

Bulletin

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

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VOLUME TEN NUMBER EIGHTY THREE 419

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1974

TWENTY CENTS

Big Three Slash

BY MELODY FARROW

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The Big Three auto companies, Ford, General Motors and Chrysler have mounted an unprecedented attack on the jobs of thousands of auto workers that will effect every worker in American industry.

While auto workers must begin to launch massive resistance to this attack, the coal miners all over the country are leading the fight for wages by preparing for a shutdown on November 12.

It is the struggle of these two powerful sections of workers together that has sent the desperate auto and coal bosses and Ford's government into a panic.

Last Thursday, GM announced it was laying off 6000 workers at four plants and an "undetermined number" at parts plants, bringing to 36,000 the number of GM workers on indefinite layoffs.

On November 15, the second shift of 2000 men at the Tarrytown, New York plant will be cut, 1550 will be eliminated at the Leeds, Missouri plant, and 1650 at Van Nuys, California. The line speed at Willowrun, Michigan will be reduced from 70 to 60 cars an hour, and another 700 laid off on December 2.

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fallen 22 percent in the third quarter and profits were down 94 percent from 1973, industry officials said production in the fourth quarter would be slashed by 93,000 cars.

GM spokesmen made it clear that this is only the beginning. GM is reviewing all its capital expenditures and indicated that there could be more layoffs and shutdowns before the end of the year.

Ford and Chrysler have already cut capital spending.

At the same time, Ford announced it is laying off 950 skilled trade workers, mostly tool and die workers, at five plants. Workers at Ford's Dearborn Assembly plant in Michigan will be working eight days in November and most of the 545 tool and die workers have already been laid off.

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which will reduce the work force from 730 to 110 in the next two months.

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Figures released by the industry reveal that all efforts to recoup falling profits by price increases have only intensified the collapse in sales. Between October 11-20, sales fell 28 percent, over 1973. In early October, sales had fallen from an annual rate of 9.5 million in August to seven million.

The auto companies, with the full support of the Ford government, have launched a war on auto workers, in the name of profits. Everywhere, the word among industry officials is for

cost cutting, speedup, and more speedup.

Auto industry spokesmen are meeting with Ford in Washington this Tuesday to get the green light to eliminate virtually all safety features, such as emission controls and safety belt interlocks.

At a meeting of auto engineers in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, Ford President Lee Iacocca said productivity had to be increased as one way to fight inflation.

"Labor costs have risen faster than productivity" and inflation had soaked up profits, he said. "Our problem is to get back some profits we can plow back. We must generate profits and then put them to work."

Auto workers cannot accept the criminal reaction of the UAW leadership to passively accept these layoffs. The layoffs are the result of the fundamental economic crisis in the capitalist system that is rapidly leading to a depression, worse than the 1930s. As unemployment spreads throughout every industry, the basic right of every worker to a job is at stake.

Ray Calore, president of the Tarrytown local said in a New York Times interview: "We're beyond the scope where the union and management can help. With the economy as it is, I can't see where 2000 people are going to find jobs."

On Michigan TV last week, UAW vice-president Douglas Fraser shrugged and replied, "There's nothing we can do."

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It is a lie spread by the employers and the government that if workers sacrifice their jobs and wages, this will help the economy and increase employment.

On the contrary, the crisis has reached the point where from the capitalist's point of view,

Auto Jobs

**Boston Labor
Must Act**

BY A REPORTER
BOSTON, Mass.—
The Boston Workers League and Young Socialists have called on the Greater Boston Labor Council to act against the racist attacks and the calling of federal troops.

Hundreds of signatures were gathered from youth and workers at factory gates, union meetings, in the neighborhoods and at city schools and universities. The petition's demands were then forwarded in the following telegram:

We, the undersigned demand that the Greater Boston Labor Council take immediate action to defend all students right to a decent education against racist attacks and police terror; to condemn the proposed occupation of Boston by federal troops and to defend all workers' right to jobs, housing and decent living conditions against the attacks of the Ford and Rockefeller government.

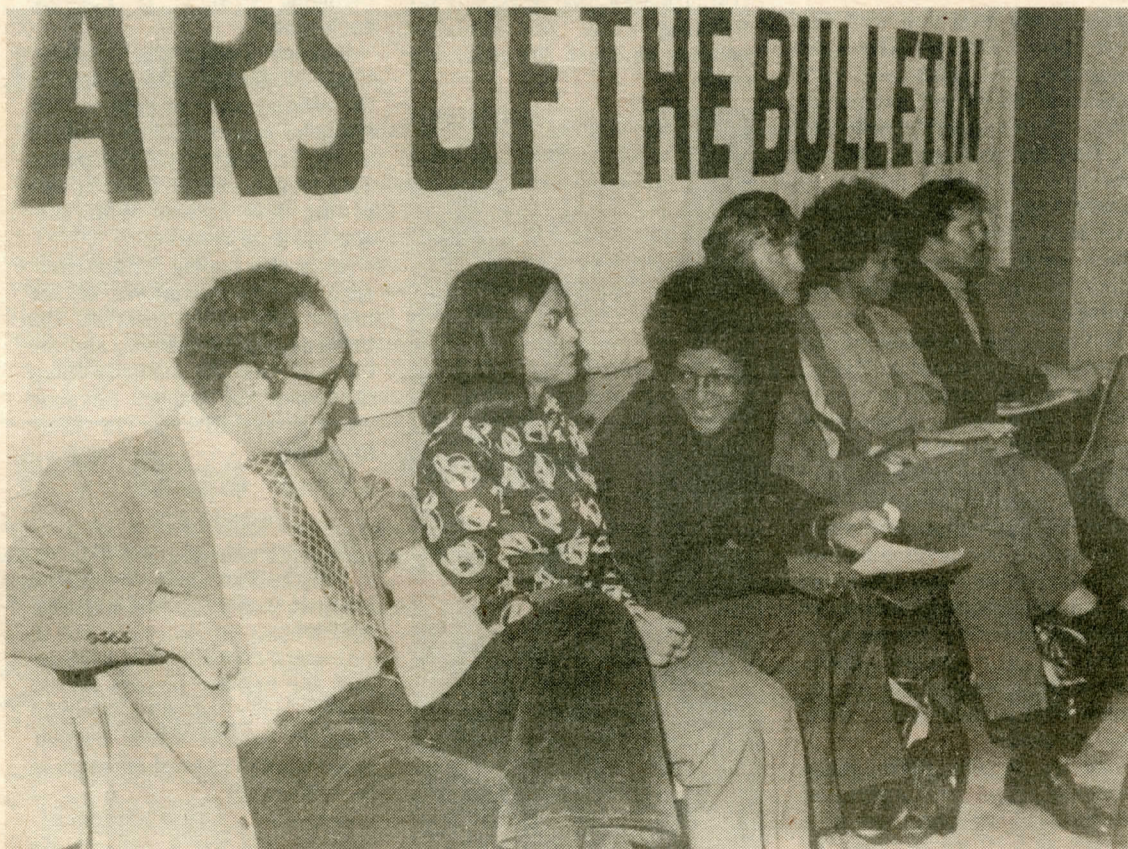
Organize defense guards for the buses and in the schools and neighborhoods. Call a mass demonstration of labor against the attempts to divide black and white workers and to unite in defense of their basic rights.

