

Bulletin

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

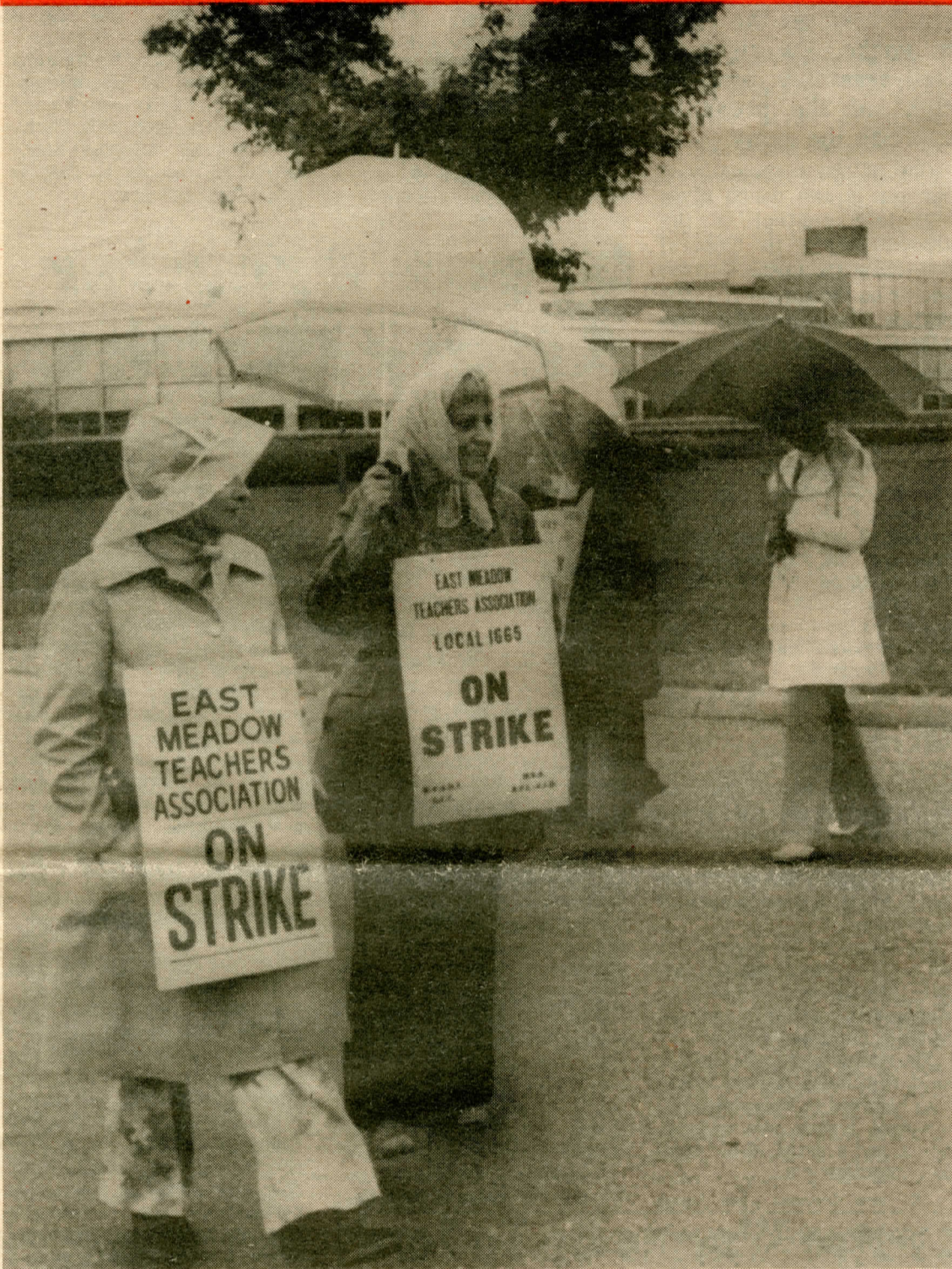
HOOPER
JUL 29 1975
INST
NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

VOLUME TEN NUMBER SIXTY NINE 405

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1974

UNION LABEL 6 C-748

TWENTY CENTS



Teachers in East Meadow, Long Island, picket McCleary JHS in strike for wage increase. See story page 12.

Why Ford Pardoned Nixon

THE BIG FIX

BY DAVID NORTH
Gerald Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon is an expression of the enormous political crisis of the ruling class and its preparations for a savage attack on the working class.

Ford has come to Nixon's rescue because he knows that any public trial of this criminal would expose before millions the vast conspiracy organized by the most powerful forces of big business against the basic rights of the working class.

Since coming into office, Ford has ruthlessly pressed ahead with the policies that Nixon was too weak to implement. The deflationary policies he advocates have already produced a sharp rise in unemployment which will grow more severe as the recession deepens. At the same time, inflation continues to drive down the living standards of every working class family.

Ford knows that these policies cannot be imposed peacefully upon the working class. To-

ther with Rockefeller, he must step up the pace of the conspiracy developed in the last administration.

This is why Ford has acted to shut down the Watergate case just as Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski was on the verge of handing down indictments against Nixon.

A public trial of Nixon would inevitably shed light on all the elements of the Watergate conspiracy that big business wants so desperately to cover up. The relation between Nixon and the military, which apparently included discussions on the possibility of a coup to prevent impeachment, would come out in a trial and expose the actual preparations for dictatorship being made behind closed doors.

(Continued On Page 12)

In The Weekend
Edition

•James P. Cannon:
1890-1974, Part I of an
assessment of his life
by Tim Wohlforth.

Labor Must Call Its Own Summit

BY TIM WOHLFORTH
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The purpose of the summit is to enlist the support of these bureaucrats in breaking the wages movement of the American working class. This is part of the preparation of the Ford-Rockefeller government for the destruction of the trade unions themselves.

Trade unionists must demand the withdrawal of the trade union leaders from the September 11 meeting and from the overall summit September 27-28. We must demand that labor call its own summit to map out

its own policies to defend the labor movement from the attacks of Ford and Rockefeller.

Such a labor summit must organize a new party, a labor party based on the trade unions, to implement these policies.

The first of the preparatory summits, held with leading economists, makes clear the strategy of Ford-Rockefeller and their billionaire backers. Economic policies have already been worked out and Ford has no intention of changing them in the slightest.

The purpose of the summit is to create a "consensus," to unite as much as possible all sections of the ruling class around Ford's policy to bring the labor bureaucracy into this common front to beat back the working class.

Nearly all the economists at the first summit warned Ford of the dangers of wide scale unemployment and even the collapse of whole industries if the tight money policies of Ford were persisted in. They also pointed out that these policies would not

appreciably ease the rate of inflation.

They were not informing Ford of anything he did not already know. Ford is willing to risk the collapse of whole industries if this is necessary to create the conditions for breaking the working class with unemployment.

This is why, in the immediate aftermath of the summit, top government economic spokesmen Alan Greenspan and William Simon stated that they would not budge one inch from their tight money policy.

Simon stated that "fiscal and monetary restraint must be exercised patiently and consistently for a sustained period of time."

Greenspan made it clear that nothing would be done about the rise in unemployment. A new high in the unemployment figure, 5.4 percent, was announced right in the aftermath of the summit. He also made clear that new slashes in the Federal bud-

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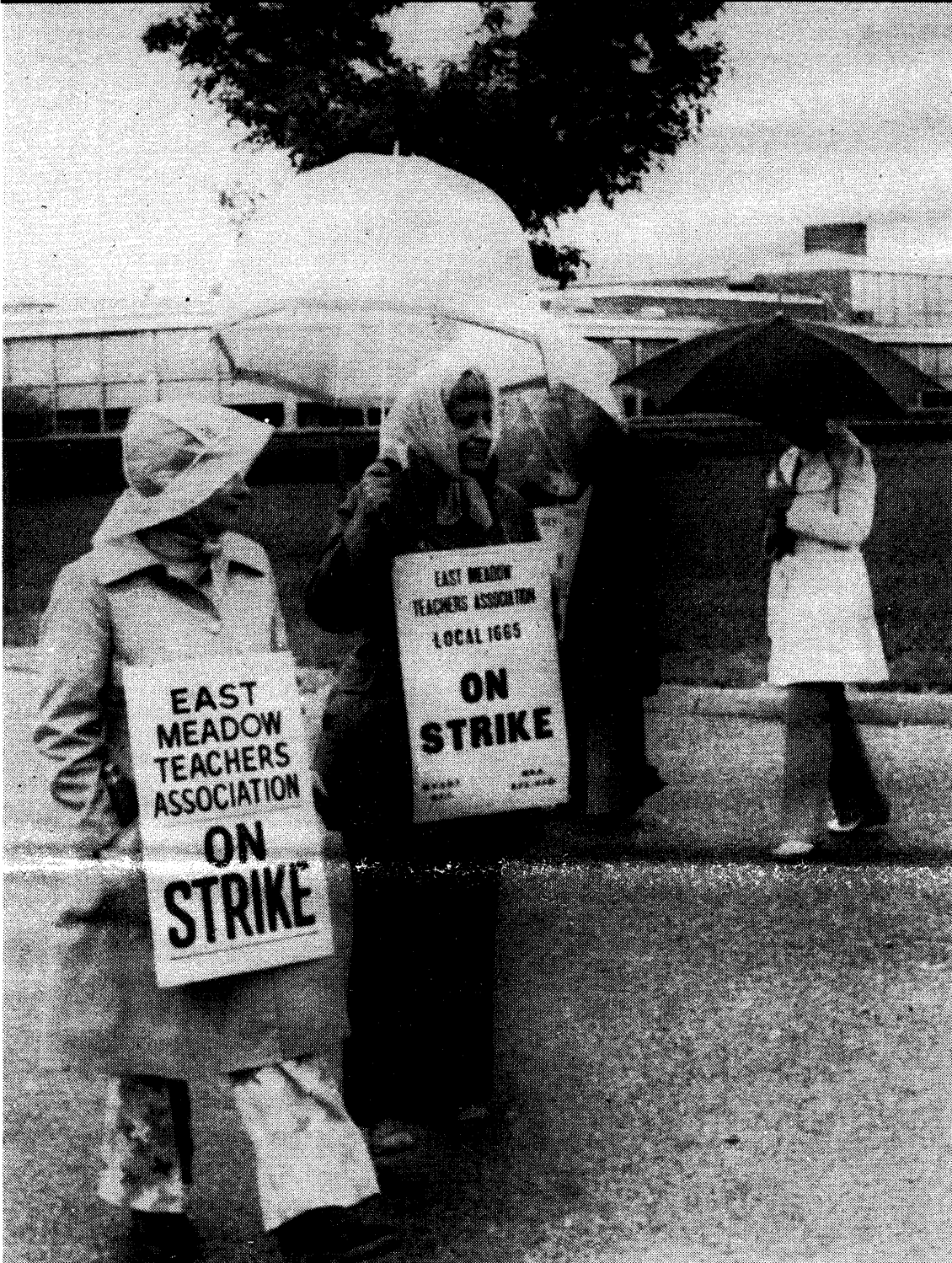
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Seamen from the French liner, France, rally at pier against threat to put ship out of service by end of September.

Unemployment Up 15% In France

Unemployment in France is rising sharply while the cost of living has increased by nearly 15 percent over the past year.

The figures were released by the Ministry of Labor only 48 hours after a major television address by the president, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

The number out of work at the beginning of August according to the official figures was 435,900—an increase of 15 percent over the equivalent figure for 1973.

The increase in the cost of living so far this year is 9.7 percent, though wage increases are still running ahead of price rises, showing the strength of the organized working class.

The government claims it can reduce the rise in prices to 0.5 percent a month by December. But there is every indication that inflation will rise even faster as the slump begins to bite.

Giscard's policy involves a major squeeze on liquidity by forcing companies and individuals to pay their taxes in advance of the due date and imposing surtaxes on profits and incomes.

PROMISES

At the same time restrictions have been imposed on bank lending, and government spending is to be sharply slashed. This is in direct contradiction with the promises made by Giscard in the course of the April election campaign to raise pensions, family allowances, and wages.

The big companies have been encouraged to avoid the full effects of the credit squeeze by borrowing abroad on the Euro-money markets.

These funds have helped prop up the balance of payments deficit, running at an annual rate of 5 billion dollars.

As a result of the squeeze on bank lending, small and medium-sized companies are

facing bankruptcy on a large scale.

The number of business bankruptcies is up by 23 percent on last year and other firms are known to be in difficulties.

One of the biggest firms affected so far is Titan-Coder, the largest French manufacturer of trailers, a subsidiary of the American Fruehauf corporation.

Titan has arranged a loan to keep going over the next few weeks while the situation is discussed with the government.

The situation is building up rapidly for a class confrontation on a big scale in France.

The General Confederation of Labor (CGT) has called for the occupation of the luxury liner, the France, if the government implements its decision to lay the ship up in October, meaning a loss of 1100 jobs.

The CGT warned that if the workers occupy the ship, they will call for a general strike of the entire French merchant marine. The CGT leaders, however, have refused to set a definite date for occupation.

On another front, French farmers have been up in arms and demonstrations have exploded throughout the country against declining prices for produce, while costs have soared.

Over the weekend of August 31, on the French island of Corsica, 1500 small farmers in Ajaccio were attacked by police who fired tear gas from helicopters. There were many injuries.

Giscard has made an open bid to win backing from the trade union leaders for his economic measures, but these leaders have so far been unable to accept his policies publicly.

The French working class retains great strength and is certainly prepared to do battle with Giscard and the employers despite the treachery of its Stalinist and reformist leaders.

Portuguese Regime Bans Right To Strike

BY A
CORRESPONDENT

The Portuguese government has issued a series of new decrees that represent a sharp crackdown on the right to strike, the right to free assembly, and the right of the press to criticize the army.

One of the most ominous decrees is one which gives complete control of the armed forces to General Francisco da Costa Gomes, who is on the far right of the regime. The decree gives him authority comparable to that of premier, and strengthens the powers of President General Antonio de Spínola.

On August 29, a decree was issued banning public meetings and demonstrations. The government must be notified in writing 48 hours before such a demonstration and reserves the right to refuse authorization to meetings which "offend the honor and the consideration due to the organs of the state or the armed forces."

In Mozambique, the newspaper Tribuna was fined for publishing a Reuters story which reported two demonstrations, one by the Mozambique Liberation Front in which one African was killed by police, and another by the Maoist Movement for the Reconstruction of the Proletarian Party, against the ban on their press.

On August 28, the government imposed a state of martial law over the Lisbon airport in response to a strike of workers at the national airline, TAP.

The strikers, who were threatened with being drafted unless they returned to work, were demanding higher pay, shorter hours, and a purge of the company management.

The new decrees were taken

after a fierce factional struggle within the armed forces movement.

The right wing represented by Gomes and Spínola circulated a manifesto attacking the participation of officers in leftist political activity and opposing demands for a purge of officers who supported the old fascist regime.

The manifesto included an implied threat that violence would be used to force the more radical officers to toe the line.

The armed forces movement is splitting apart under the

impact of a continuing struggle by Portuguese workers to improve their living standards.

At the same time, the struggle for liberation by African workers in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau has forced Spínola to grant independence to the latter.

On September 5, Samora Machel, head of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) met with Portugal's Foreign Minister Mario Soares in Zambia to discuss future independence.

Greek Premier Attacks Critics

BY DAVID NORTH
Premier Constantine Caramanlis rattled his sabre against the working class in a major speech at a rally in Salonika last week.

"Those who press the government in a demagogic way and ask it to undo within a month what has been done within seven years," he declared, "apparently wish to ignore the mass and dimensions of the problems we inherited."

Caramanlis's remarks came as international bankers informed the Greek government that large loans to prop up the sagging economy could be made only if the regime took measures to drive back the working class.

