capitalist accumulation, the average rate of profit, the tendency of the rate of profit to decline, and the capitalist crisis. These are the elementary foundations. As for the "whims and desires of owners," they are the product, reflection, an inverted "ideological" reflection of this process.

Our critic continues: "The basic contradictions of capitalism, i.e. those between the productive forces and the productive relations, are reproduced to their greatest intensity in this epoch."

Just a minute! There is not one correct thought in this assertion. The contradiction between productive forces and production relations is one which comes to a head at a late stage of development of every socio-economic formation in the history of society, after a period in which the production relations facilitate the development of the productive forces.

The basic contradictions of capitalism as a system are specific to capitalism and develop as the increasing socialization of production conflicts with private appropriation, with "the needs of capital itself." It is not just that "developments in science and technology are no longer exploited to their fullest extent." These developments are actually held back, and when they do take place they are turned against civilization, for destruction.

Although our critic quotes Trotsky at length on this question, he has not the faintest idea of the really revolutionary implications of these contradictions. They are not just contradictions to be observed on the face of society, so that if we recognize them our consciousness would become revolutionary, as he seems to think. With this conception, there is never any urgency, any real objective pressure of necessity, any danger! The exposure of reformism and the preparation of revolution will just have to wait until our education program is complete.

### ABANDONING THE QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP

When these dangers are considered by our critic it is only as an abstract warning. Thus: "The greatest weapon in the arsenal of capitalism is fascism and barbarism. (p. 3.) This is tantamount to revision of everything in Marxism and the Transitional Program! Fascism is not "a great weapon in the arsenal of capitalism" in that historically unqualified sense at all. In the first place, Fascism expresses the decay and historical doom of capitalism. Second, any so-called Marxist who describes fascism in this way and does not immediately qualify it with reference to the principled character of our epoch, the crisis of working class leadership, is a traitor to Marxism.

Trotsky writes in the Transitional



Program: "The German proletariat was not smashed by the enemy in battle. It was crushed by the cowardice, baseness, perfidy of its own parties." (p. 44.) Fascism could be used as a weapon against the working class only because the capitalists' greatest "weapon" in preserving itself is the counterrevolutionary nature of Social Democracy and Stalinism! The "answer" to fascism is thus not the revolutionary consciousness of the working class in general, but the building of a party based on this understanding which takes the working class through the struggle to defeat Stalinism and Social Democracy.

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Not only that. By dispensing with historical materialism and Marxist political

## THREE ARTICLES BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER ANSWERING A DOCUMENT PUBLISHED BY THE BLICK-JENKINS GROUP CALLED 'WHY A TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM?'

without contradiction, to the conquest of power! (This fits in perfectly, of course, with his idea that you must not raise in the working class demands which will upset the existing relationship between the working class and its reformist and Stalinist parties.)

In the Organization Communiste Internationaliste, all this rotten centrism is justified by the abstractly correct assertion, repeated in all circumstances: "When the masses move, they do so in the first place through their traditional organizations." All the development takes place in people's heads.

From the published discussions of Trotsky on the Transitional Program (see Writings of Leon Trotsky 1938-1939) our critic chooses only one quotation, which by itself seems to serve his purpose: "This brings the reader only to the doorstep. It is a program for action from today until the beginning of the socialist revolution. And from the practical point of view, what is now the most important is how we can guide the different strata of the proletariat in the direction of the revolution."

But a closer reading of the very same interview with Trotsky shows that he conceived of the way forward as the very opposite of any such "gradualism," as the following quotations show:

"We have repeated many times that the scientific character of our activity consists in the fact that we adapt our program not to political conjunctures or the thought or mood of the masses as this mood is today, but we adapt our program to the objective situation as it is represented by the economic class structure of society." (Writings of Leon Trotsky 1938-1939 p. 50.)

Let us halt for a moment. Trotsky says we do not adapt the program "to political conjunctures." But our critic, telling us that he is "at great pains to develop the theoretical conception of the Transitional Program...." says: "The Transitional Program is based on each and every concrete situation to meet the demands of the situation." It is not easy to know what this means, but it certainly contradicts Trotsky's Marxist insistence that we do not start from "the political conjuncture."

Trotsky continues: "The mentality can be backward; then the political task of the party is to bring the mentality into harmony with the objective facts, to make the workers understand the objective task. But we cannot adapt the program to the backward mentality of the workers; the mentality, the mood is a secondary factor—the prime factor is the objective situation. That is why we have heard these criticisms or these appreciations that some parts of the program do not conform to the situation." (Ibid.)

### THE UNITY AND CONFLICT OF OPPOSITES

Here Trotsky is anticipating exactly the type of criticism made of the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Workers Press by the Blick-Jenkins tendency to which our critic belongs. They make great play of reports that they have come across workers who find it disturbing and unrealistic to be confronted with the warnings by our party about the military-police operations of the capitalist state. They use these reports to give credibility to their intention of abandoning any independent party position and joining the Labour Party.

Trotsky certainly would have dismissed them with contempt. He begins the discussion from which our critic quotes by placing all the emphasis on a party which will start from a unified conception of the necessities of the epoch, and bring these necessities into conflict with the consciousness of the masses:

"The significance of the program is the significance of the party. The party is the vanguard of the class..."

"Now, what is the party? In what does its cohesion consist? This cohesion is a common understanding of events, of the tasks, and this common understanding—that is the program of the party." (Ibid, p. 48.)

Just finally to correct the totally false picture given by our critic, who "has been

at great pains to develop the theoretical conception of the Transitional Program and the transitional demand," we quote from an article of Trotsky which he chose not to use:

"The political backwardness of the American working class is very great. This signifies that the danger of a fascist catastrophe is very great. This is the point of departure for all our activity. The program must express the objective tasks of the working class rather than the backwardness of the workers. It must reflect society as it is and not the backwardness of the working class. It is an instrument to overcome and vanquish the backwardness." (Ibid, p. 43.)

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The working class is to be restricted politically to the framework decided by the reformists, the agents of imperialism. The working class is to be taught by the party to judge the social-democratic program according to how far it fits in with the working class's own reformist, trade union consciousness, and not on the basis of its conflict with the urgent necessities flowing from the objective situation of capitalism in decay! In other words, the party has no role at all. The working class is not driven by the material conflict of opposites within society, between society and the rest of nature, but by its reformist ideas, to which "program" is counterposed as propaganda.