Fight for jobs for all. Billions for education and housing. Call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party against the policies of unemployment, inflation and racism now being carried out by the Democrats and Republicans.

Signed by members of the following unions:

UAW 1596, Amalgamated Meat Cutters 616, Sanitation 379, CWA Local 911, 481, 285, IBEW, IAM, Local 254, Local 22, Carpenters Local 51, Local 703 Building Trades, Local 394, GAIU, ITU, AFSCME, Local 2229, Local 25 Teamsters, Local 1199, 1105, 1508 and by students of the following high schools: Latin, Girls, Brighton, Roxbury, Roslyndale, Hyde Park, Dorchester, English, Boys Trade, Jamaica Plain, Burk, St. Sebastian's, Boston Colleges Brandeis, U Mass, Boston University, Emerson College, MIT, Roxbury Community College.

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Speakers at the 10th Anniversary meeting (from l. to r.): Fred Mazelis, Terry Delgado, Helen Halyard, Dennis Cribben, Adele Sinclair, and Alex Mitchell. See story page 4.

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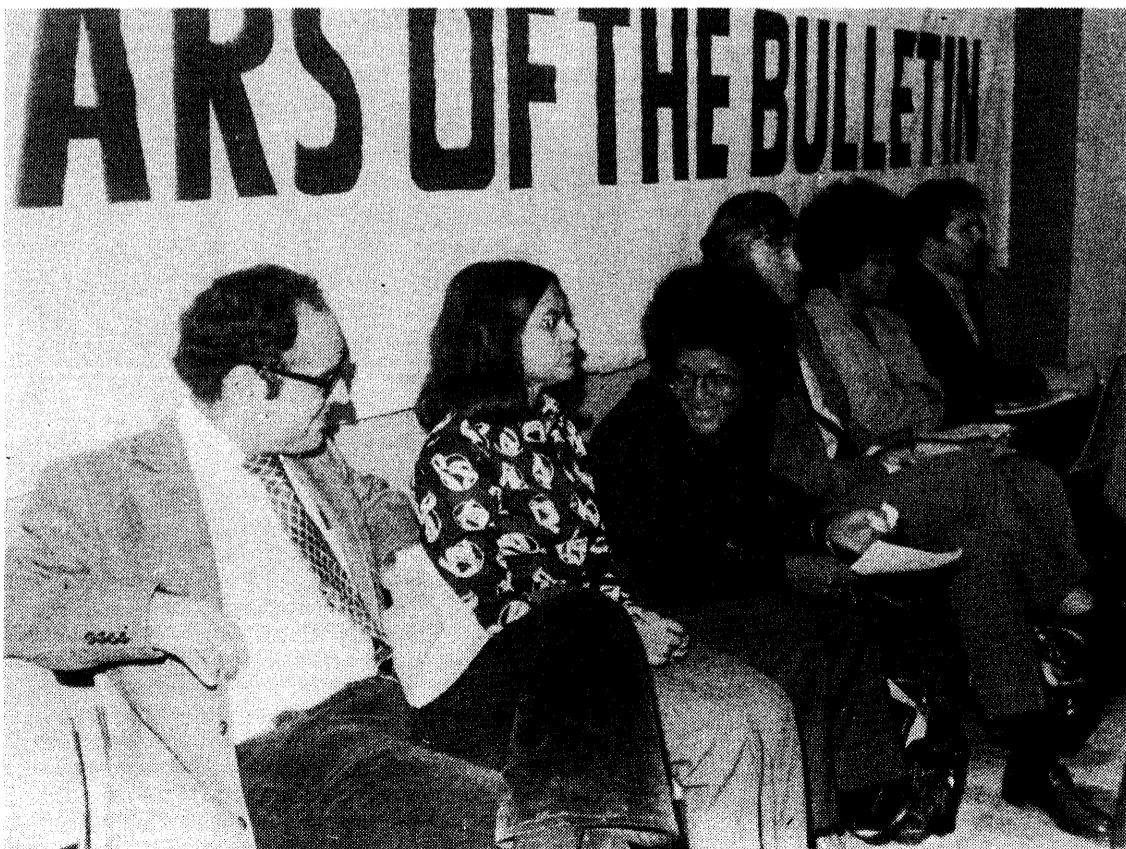
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Anthony Wedgwood Benn speaking to a mass meeting of aircraft workers.

Call For Nationalization In England

BY A
CORRESPONDENT

As the fight to defend jobs heats up in Britain, workers at the giant Hawker Siddeley air frame makers and the British Caledonian airline are demanding the nationalization of their industries.

Shop stewards representing shop floor workers at Hawker Siddeley saw the Labor government's Industry Secretary, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, last week.

At the firm's Hatfield plant in Hertfordshire, the 1400 workers are sitting in to demand nationalization and the go-ahead for the HS-146 air bus project.

The movement for nationalization of the privately-owned British Caledonian airline

erupted after workers were told that the company intended inflicting 800 redundancies. Airline workers want the company integrated into the state-owned British Airways group which covers both domestic and international carrying.

After a hurried meeting at the headquarters of the Department of Trade and Industry, the junior Labor minister in charge of aviation, Peter Shore, declared that nationalization was out of the question.

The Labor government is desperate to avoid a nationalization program. As industries run out of cash and try to solve their financial problems with layoffs, the Laborites want to start a massive campaign of state subsidies.

In next month's budget proposals, plans will be revealed for a \$2.5 billion loan account which will be used to subsidize the profits of ailing

industry. This fund cannot hope to stem the tide of closures and crashes as the crisis-hit British economy starts to feel the brunt of the US recession and the uncontrolled inflation.

In every industry, workers are advancing their demands for higher wages to meet the 20 percent rate of inflation. Last week, more than 25,000 workers, mainly transport workers, took unofficial strike action in Scotland for \$100 for a 40-hour week.

Among those on strike are the workers at Hoovers who have now been out for nine weeks against the instruction of the engineers' union executive and workers in the three Scottish plants of aeroengine makers, Rolls Royce.

The wages and jobs movement is colliding with the class collaboration policies of Harold Wilson's Labor government and the reformist leaders of the Trade Union Congress (TUC).

One Tory MP said that the upsurge in the trade unions might turn Wilson into "Britain's General Spinoza."

It is this fear that is driving the Tory Party into a reactionary frenzy and prompted Conservative Shadow Cabinet Minister Sir Keith Joseph to make a speech calling for sterilization of the "lower classes" and a "moral purification" campaign. The utterly reactionary doctrines elaborated in Joseph's "return to traditional Tory values" prompted Jack Jones, the leader of Britain's largest union, the Transport and General Workers' Union, to say:

"Sir Keith's words are very typical of the thoughts expressed by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*."

But if Jones is genuinely alarmed by Joseph's speech and his bid for the Tory leadership his actions disprove it. Instead of leading his two million-odd members in a struggle to defend wages, jobs, living conditions, and basic democratic rights, Jones has been in the forefront of condemning workers' struggles for proper wages.

Only the Workers Revolutionary Party, the British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, is conducting a campaign in the workers' movement for the independent revolutionary mobilization of the working class for socialist policies to meet the economic crisis.

America's massive food exports as blackmail against the Soviet Union.

Kissinger's only purpose for detente is to use the Stalinist bureaucracy to hold back the working class, as he prepares counterrevolution internationally.