Greece is seeking to negotiate a two year loan of \$800 million from European banks. In addition to this, Caramanlis hopes to obtain a loan from West Germany along the line of the latter's recent loan to Italy.

It is reported, however, that Western European bankers have

informed Greece that it will get less than half the money it is asking for because Caramanlis has been unable to impose wage controls and other restrictions on the working class.

In his Salonika speech, Caramanlis remained vague on the question of new elections.

Andreas Papandreu, the son of the late anticommunist premier and leader of the Center Union, formed a new political party on Tuesday—the Pan Hellenic Socialist Movement.

Despite Papandreu's left noises while living in Canada since the 1967 coup d'etat, his new party represents neither socialism nor the working class. He is a bourgeois politician with a following principally among radical middle class people.

OPPORTUNISM

His activities are examples of the grossest opportunism of a political adventurer.

For seven years, Papandreu maintained that the junta was simply the tool of a direct occupation of Greece by the United States. While it is true, of course, that the US prepared the coup and worked in the closest collaboration with the colonels, Papandreu refused to offer any assessment of the development of the class struggle in Greece.

He has sought to represent the coup as merely something imported by the United States and without any connection to the crisis and breakdown of Greek capitalism.

On the basis of this position, which assists the Greek ruling class, Papandreu founded the Pan Hellenic Liberation Movement.

As a lecturer abroad, Papandreu was willing to make "left" statements. However, his return to Greece against the backdrop of revolutionary conditions, are rapidly exposing his reactionary positions.

Papandreu has taken a nationalist stand on Cyprus, calling for national unity with the Greek bourgeoisie in the event of war with Turkey.

The Stalinist Communist Party, which still remains officially illegal, has already made clear that it is prepared to work with not only Papandreu, but also Caramanlis.

Charilaos Horakis, secretary general of the CP, stated that he approved of Caramanlis's measures "in favor of national independence," and that his only criticism was that these measures have been "insufficient."

Castro Warms Up To Ford



"Time of the great healer. We could be doing business with the Americans again some day."

This statement by Fidel Castro is rapidly becoming a reality as the Cuban regime and Ford move closer and closer together.

The ground is rapidly being prepared for a full restoration of diplomatic and economic relations between the two countries.

In July, Pat Holt, chief of staff of the Foreign Relations Committee conferred with Castro in Havana with the reluctant approval of Kissinger.

Mexican president Luis Echeverria has been on a tour of Latin America to rally support for ending the economic blockade. At the end of August, Panama dictator General Omar Torrijos Herrera restored all links with Cuba and now goes around puffing on Havana cigars.

Before his death, Argentine President Juan Peron granted Cuba a credit of \$1.2 billion to purchase Argentine road building and mining machinery, textiles, and household appliances.

Cuba is in debt to the Soviet Union by \$5 billion and the amount is growing by \$1.5 million a day. The Kremlin has been pressuring Cuba to do business elsewhere.

The reopening of relations with the US, which will not be just economic but political, will deal a death blow to Castro's image as a "revolutionary" cultivated for so long by the revisionists and the Stalinists.

Appeal To Our Readers Build The Bulletin

On the Tenth Anniversary of the Bulletin, we are launching a special appeal to all our readers to support the campaign to expand and build the Bulletin.

The working class stands on the eve of the most fundamental battles in its history.

The economic crisis of capitalism is now completely out of control. Skyrocketing inflation and recession have reached the point where major industries and banks have already collapsed.

In the United States, nearly five million are unemployed now. As the world slump intensifies and bankruptcies multiply, millions more will be threatened with unemployment far worse than the 1930s.

Inflation, heading to the levels of Latin America in all the major capitalist countries, threatens to wipe out the living standards of masses of workers.

There is no question that the working class is going to fight as never before to defend every basic right won in the past.

Every trade unionist who enters the fight for wages today is forced to confront the collapse of capitalism as a system, and the inescapable need for a political struggle by the whole working class against the government and the capitalist class that dictates its policies.

The crisis and offensive of the working class creates the greatest opportunity in history to build a mass revolutionary party.

This week marks ten years of continuous publication of the Bulletin by the Workers League and its predecessor, the American Committee for the Fourth International.

The Bulletin was founded out of a principled struggle against Pabloite revisionism internationally and within the Socialist Workers Party, against those who capitulated to Stalinism and said there was no need for independent revolutionary parties.

we fought, as part of the working class, to build a revolutionary movement to prepare workers for the political tasks that flow from this crisis.

•In 1971, we held the founding conference of the Young Socialists and in May of this year held our Second National Conference attended by 550 youth.

•We launched the Bulletin as a weekly printed paper in November 1969 and in October, 1973, went to a twice-weekly paper, to prepare for the new stage of struggle posed by the rapidly developing crisis.

•We have led a consistent campaign in the trade unions and in the communities for the building of a labor party, for socialist policies to defend the

working class, and for a Congress of Labor to mobilize the working class to carry this out.

•We are now launching our first election campaign in New York and will run two Workers Party candidates for congress against the Democrats and Republicans, to bring the fight for the labor party to the widest sections of the working class.

In all these struggles we have carried out a battle to defend and develop Marxist theory against all the revisionist tendencies that begin not from the crisis and the strength of the working class, but from impressionist theories of the strength of capitalism and the bureaucracy in the unions.

We are now entering a year that will be decisive for the future of the working class in every country.

The Ford-Rockefeller government was brought in by the billionaire bankers and industrialists to carry out a ruthless policy of deflation that can only plunge the working class into another depression.

The military chiefs stand behind this government just as they stood behind Nixon, preparing plans to impose dictatorship if the politicians fail.

The working class must prepare for an all-out confrontation, for the struggle for power. The most urgent question is the building of the revolutionary party.

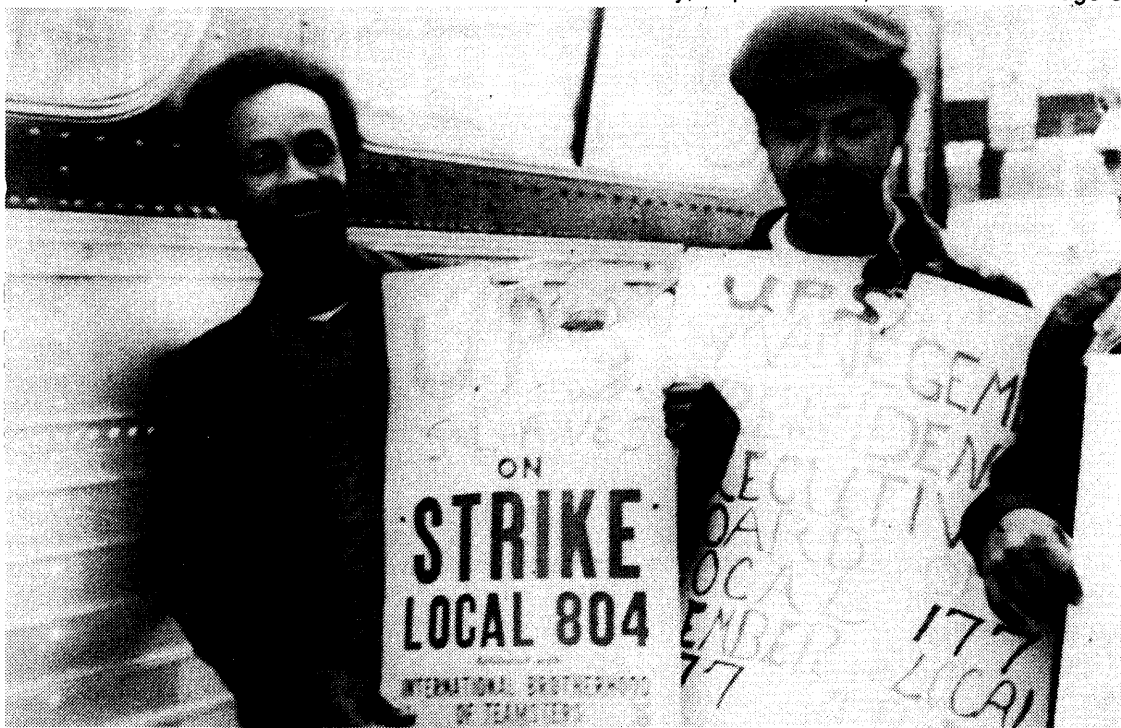
This is why we are launching our Tenth Anniversary Development Fund to raise \$50,000 by December 15. We face a constant battle against inflation, which is creating almost weekly price increases in ink, paper, chemicals, and other supplies used in every aspect of printing the Bulletin.

If our plans to expand the Bulletin, reach new readers and improve its quality are to go forward we must have your support.

We are appealing to all our readers, members, and supporters to make a greater effort than ever before, to make the sacrifices necessary to contribute as much as possible and to join the fund raising campaigns of the local branches so that we meet this critical drive.

We are confident that just as the crisis is bringing forward millions of workers to fight the capitalist system, it is also creating the forces that will enable us not only to maintain the Bulletin but to build it into a mass revolutionary paper of the working class.

We urge you to act now. Make checks or money orders payable to Labor Publications and send them immediately to Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, NY 10011.



Workers for United Parcel Service picket New York facility.

United Parcel Provokes Violence On Pickets

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—

Members of Local 804, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, are maintaining militant picket lines around United Parcel Service that began August 29.

Their business agent, Edward Dougherty, was killed the first day of the strike by a 60-foot trailer truck driven through a line of 150 pickets who were seeking support from Local 177 members at the UPS warehouse in Secaucus, N.J.

While most drivers supported the line by dropping their shipments in the street, Local 177 member Ernest Henry, after nearly ramming a car blocking the driveway, popped the clutch of his truck and ran down Dougherty.

"He acted like an individual," Tito, an 804 shop steward said of Henry. "We are union men. A lot of people have forgotten that in this strike."

Local 804 members picketing at the Manhattan warehouse carried signs blaming the executive committee of Local 177 as well as UPS for the murder. Tito told Bulletin reporters this is the first time that the two metro area locals did not walk out together.

Local 177 operates in North Jersey, Staten Island and parts of Orange and Rockland Counties, while Local 804 covers the rest of metropolitan New York.

"As I see it, the union in New Jersey has no contract, either," Tito said. "The company offered them a \$700 cash bonus if they would extend the last contract for three more years, if they would scab on us."

"It was ugly in Jersey, I'm telling you. The state police, they were cracking heads, encouraging the scabs. It's just chance that more didn't get killed."

"I had one guy shout right into my face, 'Spic, if you don't get out of my way, I'll run you over,' and the cops just laughed."

Picket lines in Manhattan have been extremely tense, with the company going out of their way to provoke an incident. Customers picking up shipments from before the strike are

being forced to cross the picket lines, while strikers are demanding that the management scabs bring out the packages themselves and deliver them in the street.

"They're laborers just like us," Tito said of the drivers making pick-ups. "They are part of the labor movement. No one has the right to force them across our picket lines, but that is what is happening. What are they supposed to do, go back without the packages and get fired themselves?"

"This is the kind of thing that

killed my union brother, but we are not going to let them take over our union this way."

According to the pickets, the main issue of the strike is job security and union rights. UPS has brought in more and more part-time workers, breaking down union representation and working conditions.

"When someone leaves, they hire some part-timers instead of a regular worker," a picket explained.

The Teamsters are also asking for additional sick days, and a big pay increase.

Nato Command: New Power Base For Haig

BY DAVID NORTH
General Alexander Haig is expected to assume supreme command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and of all United States forces in Europe.

White House spokesmen have stated that Haig has requested a military appointment, and that President Ford has decided to reward him with one of the most powerful positions available.

The rise of Alexander Haig represents the growing power of the American military within the government and, in fact, its tendency to emerge as a predominant influence under conditions of the deepest political crisis within the ruling class.

Haig was brought into the White House on May 3, 1973, four days after the abrupt resignation of John Ehrlichman and H.R. Haldeman because of the Watergate revelations.

Contrary to law, Haig did not resign his commission upon entering the White House. He remained a four-star general even as he assumed responsibility for the complete reorganization of Nixon's staff.

Haig resigned his commission in August 1973, but this was purely a formality. He retained all his connections with the military, serving as the link through which the military could oversee the functioning of the White House.

There is no doubt that Haig virtually ran the White House during the closing months of the last administration, when Nixon was absorbed in defending himself.

CONSPIRACIES

Furthermore, Haig was apparently involved most intimately in conflicting conspiracies: one aimed at removing Nixon and another at keeping him in power.

Haig acted independently by distributing transcripts of White House conversations that proved Nixon's guilt conclusively. Haig forced Nixon to make these transcripts public, knowing full well that they would finish Nixon off.

However, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger's report that he took precautions against possible unauthorized military intervention in defense of Nixon indicates that Haig, at some earlier point, may have raised the question of a military putsch with his old colleagues.

In opposing his elevation to the NATO post, congressman John E. Moss warned that a dangerous precedent was set when General Haig was first allowed into the White House. He said that a second dangerous precedent would be allowing Haig to move back to a military command.

The appointment of Haig to NATO would give him a personal power base of enormous weight. Haig would have direct command of several hundred thousand troops assigned to this imperialist army. In addition to this, Haig would be in control of 300,000 US soldiers stationed in Europe.

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Airline Merger Talk Threatens Layoffs

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

Spokesmen for Pan American World Airways and Trans World Airlines have announced that they are prepared to begin talks on a possible merger of the two giant international carriers.

The unification plans represent a desperate attempt to deal with a financial crisis that threatens both airlines with immediate collapse.

In the first seven months of the year, the two have suffered losses of over \$46 million. Pan American has had losses of over

\$174 million from 1969 through 1973.

It estimates that it will lose at least \$76 million in 1974, not including \$45.5 million more in interest payments due on its present debts.

The crisis has been brought to a head by threats from a 36 member bank group to rescind an agreement to extend a \$200 million credit line to Pan American.

A cancellation of its credit line would immediately leave the airline unable to meet current debts, forcing it into bankruptcy and liquidation.

Both airlines have requested government subsidies in order to remain in operation. Pan American is demanding payments of \$10.2 million a month retro-

active to last April.

Both insist that even with a merger, there will still be a need for massive government subsidies to keep them afloat.

A merger would mean a total consolidation of operations, with the elimination of many flight duplications and a vicious slashing of jobs.

It is no accident that the international carriers are the first to bear the brunt of the crisis. Pan Am and TWA are being hit by the effects of the international financial crisis which is devastating tourism and air travel on a worldwide basis.

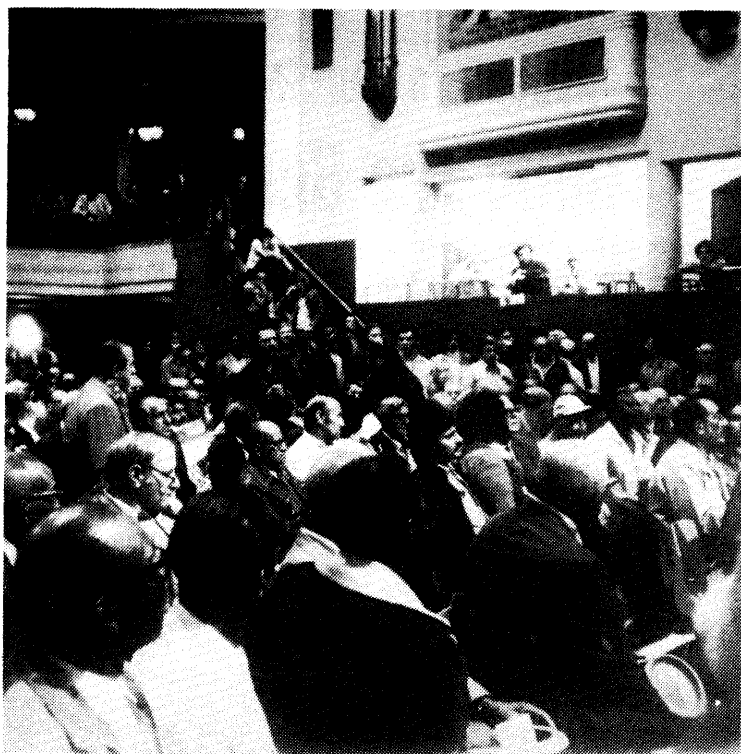
The Italian, German, and French national airlines are all reporting big losses. In addition, profits have fallen significantly on the Dutch, Japanese and Australian lines.