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TO BE CONTINUED



# LABOR TODAY

## ITU- No Program To Fight Unemployment

The annual convention of the International Typographical Union (ITU) held here last week failed to settle any of the major questions facing its membership.

ITU president Sandy Bevis stated these were pensions and automation, with a resulting decline in membership.

But as was brought out time and time again in the discussion, on every subject, trade unionists cannot build or maintain a union today on the basis of cooperation with the employers because of the economic crisis facing capitalism.

The employers understand that the role of the trade union bureaucracy is to keep the working class in line.

This was brought out sharply at the convention by the employers representative invited to the opening proceedings. The business manager of the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**, Robert Hentschell, stated:

"In this day of rising material and labor costs, we must have improved productivity to survive," and finished his speech by threatening the ITU leadership: "In order to survive and flourish as an industry, we must produce an error-free, on-time product, and your members share in this responsibility."

Members of the ITU have been involved in an increasing number of strikes and lockouts as the newspaper industry introduces revolutionary new techniques, replacing the majority of the men by a few machines.

The major struggles have taken place in New York, Washington DC, St. Louis, and Kansas City. The union membership, now at 111,000 was reduced by over 10,000 in the last year alone.

President Bevis stated: "We don't regard automation as a threat. Rather, we regard it as a challenge. To help our members meet the challenge we began our own training program in 1956. Now, we believe, we lead the graphic arts world in coping with the problems brought about by technological advancement in our trade."

The problem the ITU leadership has not coped with is that of maintaining jobs for its membership. The declining membership is at the heart of the pension problem. It was decided at the St. Louis convention that the union could no longer guarantee a measly \$100 per month. The discussion on this proposition continued for over a day out of the five day proceedings. It was only one of the 200 odd propositions considered, indicating the strong representation of the retired ITU members at the convention.

The crisis faced by many locals is that an increasing proportion of the membership is now applying for these benefits while the younger workers know that they will not be allowed to stay in the industry the required 25 years to become eligible.

One of the delegates from Local 226 in Vancouver reported: "One of my members up there wanted me to propose increasing the fraternal benefits to \$200. I told him what do you think I want to do, commit suicide along with the union?"

"I know the result of the lack of interest, the apathy, the declining membership and impact of automation on our field especially. One of the fellows with the local union said they used to have 110 situations. When automation hit, it went down to 18."

This struggle of the ITU members to defend their jobs and working conditions has forced the bureaucracy to step up moves towards merger with other unions in the printing industry. This will tend to break down the old "craft" nature of the union.

Although the resignation of Nixon took place in the middle of the convention, the political crisis was barely mentioned. The political issues were dealt with by the ITU's Committee on Union Label, Public Relations, and Legislation which issued a report urging pressure on the Democrats and Republicans.

The report concludes: "It is important that all local unions—in fact all members of the ITU—become active in local politics."

Thomas Eagleton, Democratic Senator from Missouri and Stuart Symington addressed the convention and were given a rousing ovation from the delegates.

The fundamental issue that is brushed under the rug by the ITU leadership is the very survival of their union, as its membership is decimated by automation. By agreeing to phasing out the work force as new equipment is brought in, the ITU is digging its own grave.

This crisis can only be answered by socialist policies and the construction of a labor party to nationalize the printing industry and use automation to benefit the working class, not the employers.

— by howard west —

# NATIONAL MINE STRIKE LOOMS AHEAD —

BY DAVID NORTH

**The decision to call a five-day nationwide shutdown of the coal mines has been forced upon Arnold Miller, president of the UMWA, by the movement of the ranks.**

After weeks of delay, Miller announced that the strike would begin on August 19. He admitted that the union headquarters in Washington, D.C. had been flooded by letters and telegrams appealing for a nationwide strike.

On Monday, 125,000 UMW members will shut 1200 mines and cost operators about 12.5 million tons of coal. This is approximately 2 percent of the estimated production for 1974.

Miners have been insisting on strike action in anticipation of the November contract deadline in order to trim the stockpiles of the operators.

According to the UMW contract, the union is entitled to call a shutdown lasting up to 10 days for a "memorial" period honoring miners murdered by coal operators in accidents caused by unsafe conditions.

Upon calling the shutdown, which will be followed by a second memorial this fall, Miller stated:

"At a time when coal miners are being asked to double or even triple coal production, it is

important to remember the price that miners have paid throughout the century to ensure the nation an adequate supply of coal. We do not intend to pay that price again."

The statistics on miners' deaths fully confirm the declaration of John L. Lewis that every ton of coal mined in the United States is smeared with blood.

Since 1900, more than 100,000 miners have been killed in accidents. Since the beginning of the year, 73 miners have been killed.

The two five-day memorials which Miller has been forced to call leave no doubt that the expiration of the contract will lead to the bitterest UMW struggle since the 1940s.

UMW locals are pressing demands for a 60 percent wage increase over the life of the contract combined with a cost of living clause. Miners are also seeking big gains in benefits that were neglected by the Boyle regime.

Although negotiations have not gotten off the ground, Miller denies that a strike is inevitable. His own unwillingness to lead a serious contract fight is indicated not only by the hesitancy with which he called the memorial but also by the fact that he has called on negotiators from the United Auto Workers to assist the UMW in bargaining.

Miller, on the eve of the contract deadline, turns to the Woodcock bureaucracy which betrayed auto workers in the 1973 auto negotiations.

However, Miller faces powerful opposition among the

ranks. The miners plan to demonstrate their militancy with rallies around the country.

One of the rallies will be held in Farmington, W. Va., scene of the 1968 explosion which left 78 miners dead.

Another rally will be held in Harlan, Kentucky where the battle to rebuild the UMW and throw out the scab mines enters its thirteenth month.

One of the reasons Miller could not resist the demands for a memorial is that miners throughout the country have been insisting on a demonstration of support for the miners of Harlan County.

Mickey Messer, president of the Brookside UMW local, was nearly killed with the rest of his family when gun thugs recruited by the Duke Power Company blasted his house with gun shot.