In a recent interview with *The New York Times*, Kissinger made his real intentions very clear: "If we do not get recognition of our interdependence, the Western civilization that we now have is almost certain to disintegrate because it will first lead to a series of rivalries in which each region will try to maximize its own special advantages.

In reply, the Stalinists of the American Communist Party, writing in their paper, the *Daily World*: "Detente is the new factor...The world is being changed, not by US imperialism's efforts to establish a united front of capitalist countries against the developing and socialist countries, but by detente, by the forced retreat of imperialism before the people's forces on a worldwide scale. This is the reality of our times. This is what is really new." (Original emphasis.)

Just as in the 1930s, when Stalin disarmed the Russian and international working class with his pact with Hitler, so today the Stalinist's talk of "peaceful coexistence" opens the door to imperialist war.



Giscard d'Estaing

Giscard Sees World Catastrophe

BY MELODY FARROW

French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing said at his news conference last Thursday that the world was in an "enduring crisis" and "all the curves are leading us to catastrophe."

"Europe is in decline," he continued, "a decline in population and an impoverishment in resources. It is going down in relation to others who are going up."

"The Europe we have to build now is a Europe on penury."

Giscard's speech is a grim warning that the economic crisis is forcing the European capitalists to try and impoverish the working class, as it breaks up any collaboration in the Common Market. Each nation fights to defend its own "national interest."

SUMMIT

Giscard called for a summit of the Common Market on inflation, energy, the balance of payments, and unemployment, and a European Council of foreign ministers that will be the highest body in the EEC.

Giscard also wants to specify what issues would not require a unanimous vote in the Common Market. This would further destroy any common agreements and would be used by countries like France and West Germany to defend their interests at the expense of the weakest countries, such as Italy or Britain.

The actions of Ford to deepen the recession, in the US, through tight credit, budget slashes, and trade restrictions, tremendously intensifies in Europe.

BANKRUPT

The economies of Italy and Britain are bankrupt and the trade deficit of every country, including France, is growing each month.

Giscard wants the International Monetary Fund to abolish the official price of gold so that it can be bought, sold, and valued at the far higher official price. This would benefit France, one of the few nations with substantial gold reserves.

He is also hoping for a conference of representatives of the major capitalist countries, the underdeveloped nations, and the oil producers, to pressure them to lower oil prices because "world stability is in their interest."

CONFLICT

No amount of conferences, however, can halt the drive towards trade war and military conflict.

Giscard admitted this when he said the nuclear powers should agree only to use atomic weapons against other, nuclear powers, or in case of invasion of their territory.

Massive unemployment, poverty, and world war are the solutions of the capitalists to their crisis unless the working class takes power.

Kissinger's Trip To Moscow

BY FRANK MARTIN

Reports from Moscow indicate that Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev blew up during talks with US State Secretary Henry Kissinger.

Although the joint communique issued after the talks stated that "relations between the US and the USSR continue to improve steadily," Brezhnev was reportedly furious over the Ford administration's blocking of a grain shipment to the Soviet Union. Sharp differences also came out over the Middle East.

The Soviet bureaucracy is desperate to maintain "detente" with the US. Yet, on three key issues discussed—the Middle East, European security, and Soviet-American trade—Kissinger and Brezhnev reached absolutely no agreement.

For Kissinger and the American ruling class detente is a cover for their preparations for imperialist war. Developments in recent weeks have made this clear:

•The Middle East: Both Kissinger and Ford openly threatened the Arab oil-producing states with war two weeks ago if they do not lower the oil prices.

Kissinger was totally unsuccessful in his recent foray to the Middle East to convince the

Arab sheiks to lower oil prices. Meanwhile, he has abandoned even the pretense of a Middle East agreement in Geneva, upon which the Stalinists have banked their whole policy.

•European security: Kissinger recently warned of the danger of Italy "going communist." The US ambassador to Rome, Graham Martin, has been requesting funds from Washington for over a year to bolster "parties opposed to the Communists, particularly the Christian Democrats."

•In Portugal, CIA deputy director Vernon Walters took a direct hand in organizing the attempted rightist coup led by General Spinoza on September 28.

•In England, CIA funds are pouring in to bribe trade union and Labor Party officials in anticipation of the massive struggles of the British working class.

•The Ford government blocked outright the sale of 2.4 million tons of corn and 1 million tons of wheat to the Soviet Union two weeks ago. Furthermore, they instituted controls which force exporters to obtain approval for any sale of over 50,000 tons of corn, wheat, sorghum, soybeans or soybean meal to the Soviet Union.

At the same time, Ford demanded detailed information on Soviet crop expectations as a condition for any future deal. Clearly, Ford intends to use

Real Wages Fall Behind Inflation

BY DAVID NORTH

The 12.1 percent rise in the Consumer Price Index over the last 12 months has had a devastating impact on the living standards of workers.

Statistics, even those released by the government's Labor Department, prove that all contracts have left trade unionists' wages far behind the actual rise in the cost of living.

However, the actual impact of the inflation has been even worse, since several million workers are still tied to contracts signed during the period when government wage guidelines limited increases to about 5.5 percent.

Workers in basic industry have been hardest hit by inflation. The contract signed by UAW President Leonard Woodcock last September tied auto workers to a three percent wage increase in each year of the three-year contract.

INCREASE

This means that the average auto worker's wage increase over the entire life of the contract does not equal the CPI increase in one year.

Although auto workers have a cost of living escalator clause in their contract, the adjustments consistently trail behind the galloping pace of inflation.

Steel workers, who are also tied to a three percent, three year contract, have regularly complained that COL adjustments are extremely difficult to monitor.

Often, the COL adjustment is delayed until so late in the life of the contract that workers face months of consistently shrinking incomes with no protection whatsoever.

Electrical workers in General Electric and Westinghouse were stuck with a three-year pact signed shortly before the Phase Three guidelines expired.

LOSS

An official of the United Electrical Workers calculated that between April, 1973 and September, 1974, workers in the industry suffered a loss of 52 cents per hour in the buying power of their

paycheck, even after wage increases are calculated.

So far, electrical workers have received a COL adjustment of 5¢. At the end of the month, they will get another adjustment of 14¢. This will still leave GE and Westinghouse workers 33¢ per hour below their standing when the contract went into effect.

District Council 37 (Welfare and hospital workers), earning less than \$10,000, are to get a wage increase of about 17 percent over a 21-month period. Even if the rate of inflation does not rise any faster, the cost of living will increase about 20 percent during the same period.

These workers receive a COL adjustment of \$21 per year for each .4 percent rise in the CPI. But this provides only marginal protection because there is a considerable lag between the last COL payment and the signing of a new contract.

A large section of New York City trade unionists are in even worse shape. Transit workers and sanitationmen are receiving only a 14 percent hike over two years.

INDICTMENT

These statistics are an enormous indictment of the trade union bureaucracy, which has openly collaborated with both Nixon and Ford over the last three years to control wages in the name of "fighting inflation."