The recent collapse of the giant Court Lines holiday tours industry in England was part of this crisis.

The soaring costs of fuel have contributed greatly to this. Pan Am claims that it expects its fuel costs to rise by \$200 million in 1974.

This has combined with the effects of the developing international slump. Numerous air fare increases such as an 18 percent rise in North Atlantic flights have resulted in huge declines in air travel. Pan Am has reported an 18 percent drop in passenger travel for July, the first such decline in years.

A merger can do nothing to insulate the airlines from the impact of the international recession. What it does mean is that preparations are now underway to slash the jobs of tens of thousands of airline workers to pay for this crisis.



New York Taxi drivers at ratification meeting on September 4.

Taxi Contract Means Pay Cut For Drivers

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK, NY—Taxi drivers union Local 3036 held a ratification meeting on September 4.

The old contract expired nine months ago and the union has been trying to frighten the drivers with the prospect of a long strike or lockout, unless they accept the new agreement.

The new contract was forced on the union by the fleetowners, with the threat of a lockout.

It is contingent on a 25 percent fare increase which would mean a big blow to the drivers by cutting riders and tips. In effect, money would be drained from drivers and go to the owners' pockets.

The turnout for the ratification meeting was large with drivers filling the hall and crowding in the aisles. The mood

was angry. Every man realized that the new contract meant a loss in income and a weakening of the union.

The contract was only passed because the members had absolutely no confidence in the ability of union leader Harry Van Arsdale to conduct a successful strike. Drivers kept up a persistent barrage of catcalls, many jumped up and cursed the chair and workers left early before the vote was taken. Ernie, a driver in Manhattan, told the Bulletin: "No matter what happens, we'll get shafted."

Another driver said, "I am voting for it because there's no way we can win and I can't live even for a week without work."

One young driver received tremendous applause when he got up and, pointing at the officials, shouted: "We want a contract for the worker, not for them!"

Bread Price Heads For \$1 A Loaf—Cooking Oil Up 60%

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, NY—New York families paid a nickel more for the New York Times this week only to read that Ford's economic advisers still consider rising wages to be the major cause of inflation.

ILA Isolates Baltimore Dockers

BALTIMORE, Md.—Longshoremens here have voted to ratify the new ILA-North Atlantic contract, 1716 to 241.

The eight to one margin is a dramatic reversal of the vote taken two weeks ago when Baltimore dock workers followed the recommendation of Local 333 head Walter Kwarta, and massively rejected the combination master and local pact.

The re-vote represents ILA president Thomas W. Gleason's efforts to isolate and to squash the resistance of Baltimore longshoremens who were the sole holdout among ports from Boston to Hampton Road, Virginia. The ranks were forced into a second vote on the same contract terms.

Allen, a member of Local 33, told the Bulletin, "As New York settled up, other ports settled up. We were left standing on one leg. That's why I voted for the contract even though it's not what we needed."

"We'll never see the wage increase! Look how much sugar, meat and eggs are going up."

The contract provides for a 30 percent wage increase in wages and benefits. Wages are scheduled to rise from \$6.10 an hour to \$8 per hour over a three year contract. The Guaranteed Annual Income will continue to cover 1900 rather than 2080 hours.

"I don't think this contract is any good!" said Mitch Carter of Local 333. "All the older men say the pension is no good."

Workers also paid a record price for their food this week, according to the Department of Consumer Affairs market basket survey. In this survey, 38 family food items are priced to determine the cost of food for a family of four.

This week's bill, \$61.64, broke the record for the third straight week. Prices have gone up every single week since July 1 and are now more than 14 percent over last year.

The bulk of the increased prices are in the basic commodities. White bread is up 60 percent from 1973, to 61¢ a loaf.

Cooking oil is also up 60 percent, reflecting poor crop yields and the effect of speculation on the commodities exchange.

A 24 ounce bottle of soybean oil is now \$1.28, 52¢ more than last year. Restaurants are paying \$25 for a five-gallon can, an increase of almost 100 percent.

The biggest increase of all is in sugar, which now costs \$2.20 to \$2.30 for a five pound bag. The average price was 79 to 89 cents a year ago, and about \$1.89 just a week ago.

This increase will be reflected in nearly every food item in the near future, with candy bars joining roast beef as luxury food.

1975 model Fords and Chryslers will be priced an average of eight percent over the highest rate charged in 1974, a year that saw three to four separate increases on every model. General Motors is raising prices an average of 8.5 percent.

To make matters worse, First National City Bank, New York's largest loan writer, has announced a new interest rate scale that increases the charge for a 12 month new car loan from 9.58 to 11.58 percent.

It is this blow-by-blow attack on the living standards built up by the American working class that will be further mapped out at the Ford-Rockefeller "summit conference" on inflation at the end of the month.

These men and the banks and corporations they represent consciously push prices up, not the working class.



Polytechnic Staff On First Strike

NEW YORK, NY—Staff members organized by Office and Professional Employees International Union, Local 153, have set up picket lines at the Brooklyn and Farmington campuses of the prestigious Polytechnical Institute.

This is the first strike of school office personnel waged by the OPEIU, which now organizes staff at eight area colleges and universities.

School janitors, and faculty, who are also negotiating contracts, have strongly endorsed the strike action but have not yet agreed to honor the picket lines.

OPEIU members, some of whom make only \$80 a week, are demanding a 13 percent wage increase in a one-year contract.

The college has offered a lump sum of \$66,000 for the first year of a three year contract, with wage reopeners in the second and third year.

"This school is in bad financial shape," a striker told the Bulletin. "We recognize that. We do not want to see it close down."

"But they have been subsidizing their budget by holding back the pay that we need, and that cannot go on."

The strikers campaign to shut the campus picked up wide support as students discovered that Dean Giordano had written letters to foreign students receiving school aid funds, demanding that they report to work as scabs for the duration of the strike.

**BY A BULLETIN
REPORTING TEAM**

Some 350 youth and trade unionists attended the Workers League and Young Socialists' Second Annual Summer Camp in the Laurentian Mountains of Canada.

From the very moment it began on August 24 until its conclusion on Labor Day, the camp reflected the changed situation workers now face in the United States and internationally. It will play an important role in preparing a leadership for the struggles of the working class now taking place.

Strong delegations were present from such industrial areas as Cleveland, Youngstown, and elsewhere in the Midwest, as well as from New York City and California. Discussion groups were held in three languages with special discussions in French for the important French Canadian delegation and in Spanish for the large number of Spanish youth and workers from the New York area.

It was a highly explosive camp in which the need for rules and discipline, the political and theoretical issues and even the sports activities were fought out sharply. What was clear at every moment of the camp was that tasks are now posed to workers that are different from last year.

The crisis is now here, immediately affecting all workers' lives. Unemployment is growing, inflation is raging, and the police are being built up in every city.

The removal of Nixon means that the ruling class is rolling up its sleeves and preparing to fight it out with the working class which is on the offensive, seeking to win back what has been stolen over the past period.

Thus, everyone at the camp could feel that to fight today is to fight all the way. It is not a matter of talking but of actually preparing a leadership for fundamental conflict.

There was a sharp struggle which won the full support of the camp, for discipline and rules so that there would be no excuse for the police to break up the camp. In this way the need to build a disciplined party, prepared to lead the working class to power, was posed sharply in the actual experience of the camp.

The heart of the camp was the classes on philosophy, which aimed at preparing a cadre for the tasks the working class now faces. The central theme of these classes was a fight for dialectical materialism.



Summer Camp Prepares New Stage Of Struggle

Thinking must be seen as part of matter in motion and subordinate to it. We must grasp in our thoughts, which themselves are a product of a material process, the movement of matter to understand the changes now taking place in the world. We must grasp these changes so that we can act in the working class to prepare a leadership for masses of workers in the next period.

The whole history of philosophy was sketched from Heraclitus to Marx in order to understand philosophy as coming out of man's struggle against nature and expressing man's understanding during very specific periods in his development.

In this way, the history of philosophy is seen as part of matter in motion and not as some completely separate category of thinking.

An extensive discussion of contradiction also took place. Contradiction was not seen as a simply mental process but as a material process in the course of man's practice in the world.

This understanding was fought for in conflict with idealist thinking which reflects the influence of the capitalist class within the working class. This was a conflict with reli-

gious thinking which holds that there is a God which is not material.

Instead the camp fought for a materialist understanding of the origins of all ideas. The working class would fight when certain material conditions existed, in the breakdown in the capitalist system—not because workers are simply "convinced" by certain ideas. The working class can win only insofar as a leadership is developed within the working class which does not simply react to developments in the economic crisis but consciously grasps developments and organizes itself accordingly.

Such a leadership is in conscious struggle with the limits of the bourgeois thinking of masses of workers, affected by the economic crisis.

The tremendous interest in these questions of theory by so many of the minority youth present at the camp is itself the product of a whole historical process. Over the past ten years masses of Black workers have gone through a political process which the entire working class will pass through in the coming period. Starting with the Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Montgomery bus boycott movement, passing through Stokely Carmi-

chael and SNCC, Malcolm X, Black Panthers and now cultural nationalism, these workers have experienced the bankruptcy of virtually every variety of protest politics.

All these tendencies proceeded as idealists and for that reason never got beyond liberalism—the begging of crumbs from the existing capitalist order. The struggle was seen in terms of "race" and "nation" in a way that obscured the materialist roots of the problems facing masses of Blacks as workers in a capitalist society. Some prayed for better conditions, others marched in large numbers, and some, like Huey P. Newton, even took gun in hand. But none of these leaders based themselves on the movement of the working class, understanding the way in which the capitalist crisis would develop, and on that basis challenging the capitalist system itself.

Today Huey P. Newton lives in a penthouse and works for the Democratic Party symbolizing the collapse of every attempt to build a leadership of Black masses separate from the rest of the working class and on idealist rather than Marxist basis. At the same time these youth face the worsening crisis without any hope of jobs or any real future.

The past experience and the present crisis come together to create unusually favorable conditions for the development of theory among these youth. The camp also made clear that theoretical development can only take place if consciously fought for through a struggle against the pragmatic traditions of American capitalism.

SPORTS

There was also an extensive sports and social program enthusiastically participated in by everyone. Tournaments between branches were held throughout the week and trophies were given out at the end for each sport. Over \$1950 was raised at the camp to launch the Fall Tenth Anniversary Fund Drive.

Based on the experience of the camp the Workers League and Young Socialists are determined now to train and build the necessary leadership of the working class. Plans have been laid to expand the circulation of the Bulletin deeper into the factories and develop the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, to develop university work as sections of the middle class also respond to the crisis, and to train a youth leadership to expand the Young Socialists.



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

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

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

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

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

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

LENIN AND THE 1905 REVOLUTION

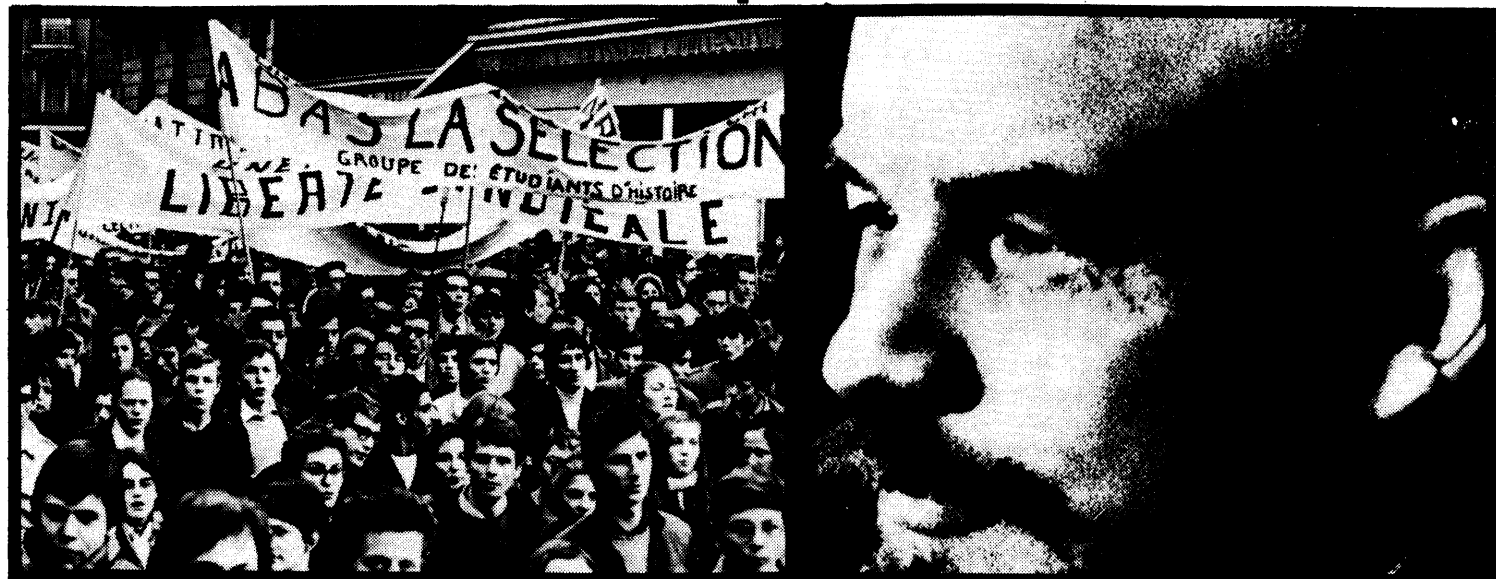
Lenin's work in building the Bolshevik Party and later Trotsky's in defending Bolshevism as the foundation of the Fourth International is the indispensable heritage of Trotskyism on these questions. It is the direct opposite of the idealist method of Blick-Jenkins.

Trotsky answered the Shachtman-Burnham opposition of 1939-1940 on the "concrete questions" (perspectives) which they raised, but his method was to take the discussion to the fundamental difference between dialectical materialism and the opposition's idealism (which took the form of a capitulation to American pragmatism).

Lenin's work as founder of the Bolshevik party always examined perspectives from a fundamental materialist standpoint: in the 1890s, What the Friends of the People Are was a thoroughgoing development of historical materialism against all the subjectivist schools in Russia; in 1902 What Is To Be Done rooted the party organization, strategy and tactics in the struggle for scientific theory, in struggle against the immediate (bourgeois) consciousness of the working class; in 1908 Materialism and Empirio-Criticism was a full-length defense of the materialist world outlook against the turn to Kantian idealism of Bogdanov and Lunacharsky; in the first years of World War I, the Philosophical Notebooks prepared the groundwork in the Theory of Knowledge for the April crisis and the October revolution.

Blick and Jenkins' reference to "precision" in perspectives is nothing more than

A Reply To The British Agents Of The OCI Liquidationists



-- second of six parts by michael banda & peter jeffries --

French students march in 1968. On right, Lenin.

a running away from the real struggle to develop knowledge of the material contradictions in society, away to the idealist's dream of ideas conjured up in his head to which reality conforms perfectly. Lenin commented on this method:

"The really important epistemological question that divides the philosophical trends is not the degree of precision attained by our descriptions of causal connections, or whether these descriptions can be expressed in exact mathematical formulas, but whether the source of our knowledge of these connections is objective natural law or properties of our mind, its innate faculty of apprehending certain a priori truths and so forth." (Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Collected Works Vol. 14, p. 159.)