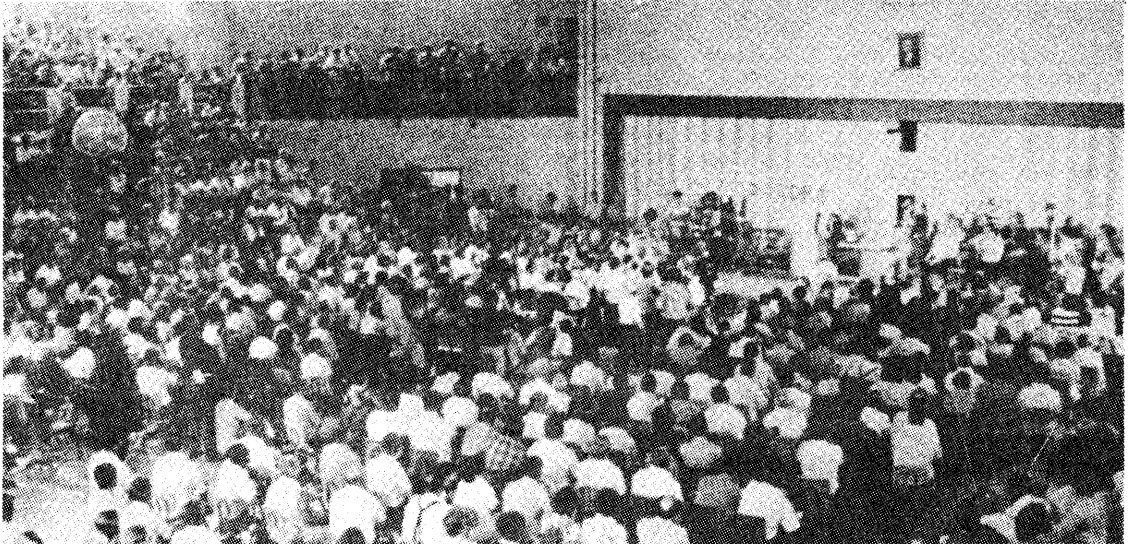
Messer's sister, Mrs. Dennis Lewis, told the **Bulletin** that Duke Power has a bounty set up for him and that gun thugs are determined to kill the local president.

Mrs. Lewis said that her brother has moved his children out of the house because he expects another attack.

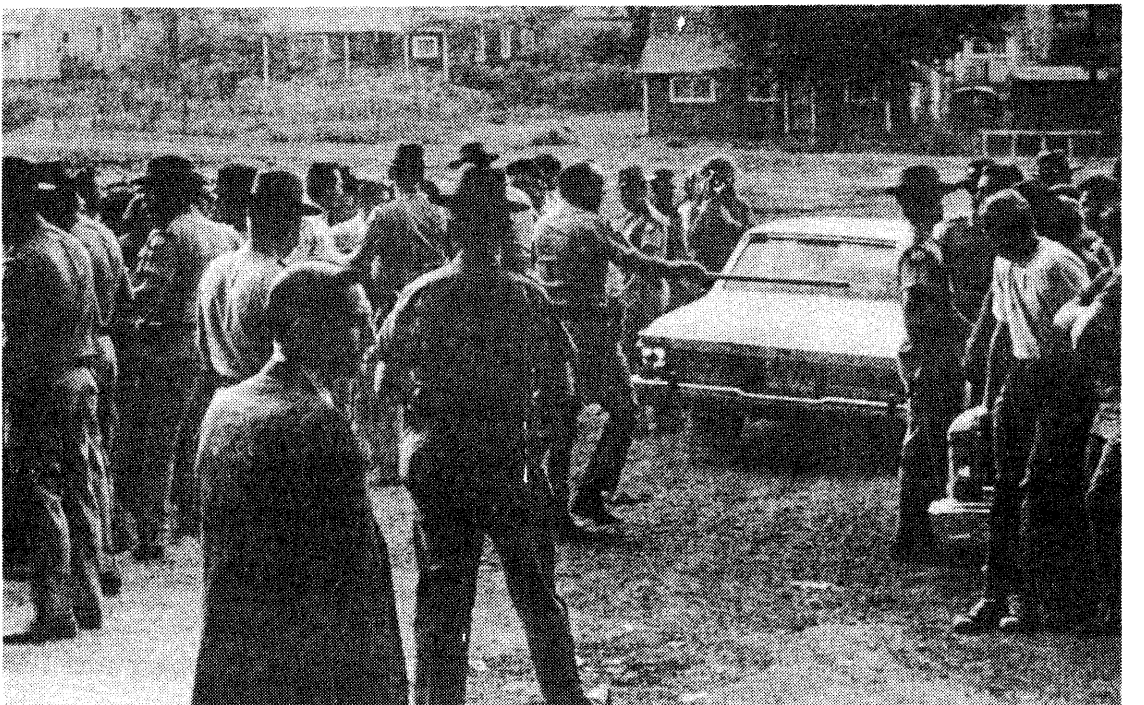
"I'm sure the police won't protect him because they're all bought off," she declared.

On Thursday, 13 pickets outside the Highsplint mine were arrested. Tom Pysell, a Harlan organizer, stated that the atmosphere in Harlan is extremely tense.

"You never know what the next day will bring," he declared.



Above, the mass rally to defend the Harlan miners. Below, state troopers in Harlan.





# FMC Strikers Ready To Defy Court Order

**BY JAY NELSON**  
NORTH MINNEAPOLIS—Court proceedings continue against UAW Local 683 leaders charged with ordering mass picketing which shut down FMC's naval ordnance plant last week.

FMC is pressing for an injunction limiting the picketing so that scabs can get through. 500 strikers barricaded the entrances and shut down plant 506 after 16 weeks on the picket line.

All traffic into and out of FMC remains halted.

FMC's last contract offer was rejected by strikers on July 23. Since then, negotiations have completely broken down.

Local officials report that the US Navy which leases the plant to FMC has provided funds to pay strikebreakers by allowing FMC to chalk up the expense of having office workers run the machines.

One striker told the *Bulletin* that before the strike, FMC employed about 300 office personnel. After 16 weeks of the strike, FMC acquired as many as 500 more office workers. In the Minneapolis papers, FMC advertises for computer operators, but those that are hired are put to work in the shop.

A strike captain told the *Bulletin*, "The barricades were or-

ganized by people who just sit around talking to people and calling their buddies. Something had to be done and everyone knew it.