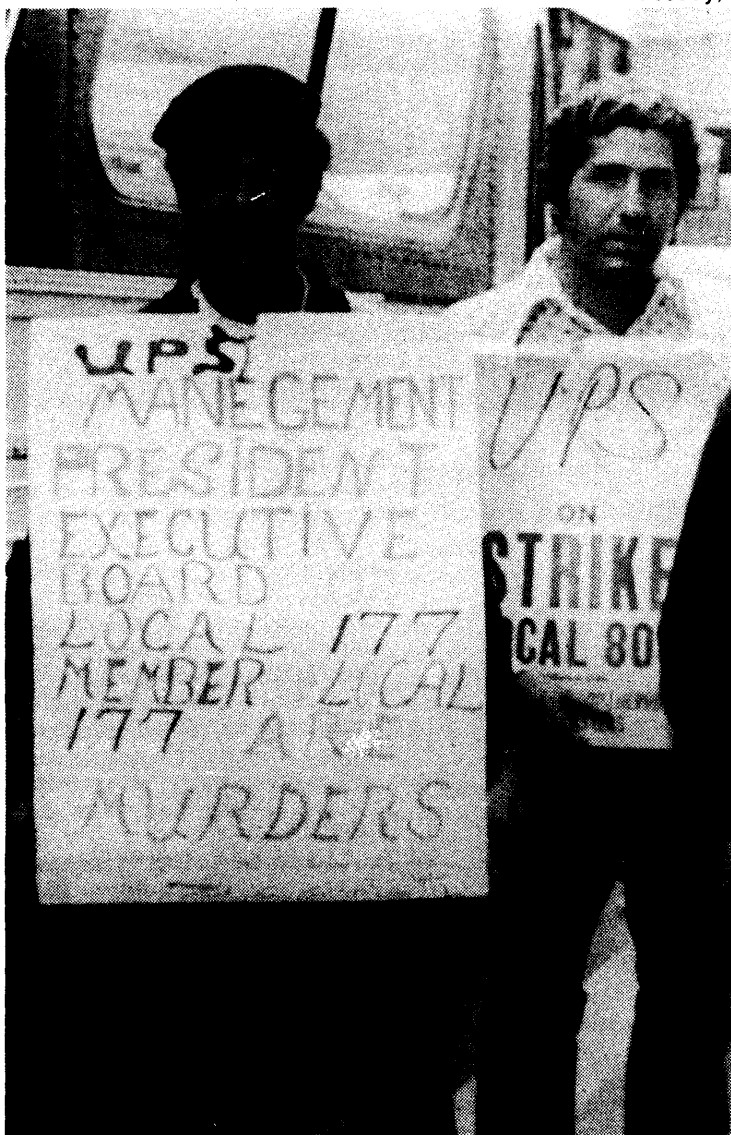
The fact is that the trade union bureaucracy and the government have been partners in wage-cutting.

The defense of living standards requires decisive action by the working class.

Workers subject to wage pacts signed during Phases One to Three must demand an immediate reopening of their contracts to win at least 25 percent across the board wage hikes.

All new contracts being negotiated must include 100 percent COL escalator clauses adjusted monthly according to inflation statistics monitored by the AFL-CIO.

The trade union movement must convene a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party to mobilize the entire working class against the government which defends the corporations that make millions in profits.



UPS Men Demand IBT Act

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons has refused to back the strike of United Parcel Service workers which is entering its ninth week.

The Teamsters leadership has refused to let Local 804, representing the striking Metro-area workers, reestablish picket lines at the UPS warehouse in nearby Secaucus, New Jersey. Pickets were withdrawn at the International's insistence after Local 804 business agent Edward Dougherty was killed by a scabbing truck driver.

Because Fitzsimmons has refused to close down the Secaucus facility, UPS has been able to reroute much of its business. "We could break the back of this strike in two weeks," one picket at the Manhattan terminal told the Bulletin.

\$7 MILLION

A recent news story reports that the Seventh Avenue garment industries have lost about \$7 million dollars because of the slower service they've gotten on orders shipped through parcel post rather than UPS.

"That's Fitzsimmons' doing, too," a picket said bitterly. "Almost all of UPS is Teamster-organized, and they've sped us up so much that it takes us two days to do a delivery the post office takes two weeks to do."

The strikers are anxious for concrete action to force Fitzsimmons to move, but the 804 leadership so far has backed off from any direct confrontation. International representatives that came up from Washington last week were not taken out to the picket lines at all, and an early call to send busloads of strikers down to International headquarters to meet with Fitzsimmons has been dropped.

The New York State Council of the IBT has sent a letter to Fitzsimmons, demanding immediate action to shut down Secaucus, but no move to establish picket lines without International approval has been made.

John Davis, a driver for eight years, told the Bulletin: "We've been out seven weeks and we won't go back and get nothing at this point. We're not in such a hurry to settle that we're going to sign phony papers."

SECURITY

"The question is one of job security. Our jobs are in danger here. It's not like Tarrytown. I don't think—you don't just close down an operation when it's making a profit."

"But they operate just like General Motors—take people and use them and then throw them out."

Seymour, another driver, added that wages would also be key in any settlement of the bitter strike. "They say that strikes cause inflation, that unions cause inflation."

"They don't understand, or won't understand, that we're asking more money so we can survive, so we can eat. UPS got theirs, they raised their rates 5 to 25 cents a pound just before the strike. Now we need ours."

UPS men must demand an immediate meeting of all Local 804 members to demand the leadership take action, including sending a delegation to Teamster headquarters for official backing.

Judge Sirica's Watergate Circus

BY A REPORTER

"I don't want this case to have what we call a carnival atmosphere attached to it," stated Judge John J. Sirica on the nineteenth day of the Watergate trial.

But this is exactly what has become of the much-publicized trial of the five Watergate defendants: John Mitchell, H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, Kenneth Parkinson, and Robert Mariani.

After nearly three weeks of testimony, 90 percent of the trial has been wasted with bickering between the defense lawyers, the prosecution lawyers, and Sirica. The proceedings have an air of being stage-managed.

EXCHANGES

One of the exchanges goes like this:

Mr. Frates, Ehrlichman's lawyer is sitting reading a book by E. Howard Hunt with cover turned towards the jury.

Mr. BenVeniste, one of the prosecutors, accuses Frates of "improper procedure." This is the signal for Frates to jump up and raise his own objection.

FACES

He claims that the prosecutors are "making faces" every time the defense asks questions. "We have repeatedly asked those people not to try this case with their faces." He demands that they "stop snickering."

BenVeniste: "I am not doing that. Anyway, he can't tell because he's looking at the back of my head."

Frates: "You're easy to see through."

At this point Sirica intervenes, saying that Frates's comment reminds of an anecdote he once heard. A lawyer was once speaking to a jury with his back to his opponent. The lawyer turned to the judge and claimed his opponent was shaking his head. Asked how he knew, the

lawyer responded, "Well, I could hear it rattle." And so it goes.

But all this has a conscious intention. This trial has become a critical part of the coverup of the real facts in the Watergate case. The judge, prosecution, and defense have a common interest in covering up these facts because they know it would implicate whole sections of the ruling class and their politicians who have publicly "washed their hands" of Watergate.

At the same time, everything is being done to make sure that the defendants get off scot free. On Friday, Sirica, referring to three sets of plans proposed by Gordon Liddy to John Mitchell, stated: "It's too bad that Mr. Mitchell didn't say, 'Throw them out of here, get them out fast', and you wouldn't be in this courtroom today. Too bad it didn't happen that way."

Whatever else may happen to the Watergate defendants, Sirica at least provided grounds for declaring a mistrial—because of a biased judge.

NIXON

Meanwhile, the chief witness upon which everything hinges, Richard Nixon, has yet to make his appearance in court. And if he can help it, he never will.