Once these opposed philosophical positions (idealism in opposition to dialectical materialism) are established, we can see two entirely opposed notions of what revolutionary perspective are. If we were to apply the method of Blick-Jenkins we would have to conclude that Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky made literally hundreds of inaccurate prognoses of the situation. But a perspective is not a forecast to be checked later against history. It is a development of Marxist theory as a "guide to action." Through revolutionary organization it prepares the vanguard of the working class to take up the real struggle (only in this struggle) learn how the living contradictions develop. From this continuous process, our strategy and tactics are abstracted so that we grasp more closely but never completely the actual development of the crisis and the relationship of class forces.

LENIN'S PERSPECTIVES AFTER 1905

After the defeat of the 1905 revolution, the Russian Marxists naturally paid great attention to the perspectives of the movement. Using the formal, idealist method of Blick, we would have to say that Lenin's perspectives were false, when he made statements in 1905 such as:

"What we have to do is to develop the widest possible agitation in favor of an all-Russian uprising, to explain its political and organizational tasks, to exert every effort to make everyone realize that it is inevitable, to make all the people see the possibility of a general onslaught so that they undertake not a 'riot' or a 'demonstration', nor mere strikes and wrecking of property, but a fight for power, a fight with the aim of overthrowing the government.

"The whole situation favors the fulfillment of this task, the proletariat is preparing to put itself at the head of the struggle. A responsible and difficult, but a great and thankful task confronts the revolutionary Social Democrats: to assist the working class as the advanced detachment of an all-Russian uprising.

"The uprising will overthrow the autocracy and will create a representative assembly of the people with real power, i.e. a constituent assembly." ("Dissolution of the Duma and Tasks of the Proletariat," July 1906 in Collected Works, Vol. XI, pp. 130-31.)

The ideological struggle inside the party which is abstracted from its practice is the central question. It is here that the sharpest struggle against bourgeois consciousness must take place; every major

turn in the situation (a revolutionary period is characterized precisely by such sharp turns) is inevitably accompanied by the reflection in the party of bourgeois class interests, in a trend towards the liquidation of the party into the spontaneous backwardness of the working class.

In a few months, the years of vicious reaction set in. The risings at Sveaborg and Kronstadt which came only days after the above article, were repressed and isolated. Hundreds were executed or sent to penal camps in exile. By 1907 the party had entered a period of great difficulty, and in many sections demoralization and defeatism. Lenin's leadership became thoroughly established precisely in those years of reaction.

On what then had Lenin based his perspective of working within every movement—strikes, demonstrations, protests—towards a revolutionary uprising—and was this perspective wrong? He had even said, in the same article:

"It is possible, however, that events may require that we, the leaders, appoint the time for action. In that pass, we should advise that an all-Russian action, strike and uprising be timed for the end of summer or the beginning of autumn, towards the middle or end of August," and "The combination of a mass political strike with an armed uprising is again dictated by the whole situation."

Lenin's basis for perspective and action in July 1906 was not the "course open to the ruling class" (which turned out to be bloody Tsarist repression), but "the objective, historically dictated content of the impending struggle, and the slogans which we must provide for it" (p. 116) (our emphasis). And further, in August, after the suppression of the Sveaborg and Kronstadt mutinies:

"The basis of our work is the correct estimate of class interests and of the requirements of the nation's development at the present juncture." (Collected Works, Vol. 11, p. 178.)

It was from this materialist analysis that Lenin drew his conclusion for the working class and the Marxist party:

"The interests of the proletariat demand the complete overthrow of the old, Tsarist regime and the convocation of a constituent assembly with full power. Its interests demand the most active intervention in moulding the temper of the peasants, in choosing the most resolute forms of struggle, as well as the best moment for it . . . We must concentrate all efforts on explaining the conditions for an uprising; that it must be combined with the strike movement, that all the revolutionary forces must be rallied and prepared for it, etc." (August 12, 1906, Ibid. pp. 147-148.)

What then is Blick-Jenkins' verdict? That Lenin, through the "personal loyalty" owed him, was keeping the party together by wrong, falsely optimistic and "leftist" perspectives, in short by a subjective method? In the following year Lenin's struggle against the Mensheviks came to a new peak in the London Congress. The Bolsheviks won a narrow majority, but, says Zinoviev:

"The Mensheviks dug their heels in over the control of the party and we had to tear this control from them by force, using very indelicate methods, so as to liberate the

party from their hands." History of the Bolshevik Party, New Park Publications, p. 148.)

Blick-Jenkins are absolutely at one with those Mensheviks who, like Plekhanov, had drawn the conclusion that the proletariat should in any case not have taken to arms in 1905-1906, that Lenin's perspectives had been proved wrong, and that his organizational firmness (as explained above by Zinoviev) was nothing but a personal dictatorial regime.

In fact, Lenin's perspective was the only correct one for the movement, because it started from the objective requirement of the revolution, and of proletarian leadership of that revolution. In the practice of the struggle, the bourgeoisie was completely revealed as a counterrevolutionary class. Because Lenin's perspectives were subordinate to the political aim of a definite party, organized on the basis of democratic centralism, they were able to educate the basic cadres of the coming revolution, to deepen their understanding of the relationship of the proletariat and its leadership to the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. On this basis alone was it possible for Lenin to re-orientate the party and its perspectives in April 1917 through a bitter internal struggle.

The history of Marxism and proletarian revolutionary leadership is not one of infallible prophecies and saviors appointed by God. Without the struggle against premature and isolated protest actions and for the unifying of these struggles in a national uprising, the only action which could carry forward the independent interests of the working class, the revolutionary party could not have been built, its cadres could not have been steeled in the battle against other tendencies, and the reality of the contradictions underlying the subsequent reaction and the later revival of revolutionary struggle could not have been grasped. This is completely different from the world of "concrete events" inhabited by Blick-Jenkins.

In April 1917 Lenin told the Bolsheviks: Yes, we fought on a perspective, and built our party on that perspective; now the real forces, of which we had a necessarily incomplete understanding, have entered a new stage of their eventual struggle, and this had produced new institutional forms (Soviets, the Provisional Government); nobody thought of dual power before! Later Trotsky was to say:

"Marxism is a method of historical analysis, of political orientation, and not a mass of decisions prepared in advance.

"Neither October, nor Brest-Litovsk, nor the creation of a regular peasant army, nor the system of requisitioning food products, nor the NEP, nor the State Planning Commission, were or could have been foreseen or predetermined by pre-October Marxism or Bolshevism . . .

"Lenin consists in being courageously free from conservative retrospection, from being bound by precedent, purely formal reference, and quotations." (The New Course, New Park Publications, p. 41.)

In passing, we can note one of the examples which Blick-Jenkins use to "prove" that Lenin, unlike the WRP, was able to predict concretely the future course of the revolution: "In the revolutionary period itself Lenin revised his earlier formulation

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and as October approached new possible perspectives loomed including Kornilov's military dictatorship." Once more Blick and Jenkins merely reveal their idealism. They are willing to engage in a sleight-of-hand in order to try and "prove" a point. This is what Lenin actually wrote to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party on September 12, 1917:

"The Kornilov revolt was extremely unexpected at such a time and in such a form; it was, one might say, an incredibly abrupt turn in the course of events.

"Like every abrupt turn in events it calls for a revision and alteration of tactics." (Quoted in D. Shub: *Lenin. A Biography.*)

Again, in *The First Five Years of the Communist International*, Trotsky says: "Our prognosis cannot be mechanistic ... (there is the) possibility of several variants—depending on how the relation of forces shape up in the course of living historical action" (Vol. 2, p. 301).

The revolutionary party engages in this "course of living historical action" with its practice "as a lever". The practice of the Party is continually posited onto its perspectives; it is only in this practice that the perspectives of the Party are tested out. "From living perception to abstract thought, and from this to practice—such is the dialectical path of the cognition of truth, of the cognition of objective reality." (Lenin "Philosophical Notebooks," *Collected Works*, Vol. 38 p. 171.)

It is fitting that Trotsky should have the last word on the sort of "perspective" advocated by Blick-Jenkins.

"Every historical prognosis is always conditional and the more concrete the prognosis, the more conditional it is. A prognosis is not a promissory note which can be cashed on a given date. Prognosis outlines only the definite trends of the development. But along with these trends a different order of forces and tendencies operate, which at a certain moment begin to predominate. All those who seek exact predictions of concrete events should consult the astrologists." (In *Defense of Marxism*, New Park Publications. pp. 218-219.)

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AND SUBJECTIVE IDEALISM

The fact that Blick-Jenkins say not a single word about the economic crisis or about economic perspectives indicates the thoroughly idealist nature of their method.

Marx long ago proved that men make their history not arbitrarily, but on the basis of objective material conditions they have inherited from the past. These material conditions do not include merely the political institutions of society, but above all, the material economic foundations of society—the productive forces and the production relations which "correspond" to them.

The essence of this materialist conception of history which Marx and Engels developed in the 1840s in struggle against idealist and utopian schools of socialism, was as follows: All history (with the exception of the primitive stage of society) is a history of the struggle between classes, which in turn reflects the struggle against nature. This class struggle is the driving force of history and is a product of definite modes of production, of economic conditions. "The economic structure of society always furnishes the real basis, starting from which we can alone work out the ultimate explanation of the whole superstructure of juridical and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical and other ideas of a given historical period." (Anti-Dühring, p. 41.)

Marxists do not, that is, take political, legal, etc. institutions as "things in themselves" with their own independent history, but are to be seen as determined, in the last instance, by the changes in the economic foundations of society.

It was for this reason that Trotsky wrote in the struggle against Burnham and Shachtman:

"However, although economics determines politics not directly and immediately, but only in the last analysis, nevertheless economics does determine politics. The Marxists affirm precisely this in contrast to the bourgeois professors and their disciples." (In *Defense of Marxism*, New Park Publications. 1966. Emphasis in original pp. 148-149.)

Without a thorough analysis of the economic base of capitalism, and in particular the operation of the law of value, it is impossible to orient the working class politically and prepare it for power. This was

the significance of Lenin's study of imperialism during World War I. Without an exhaustive analysis of the new trends in world capitalism it would have been impossible to understand the basis of the crisis in the Second International and to prepare for October 1917.

The absence of such analysis in the Blick-Jenkins document means that along with all their fellow-revisionists, they must capitulate to the ideology of the ruling class. The International Committee of the Fourth International and the Workers Revolutionary Party made their analysis of the capitalist crisis the center of their political work. This crisis, reaching a high point with the collapse of the Bretton Woods monetary agreement in August 1971, necessitated from the Tory government a hurried preparation of new measures against the working class, from anti-union legislation, through attempted "confrontation" with the unions and other workers, to the preparation of civil war itself, systematically rehearsed in Ulster.

The 1973 Arab-Israeli war and the sharp oil price increases which it brought not only deepened considerably the world capitalist crisis, particularly in Britain; more than this, they disrupted completely the Tory government's plans. All their preparation had to be hastened, yet the working class, particularly the miners, could not at that stage be defeated. The perspectives of the revolutionary party must take into account and politically arm the working class against all sides of this preparation.

The political representatives of the ruling class were (and still are) deeply divided on how to tackle this undefeated working class, and no one knows in advance what form their strategy and tactics will take. It was the responsibility of the Workers Revolutionary Party to draw from all these preparations the necessary conclusions about the stage reached by the crisis and the necessity for the construction of the revolutionary party, against the grave dangers of reformist illusions and isolated protest.

Blick and Jenkins know perfectly well that the WRP (and earlier the SLL) was the only political party to base its perspectives on the profound nature of the economic crisis and the developments which this brought in the class struggle. Every single revisionist tendency attacked our insistence that the building of revolutionary parties was the central task of this epoch. To sustain this attack, they accepted theories that what appeared in the 1930s to be the epoch of imperialist decay had given way to a new type of capitalism free of the old type of economic crisis.

The rejection of an economic analysis, the refusal to derive political events from economic trends and to show the interconnection between economics and politics, not in a mechanically deterministic way but in a dialectical manner, is in itself an unequivocal rejection of Marxist theory. This is the hallmark of every revisionist tendency and not only of Blick and Jenkins.

Their predecessors in this field—now their political allies—were the French OCI leaders who argued from 1965 to 1968 that the International Committee of the Fourth International did not need to waste its time on an economic analysis of imperialism's crisis because this had all been done by Trotsky in 1938. What was needed, they said, was the implementation of the program which embodied the analysis. This argument of the OCI was a recapitulation of Shachtman's pragmatist's view during the Russo-Finnish war of 1939-1940 that since political events were not derived immediately and directly from socio-economic causes, therefore Marxist sociology and economic theory was unnecessary in determining "concrete political tasks."

If, in the USA, Shachtman's accommodation to the pressure of middle-class "public opinion" by the method of pragmatism led him to capitulate to US imperialism then, in France, the impressionism and empiricism of the OCI leaders had results which were no less predictable, shameful and fatal.

When the economic crisis which the OCI ignored for many years erupted into the General Strike of May-June 1968 the OCI-AJS (Alliance Jeunesse pour Socialisme) leaders were utterly disoriented. Instead of seeing these events as the direct manifestation of a deep-seated economic crisis which had been exacerbated by Franco-American monetary and trade rivalry and de Gaulle's attempts to rationalize the economy and augment the gold reserves by deflationary measures, the OCI leaders con-

finned themselves to a superficial and cursory description of the projected attacks of the V Plan and the Fouchet Reform of Education. Having ignored the severity of the economic crisis—already signified by the devaluation of the pound and the March 1968 two-tier gold system—the OCI leadership not surprisingly refused to advance transitional demands during the strike and confined their agitation to the most banal minimum demands of a syndicalist and reformist kind.

The policy of these opportunists, who today lyngly accuse the WRP of not having a "governmental perspective," were in fact indistinguishable from the most vulgar syndicalists in the May-June period, refusing at all times to raise the demand of a Communist Party-Socialist Party government in order to expose mercilessly the political impotence and treachery of the reformist bureaucracies.

This bowing to spontaneity and accommodation to the bureaucracy was, of course, covered up with formal criticisms of the Stalinists on the one side and constant demands for "workers' unity" on the other. But at no stage was the instinctive urge generated by the economic crisis inside the working class, to replace the Gaullist regime with an alternative government, given political expression by the OCI-AJS.

This task was consciously avoided. In place of the transitional demand for a CP-SP government the OCI advanced a slogan which was entirely in line with its revisionist perspective: the slogan of a central strike committee. The bankruptcy of this group and its rejection of the political struggle against the bureaucracy is succinctly expressed in a leaflet issued by its industrial organization—the Workers Alliance Committees—at the height of the General Strike. The leaflet concludes thus:

"More than ever what is demanded is:

- The central committee of the General Strike.
- The federation at all levels according to profession, locality, region and nationally of strike committees.
- General assemblies of strike committees according to profession, locality, region and nationally. (May 26, 1968.)"

Nowhere in this leaflet is there any mention of an alternative regime to the Fifth Republic or of the necessity to address political demands to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the unions—a principle over which the Trotskyist movement split from the Pabloites in the French General Strike of 1954. The wheel had indeed turned full circle!

Pierre Lambert, leader of the OCI, went even further. In the name of the OCI he issued a leaflet which made crystal clear the unconditional subordination of the OCI and the Workers Alliance to the CGT and FO (Socialist) union bureaucracies. The leaflet, which we reproduce here, makes a brief passing reference to a "workers' government" but it is so vague and unqualified as to be meaningless. This revisionist apology contains not a single criticism of the Stalinists and Socialists. On the contrary, readers are deliberately given the impression that Stalinism can defend the rights of the working class and satisfy its demands:

"Workers Blood is flowing. In Flins, in Sochaur, the police are killing. In Saint-Nazaire, in Toulouse the workers are fighting. In Paris repression is being unleashed against the isolated youth.