"For 16 weeks they've been running overseas while we shut the place down. The local leadership played no role in this at all. We took it out of their hands and into ours and that's the way it's going to stay."

Another striker said, "We just got a vote on the phones and started calling everyone. We've been talking about it for a long time and then it just snowballed."

"On Tuesday we had almost 500 guys on our side. We barricaded the entrances with our cars. Scabs lined up across the street and it was like a show-down."

"Only one guy tried to break through and he didn't. Wednesday was even better because a lot of guys saw it on the news and decided to come over."

A Minneapolis judge ordered an injunction August 7 against blocking the entrances to the plant but the union pointed out that the injunction prohibited blocking truck traffic only.

The strike captains said that if they do pass a new injunction they'll have to send the police down to try to enforce it.

The local leadership must be forced to recognize mass picketing which is the only way to keep the scabs out.

Minnesota labor must support FMC strikers against all efforts to defeat the strike.

## GHR Remains Shut

**BY DOROTHY WRIGHT**  
DAYTON, Ohio, Aug. 15—GHR Foundry Workers, members of United Electrical Workers, Local 765, are determined to win their eight week old strike.

There have been only three negotiating sessions since the strike began on June 30, with a federal mediator, Wesley Vanover.

There have been no bargaining sessions for the last two weeks and union officials now state that "talks with the mediator have done no good." At the same time they state they are "waiting for a call from the mediator at any time."

The latest strike breaking effort of the company has been in the form of individual letters sent to the strikers, attempting to sell the workers their offer. Only 56 cents over three years is being offered. The company refuses to take the cap off the cost of living, offering only vague "possible increases" of no more than 28 cents an hour.

Countering the union's demand for "25 and out," retirement, the company only agreed to lower the age requirement to 55 from 62, still requiring 30 years.

A picket told the *Bulletin*, "With inflation what it is, we couldn't possibly make out on what the company wants to give us. Living under Gerald Ford's regime is going to be hell, if nothing is done about it."

A worker in the iron pouring department told the *Bulletin*:

"If that's all they're offering, we may as well close down. The company is worse than Nixon. If we aren't strong with this strike, if we don't show them we mean business, GHR will do whatever they want from now on."

"Lots of men have been messed up working in GHR, the conditions are so bad. It's a danger to your health just to be in there."

"The work is rough and it's hot. Inhaling all those fumes off the iron, it goes right into your lungs. One worker had to have one of his lungs removed, and I don't know how many workers have died from working in there."

"Just the noise alone can mess up your nervous system. The shakeout is even worse than iron pouring; if I had to go back there, I'd quit. There should be a law that no one can work in a foundry for more than 20 years. By the time you've been in there 30 years you're ready to die."

"Nixon's out—but his man's in there. The way I look at it, he's there to carry out Nixon's plans."

"The company thinks they're holding the aces, that after six or seven weeks, the men will be running back in there. But they have a group of young workers they don't know. No one is going to cross that picket line."

The union office is being besieged by workers demanding that the union leadership fight to win this strike and that they provide strike benefits. One worker went down to the union hall for rent payment, but was told he would have to have an eviction notice.



Cincinnati concrete drivers, members of Teamsters Local 100, on strike. In last issue of *Bulletin*, UAW members in Dayton, Ohio were incorrectly identified as concrete drivers.

## Republic Steel Men Plan Fight On Seniority Ruling

**BY FRED MUELLER**  
YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—"Why should we pay \$10.00 a month union dues and the government rules us? Employees at Republic are going to build a union inside this union and fight this thing out."

Sonny Buchanan is one of many Youngstown area steel workers organizing to fight recent attacks on seniority rights.

A circuit court decision has shifted seniority from a department basis to a plantwide basis for all eight major national steel corporations.

This new ruling means that priority for job bids will go to the workers serving most time in the plant, rather than in the department. This will mean drastic changes in seniority ratings for almost every worker, bumping everybody except the very oldest into lower paying categories.

The steel companies are preparing for drastic layoffs as the current steel boom cannot continue under conditions of deepening world recession.

The court reversal of the standard interpretation of Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is being used to disrupt all previous seniority rights and pit workers in every department against each other.

A worker from the Brier Hill works of Sheet and Tube described how this decision is already working. "Guys who have been working 25 or 26 years are losing jobs to guys who are transferring in after two years in the department."

"When you bid for a job, the oldest seniority gets it. For 30 years it's been a tradition that the oldest ones get the jobs with the extra money, like the hi-lift jobs."

"Now a man who's worked there since 1948 can get bumped off a job by a man who's only been there since the plant was opened."

"There are a lot of unhappy people at Sheet and Tube. I just got back from vacation. Before I was the oldest extra hi-lift man in my department which meant that I could pick up on a hi-lift job three or four times a week."

That is four job classes higher than my other job.

"Now I doubt if I ever will get a chance to drive again. A lot of guys are really upset. I guess if I really had to depend on the money I would be too."

"They are trying to pit people against each other, exactly. Guys who have been getting along together for years, they're all mad at each other."

"If they put this thing through people are going to be pitted up against one another."

Steel workers are planning to hold a meeting on August 17 to map out a strategy to prevent the decision from being carried out.

In an interview with the *Bulletin*, the president of Local 1331 said, "We had no decision-making in it. All we do is implement it. People are saying they won't accept it but it's the law. I'm just here on the implementing committee to put it into effect."

Sonny Buchanan said, "Since the government stepped in, we have no rights. The government is running the show. Abel sold us down the drain. We are paying \$10.00 a month dues for nothing."

"People want to strike now to

stop this but we won't get our \$150 bonus if we strike because Abel would make it 'unauthorized'.

"The union is even making us pay to rent our own union hall to hold this meeting. We need to force the union, persuade them to do something. That is why we plan to stop paying our dues."

Automation has seen jobs at the Youngstown plant of Republic Steel go from 6000 in the 1930s to 4000 in the 1960s, to 2600 today.

It is critical that steel workers unite behind a leadership to defend all working conditions, force strike action to prevent the implementation of attacks on seniority rights, for a 20 percent wage reopener and the removal of the no-strike pledge.

The fight for seniority rights must be a fight for full job security for all with guarantee of no layoffs through a shorter work week with no cut in pay.

The Trade Union Alliance For a Labor Party is fighting for this program on the basis of a campaign for a labor party, against Ford and the Democrats, to nationalize basic industries under workers control.