There was some discussion earlier in the trial of sending court-appointed doctors to examine Nixon to see if he was fit to travel from California to Washington to attend the trial.

As soon as Nixon got wind of this, he headed for the nearest hospital. According to his doctor, his phlebitis was suddenly aggravated and they are now in the process of "thinning his blood."

Headlines in all the capitalist press have been screaming about possible "surgery" on Nixon's leg. One can only think that if they cut Nixon's leg off, this would permanently solve the problem of Nixon testifying.

Workers League
public meeting

10

years of the Bulletin

Downtown Minneapolis YMCA
30 So. 9 St.
7:30 PM
November 3
\$2; \$1 youth & unemployed

Oakland, Calif.
Jenny Lynd Hall (ILGWU)
2267 Telegraph (& West Grand)
Friday, Nov. 8 7:30 PM
\$2.50; \$1.50 youth & unemployed



BY A REPORTER

"We do not simply commemorate the tenth anniversary of the **Bulletin**. We celebrate a triumphant achievement and prepare for even greater achievements.

"The achievements of the **Bulletin** make it possible for us to go forward confidently into the most enormous revolutionary struggles in generations."

Fred Mazelis, national secretary of the Workers League, addressed an enthusiastic audience of 200 trade unionists, students, and youth who jammed Debs Hall at the headquarters of District 1199 on October 25 to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the **Bulletin** newspaper.

Other speakers were Adele Sinclair, editor of the **Young Socialist**, Helen Halyard and Terry Delgado, candidates of the Workers Party for Congress, and Dennis Cribben, leader of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in the Social Services Employees Union.

International greetings were brought by Alex Mitchell, news editor of the **Workers Press**, organ of the Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain, which celebrates its fifth year as the first daily Trotskyist newspaper on Sunday, October 27.

DEFEND

Only the **Bulletin**, and the **Workers Press**, have fought continuously to defend the working class and fights in every struggle for the political independence of the working class and for the development of a revolutionary leadership, based on the principles of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky.

"The building of revolutionary leadership is an urgent necessity," Mazelis said. "The purpose of our paper is to tell the truth to the working class, which is the only revolutionary class, to train a leadership.

"We are fighting to represent the future in all the present struggles of the class."

He stressed that the publication and development of the **Bulletin**, first as a mimeographed fortnightly in 1964 and now a 12-page twice-weekly was only made possible by the struggle of the International Committee of the Fourth International to take forward Trotsky's fight against Stalinism and to expose and fight all the revisionists who abandoned this struggle.

The **Bulletin** was launched after the founding members of the Workers League were expelled by the Socialist Workers Party which had reunified with the Pabloite revisionist movement one year earlier.

VITAL

"We said, inside the SWP, that you can't wait until the revolution in order to build the party; you can't postpone the difficult, slow, often disappointing but vital work to assemble a leadership. When the working class comes forward to fight for its survival, and to take power, a leadership must have been pre-

pared inside the working class to lead it to victory. That is Lenin's example. It is also Trotsky's greatest achievement.

"Above all, we insisted upon preparations for the crisis. The apparent stability was giving way to new explosions. This the revisionists ridiculed most of all. They spoke of decades of stability, of a new neocapitalist stage of capitalism, which had overcome the fundamental contradictions of the system.

and the Stalinists are the last weapon the capitalists use to hold back the development of revolutionary leadership.

"We must begin with this objective crisis and the revolutionary tasks that flow from it. The gap between the job we must do and the need for leadership must spur us forward.

"But the determination of this working class to fight and the crisis gives us the weapons to overcome this gap. Not to grasp this, is to take the road of the SWP.

"We rededicate ourselves here tonight—we will not take this road. Today, we must fight for this program in the unions, for the Transitional Program.

carried out a fight against Nixon's 1970 wage freeze, to force Meany and the labor leaders off Nixon's Pay Board, and for industrial action to defy the freeze.

In 1972, the **Bulletin** made possible the founding conference of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in St. Louis.

"I urge all of you to join in this struggle and join the Workers League and the TUALP."

Adele Sinclair said that the crisis in capitalism posed the task of leadership especially to youth and young workers.

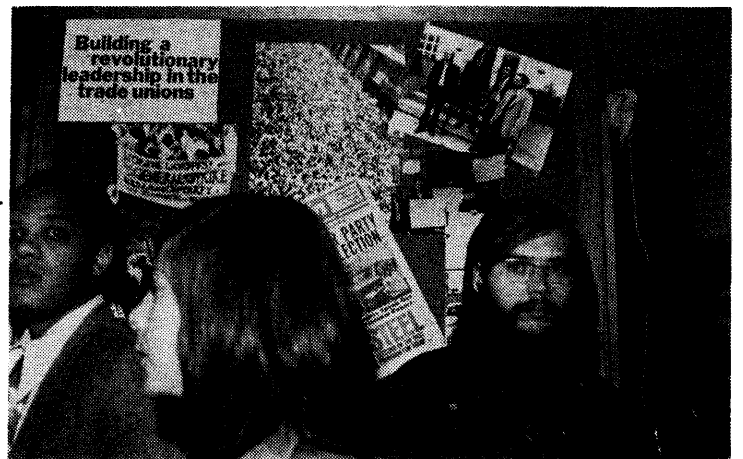
"We launched the Young Socialists at our conference in December 1971. We based ourselves on the perspective that

"There is a revolution taking place today in Portugal, but it is an unresolved revolution. There must be a mortal war against the Stalinists who have tried to hold the working class back from taking power.

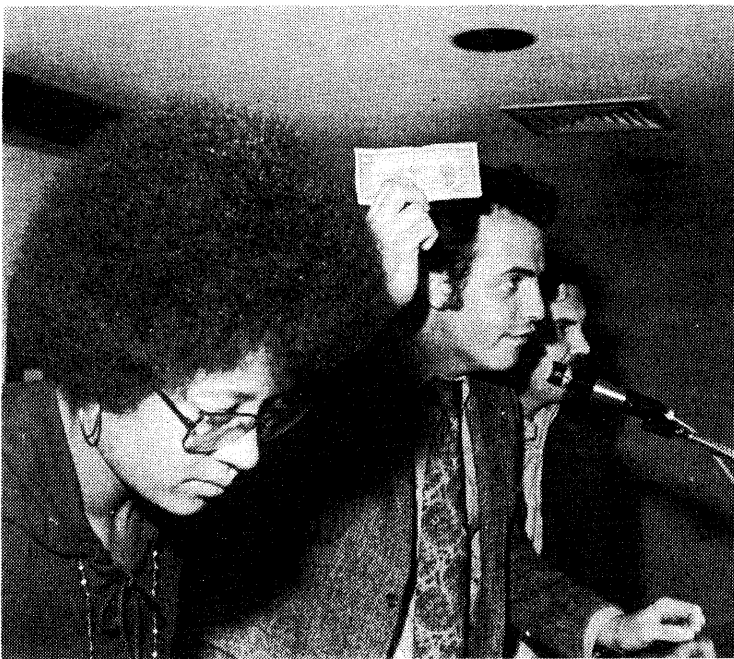
"How is the Trotskyist movement going to measure up to its tasks? Are we going to fight for our program, train new forces, new leaders and bring workers into this party? We have great confidence in your ability to go forward and build this party."