BY CALLING FOR AN HOUR'S STRIKE, THE CGT RECOGNIZES THAT IT IS THE FATE OF THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS WHICH IS AT STAKE. A MILLION WORKERS IN THE STREETS OF PARIS.

Hundreds of thousands in all the cities of the provinces and . . . THE GOVERNMENT IS CAPITULATING AND OUR DEMANDS HAVE BEEN SATISFIED. OUR RIGHTS HAVE BEEN DEFENDED.

The working class can put in a government which represents it and which it controls. Let us move on! Demonstrate. Join our comrades in the street who are continuing the General Strike."

The International Communist Organization for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International

June 11, 1968

Declaration of Pierre Lambert—leader of the OCI (International Communist Organization for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International). (Contained in F. de Massot's "La Greve General," pp. 309-310.)

To justify these crude syndicalist demands and an abject capitulation to the bureaucracy, de Massot in this same work wrote what constitutes a monumental revision of Trotsky's writings on the "Workers' and Farmers' Government slogan":

"Also, the workers' united front, which is one of the 'slogans' of the Transitional Program . . . which can express itself in many tactical forms determined by the concrete course of the class struggle, is at the same time the very expression of the axis of this program: the mobilization of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism.

"The highest form of organization of the united front is, as Trotsky said in an article of March 1934, the workers' council, the soviet: 'The natural structure of the united front in the days of struggle is the representative of the working class, the factory and workshop delegates, from the workers' quarters and the trade unions: the soviets. Before becoming organs of power, the soviets are the revolutionary apparatus of the united front.

"The highest political expression of the united front, is the government of the united front, opposed to the governmental solutions of the capitalists, opposed to the capitalist state."

"In the General Strike of May-June 1968, these problems came together and found concrete expression in the perspective of the national central strike committee. That is why this issue constituted the touchstone for all political currents, tendencies and organizations in May-June 1968." ("La Greve General," pp. 292-293. Emphasis added.)

This anti-Marxist nonsense is diametrically opposed to the Transitional Program which states:

"The central task of the Fourth International consists in freeing the proletariat from the old leadership, whose conservatism is in complete contradiction to the catastrophic eruptions of disintegrating capitalism and represents the chief obstacle to historical progress. The chief accusation which the Fourth International advances against the traditional organizations of the proletariat is the fact that they do not wish to tear themselves away from the political semi-corps of the bourgeoisie. Under these conditions the demand, systematically addressed to the old leadership: 'Break with the bourgeoisie, take the power!' is an extremely important weapon for exposing the treacherous character of the parties and organizations of the Second, Third, and Amsterdam Internationals. The slogan, 'workers' and farmers' government,' is thus acceptable to us only in the sense that it had in 1917 with the Bolsheviks, i.e., as an anti-bourgeois and anti-capitalist slogan, but in no case in that 'democratic' sense which later the epigones gave it, transforming it from a bridge to socialist revolution into the chief barrier upon its path." (Transitional Program, p. 38).

And again on the next page of the Program (p. 39):

"The agitation around the slogan of a workers'-farmers' government preserves under all conditions a tremendous educational value. And not accidentally. This generalized slogan proceeds entirely along the line of the political development of our epoch (the bankruptcy and decomposition of the old bourgeois parties, the downfall of democracy, the growth of fascism, the accelerated drive of the workers toward more active and aggressive politics). Each of the transitional demands should, therefore, lead to one and the same political conclusion: the workers need to break with all traditional parties of the bourgeoisie in order, jointly with the farmers, to establish their own power."

It is abundantly clear from the comparison of the OCI policy and the Transitional Program that the central strike committee demand was an evasion of political responsibility and a cowardly refusal to advance transitional demands and to build the revolutionary party through an implacable struggle to destroy the illusions of French workers in Stalinism and reformism by demanding that the Communist Party and Socialist Party take power and carry out socialist policies.

Thus in 1968 the OCI was compelled to recognize the economic laws of capitalism, but in an unexpected and contradictory manner: by capitulating to the Stalinist bureaucracy—defender of capitalist property relations and by betraying the General Strike—one of the highest expressions of the revolt of the productive forces against private property.

TO BE CONTINUED

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

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

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

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

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

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

LENIN AND THE 1905 REVOLUTION

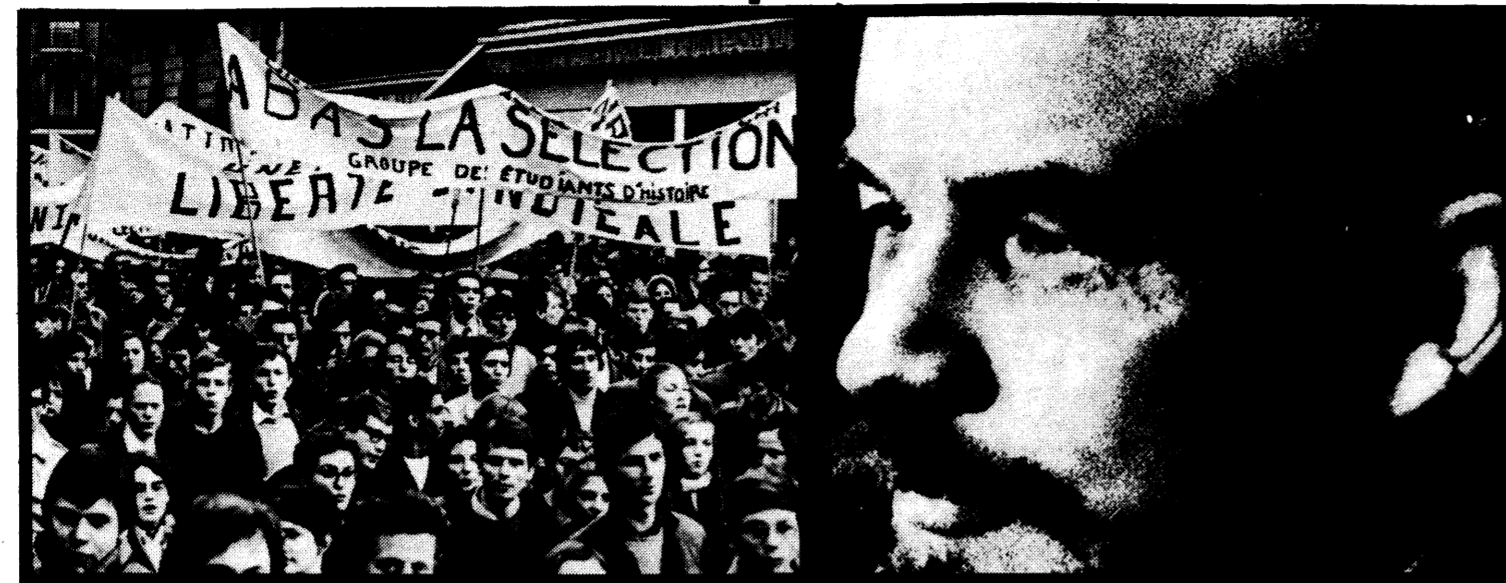
Lenin's work in building the Bolshevik Party and later Trotsky's in defending Bolshevism as the foundation of the Fourth International is the indispensable heritage of Trotskyism on these questions. It is the direct opposite of the idealist method of Blick-Jenkins.

Trotsky answered the Shachtman-Burnham opposition of 1939-1940 on the "concrete questions" (perspectives) which they raised, but his method was to take the discussion to the fundamental difference between dialectical materialism and the opposition's idealism (which took the form of a capitulation to American pragmatism).

Lenin's work as founder of the Bolshevik party always examined perspectives from a fundamental materialist standpoint: in the 1890s, What the Friends of the People Are was a thoroughgoing development of historical materialism against all the subjectivist schools in Russia; in 1902 What Is To Be Done rooted the party organization, strategy and tactics in the struggle for scientific theory, in struggle against the immediate (bourgeois) consciousness of the working class; in 1908 Materialism and Empirio-Criticism was a full-length defense of the materialist world outlook against the turn to Kantian idealism of Bogdanov and Lunacharsky; in the first years of World War I, the Philosophical Notebooks prepared the groundwork in the Theory of Knowledge for the April crisis and the October revolution.

Blick and Jenkins' reference to "precision" in perspectives is nothing more than

A Reply To The British Agents Of The OCI Liquidationists



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

French students march in 1968. On right, Lenin.

a running away from the real struggle to develop knowledge of the material contradictions in society, away to the idealist's dream of ideas conjured up in his head to which reality conforms perfectly. Lenin commented on this method:

"The really important epistemological question that divides the philosophical trends is not the degree of precision attained by our descriptions of causal connections, or whether these descriptions can be expressed in exact mathematical formulas, but whether the source of our knowledge of these connections is objective natural law or properties of our mind, its innate faculty of apprehending certain a priori truths and so forth." (Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Collected Works Vol. 14, p. 159.)

Once these opposed philosophical positions (idealism in opposition to dialectical materialism) are established, we can see two entirely opposed notions of what revolutionary perspective are. If we were to apply the method of Blick-Jenkins we would have to conclude that Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky made literally hundreds of inaccurate prognoses of the situation. But a perspective is not a forecast to be checked later against history. It is a development of Marxist theory as a "guide to action."

Through revolutionary organization it prepares the vanguard of the working class to take up the real struggle (only in this struggle) learn how the living contradictions develop. From this continuous process, our strategy and tactics are abstracted so that we grasp more closely but never completely the actual development of the crisis and the relationship of class forces.

LENIN'S PERSPECTIVES AFTER 1905

After the defeat of the 1905 revolution, the Russian Marxists naturally paid great attention to the perspectives of the movement. Using the formal, idealist method of Blick, we would have to say that Lenin's perspectives were false, when he made statements in 1905 such as:

"What we have to do is to develop the widest possible agitation in favor of an all-Russian uprising, to explain its political and organizational tasks, to exert every effort to make everyone realize that it is inevitable, to make all the people see the possibility of a general onslaught so that they undertake not a 'riot' or a 'demonstration', nor mere strikes and wrecking of property, but a fight for power, a fight with the aim of overthrowing the government."

"The whole situation favors the fulfillment of this task, the proletariat is preparing to put itself at the head of the struggle. A responsible and difficult, but a great and thankful task confronts the revolutionary Social Democrats: to assist the working class as the advanced detachment of an all-Russian uprising."

"The uprising will overthrow the autocracy and will create a representative assembly of the people with real power, i.e. a constituent assembly." ("Dissolution of the Duma and Tasks of the Proletariat," July 1906 in Collected Works, Vol. XI, pp. 130-31.)

The ideological struggle inside the party which is abstracted from its practice is the central question. It is here that the sharpest struggle against bourgeois consciousness must take place; every major

turn in the situation (a revolutionary period is characterized precisely by such sharp turns) is inevitably accompanied by the reflection in the party of bourgeois class interests, in a trend towards the liquidation of the party into the spontaneous backwardness of the working class.

In a few months, the years of vicious reaction set in. The risings at Sveaborg and Kronstadt which came only days after the above article, were repressed and isolated. Hundreds were executed or sent to penal camps in exile. By 1907 the party had entered a period of great difficulty, and in many sections demoralization and defeatism. Lenin's leadership became thoroughly established precisely in those years of reaction.

On what then had Lenin based his perspective of working within every movement—strikes, demonstrations, protests—towards a revolutionary uprising—and was this perspective wrong? He had even said, in the same article:

"It is possible, however, that events may require that we, the leaders, appoint the time for action. In that pass, we should advise that an all-Russian action, strike and uprising be timed for the end of summer or the beginning of autumn, towards the middle or end of August," and "The combination of a mass political strike with an armed uprising is again dictated by the whole situation."

Lenin's basis for perspective and action in July 1906 was not the "course open to the ruling class" (which turned out to be bloody Tsarist repression), but "the objective, historically dictated content of the impending struggle, and the slogans which we must provide for it" (p. 116) (our emphasis). And further, in August, after the suppression of the Sveaborg and Kronstadt mutinies:

"The basis of our work is the correct estimate of class interests and of the requirements of the nation's development at the present juncture." (Collected Works, Vol. 11, p. 178.)

It was from this materialist analysis that Lenin drew his conclusion for the working class and the Marxist party:

"The interests of the proletariat demand the complete overthrow of the old, Tsarist regime and the convocation of a constituent assembly with full power. Its interests demand the most active intervention in moulding the temper of the peasants, in choosing the most resolute forms of struggle, as well as the best moment for it. . . . We must concentrate all efforts on explaining the conditions for an uprising; that it must be combined with the strike movement, that all the revolutionary forces must be rallied and prepared for it, etc." (August 12, 1906, Ibid. pp. 147-148.)

What then is Blick-Jenkins' verdict? That Lenin, through the "personal loyalty" owed him, was keeping the party together by wrong, falsely optimistic and "leftist" perspectives, in short by a subjective method? In the following year Lenin's struggle against the Mensheviks came to a new peak in the London Congress. The Bolsheviks won a narrow majority, but, says Zinoviev:

"The Mensheviks dug their heels in over the control of the party and we had to tear this control from them by force, using very delicate methods, so as to liberate the

party from their hands." History of the Bolshevik Party, New Park Publications, p. 148.)

Blick-Jenkins are absolutely at one with those Mensheviks who, like Plekhanov, had drawn the conclusion that the proletariat should in any case not have taken to arms in 1905-1906, that Lenin's perspectives had been proved wrong, and that his organizational firmness (as explained above by Zinoviev) was nothing but a personal dictatorial regime.

In fact, Lenin's perspective was the only correct one for the movement, because it started from the objective requirement of the revolution, and of proletarian leadership of that revolution. In the practice of the struggle, the bourgeoisie was completely revealed as a counterrevolutionary class. Because Lenin's perspectives were subordinate to the political aim of a definite party, organized on the basis of democratic centralism, they were able to educate the basic cadres of the coming revolution, to deepen their understanding of the relationship of the proletariat and its leadership to the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. On this basis alone was it possible for Lenin to re-orientate the party and its perspectives in April 1917 through a bitter internal struggle.

The history of Marxism and proletarian revolutionary leadership is not one of infallible prophecies and saviors appointed by God. Without the struggle against premature and isolated protest actions and for the unifying of these struggles in a national uprising, the only action which could carry forward the independent interests of the working class, the revolutionary party could not have been built, its cadres could not have been steeled in the battle against other tendencies, and the reality of the contradictions underlying the subsequent reaction and the later revival of revolutionary struggle could not have been grasped. This is completely different from the world of "concrete events" inhabited by Blick-Jenkins.

In April 1917 Lenin told the Bolsheviks: Yes, we fought on a perspective, and built our party on that perspective; now the real forces, of which we had a necessarily incomplete understanding, have entered a new stage of their eventual struggle, and this had produced new institutional forms (Soviets, the Provisional Government); nobody thought of dual power before! Later Trotsky was to say:

"Marxism is a method of historical analysis, of political orientation, and not a mass of decisions prepared in advance."

"Neither October, nor Brest-Litovsk, nor the creation of a regular peasant army, nor the system of requisitioning food products, nor the NEP, nor the State Planning Commission, were or could have been foreseen or predetermined by pre-October Marxism or Bolshevism. . . . Lenin consists in being courageously free from conservative retrospection, from being bound by precedent, purely formal reference, and quotations." (The New Course, New Park Publications, p. 41.)

In passing, we can note one of the examples which Blick-Jenkins use to "prove" that Lenin, unlike the WRP, was able to predict concretely the future course of the revolution: "In the revolutionary period itself Lenin revised his earlier formulation

and as October approached new possible perspectives loomed including Kornilov's military dictatorship." Once more Blick and Jenkins merely reveal their idealism. They are willing to engage in a sleight-of-hand in order to try and "prove" a point. This is what Lenin actually wrote to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party on September 12, 1917:

"The Kornilov revolt was extremely unexpected at such a time and in such a form; it was, one might say, an incredibly abrupt turn in the course of events."