## 5000 Strike Harvester

DAYTON, Ohio—5000 workers at the International Harvester plant in Springfield, Ohio walked out on a wildcat strike last week after 40 men were fired for refusing to work.

The management immediately suspended the entire workforce for refusing an order to return to their jobs.

The 40 workers were protesting the company's firing of the chief shop steward and three others for organizing a rebellion against forced overtime.

The men have now gone back after winning reinstatement of all three.

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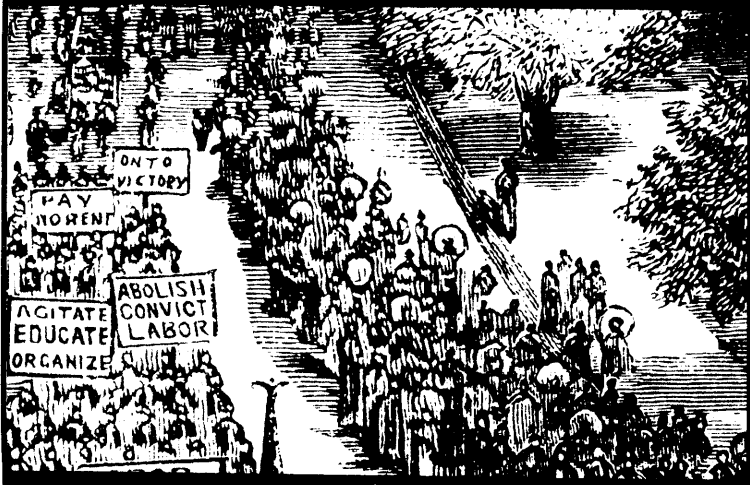
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books

by Sheila Brehm

PART TWO



Nancy Fields &amp; Tim Wohlforth

## The American Working Class a materialist assessment

The American Working Class—A Materialist Assessment by Nancy Fields and Tim Wohlforth. Labor Publications, New York, 1974. 383 pages. \$3.45.

This book is vital reading for arming workers and youth with the knowledge of the material conditions which have shaped the development of the American working class in order to build the revolutionary party today.

From the beginning, the American ruling class ruled ruthlessly, never giving the masses of people anything willingly. America was settled for one reason—for profit. It was settled without a feudal past, and without therefore the struggle that was waged in Europe against feudalism and its ideology.

America was settled with great brutality, violently driving the Indians off their land, destroying communal ownership of property, and replacing it with private ownership.

Contrary to what we are often taught in the schools, America was never a land free of class conflicts. "It is reported that when the first settlers approached American soil, they were forced to anchor the Mayflower in Plymouth Rock for a day while they were engaged in bitterest struggle among themselves."

Describing colonial America, Wohlforth writes: "The American capitalists, from the earliest days, found themselves seeking to stay afloat and on top in a sea of dissent. They were but a thin strata on top of a massive small farmer population and a sizeable embryonic proletariat in the cities.

"In the South, the slave owners ruled precariously with terror, over a veritable army of 600,000 slaves...Slave conspiracies and revolts were common even in this early period.

"The American fledgling capitalist class learned very early that it had to rule under conditions in which it stood in a weakened position against the mass of the people. It had to rule therefore, always in a masked way. It had to learn the methods of rule which kept the capitalists on top, while giving the illusion to the masses that they in some sense ruled."

The period of the colonial rebellions was marked by the struggles of the class of small farmers, joined by middle class elements from the cities against big capital, against the very logic of capital to become bigger and bigger and more concentrated. The character of these struggles still shapes American thinking today.

The American Revolution was

not as Aptheker and Novack see it, for the idea of democracy without any historic limitations. It represented a necessary break by the American capitalist class from British capital.

The wealthy merchant class of the north and the slaveowning class of the south were being suffocated by British rule. It was a bourgeois revolution, necessary for the expansion of capitalism.

The ruling classes utilized the broad masses to win the war, knowing full well that the revolutionary fervor of the masses against British rule would soon be turned against their rule as well.

After the revolution, the task of the small capitalist class was to establish its rule over the mass of small farmers and the developing working class.

In this present period of the decay of capitalism, the ruling class resurrects, so to speak, the most reactionary characteristics of its early development.

The Constitution was used by the ruling class in the 18th century to maintain the power of the small strata of bankers, merchants and wealthy planters over the great mass of small farmers, artisans and embryonic proletariat.

Today, it seeks to use the most reactionary elements of that Constitution to crush the masses, break with Constitutional government entirely, and impose dictatorship.

This is shown most clearly in the development of the presidency. The early leaders of the American bourgeoisie like Madison and Hamilton deliberately left great ambiguities in the Constitution on the exact power of the President. By giving the Presidency many attributes of the British monarchy, they aimed to create a strong central power against the masses.

In this period, the very ambiguities surrounding the presidency were used by Nixon to forge the instrument of dictatorship. In the youth of American capitalism, the presidency represented a turn back toward the reactionary institution of monarchy. In its senility, the presidency is transformed into a stepping stone toward dictatorship.

The section of the book on the Whiskey Rebellion deserves attention, as it was "the military crushing of the Whiskey Rebels that firmly established the rule of big capital in practice." Workers will draw rich lessons from this chapter as they must battle the corporations which seek to establish their authority through the crushing of unions and basic democratic rights.

TO BE CONTINUED

# Drivers, Mechanics Strike LA Bus Lines



BY SHANNON JONES

Over 3700 bus drivers and mechanics walked off their jobs, midnight Aug. 11 to begin a strike against the Southern California Rapid Transit District.

The strike immediately halted all public bus service in Los Angeles County and parts of Riverside, Orange and San Bernadino counties.

Freeways are now jammed with commuters who cannot take the buses and are forced to drive to work. Before the strike 650,000 people used the buses, the only means of public transportation in the entire area.

The drivers and mechanics who are represented by two different unions, the United Transportation Union and the Amalgamated Transportation Workers, walked out together over their demands for major pay increases. The strike has been delayed since last May, when the contract expired by a State regulation requiring a fact finding commission to submit a report. In its report the state-appointed board recommended a 7 percent wage increase. The RTD has offered 6 percent. The drivers are demanding 46 percent over two years.

Bus drivers now earn \$5.32 an hour—a dollar less than striking Oakland drivers are now getting.