The Workers Party candidates stressed that the campaign showed the tremendous changes in the thinking of workers, the hatred of the Democrats and

10th Anniversary Of The Bulletin



The 10th Anniversary of the **Bulletin** was recorded in several displays (above.) Much literature was sold and \$1300 collected by supporters. A worker from the 12th CD (left) contributed \$50.



"Our perspectives and principles have been completely confirmed. Capitalism is wracked by economic devastation. Stocks are tumbling; the recession is deepening; inflation is rampant in every country; unemployment is 5.3 million and rising.

"The quadrupling of oil prices means the bankrupting of nations. These are the conditions under which revolutionary struggles are now a reality in Europe. The revolutionary period is now and we must prepare in the US.

"Either we prepare for the revolutionary overthrow of this system, or the working class faces a bloody defeat.

STRENGTH

"The strength of the working class holds the capitalists back. This is their dilemma. This ruling class is led by frightened, desperate men. The official leaders of the labor movement

Above all, we must fight for a labor party.

"This is a political experience that we must take workers through to expose the labor leadership and build our alternative, the Workers League."

UNIONS

Dennis Cribben said: "The record of the **Bulletin** shows that it has consistently fought to defend the working class and fought every attack on the unions. This fight has been carried out against the trade union bureaucracy.

"In the very first issue, September 1964, we launched a struggle against the bureaucrats of the United Auto Workers union and their betrayal of the auto strike. In 1966, 1967, and 1968, we fought to build caucuses in District 65, Local 1199, and the SSEU based on the decision to make the labor party the center of the fight."

Only the **Bulletin**, he said,

the government's attacks on the students and minorities were preparations for battles with the working class.

FOREFRONT

"Youth must be in the forefront of the fight for a revolutionary leadership and must turn to the unions, to the struggles in the factories, and take our program to the working class."

Alex Mitchell, who was recently in Portugal during the revolutionary struggles there, said:

"Portugal represents the revolutionary upsurge in all of Western Europe. Who would have conceived that in the short space of weeks, dual power would be in their grasp, and the means to carry out a revolution. There were 48 years of fascist dictatorship, no unions, no free speech, or free assembly.

"April 25 changed all that. In 24 hours, tens of thousands were forced on to the scene of history.

Republicans and the determination to fight.

During the campaign, the Workers League has been able to take the struggle for a labor party into the unions and neighborhoods.

APPEAL

The meeting was concluded with a fund raising appeal to maintain and expand the **Bulletin**. The magnificent sum of \$1300 was contributed. One longshoreman gave \$50, a Teamster gave \$100, and many other workers and youth contributed generously.

The success of this meeting lays the basis for a new stage in the building of the Workers League and the **Bulletin**.

The **Bulletin** must be taken into every struggle of the working class, to lead the fight against every attack by the Ford government on the working class, and to recruit workers and youth into the Workers League.





Stalinists Accept Army Rule

The Portuguese Communist Party is prepared to accept permanent rule of the Armed Forces.

Stephen Johns, correspondent of the British Trotskyist daily paper, Workers Press, attended the first Congress of the Communist Party since the overthrow of the fascist Caetano regime on April 25.

As members of the Armed Forces applauded, CP general secretary Alvaro Cunhal called for the removal of any mention of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" from the party's program.

The Stalinists in Portugal, as well as internationally with their policy of "peaceful coexistence," do not want the working class to smash the capitalist state and establish socialism.

In this article, Stephen Johns explains how the Stalinists try to prevent the working class from taking power.

Holding Back Workers Power In Portugal

Part One

The situation in Portugal is one of acute economic and political crisis that can only be resolved by the taking of power by the working class or the return of fascism.

The capitalist class must deliver a shattering blow to the working class to survive. They are preparing to do this behind the cover of the provisional government.

The workers, despite the open counterrevolutionary role of the Stalinist Party, led by government minister Alvaro Cunhal, are groping forward to establish their organs of power.

In a political situation that encompasses the arrest of 23 building workers in Porto under the anti-strike laws as well as the imprisonment of one of the country's leading bankers and capitalists, Count de Caria, after complaints by his workers, political power has passed momentarily to the petty bourgeois radicals of the Armed Forces Movement.

Reformist politicians, and especially the Stalinists, pay scrupulous tribute to this movement, based on the officers' caste, and praise their openly

procapitalist program. But despite their swaggering display of power and confidence, the AFM is an organization rent with uncertainty, doubt and a simple lack of comprehension as to what is going on in Portugal—a country in the process of a revolution.

As one of their leaders told a Brazilian newspaper, "We know that the state must be the real power, but we haven't found a way of control through state capitalism yet."

CIVIL WAR

This classic Bonapartist group is stabilized only by the Stalinist and social democratic leadership who agitate 24 hours a day against strikes, against factory occupations, and in favor of working longer hours, working on Sunday, etc.—"to safeguard the democratic revolution."

This situation cannot last. Already officers are talking about civil war in the armed forces between left and right. But these splits are a reflection of the fundamental divisions now breaking to the surface of Portuguese society—between the capitalist and the working class, the landowners and the poor peasants, and between the conscripted ranks and the officers and generals.

In his history of the Russian Revolution, Trotsky made the point that concealed dual power was "refracted" through the divisions within the petty bourgeois circles.

Trotsky said the "mirror-like" character of the Provisional Government in Petrograd enabled the Bolsheviks to better

"understand...epochs in history when the same thing (dual power) appears as a full-blooded episode in a struggle between the two regimes. The feeble and reflected light of the moon makes possible important conclusions about the sun."

Equally, the splits in the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement are the portent of revolutionary struggle by the working class.

A section of the army is already preparing. The elite COPCON (in English, Continental Operational Command) is being expanded rapidly to become the force of law and order in place of the discredited police and the fascist national guard.

This corps is being formed with as little contact as is possible with the soldiers who are infected by the revolution.

The provisional government presents COPCON as the guardian of democracy. In fact, it is the guardian of capitalism and privilege. Its major action to date has been against the working class. COPCON was the instrument used to break the strike of TAP workers at Lisbon airport.

The roots of today's situation in Portugal can be found in the events of September 28, the day workers manned the barricades against an attempted fascist counter-coup.

Coup is perhaps too strong a word to use. What happened on the night of September 27-28 was an attempted palace revolution by Spínola—the now deposed president—supported on the streets by the fascist hordes

from the old regime.

Spínola gambled that he would have sufficient support in the army (he already had the allegiance of the national guard) and he lost. The crucial factor was the strength of the working class and its ever-growing revolutionary will.

The events of September 28 were not just a conspiracy. The characters involved represented class forces. The acute and delicate balance established after the 28th is a direct reflection of the dual power that exists in Portugal.

The key figure in this intrigue is a man called Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. He is the head of COPCON and a leader, if not the leader of the Armed Forces Movement. De Carvalho is a young petty bourgeois brigadier with democratic and even "socialist" pretensions.

He sees himself as the Bonapart of Portugal. His main strength, however, is that he has some understanding of Stalinism. He recently said with well-founded confidence, that the Communist Party was an important force, but that it did not want to take power.

Spínola, who was backed by big capital, called de Carvalho to the Belem Palace in the early hours of September 28 with the intention of preventing any intervention by COPCON and the sections of the army hostile to fascism.

De Carvalho claims that when he entered the assembly room to see gathered before him the combined staffs of Spínola, the now Portuguese President Costa Gomes and the Prime Minister

Vasco Concalves, he was completely unaware of any plot to overthrow the provisional government.