"Like every abrupt turn in events it calls for a revision and alteration of tactics." (Quoted in D. Shub: Lenin. A Biography.)

Again, in The First Five Years of the Communist International, Trotsky says: "Our prognosis cannot be mechanistic. . . (there is the) possibility of several variants—depending on how the relation of forces shape up in the course of living historical action" (Vol. 2, p. 301).

The revolutionary party engages in this "course of living historical action" with its practice "as a lever". The practice of the Party is continually posited onto its perspectives; it is only in this practice that the perspectives of the Party are tested out. "From living perception to abstract thought, and from this to practice—such is the dialectical path of the cognition of truth, of the cognition of objective reality." (Lenin "Philosophical Notebooks," Collected Works, Vol. 38 p. 171.)

It is fitting that Trotsky should have the last word on the sort of "perspective" advocated by Blick-Jenkins.

"Every historical prognosis is always conditional and the more concrete the prognosis, the more conditional it is. A prognosis is not a promissory note which can be cashed on a given date. Prognosis outlines only the definite trends of the development. But along with these trends a different order of forces and tendencies operate, which at a certain moment begin to predominate. All those who seek exact predictions of concrete events should consult the astrologists." (In Defense of Marxism, New Park Publications, pp. 218-219.)

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AND SUBJECTIVE IDEALISM

The fact that Blick-Jenkins say not a single word about the economic crisis or about economic perspectives indicates the thoroughly idealist nature of their method.

Marx long ago proved that men make their history not arbitrarily, but on the basis of objective material conditions they have inherited from the past. These material conditions do not include merely the political institutions of society, but above all, the material economic foundations of society—the productive forces and the production relations which "correspond" to them.

The essence of this materialist conception of history which Marx and Engels developed in the 1840s in struggle against idealist and utopian schools of socialism, was as follows: All history (with the exception of the primitive stage of society) is a history of the struggle between classes, which in turn reflects the struggle against nature. This struggle is the driving force of history and is a product of definite modes of production, of economic conditions. "The economic structure of society always furnishes the real basis, starting from which we can alone work out the ultimate explanation of the whole superstructure of juridical and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical and other ideas of a given historical period." (Anti-Dühring, p. 41.)

Marxists do not, that is, take political, legal, etc. institutions as "things in themselves" with their own independent history, but are to be seen as determined, in the last instance, by the changes in the economic foundations of society.

It was for this reason that Trotsky wrote in the struggle against Burnham and Shachtman:

"However, although economics determines politics not directly and immediately, but only in the last analysis, nevertheless economics does determine politics. The Marxists affirm precisely this in contrast to the bourgeois professors and their disciples." (In Defense of Marxism, New Park Publications, 1966. Emphasis in original pp. 148-149.)

Without a thorough analysis of the economic base of capitalism, and in particular the operation of the law of value, it is impossible to orient the working class politically and prepare it for power. This was

the significance of Lenin's study of imperialism during World War I. Without an exhaustive analysis of the new trends in world capitalism it would have been impossible to understand the basis of the crisis in the Second International and to prepare for October 1917.

The absence of such analysis in the Blick-Jenkins document means that along with all their fellow-revisionists, they must capitulate to the ideology of the ruling class. The International Committee of the Fourth International and the Workers Revolutionary Party made their analysis of the capitalist crisis the center of their political work. This crisis, reaching a high point with the collapse of the Bretton Woods monetary agreement in August 1971, necessitated from the Tory government a hurried preparation of new measures against the working class, from anti-union legislation, through attempted "confrontation" with the unions and other workers, to the preparation of civil war itself, systematically rehearsed in Ulster.

The 1973 Arab-Israeli war and the sharp oil price increases which it brought not only deepened considerably the world capitalist crisis, particularly in Britain; more than this, they disrupted completely the Tory government's plans. All their preparation had to be hastened, yet the working class, particularly the miners, could not at that stage be defeated. The perspectives of the revolutionary party must take into account and politically arm the working class against all sides of this preparation.

The political representatives of the ruling class were (and still are) deeply divided on how to tackle this undefeated working class, and no one knows in advance what form their strategy and tactics will take. It was the responsibility of the Workers Revolutionary Party to draw from all these preparations the necessary conclusions about the stage reached by the crisis and the necessity for the construction of the revolutionary party, against the grave dangers of reformist illusions and isolated protest.

Blick and Jenkins know perfectly well that the WRP (and earlier the SLL) was the only political party to base its perspectives on the profound nature of the economic crisis and the developments which this brought in the class struggle. Every single revisionist tendency attacked our insistence that the building of revolutionary parties was the central task of this epoch. To sustain this attack, they accepted theories that what appeared in the 1930s to be the epoch of imperialist decay had given way to a new type of capitalism free of the old type of economic crisis.

The rejection of an economic analysis, the refusal to derive political events from economic trends and to show the interconnection between economics and politics, not in a mechanically deterministic way but in a dialectical manner, is in itself an unequivocal rejection of Marxist theory. This is the hallmark of every revisionist tendency and not only of Blick and Jenkins.

Their predecessors in this field—now their political allies—were the French OCI leaders who argued from 1965 to 1968 that the International Committee of the Fourth International did not need to waste its time on an economic analysis of imperialism's crisis because this had all been done by Trotsky in 1938. What was needed, they said, was the implementation of the program which embodied the analysis. This argument of the OCI was a recapitulation of Shachtman's pragmatist's view during the Russo-Finnish war of 1939-1940 that since political events were not derived immediately and directly from socio-economic causes, therefore Marxist sociology and economic theory was unnecessary in determining "concrete political tasks."

If, in the USA, Shachtman's accommodation to the pressure of middle-class "public opinion" by the method of pragmatism led him to capitulate to US imperialism then, in France, the impressionism and empiricism of the OCI leaders had results which were no less predictable, shameful and fatal.

When the economic crisis which the OCI ignored for many years erupted into the General Strike of May-June 1968 the OCI-AJS (Alliance Jeunesse pour Socialisme) leaders were utterly disoriented. Instead of seeing these events as the direct manifestation of a deep-seated economic crisis which had been exacerbated by Franco-American monetary and trade rivalry and de Gaulle's attempts to rationalize the economy and augment the gold reserves by deflationary measures, the OCI leaders con-

finned themselves to a superficial and cursory description of the projected attacks of the V Plan and the Fouchet Reform of Education. Having ignored the severity of the economic crisis—already signified by the devaluation of the pound and the March 1968 two-tier gold system—the OCI leadership not surprisingly refused to advance transitional demands during the strike and confined their agitation to the most banal minimum demands of a syndicalist and reformist kind.

The policy of these opportunists, who today lyingly accuse the WRP of not having a "governmental perspective," were in fact indistinguishable from the most vulgar syndicalists in the May-June period, refusing at all times to raise the demand of a Communist Party-Socialist Party government in order to expose mercilessly the political impotence and treachery of the reformist bureaucracies.

This bowing to spontaneity and accommodation to the bureaucracy was, of course, covered up with formal criticisms of the Stalinists on the one side and constant demands for "workers' unity" on the other. But at no stage was the instinctive urge generated by the economic crisis inside the working class, to replace the Gaullist regime with an alternative government, given political expression by the OCI-AJS.

This task was consciously avoided. In place of the transitional demand for a CP-SP government the OCI advanced a slogan which was entirely in line with its revisionist perspective: the slogan of a central strike committee. The bankruptcy of this group and its rejection of the political struggle against the bureaucracy is succinctly expressed in a leaflet issued by its industrial organization—the Workers Alliance Committees—at the height of the General Strike. The leaflet concludes thus:

"More than ever what is demanded is:

- The central committee of the General Strike.
- The federation at all levels according to profession, locality, region and nationally of strike committees.
- General assemblies of strike committees according to profession, locality, region and nationally. (May 26, 1968.)"

Nowhere in this leaflet is there any mention of an alternative regime to the Fifth Republic or of the necessity to address political demands to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the unions—a principle over which the Trotskyist movement split from the Pabloites in the French General Strike of 1954. The wheel had indeed turned full circle!

Pierre Lambert, leader of the OCI, went even further. In the name of the OCI he issued a leaflet which made crystal clear the unconditional subordination of the OCI and the Workers Alliance to the CGT and FO (Socialist) union bureaucracies. The leaflet, which we reproduce here, makes a brief passing reference to a "workers' government" but it is so vague and unqualified as to be meaningless. This revisionist apology contains not a single criticism of the Stalinists and Socialists. On the contrary, readers are deliberately given the impression that Stalinism can defend the rights of the working class and satisfy its demands:

"Workers Blood is flowing. In Flins, in Sochaux, the police are killing. In Saint-Nazaire, in Toulouse the workers are fighting. In Paris repression is being unleashed against the isolated youth.

BY CALLING FOR AN HOUR'S STRIKE, THE CGT RECOGNIZES THAT IT IS THE FATE OF THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS WHICH IS AT STAKE.

A MILLION WORKERS IN THE STREETS OF PARIS.

Hundreds of thousands in all the cities of the provinces and . . .

THE GOVERNMENT IS CAPITULATING AND OUR DEMANDS HAVE BEEN SATISFIED. OUR RIGHTS HAVE BEEN DEFENDED.

The working class can put in a government which represents it and which it controls. Let us move on! Demonstrate. Join our comrades in the street who are continuing the General Strike."

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"The highest form of organization of the united front is, as Trotsky said in an article of March 1934, the workers' council, the soviet. The natural structure of the united front in the days of struggle is the representative of the working class, the factory and workshop delegates, from the workers' quarters and the trade unions; the soviets. Before becoming organs of power, the soviets are the revolutionary apparatus of the united front."

"The highest political expression of the united front, is the government of the united front, opposed to the governmental solutions of the capitalists, opposed to the capitalist state."

"In the General Strike of May-June 1968, these problems came together and found concrete expression in the perspective of the national central strike committee. That is why this issue constituted the touchstone for all political currents, tendencies and organizations in May-June 1968." ("La Greve General," pp. 292-293. Emphasis added.)

This anti-Marxist nonsense is diametrically opposed to the Transitional Program which states:

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And again on the next page of the Program (p. 39):

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It is abundantly clear from the comparison of the OCI policy and the Transitional Program that the central strike committee demand was an evasion of political responsibility and a cowardly refusal to advance transitional demands and to build the revolutionary party through an implacable struggle to destroy the illusions of French workers in Stalinism and reformism by demanding that the Communist Party and Socialist Party take power and carry out socialist policies.

Thus in 1968 the OCI was compelled to recognize the economic laws of capitalism, but in an unexpected and contradictory manner: by capitulating to the Stalinist bureaucracy—defender of capitalist property relations and by betraying the General Strike—one of the highest expressions of the revolt of the productive forces against private property.

TO BE CONTINUED



The Bankruptcy Of The Writers On Bankruptcy

"What is noteworthy...is the fact that the crisis is looked upon and treated by all concerned, by all of society, as something beyond the sphere of human volition and beyond human control, as a heavy blow by an invisible and greater power, an ordeal sent down from the heavens, similar to a heavy thunderstorm, an earthquake, or a flood."

This is how Rosa Luxemburg assessed the reaction of writers in the financial pages of the capitalist papers of her day to economic crisis. While the crisis has changed in its immensity since the early part of this century, the reaction of the capitalist press has remained on the level it was in Rosa Luxemburg's day.

The lead story in the **Wall Street Journal** of September 4 begins:

"The US economy, that marvelous machine of plenty, has suddenly turned into a cornucopia of trouble, pouring forth an agonizing abundance of distress.

"A bewildering combination of frightening economic developments is tumbling out: soaring prices and eroding wages; topless interest rates and a bottomless stock market; a mortgage-money crunch and a home-building crash; a menacing explosion of world oil prices and a flood of surplus Arab oil wealth threatening international money markets; swelling business inventories and shrinking crop production."

This is a description of the capitalist economic crisis completely out of control. There is no explanation of what brought about these events. It is as if they were a natural disaster, a set of circumstances with which we must now deal.

We are even told that "a slumping economy that's wracked by double-digit price and wage increases isn't performing according to the book."

The question of course is according to **which** book? The capitalist writers admit their own theoretical bankruptcy is as enormous as the bankruptcy of their system. It is **their** books which have proven to be completely worthless in predicting or even explaining the changes now taking place in the capitalist economy.

The economy, is, however, performing according to **one** book: **Capital** by Karl Marx.

The writers for **The New York Times** are not one whit better than the **Journal**. Edwin Dale Jr. asks in the September 5 issue, a very pertinent question: "How did the mess come about?"

His answer, however, is not quite an answer:

"It came about mainly because the governments of all the leading industrial countries, including the United States, let inflation get away from them in the last several years, as government spending and supplies of money and credit rose rapidly everywhere.

"In addition, there was bad luck, chiefly a poor world harvest in 1972, which is still affecting food reserves, food trade, and food prices. There was also the sudden success of oil-producing countries in forcing a huge increase in oil prices."

We can dismiss Dale's second explanation out of hand because it represents the bankruptcy of capitalist thought in its most extreme form. We have had, after all, bad luck with crops in other years in the postwar period without having the kind of crisis capitalism now faces.

The first argument, once probed, fares little better. If these governments "let" inflation get away from them, then there were forces at work producing an inflationary explosion which these governments had to cope with. Second, we are told that the governments of "all" leading industrial countries let inflation get out of hand. Why was this process so universal? Why was there such a uniform prostration of government leaders before this problem?

The third argument is tied to the first. No doubt, the sudden rise in oil prices contributed heavily to all aspects of the crisis, particularly inflation and trade balances. But why did the oil sheiks raise their prices? Clearly, it was in response to the inflationary pressures already built up, an attempt to protect their vast currency holdings through the physical growth of these holdings.

Either we are to "explain" this crisis on the level of bad luck or the caprice and bad judgement of world leaders or we must turn to the materialist assessment of Marxism. We intend to do the latter in the next article.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE



Dennis Banks, addressing supporters with lawyer William Kuntsler on left.

Informer Exposes AIM Frameup

BY JEAN BRUST

St. Paul—The eight month trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means of the American Indian Movement, charged in the occupation of Wounded Knee, ended here on September 4.

The jury is expected to begin deliberations on September 12 and confident defense supporters are calling for a victory party the following day.

The explosive character of the Wounded Knee trial exploded in St. Paul in the past two weeks as the government grew increasingly desperate in its determination to secure a conviction, regardless of the lack of evidence.

The courtroom was cleared Friday, August 23 as clubs and mace were used against the spectators and two defense attorneys, William Kuntsler and Mark Lane, were arrested.

This violent confrontation took place during the cross-examination of chief government rebuttal witness, Louis Moves Camp, during the last days of presentation of evidence.

Trouble began the previous day. Moves Camp is an informer, member of AIM and a participant in the occupation of Wounded Knee.

For three days he had been on the stand presenting for the first time in the long months of the trial evidence that directly links Means and Banks to the 5 remaining charges.

Up to this point it was clear that the government had virtually no direct case at all. The sole basis of their charge began to rest on the claim that Means and Banks were responsible for the larceny, firebombs and the wounding of one FBI agent that took place during the occupation.

After months of testimony, with over 90 prosecution witnesses called to the stand, it was only in August that Camp was located. He proved an invaluable witness to the government, claiming to have seen Means and Banks commit lar-

ceny, order violence, etc.

He was able to testify to such miracles as having heard Russell Means declare his happiness at the fact that an FBI agent was shot, the same day that the government admits Means was not even in Wounded Knee.