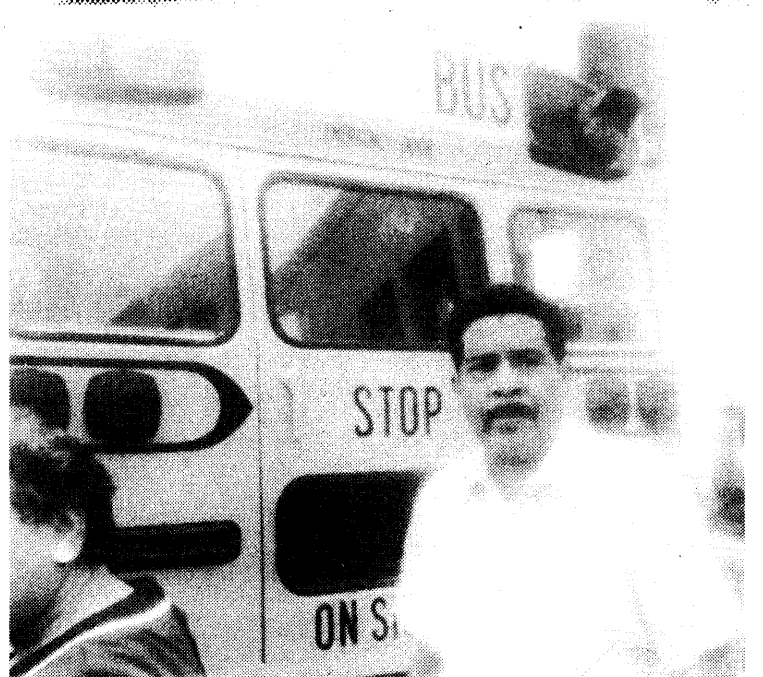
Limited to a five and one-half percent pay increase two years ago, the over 3000 RTD drivers are determined to catch up with the scales of drivers in other cities such as Oakland where a bus strike is in its seventh week.

Ron Reedy, a driver interviewed by the Bulletin, commented on the reasons for the strike.

"The company has offered us something that is ridiculous. We might as well go to Mexico and come back and work as cheap labor. My paycheck's gone every time I get it, and all I have is a wife and a son.

"I have got to drive here 50 miles each day just to be on picket duty, and you know that's not cheap with the price of gas. But we've got to do something, we've got to stick together and stay organized, otherwise nothing will change. Conditions will just keep getting worse.

"We get \$25 a year clothing allowance. The pants alone cost \$28. I've got six uniforms. You have to buy the watch the company specifies, the cheapest is



Bus drivers picket in Los Angeles in a long delayed fight for a 46 percent pay increase.

\$75. It takes money to get this job."

Drivers feel they are underpaid for many reasons. Reedy said that driving a \$40,000 bus is a huge responsibility, especially when you've got the lives of maybe 60 people to worry about too. And the company won't back you up, they'll charge a driver for an accident even if it's the other guy's fault."

Last October 400 drivers staged a sick-in to protest the lack of action by the company on the problem of attacks on bus drivers. It is estimated that 170 drivers each year are victims of unprovoked assaults.

"We can't get proper help. This old guy was getting beat up in the back of the bus, but I knew if I tried to do anything I would get beat up too. All I can do is keep driving.

"And one night a guy pulled a knife on me over a cigarette, and these two regular riders who knew me grabbed him, and threw the knife out the window. It's not their job to help me. I couldn't get no help nowhere.

"We go in and fill out an accident report, but the union never finds out. Someone should be in the bus with the driver at all times, you're too busy watching traffic to be watching the back of the bus."

Another driver said, "I think we deserve more money especially with the harassment we get. They won't print these incidents in the paper, but there's a lot of them. We don't get the protection we need."

Three months ago bus drivers voted by a bare margin to retain the United Transportation Union as their bargaining agent, after a

movement by workers to affiliate with Bus Union Service. There was much dissatisfaction with the fact that Southern California Bus drivers rank 18th in the nation among bus drivers in major cities, as far as pay scales. The low wage settlement attained two years ago where the union settled after a week's strike also created disaffection.

"They almost merged this union with the Teamsters. Now they'll have to show us they stand behind us," said Reedy. Other drivers expressed similar sentiment. "I know this union's got to stand behind us. They know if they don't we'll get another one."

Since the bus system is the only public transportation in the Los Angeles metropolitan area the strike is having a serious affect on commuting. One woman, an ex-bus rider interviewed said, "It now costs me \$7 a day to take a cab to work and back. It's the city's fault. How can they expect those guys to get along with the prices the way they are today?"

Mayor Bradley who is now talking about the need for mass transportation, about spending hundreds of millions of dollars for an urban mass transit system in the next five years, stands on the side of the RTD management.

One bus driver had strong feelings about the need for a labor party and the defense of the unions. "If they try to break up the unions, that will start a revolution. We went through all that struggle in the thirties to build the unions. We can't give up the unions, that's our stick.



# Cab Drivers Boo Bowen On Contract

BY SHEILA BREHM  
LOS ANGELES—Jack Bowen, president of the cab drivers union, was roundly condemned by driver after driver, when he presented Yellow Cab's latest offer.

One member of Teamsters Local 640 rose to say, "Did anybody on this negotiating committee ever think to tell Yellow Cab that we make all their money for them? That's how these negotiations should start."

When Bowen declared that the current offer, "is the best damn contract in the whole United

States," and that "we have protected all our past gains," he was answered with boos and cat-calls.

"What about new gains, what about San Francisco drivers' contract, why didn't you fight for that?" shouted several drivers.

Along with a higher pension plan and other benefits, San Francisco cab drivers received six paid holidays in addition to the paid vacation.

### ALL-TIME LOW

One driver pointing to Bowen declared, "Your credibility is reaching an all-time low. You no longer represent us, you represent the company. And I wouldn't vote for this contract if I had a dime."

The agreement still contains the hated no-strike clause, and only a \$300 a month pension. An older driver said, "That amount won't buy bread for a month with this inflation."

In a compromise deal with Yellow Cab, union leaders agreed to extend the work day from nine hours to ten hours, on a voluntary basis.

"I don't have a family to spend my time with," said one driver, "but whoever agreed to a possible ten hour day is slightly inhuman. We have no time for ourselves as it is."