This only became clear, he said, as the night wore on. Spínola ordered the commercial radios off the air because they were calling people to the barricades. He instructed the state radio to broadcast statements from the president only and instructed the police to occupy the radio stations in place of the army.

Finally, when de Carvalho made a second attempt to leave the Palace, one aide approached him and asked him not to go—"because he was a balance between Spínola and Costa Gomes over their disagreements about the barricades."

This was a truly revealing remark. De Carvalho became at that moment the most powerful and decisive figure in the palace. Not because of any inherent support from either of the two major classes in Portuguese society, but because a situation of dual power had indeed emerged. The workers had erected barricades all round the city against the reaction. But the capitalist class could not rely on the army to intervene in their interests. On the contrary, as events were to show, the sympathy of the ranks was entirely with the working class.

Spínola admitted defeat and he was removed. The official head of government is now Costa Gomes—but the government and even the junta have assumed far less importance. COPCON and the Armed Forces Movement are what count.

TO BE CONTINUED

A New Branch At Cowley

It began building the T&GWU at Cowley more than 20 years ago. It started with 400 members and before the split represented nearly 7000 workers. Its size has been matched by its militancy. This is recognized throughout British industry.

On the question of communication with membership the branch has a unique record. Meetings are held strictly every two weeks and sometimes more often. Members are encouraged to express their views. If items cannot be taken through lack of time they get priority at the next meeting. The persistent campaign for better attendances, more discussion and participation is obvious from reading the 5/55 Branch News itself one of the most important journals in the history of shop-floor organization.

Take this example of a Branch News appeal to the membership:

"What is a branch? It may well be that many of our members are not fully aware of the purpose and importance of the branch. The branch is the most important body of the union. Its policies are the policies of our union within the plant, and these are carried out. The branch however is not a shop stewards' committee or a committee run by branch officers; it is a membership organization (Original emphasis).

"In the branch every member has the same right of expression and the same power through his vote as the senior shop steward or branch secretary. Every single member of our union has the right to attend meetings, participate in policy decisions, or criticize the actions of the senior branch officers. The branch should be and is the center of the organization in the plant. The more members who attend the more powerful it becomes. As officers of this branch we extend an invitation to all those who do not normally attend to do so."

The appeal continued:

"Members are often disappointed when they attend that there is not sufficient time to discuss their particular problem. There is a simple remedy to this; notify your branch secretary you will be attending the meeting, inform him of the item of business you wish to raise; he can contact the branch chairman and place your matter on the agenda."

Such campaigns to get better attendance at the meetings were frequently run in the Branch News which also urged shop stewards to make sure they attended to report back discussions and decisions to workers in their own sections—such is the record of the "underground conspirators" who "manipulate" the trade union machine at Cowley!

The ludicrous charges of the Region 5 report do not stand examination. They were made for quite another purpose than "improving democracy" at Cowley.

The report's recommendations originated from a familiar source. It was the right-wing in the plant who put round the accusation that the stewards and the branch were "undemocratic." It was the right-wing who raised the demand for the election of senior shop stewards by works ballot, and it was the right-wing who wanted the 5/55 branch split.

They had made their position clear on all these issues. Both Harry Landon and Roy Gatehouse, extreme right-wingers and leaders of the so-called Organization to Represent Moderate Opinion of Trades Union Matters (see chapter four), raised the call for a works ballot for senior shop stewards.

Gatehouse witch-hunted five senior stewards in the April 1973 Bulletin of ORMO-TU and called for them to "stand down from office . . . and submit themselves, with others, to an election, to give the assembly plant employees a chance to change their leader . . ." Later, two of his supporters put forward a motion at a 5/55 branch meeting for election of stewards.

The splitting of the 5/55 branch was a long-standing demand of Reg Parsons, the paint shop steward. In January 1974, he gave formal notice of a motion calling for the withdrawal of the assembly plant from the branch and contacted Mathers directly about his intentions.

It was with this anti-working class section of opinion that the Region 5 inquiry sided at Cowley. Region 5 proceeded in the most blatant bureaucratic manner. They and the T&GWU national leadership ignored the protests of the 5/55 committee over the report's recommendations and the

attack on Fryer. Again without any consultation with the branch officers, the election of a new senior steward and seven deputy senior stewards was organized. Balloting took place on Tuesday, June 4 in the most extraordinary circumstances.

The 5/55 branch committee were refused a request for scrutineers. The count took place in the early hours of June 5. Brian Mathers and Eddie McGarry were present. Parsons, who ran against Thornett and Fryer for senior steward, came top of the poll.

Another curiosity was the timing of Leyland's sudden announcement that they would, after all, grant Thornett steward's facilities. This was a dramatic change of heart. Days before, management sources had been circulating the plant claiming that if Thornett was elected the company would still withhold recognition and this would mean an official strike. But Leyland contradicted themselves by recognizing Thornett before they knew he had been defeated in the ballot. Or did they? There was the mystery of the "Financial Times" article.

The company announced its lifting of the victimization to Moss Evans by letter on Wednesday, June 5. This dates their decision on the matter to before the official declaration of the result (early hours, Wednesday, June 5).

Yet the Financial Times of June 6 reported:

"The management decision to accept Mr. Thornett back as shop steward came only after it had been revealed that he had failed in a bid to be elected senior Transport and General Workers Union shop steward at the plant."

Either management knew the result of the ballot before the count was completed, or there had been a mistake.

It appears, in fact, there had been a mistake on the part of the normally accurate Financial Times. Moss Evans rang the paper up to point out that Leyland, in fact, recognized Thornett before they knew the result of the ballot. Leyland management confirmed this story. Apparently there had been a breakdown in communications between the newspaper and its sources.

If the manner of the election made trade unionists in the 5/55 branch angry the establishment of the rival branch made them more so. Again, without informing the 5/55 branch officers, Mathers and the chairman of Region 5, Arthur Davies, circulated the membership. The communication was so worded as to suggest that the assembly workers—the vast bulk of the 5/55 membership—had little choice but to sign up for the new branch.

Region 5 appointed one of their non-elected members, Harry Cook, to head the new branch as acting secretary. Cook works at the British Leyland MG plant at Abingdon. He is the secretary of a T&GWU branch in Oxford that meets extremely irregularly. His position on Thornett's victimization was quite clear. His own branch—which had not met for a year, and only did meet after pressure from the members—voted \$24 for the drivers' strike fund. But Cook informed the members at the next branch meeting that he had not sent the money because he "disagreed" with the strike.

The branch passed a vote of no confidence in Cook for this flagrant disregard of policy. They also condemned the splitting of the 5/55 branch in the following terms:

"This branch deplores the intervention of the Region 5 committee in the democratic running of the 5/55 branch and the removal of the elected representatives before the end of their term of office, together with the splitting of the branch, thus weakening trade union organization at a time of impending redundancy."

Under the disguise of "more democracy" the bureaucracy were attempting to establish a leadership at Cowley dedicated to class collaboration. The apex of their bureaucratic pyramid was Reg Parsons. Here was a man who could still turn a left or militant phrase to disguise his own rapid movement to the right—a degeneration that had taken less than three years and had reached the point at the time of the election where Parsons occupied the most blatant corporatist position. He was just the kind of man the bureaucracy required.