Thursday, the day before the violence flared, the lies of this paid informer were so obvious that his own mother, Ellen Moves Camp, stood up in the courtroom, called him a liar and cried "Why are you telling all these lies? Why did I ever bear you, to lie against your own people like this?"

Mrs. Moves Camp was ordered removed from the courtroom but the government witness was so unnerved that he was unable to maintain even a semblance of credibility during the balance of his cross-examination. Judge Fred Nichols was forced to dismiss the trial for the balance of day.

Friday began with a warning by Nichols to the defense and the spectators that no such outbursts could be tolerated, thus preparing the ground for the mace attack.

In his efforts to portray the occupation as a "communist-inspired" plot, he had fabricated a meeting in Wounded Knee between representatives of the Soviet Union, Red China, East and West Germany and other countries.

"Are you aware," Kuntsler asked him, "that this is the first time in history that East and West German officials have been at the same meeting?"

The judge ordered row three cleared. Seated in this row were Vernon and Clyde Bellecourt, two other AIM leaders.

Vernon and one young lady were dragged from the room and as the marshalls started to drag Clyde out, spectators objected and tempers flared. The marshalls began to attack the spectators violently with clubs and mace.

When Kuntsler and Lane objected, they were forcibly removed to jail. In the process Mark Lane's eye was injured and four to five spectators received a full dose of mace in the face.

According to witnesses, Banks stormed in the chambers after the lawyers' arrests and

declared, "I believe this was an effort to get a conviction out of the jury. Judge Nichols has shown an example of South Dakota racism. He reacted exactly as Judge Borrom of the Sioux Falls state court did earlier in the summer.

During the remainder of cross examination and defense rebuttals, before the trial recessed, the defense conclusively proved that the evidence presented by Moves Camp's own mother, brother and wife, showed he was a paid informer.

He has already received nearly \$2000 from the government for his role. In fact the government admitted having paid him \$1000 for "relocation purposes," claiming this was usual procedure when a witness is endangered by his testimony.

According to his own wife he was also promised \$200 a week plus a new home for his testimony. In addition it was proven that a rape charge previously filed against him was dropped without investigation after he agreed to testify.

"The judge knows the government has messed up," one young witness told the **Bulletin**. "He knows they've blown the case, but those South Dakota politicians have got to keep Means and Banks out of South Dakota.

"This violence and Nichols's leniency toward the government all prove one thing. He's in agreement with McGovern."

This was a reference to McGovern's recent statement that he had requested more federal marshalls be sent to Pine Ridge, Rosebud and Yangston reservation.

The judge's determination to get a conviction at all costs has been exposed. At one point, after the jury was dismissed and the court was not in session, Nichols threatened Banks with contempt of court and had to be reminded he had no power to do so when court was not in session.

In addition, one by one, the non-leadership cases taking place simultaneously in Lincoln, Nebraska, have resulted in acquittal or dismissal of charges.

So far, not one person has been convicted of any charge arising out of the occupation of wounded Knee.

Delco-Moraine Men Strike Over Speedup

BY A LOCAL 696 MEMBER
DAYTON, Ohio—On Thursday, September 5, Local 696 workers struck the Delco-Moraine plant here, the first authorized strike during a contract since 1964.

This strike was demanded by many rank and file members who walked off their jobs before the strike deadline.

A spokesman for the United Auto Workers reported that many of the main issues were unresolved production standard grievances.

Management has been increasing production standards in many departments to the point where in Department 21 their standard has almost doubled.

There are also disciplinary cases that are related to this speedup where workers are harassed, written up or fired because of their inability to keep up with this slave pace.

As the workers congregated in the parking lot and at the union hall, the talk was centering around the need for a national strike to force Delco-Moraine to the bargaining table.

As one worker said, "We should have been out a long time ago but why pull one plant out by itself? I say if one goes we pull them all out until we get things settled."

Another worker said, "The way things are now we could be shut down here while they're working somewhere else producing the same thing we produce. What they're trying to do is break the union because what is at stake here is who will actually control this plant."

It was also brought out that Paragraph 8 of the international agreement gives the company the sole right to hire, promote,

fire and set production standards.

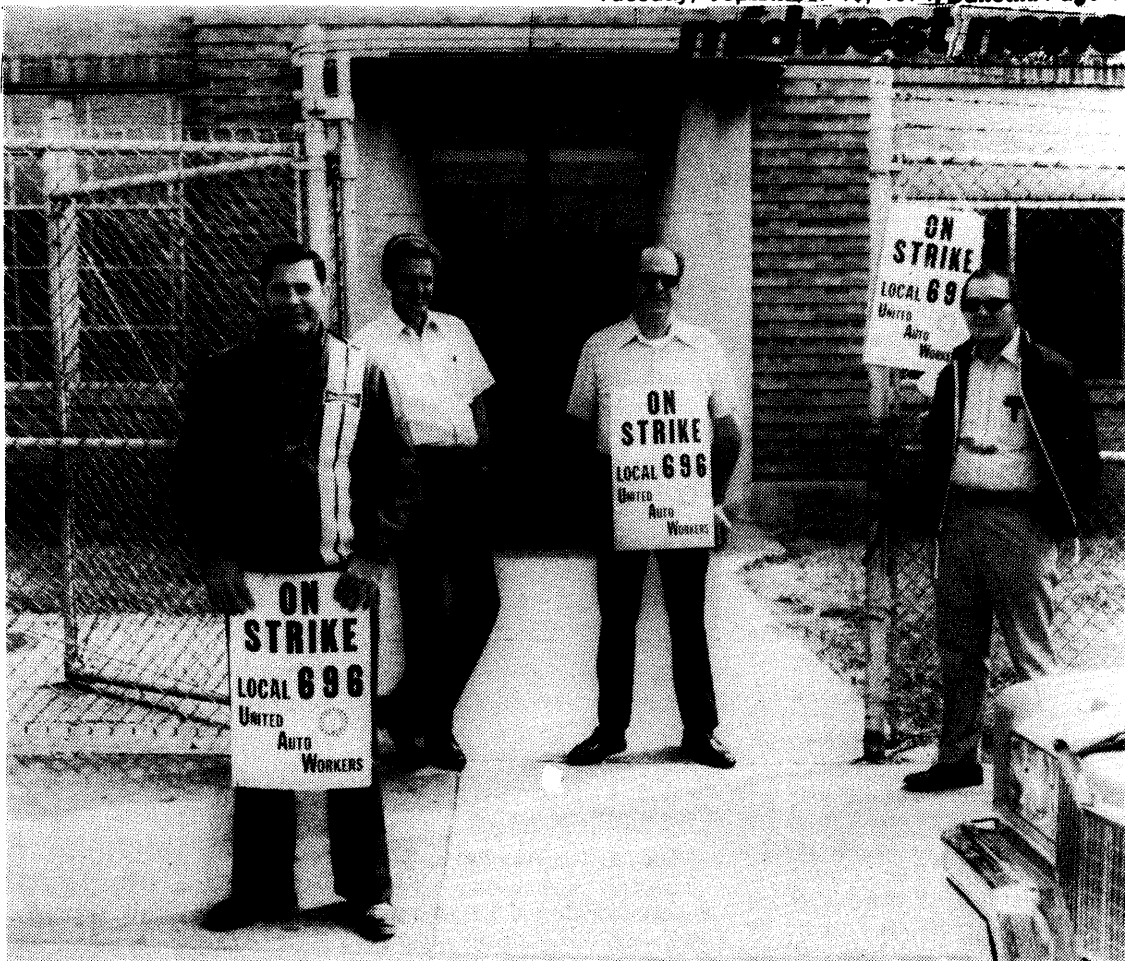
There was an intense discussion on the political significance of the strike and the role of the Democrats in working with Ford to create unemployment and hold wages down. Several workers expressed anger at Ford's recent statement demanding workers produce more and get less money.

The speedup at Delco Moraine is part of a nationwide productivity drive throughout the auto industry that led to the strikes at the General Motors plants in St. Louis and Lordstown, Ohio. These strikes were deliberately sabotaged by the UAW International of Woodcock.

The road to victory for 696 members is in the fight for a nationwide UAW strike to throw out the old contracts and win an end to the speedup, workers control over conditions and production standards, recall all laid off workers, and a reopening of the wages fight.

This means a political fight against Ford and the Democrats and the fight for the building of a labor party pledged to socialist policies to establish workers control of industry.

We urge all Delco-Moraine workers to join the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, the only opposition to the UAW bureaucracy that is fighting on this program.



Delco-Moraine workers in Dayton, Ohio, on strike in dispute over unresolved production grievances.

Workers Bitter About Western Electric Pact

BY WILL ROEMER
CHICAGO—Bitterness is the sentiment of Western Electric workers here who are returning to work after being out on strike since August 4.

The new contract agreement provides for a 10 per-

cent increase the first year, three percent in the second year and four percent in the third year. There is no cost of living increase in the first year, although cost of living adjustments are in the second and third years.

Layoff penalties for the fifth and sixth occurrences of illness are abolished.

The agreement is essentially the same one the company offered before the strike began. Western Electric workers in the CWA (Communication Workers of America), got 10.6 percent. The CWA accepted this and broke an agreement with the IBEW (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers) to strike together.

Workers at Chicago's Hawthorne plant, members of the IBEW are furious that they were out four weeks and got so little.

"It seems ridiculous to be out for a month and lose all that pay and get nothing," one worker said.

Another worker said, "It's nothing but a put up job. I cannot see where we got any more than before. There were about 4000 at the meeting Sunday. They say that the vote was two to one in favor but they were doing the counting. There was a lot of disagreement but the president just read the terms and proceeded to a vote."

Workers were virtually starved into accepting the contract. One worker told the Bulletin.

"Some people just figured that they had to go back to work. We

had no strike benefits and no pay, even for picketing. The people were getting hungry."

One worker said the whole strike was poorly planned. "None of us expected to go out on strike, certainly not by ourselves. It all happened so fast and then it was settled without getting anywhere."

"The company did the talking. For example we now have a dental plan but it doesn't take effect until 1976 because the company says they can't afford it until then."

He said that one reason the contract passed was because many people tore up their ballots in anger when they saw what was going on.

The sabotage of the CWA bureaucracy in abandoning the IBEW strike pledge was matched by the IBEW's policy of secrecy on the terms of the contract.

One shop steward who requested that her name not be used, told the Bulletin, "To me it seems like the contract we had before was like the contract the CWA approved. I don't particularly care for what happened. I was unable to attend Sunday's meeting. When I found out there was a meeting I called up the union to find out the terms of the contract. People had been asking me and I try to represent my people fairly."

"I thought that since I was a union steward I should know what was up, but the union wouldn't tell me anything. I feel like I have been used."

Police Subversive List

LANSING, Mich.—Michigan State Police have been compiling a list of subversives over the last 25 years.

The intelligence unit of the police, which maintains the list, claims to have used it to thwart a wide range of crimes in recent years. These crimes, according to the state police include arson, bombing, and hijacking.

The existence of this sub-

versive activity file came to light when Governor Milliken ordered the list trimmed to include only those who may be involved in "criminal activity."

The only persons who will be responsible for carrying out these orders are a handful of state police officials.

"TAKE MY WORD"

"You will just have to take my word for it that it's been done," explained state police Director George Halverson, when asked how he intended to carry out the governor's orders.

"There's a possibility no names will be removed," he explained. "It depends on today's marketplace as to what is considered subversive."

He went on further to explain that different things are subversive at different points in time and therefore, it will be up to the discretion of the state police to decide which names remain as subversives and which are removed.

ENFORCE

State police were used to enforce the ban on mass picketing at the Dow Chemical Workers' strike in Midland, Michigan last March, and to allow scabs to enter in several other strike situations out of the state.

State police informed a known drug dealer in Detroit that there was a hired killer looking for him. This led to the shooting of a 12-year-old girl, when the dealer said he mistook her for the killer.

KKK President Is Brook Park Worker

BY FRANK DENISON
CLEVELAND, Ohio—"Working people like me are turning more conservative than liberal."

These are the words of Dale R. Reusch, Ohio Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan.

Reusch, who works at Ford's Brook Park engine plant and is also a member of the United Auto Workers union, has just been chosen as the Klan's first president of the US.

UAW local president, W.K. Medders, of Local 1250 told the Bulletin that Reusch once polled 100 votes for the presidency of the 8000 member local.

"I never paid attention to him," Medder said. "As far as we're concerned, he has the right to his opinions. We don't discriminate in race, color, creed, or belief."

When asked if he knew of the

floggings, terror, and murders carried out by the KKK against workers fighting to build unions in the 1930s, Medders replied:

"People have more rights and education than ever before. I don't think we're headed for a depression. I have confidence in the Democrats to hold down unemployment."

With hundreds of thousands of auto workers unemployed and new layoffs in the works, Medders' complacency is criminal. Goons for Medders know how to threaten Bulletin salesmen at the plant gates, but don't have the slightest concern for the members.

The refusal of the union bureaucracy to fight for a labor party as an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, opens the doors to fascists and racist scum like the KKK who do the dirty work for the employers.

FMC Strikers Return

MINNEAPOLIS—At a meeting boycotted by 25 percent of the membership, production and maintenance workers of UAW Local 683 of the FMC Corporation in Fridley, Minnesota, voted 778 to 453 to accept a three year contract.

Virtually the same contract was rejected 855 to 520 five weeks ago. During the 16-week strike, the 1650 workers had to fight the US Navy-backed corporation, the scabs and supervisory personnel engaged in limited production, court injunctions, and threats of jail.

Besides the 10 percent increase in the first year of the contract, there will be a cost of living increase totaling six cents an hour during the first year, and four percent increases during both the second and third years.

Ray Carlson, industrial relations manager for FMC, stated after the return to work was announced by the union, that some 100 workers would not be recalled but would be put on a "temporary status."

books

A Glimpse Into The CIA

by Alan White

The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence, by Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1974. 398 pp. \$8.95.

This book was written by two men who have direct experience with intelligence operations. Victor Marchetti joined the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 1955 as an anticommunist and resigned from the agency in 1969, disillusioned with the CIA's goals and methods.

John D. Marks joined the Foreign Service in 1966 where he became familiar with CIA operations. He too, disenchanted with America's foreign policies, left in 1970.

This is the first book that the US Government went to court over, in order to censor before publication. The Court of Appeals has affirmed that all classified information could be deleted from the book by the CIA. In December 1972, the Supreme Court upheld this decision.

After the manuscript was completed in August, 1973, it was delivered to the CIA, who designated 339 portions of the book to be deleted (which would have been 15 to 20 percent of the book). The American Civil Liberties Union and the publishers of the book, Knopf, through the process of litigation, managed to reduce the deletions from 339 to 168.

In this edition, passages which the CIA originally ordered deleted, but which later were restored, appear in boldface type.

Some of the most interesting revelations appear in the boldface type and deleted areas. For example, the book reveals that Willy Brandt may be working for the CIA. After a big deletion, there appears in boldface type, "Years later, he was elected mayor of West Berlin. Throughout this period..."

Then appears another deletion, after which we read, "He was a hardworking politician in Allied-occupied Berlin and his goal of making the Social Democratic Party a viable alternative to communism..." The sentence is then abruptly cut short.

To talk of a Social-Democratic mayor of West Berlin implies Willy Brandt and to talk of the Social Democratic party as being a "viable alternative" to communism is clearly one of the goals of the CIA, in order to defend the capitalist class.

Marchetti and Marks quote a journalist, Stanley Karnow, who reports a specific operation in the Philippines in the early 1950s. This article appeared as a result of an interview with the man who led the operation, Air Force Colonel Edward Lansdale.

Lansdale's mission was to struggle against the Huks, a local communist guerrilla organization. Karnow described how Lansdale took advantage of a superstitious fear among the peasants of a mythical vampire, called Asung.