### FIFTY PERCENT

Drivers with one year of seniority receive fifty percent of the meter, but this has been eroded by the increased cost of gas. Drivers estimate that about \$200 is being lost annually this way.

Voting on Yellow Cabs latest offer will not take place until next week, but if the meeting is any indication, it will be an overwhelming rejection.



Farmworkers on strike against tomato growers in Stockton California read the Bulletin.

# Jung Sai Strike Enters Fifth Week

BY MARTY MORAN  
SAN FRANCISCO—Garment workers at Jung Sai (Great Chinese-American) Sewing Company are going into the fifth week of their strike, the biggest strike ever organized by the ILGWU in Chinatown.

Jung Sai was closed down on the third day of the strike. Workers have shifted their picketing to the parent company, Esprit de Corps, which maintains a warehouse and cutting room, but lets out the sewing formerly done at Jung Sai to several Chinatown sweatshops.

The strike has been led by young workers who were able to speak English and get in touch with the union. Frankie, the young worker whose firing touched off the strike, explained, "As soon as they found out I was involved in organizing the ladies into the union, they just picked some excuse to lay me off."

The Bulletin interviewed Rose, a young button-sewer. She said that when button-sewers making two cents a button started to get more than two dollars an hour as they became more experienced, the company lowered the piece rate to one and a half cents a button.

Rose and many other workers were arrested on the picket line two weeks ago. "There were about fifteen when we were arrested, all in a small paddy wagon. Some nearly fainted. There was 38 the first time. The second time there was 15. They searched us and made us take our clothes off. There was no warning, they just came and said, 'you're all under arrest.'"

Rose said, "We're all much more united now than at first. Now we're having an English class. We come out in the morning and we all picket and then at ten o'clock we begin classes—beginning, intermediate, and advanced. Many people now volunteer to go to meetings and to speak."

The critical question facing the strikers is the necessity to picket and close down the scab shops in Chinatown which are taking over the work from Jung Sai. Strikers said this move was being considered.



Workers at Jung Sai sewing company in Chinatown are considering expanding their picketing.

# Hospital Pay Checks Bounce

BY TED BAKER  
SAN FRANCISCO—"How would you feel if your paycheck bounced? Angry? Well you bet we're angry," said one worker striking Golden Gate Community Hospital.

Some paychecks have bounced as many as three times. Some workers have gone for up to a month without receiving pay for their work.

A nurses aide on the picket line told the Bulletin: "After I cashed my check the bank sent it back with a note that I had to pay them the money to cover the check or they would take my savings account away."

"So I went down to the hospital's bank and they told me they had no money in the bank. How can you care for patients when you're not being paid. It's like the 1930s."

Nearly all of the 82 employees of the hospital, including nurses, technicians, and aides have gone

out on strike. They are being supported by the doctors, who have moved their patients to other hospitals.

Golden Gate is the smallest general care hospital in San Francisco with only 72 beds. Most of its patients are workers with blue cross insurance or elderly people with Medi-Cal and Medicare.

Last year the hospital lost over \$50,000 every month, and to avoid bankruptcy a slick hospital company, Roth Rourke International, was called in.

### BANKRUPT

An emergency room technician said, "Roth Rourke came in here to make money. They make money off of hospitals going bankrupt. Last year they took over another little hospital and it went bankrupt. They do this all over the country."

Since Roth Rourke took over management of the hospital it has completely remodeled and redecorated at tremendous expense "to attract new doctors."

A nurse explained, "How can they spend all this money on new carpets and chairs, then not pay

their employees? There were times when this hospital had only seven or eight patients in it and we still got paid. When our checks bounced, we had 54 patients. So why don't they have the money?"

Roth Rourke claims that the bounced paychecks are due to a "temporary cash flow problem." Over \$300,000 is owed to the hospital by insurance companies and Medi-Cal and Medicare, but has not been paid, according to Roth Rourke, because forms were improperly filled out.

### LAY OFF

Roth Rourke has announced that it will definitely lay off as many as half of Golden Gate's employees when the strike ends, due to loss of patients.

One hospital worker said, "Golden Gate is just the worst of the bunch. They can't run a hospital and lose money, sometimes it costs over \$1000 a day for just one patient, and the insurance companies and Medi-Cal never pay the full costs."

"If this place goes broke, it'll just be the first, a lot more hospitals are in the same boat."

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

# lucha obrera

—lucía rivera—

## Demandemos Nuevas Elecciones

Gerald Ford no tiene ninguna autoridad para gobernar. Nadie eligió a Ford excepto Nixon y los banqueros e industriales que gobiernan este país.

La clase obrera no aceptará este gobierno. Todo el movimiento obrero debe de llamar a demostraciones masivas demandando nuevas elecciones.

Es debido a la crisis económica y la incapacidad del gobierno para detener la ofensiva de la clase obrera que se produce la caída de Richard Nixon.

Por un lado, como consecuencia de la crisis, los capitalistas se ven obligados a continuar sus ataques contra la clase obrera a través de la política de inflación y desempleo combinada con represión policial, virando ahora a cortar el presupuesto público y el crédito. Y por el otro lado, está la determinación de los trabajadores de luchar en defensa de cada uno de sus derechos básico y beneficios ganados en el pasado.

Hoy, la clase obrera se encuentra en la ofensiva. Más de 600 trabajadores en huelga en la planta de municiones de la FMC en Minneapolis, Minnesota, continúan un piquete masivo en defensa de las demandas de su contrato. En Newark, Nueva Jersey, los trabajadores electricistas de la inmensa planta de Western Electric están en huelga determinados a ganar sus demandas aún a pesar de provocaciones y arrestos policiales.

En Manhattan, las tiendas de A&P fueron cerradas en todo el área metropolitana por 18 mil carniceros que demandaban un aumento salarial.

Una ola de huelgas abarcando todos los sectores industriales en todo el territorio del país deja sin duda la fuerza y determinación de la clase obrera. Hace solo unas semanas, 50 mil trabajadores de la construcción marcharon por las calles de Trenton, Nueva Jersey, protestando contra el desempleo.

Una inflación que supera el 44 por ciento anual, la continua caída de los precios de las acciones en Wall Street, donde se corren rumores de bancarrotas y recesión, muestran claramente la intensidad de la crisis capitalista.

Estas nuevas condiciones económicas, combinadas con la determinación de los trabajadores para defender sus niveles de vida, obligan al gobierno a implantar hoy una nueva política de desempleo masivo y cortes salariales.

Nixon no se encontraba en condiciones de usar el poder de la presidencia para llevar adelante estos nuevos ataques por estar desacreditado debido al escándalo de Watergate.

Bajo estas condiciones, sus asesores más cercanos, las mismas personas que lo defendieron incondicionalmente como Henry Kissinger, Arthur Burns y el General Alexander Haig, conspiraron en contra de él para permitir a la presidencia hacer uso de sus poderes en contra de la clase obrera. En este sentido, fue la fuerza de la clase obrera la que obliga a Nixon a renunciar.

El nuevo presidente, Gerald Ford y los consejeros de Nixon representan los intereses de los banqueros y la gran industria.

Ninguno de estos asesores de Nixon han dejado sus puestos en el gobierno. El General Alexander Haig, que colaborara con Nixon en encubrir el escándalo de Watergate durante los últimos 15 meses, mantiene su puesto en la Casa Blanca.

Ford también mantiene a Arthur Burns como Presidente del Banco Federal de Reserva, quien ha declarado que se necesitan más de dos años de recesión para 'controlar' la inflación. Y Henry Kissinger, cuya principal preocupación es defender los intereses del capital americano en el extranjero, se mantiene como Secretario de Estado.

Ford odia a la clase obrera. Desde 1965 se ha opuesto al Medicare, ciudades modelo, subsidios a la renta, al programa de cupones de alimentos, ayuda para el tránsito masivo, llegando al colmo oponiéndose al acta por la exterminación de las ratas.

La política de desempleo masivo y cortes salariales, política que la clase obrera ya ha demostrado que no va a aceptar, solo pueden ser implementadas estableciendo un regimen dictatorial para forzar a los trabajadores a aceptar las nuevas condiciones.

Los Demócratas y Republicanos están unidos en contra de la clase obrera. Toda la burocracia laboral, encabezada por personas como Meany y Woodcock, ha hecho público su deseo de colaborar con Ford. Esto significa que están deseosos de aceptar la política de Ford.

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already pleaded guilty to various theft charges and are presently awaiting sentence. Judging by the treatment of their colleagues, these convicted criminals have little to fear.

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Mayor Jack Hunter, while sending a telegram of support to Ford and expressing his sadness over Nixon's "tragedy," has found jobs in Youngstown's Water Department for at least two of the admitted thieves.

Every worker in Youngstown can see what this system of class justice means. There is one standard for the rulers and their hired servants and another one for working class. County judges are notorious for the harsh sentences handed down for the most minor thefts and other crimes.



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

# lucha obrera

—lucía rivera—

## Demandemos Nuevas Elecciones

Gerald Ford no tiene ninguna autoridad para gobernar. Nadie eligió a Ford excepto Nixon y los banqueros e industriales que gobiernan este país.

La clase obrera no aceptará este gobierno. Todo el movimiento obrero debe de llamar a demostraciones masivas demandando nuevas elecciones.

Es debido a la crisis económica y la incapacidad del gobierno para detener la ofensiva de la clase obrera que se produce la caída de Richard Nixon.

Por un lado, como consecuencia de la crisis, los capitalistas se ven obligados a continuar sus ataques contra la clase obrera a través de la política de inflación y desempleo combinada con represión policial, virando ahora a cortar el presupuesto público y el crédito. Y por el otro lado, está la determinación de los trabajadores de luchar en defensa de cada uno de sus derechos básico y beneficios ganados en el pasado.

Hoy, la clase obrera se encuentra en la ofensiva. Más de 600 trabajadores en huelga en la planta de municiones de la FMC en Minneapolis, Minnesota, continúan un piquete masivo en defensa de las demandas de su contrato. En Newark, Nueva Jersey, los trabajadores electricistas de la inmensa planta de Western Electric están en huelga determinados a ganar sus demandas aún a pesar de provocaciones y arrestos policiales.

En Manhattan, las tiendas de A&P fueron cerradas en todo el área metropolitana por 18 mil carniceros que demandaban un aumento salarial.

Una ola de huelgas abarcando todos los sectores industriales en todo el territorio del país deja sin duda la fuerza y determinación de la clase obrera. Hace solo unas semanas, 50 mil trabajadores de la construcción marcharon por las calles de Trenton, Nueva Jersey, protestando contra el desempleo.

Una inflación que supera el 44 por ciento anual, la continua caída de los precios de las acciones en Wall Street, donde se corren rumores de bancarrotas y recesión, muestran claramente la intensidad de la crisis capitalista.

Estas nuevas condiciones económicas, combinadas con la determinación de los trabajadores para defender sus niveles de vida, obligan al gobierno a implantar hoy una nueva política de desempleo masivo y cortes salariales.

Nixon no se encontraba en condiciones de usar el poder de la presidencia para llevar adelante estos nuevos ataques por estar desacreditado debido al escándalo de Watergate.

Bajo estas condiciones, sus asesores más cercanos, las mismas personas que lo defendieron incondicionalmente como Henry Kissinger, Arthur Burns y el General Alexander Haig, conspiraron en contra de él para permitir a la presidencia hacer uso de sus poderes en contra de la clase obrera. En este sentido, fue la fuerza de la clase obrera la que obliga a Nixon a renunciar.

El nuevo presidente, Gerald Ford y los consejeros de Nixon representan los intereses de los banqueros y la gran industria.

Ninguno de estos asesores de Nixon han dejado sus puestos en el gobierno. El General Alexander Haig, que colaborara con Nixon en encubrir el escándalo de Watergate durante los últimos 15 meses, mantiene su puesto en la Casa Blanca.

Ford también mantiene a Arthur Burns como Presidente del Banco Federal de Reserva, quien ha declarado que se necesitan más de dos años de recesión para 'controlar' la inflación. Y Henry Kissinger, cuya principal preocupación es defender los intereses del capital americano en el extranjero, se mantiene como Secretario de Estado.

Ford odia a la clase obrera. Desde 1965 se ha opuesto al Medicare, ciudades modelo, subsidios a la renta, al programa de cupones de alimentos, ayuda para el tránsito masivo, llegando al colmo oponiéndose al acta por la exterminación de las ratas.

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