When a Huk insurgent was captured, his neck was punctured with two holes and his body was hung until the blood drained out. When the Huks saw the corpse, being as superstitious as other Filipinos, they fled the region.

Some of the activities that the CIA has been involved in include:

- Iran, 1953: The overthrow of Premier Mohammed Massadeh.



Chile: The CIA plotted the coup which overthrew Allende.

- The Guatemala coup of 1954.
- South Vietnam, 1954: Psychological warfare programs such as pacification, military training, and political consultation to help the fascist Diem regime eliminate political opponents.
- Indonesia, late 1950s: Unsuccessful attempt to overthrow President Sukarno.
- Cuba, 1961: Unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Castro (Bay of Pigs invasion).
- Congo, 1961-1964: Bribing of politicians, supplying of money, arms and mercenaries to the supporters of Cyrille Adoula and Joseph Mobutu.
- Chile: The CIA's struggle against Allende including penetrating all of Chile's major political parties and secretly furnishing assistance to certain Chilean groups.

Methods

Its methods of operations include: 1) Financial and technical assistance and infiltration of political parties, labor unions, business firms, student groups like the National Student Association, etc. 2) Covert propaganda, 3) Private training of individuals and 4) Paramilitary operations such as the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Despite its manpower and budget, the CIA is far from being a James Bond superhuman agency, as it is sometimes portrayed. Indeed, it has found the Soviet Union and East European countries virtually unpenetrable. This is the reason why it has had to resort to utilizing electronic techniques such as U-2 spy planes, satellites, and spy ships such as the Pueblo which was captured by the North Koreans in 1968.

Most importantly, Marchetti and Marks detail extensively how the CIA operates without any congressional or judicial control. Thus, a President can order a clandestine operation while disclaiming any responsibility or knowledge of it.

The CIA struggled for censorship of the manuscript not on the grounds that the book was untrue, but rather on the grounds that it was "classified information."

The importance of this book is that it gives a picture of the true face of capitalism, of the terrorism, spying, torture, and other methods used by the CIA to defend the most ruthless dictators.

Marchetti and Marks quit the CIA out of disgust for its methods. However, these are the methods of capitalism in crisis and decay and must be destroyed along with the system of class rule that has created it.

US CUTS AID World Starvation Spreads

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

The devastating drought that seared the central United States throughout the summer will intensify the world food crisis and lead to death by starvation for millions of people throughout the world.

Inventories of both food and fertilizer are at their lowest levels since the disruption of production and trade during World War Two.

The present disruption of food supplies at this point comes not from natural conditions alone, or from war, but from the intensity of the economic crisis of the capitalist system.

This summer's drought is comparable in intensity to the Dust Bowl period in the depression. It began on the Texas cattle ranges, where some fields have had no rainfall in a year, and swept through the corn and wheat belt. Each day without rain meant a two percent decline in yield from the rich cornfields of Iowa and Illinois.

The corn yield is down 12 percent from last year, in spite of a considerable increase in acreage planted. The soybean crop is down 16 percent. The wheat crop is up slightly, but far below the increased harvest that was planned.

With millions of families living at the point of starvation in central Africa and Southeast Asia, the Ford administration has made it clear that it will cut back on vitally needed food aid and exports rather than tamper with the profiteering now going on.

Speaking of the upcoming United Nations World Food Conference, Secretary of Agriculture Earl J. Butz arrogantly referred to this vitally needed aid as a "bagful of goodies."

SCANT HARVEST

Increase in food aid dollars that were supposed to increase supplies will have to be used just to meet the price increases of the last months. With the scant harvest, government officials now predict that nearly a million tons, two-thirds of the total, will be cut from the animal feed grains they had planned to ship through the Food for Peace program.

This cut-back is on top of huge cuts made in the last two years. Last year's shipment was less than half the aid customarily sent during the 1960s and early 1970s.

"Present stocks don't permit a major food initiative," according to Food for Peace coordinator Andrew J. Mair. This means that Egypt will likely lose the \$750 million worth of government food loans it seeks, floodtorn Bangladesh has received only about one-fifth of the 500,000 tons of food it has needed over the summer and Latin America has been nearly eli-



Children begging on street in Calcutta, India.

minated from the food aid programs.

Many of these areas have had their own food production capacity destroyed by years of drought and now the shortage of chemical fertilizers that developed along with the shortage of other petroleum products last winter.

With supplies down by a million tons during the last year, India's grain yield was down by 10 million tons, food for 50 million people.

In Calcutta, where thousands of families exist on state-regulated food rations, the grain ration for an adult has already been cut from 8 pounds a week in 1972 to 4.4 pounds now.

Tens of thousands more people, including waves of peasants forced off the land by the drought, exist without even these meager rations.

"By nutritional standards, some of these people should be dead," one Indian relief worker stated.

It is under these conditions that L. William Seidman, who is organizing Ford's summit on inflation, reports that the United States uses 35 percent of the world's resources to supply 6 percent of the population and therefore it will be impossible to extend the American standard of living to the whole world.

The plan of Ford and the other summit conferees is to smash the living conditions of the American and European workers down to the level of the rest of the world. When the inability to export food reflects itself in a worsening balance of trade deficit, a new inflationary surge will take place in every basic commodity in the US.

Already, the Department of Agriculture admits that the American working class is undernourished, not because of food shortages, but for lack of money.

And for those families who do rely on food stamps, the government admits that prices between 1970 and 1974 have gone up 22.6 percent more rapidly than the size of the subsidy.

Government control of dwindling food supplies is no solution under capitalism, as is shown clearly by the experience British and European families have had under the Common Market. Prices have soared while farmers received virtually nothing to meet their inflated expenses.

Common Market governments have slaughtered millions of chickens to keep prices up, "denatured" tons of grains and vegetables by adding chemicals so they are unfit to eat, and warehoused a mountain of meat under the tightest security.

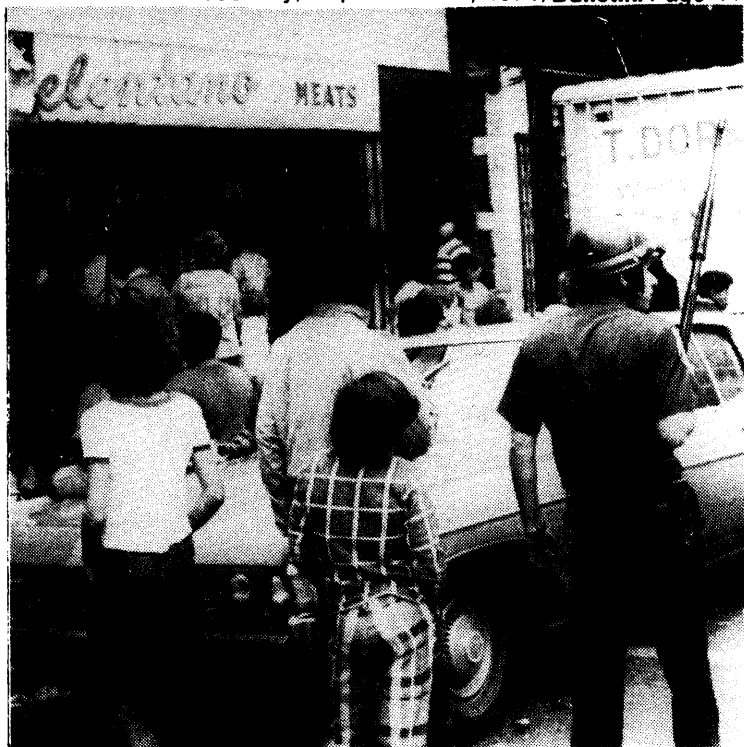
The only solution to the spreading world famine is the complete nationalization of all agribusiness and food-related industries, under a socialist economy.

In America, the first step must be taken through the convening of a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party committed to these policies.

Last week's mass demonstration in Ethiopia, where thousands of unemployed youth took the lead in blaming the government for the starvation of the people serves notice on the ruling class of the massive fight which will be waged by the world working class.

Police Shoot To Kill

STATE OF SIEGE IN NEWARK



Police armed with automatic weapons terrorized residents of Columbus Homes, in Newark, New Jersey, where youth unemployment is up to 50 percent.

**BY DAVID NORTH
NEWARK, NJ—** Shortly after midnight on Tuesday, September 2, a bullet smashed through the bedroom window of Virginia Gibson's first floor apartment.

The bullet, fired by a machine gun toting cop, lodged in a wall only several inches above the bed in which Mrs. Gibson was sleeping.

Outside, on Newark's Seventh Avenue, scores of police poured round after round of automatic weapons fire into the Columbus Homes project, until the facade of the grim red brick buildings looked like the battered walls of a fortress.

The police claimed that they were firing at snipers. In fact, their target was any worker, housewife, or youth who happened to live in Columbus Homes.

A state of siege exists in Newark. Seven years after the 1967 riot, battalions of police are once again patrolling the streets with shotguns.

All around the city the scars of the 1967 struggle can still be seen: empty lots strewn with rubble and burned out stores.

But this is not 1967. Mayor Gibson and the insurance executives who rule this city are seeking to establish martial law conditions because they now must confront not an isolated section of minority workers and youth, but the movement of broad sections of the working class.

Just three weeks ago, police mounted on horses attacked a picket line of Western Electric workers picketing the company's Newark facilities. Those same police led the cavalry charge against Puerto Rican and Black workers and youth in Brook Bridge Park that precipitated the new rioting on Sunday.

It is no coincidence that Mayor Gibson's order imposing a curfew specifically stated that people carrying picket signs would be arrested.

Newark is an economic disaster area. The struggle which erupted this week and created conditions resembling civil war comes out of the explosive contradiction maturing in every part of the country. A powerful and militant working class is now confronted by an objective economic crisis which threatens mass unemployment combined with an inflation that is driving down the living standards of every worker.

Unemployment in Newark is 17 percent. This statistic is, however, very misleading. No official statistics are kept. When unemployment figures are occasionally estimated, Newark is combined with numerous middle class suburban areas.

Youth unemployment is closer to 50 percent. There are no opportunities for the youth who live cooped up in projects such as Columbus Homes that are not

fit for human beings.

The elevators in this 12-story project are usually broken. The steps and the lobbies are unlighted. Hot water is an unknown luxury. Cockroaches crawl all over the floors. Tenants must light their stoves to keep warm because the heat rarely functions properly.

"I am young and have a life to lead," declared Olga Vasquez. "But I don't want to live it here. Why don't the cops put down their guns and fight us with their hands."

"To the policemen, we are savages. I said to this cop: 'Don't you know you're shooting people.' And the cop said: 'Yeah, and little girls.'"

"All they need to do is leave us alone," said Hattie Anderson. "They just want to hold us back and protect the stores."

"We're going into the stores because we need to. Pork costs five dollars. We haven't been eating anything but beans and that costs 85¢."

"All people are trying to do is get back what they've taken away from us. That store across the street is burning us up. That store is robbing us out of everything. It's making it tough just to survive."

"A lot of people are on welfare here and get no more than \$114 a month. What can you do with that? You have nothing left by the time you buy food."



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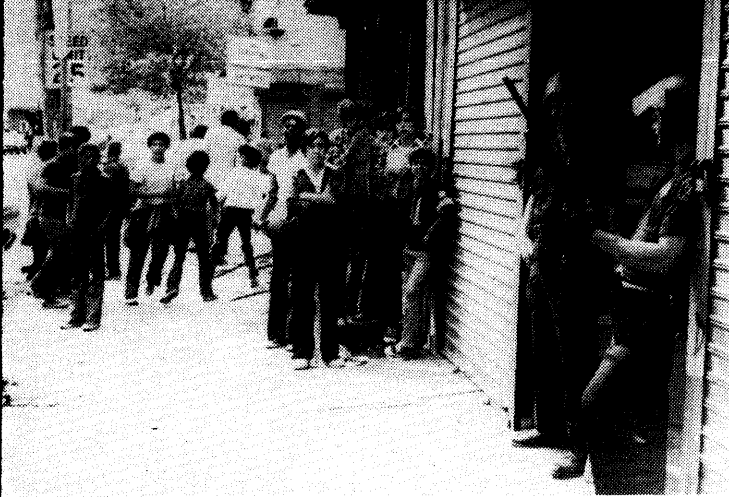
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La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderazgo en la clase obrera. Es por ello que necesitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirigir su correspondencia a: Lucía Rivera, c/o Labor Publications,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

lucha obrera

—lucía rivera—

Terror Policiaco En Newark



Newark estuvo virtualmente bajo un estado de emergencia durante la semana pasada. Más de 1500 policías fueron movilizadas con explícitas instrucciones de tirar a matar. Las calles cercanas al caserío Columbus Homes (una comunidad obrera de puertorriqueños) fueron ocupadas por jóvenes, trabajadores y niños demandando el retiro inmediato de la policía de la comunidad.

El primero de setiembre, durante la celebración del Festival Puertorriqueño, la policía montada intervino para prevenir los juegos y la venta de comida (pasteles). De acuerdo con Santos Guzmán: "La policía dijo que ese era un parque privado (Branch Brook Park) y que el juego y la venta de comida estaba prohibido. Luego, la otra cosa que supimos fue que los caballos habían destrozado las mesas donde se vendían pasteles y pasaron por encima de una niña de cuatro años, destrozándole el pecho causándole la muerte." Fue esta misma provocación policiaca la que causó la muerte de una joven con cinco meses de embarazo.

Gibson, el alcalde de Newark, ha impuesto un toque de queda para los jóvenes menores de 18 años entre las 10 de la noche y las 6 de la mañana. Las reuniones de más de tres personas están prohibidas. Es el temor al poder de la clase obrera y la juventud lo que se expresa claramente a través de las decisiones del alcalde de dar órdenes de tirar a matar.

En menos de cuatro días, desde el comienzo de los motines, más de 42 personas fueron arrestadas y docenas hospitalizadas por heridas de balas y por las palizas brutales por parte de la policía. La policía fue movilizada con su uniforme y equipo anti-manifestación. Este consiste en una macana de 3 a 4 pies de largo y rifles, además de sus revólveres de reglamentación.

El martes por la noche la policía comenzó a disparar discriminatoriamente en contra de los departamentos de Columbus Homes. De acuerdo con Virginia, quien vive en el edificio 82, "por poco me matan. Sería como la una de la mañana cuando una bala entró a mi dormitorio rompiendo la ventana y la botella de medicina e incrustándose en la pared solo a unas cuantas pulgadas de donde nosotros estábamos durmiendo."

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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—

Terror Policiaco En Newark



Newark estuvo virtualmente bajo un estado de emergencia durante la semana pasada. Más de 1500 policías fueron movilizados con explícitas instrucciones de tirar a matar. Las calles cercanas al caserío Columbus Homes (una comunidad obrera de puertorriqueños) fueron ocupadas por jóvenes, trabajadores y niños demandando el retiro inmediato de la policía de la comunidad.

El primero de setiembre, durante la celebración del Festival Puertorriqueño, la policía montada intervino para prevenir los juegos y la venta de comida (pasteles). De acuerdo con Santos Guzmán: "La policía dijo que ese era un parque privado (Branch Brook Park) y que el juego y la venta de comida estaba prohibido. Luego, la otra cosa que supimos fue que los caballos habían destrozado las mesas donde se vendían pasteles y pasaron por encima de una niña de cuatro años, destruyéndole el pecho causándole la muerte." Fue esta misma provocación policiaca la que causó la muerte de una joven con cinco meses de embarazo.

Gibson, el alcalde de Newark, ha impuesto un toque de queda para los jóvenes menores de 18 años entre las 10 de la noche y las 6 de la mañana. Las reuniones de más de tres personas están prohibidas. Es el temor al poder de la clase obrera y la juventud lo que se expresa claramente a través de las decisiones del alcalde de dar órdenes de tirar a matar.

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