After his election as senior steward Parsons declared:

"In some matters I may take a harder line than Alan Thornett. . . . And whether I act extremely or not, or follow a middle-of-the-road course, events will decide." (Oxford Mail, June 2.)

In fact, events had already decided Parsons' position.

Parsons' break with independent trade unionism began in 1971. In January, British Leyland forced through measured-day work in the South Side assembly (see chapter 2) by threatening to send workers who resisted to the unemployed pool. This was seen as the first step towards the sack. Despite this, most of the best militants refused to submit and they went into the pool. Parsons—then a member of the Socialist Labour League (fore-runner of the Workers Revolutionary Party), was not one of them.

Later when the senior shop stewards took the decision to continue the struggle against speedup by fighting for a mutuality agreement, Parsons made an about turn and adopted an ultra-left position.

He argued that a mutuality agreement involved a recognition of measured-day work. It involved nothing of the kind. The factory leadership was simply carrying out its primary duty of defending the interests of the membership against speedup. To do otherwise would be to leave the field completely clear for Leyland and their Industrial Engineers.

Parsons' disagreement was based on his abstract conception of struggle and the requirements of the working class. On this issue Parsons broke from revolutionary politics.

Parsons had, in fact, always scorned revolutionary theory claiming his "heart" for the working class would prevent him betraying. This was a dangerous illusion. The ideology of the working class—and even the majority of its shop stewards—is a bourgeois ideology. This is expressed in the clearest form by the bureaucracy itself, who follow the reformist policy of class collaboration and betray the interests of the trade union movement. One of the most important aspects of revolutionary practice therefore is the struggle for Marxist theory. By ignoring this Parsons set his course for the right-wing.

The degeneration was relatively swift. By the New Year of 1974 Parsons was openly opposing all attempts to prepare the working class at Cowley for the struggles that would emerge from the crisis.

He campaigned against the senior stewards' call for occupation if closure was threatened during or after the three-day week. The language he used was revealing. His resolution submitted to a branch meeting read:

"That this branch owing to the National Crisis, does not agree to any kind of industrial action against the employers or the government unless a full meeting of the membership approves."

The "National" crisis was in fact a direct result of the Heath three-day week (designed to isolate the miners) and the "government" Parsons did not want action against was the Tory government—responsible for the Industrial Relations Act, the jailing of five dockers and six building workers, the wage cuts under the state pay laws and massive fines against the unions including the T&GWU.

Parsons continued his campaign for Tory policy with a witch-hunt. He held meetings in his department—the paint shop—and castigated the senior shop stewards for exploiting workers' grievances as "a platform to bring about the closure of the plant in order to pursue their policy of occupation." This accusation of course was to play a prominent role in the capitalist Press campaign against Thornett.

Parsons was an eager participant in the witch-hunt. As soon as the company decision on Thornett was known he organized a meeting of the paint shop and carried a vote of no confidence in Thornett. These workers were stampeded into the vote before the company's case against Thornett had been exposed. The incident served only one purpose—to provide the capitalist Press with the necessary "evidence" that Thornett and the "commies" were not supported by the Cowley work force.

When the Press began their redbaiting it met with Parsons' full approval. The Observer of April 21 reported, ". . . another shop steward, Mr. Reg Parsons, yesterday

"Victimization at Cowley" was recently published by the Revolutionary Party of England.

The struggle against the victimization of shop stewards of British-Leyland in Cowley tested in practice the strength of the shop steward movement, and demonstrated on the very battlefield those forces trained as Marxists inside the trade union movement—the Workers Revolutionary Party and the All Trades Union class in defense of its organizations and basic rights.

Part Nine

declared his support for management and revealed that 300 paint shop workers in his section had passed a vote of no confidence in Mr. Thornett."

They quoted Parsons as saying: "I do not believe the company is challenging the right of unions to choose their own shop stewards—that is more than they dare to do. I believe the company is saying that it has no confidence in the leadership, which seeks to impose political views on the working people."

This outburst virtually establishes the right of the management to select the leadership they want and victimize any steward who stands in the way of company policy. It is an argument for completely subordinating the interests of the working class to capitalism in crisis. Parsons continued his tirade with a declaration in favor of Miller and her strike-breaking group.

The Daily Mirror on April 23 reported Parsons as saying:

"I take my hat off to these women. There is a lot of support for them among men. And I'm quite sure it's going to increase. It's taken them to show us what can be done—now it's up to the men to carry on the good work."

According to Radio Oxford, Parsons formed direct links with the women scabs. One of their programs featured the wife of one of the leading witch-hunters in the plant, Robert McGibbon. She was allowed to broadcast the so-called Parsons formula for settling the dispute in the following terms:

Interviewer: "Has Mr. Parsons given you permission to speak for him?"

Mrs. McGibbon: "Oh yes, he has given me permission. Reg has given me some notes and I would like to read them out on Radio Oxford. The note is headed 'Peace Formula.' 'Mr. Thornett will be recognized for the time being and an immediate return to work, Mr. Thornett's case being referred to national joint inquiry on arbitration.' Now then that's up to the men then to go to their stewards and say 'We want him out' and then, if the stewards won't do what they want, they can get the stewards out."

Such appeals were broadcast throughout the victimization. Radio Oxford explained that they made their station available to women like Mrs. McGibbon because they abhorred outside interference in the trade union movement!

After his role in the witch-hunt there can be little doubt what kind of trade unionism Parsons stands for. It is not independent trade unionism, but a form of organization that is subservient to the interests of the company and capitalism.

The bureaucratic elevation of Parsons and the splitting of the 5/55 branch was an attempt to undermine and ultimately destroy the leadership in the Cowley factory.

Workers were actively encouraged to join the new branch. All kinds of innovations designed to divorce the shop-steward leadership from the members were introduced. Thus, the bureaucracy did everything in their power to impose the "check-off" system for collecting union dues.

This means that the collection of union subscriptions becomes the direct responsibility of the management. Dues collection by branch secretaries or the branch officers is not just an administrative chore. Apart from the principle that it is the union and its officers who should control the collection of finance, it also provides an important means of communication between the branch and the membership.

The check-off system can produce branch secretaries who are mere intermediaries between management and the union bureaucracy, who simply pass on the monthly

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VICTIMIZATION AT COWLEY

by stephen johns

...ly published as a pamphlet by the Workers Re-
 ...n of shop steward Alan Thornett by the manage-
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subscription check from the firm to union head office and collect their percentage.

In short, it undermines the independence of trade union organization—a weakness seized upon by the National Industrial Relations Court who ruled that fines against unions could be collected from dues collected by managements who operate the check-off system.

The other suggested "reform" was the direct election of the branch secretary and the branch chairman. Again this is unprecedented and again it militates against the development of leadership in the plant. In large factories like Cowley, it means that the inevitable backward, right-wing or simply unconscious block vote in the plant, made up of workers who never attend the branch meeting, can be used against the leadership of the factory, that is those workers who do go to meetings, are aware of the essential role of the union and do stand out for principles during strikes and disputes.

The pattern of trade unionism the bureaucracy would like to see at Cowley is quite clear. First they want to undermine a tested leadership that has been a thorn in their side since the start of the measured-day work struggle.

Second they want to replace this with a streamlined chain of command—from the national office, to the full-time officials in the regions and districts, on to their "hand-picked" right-wing convenors, branch secretary, chairman etc.; and through them direct to management. This is designed to by-pass, or at least to block, the most powerful force in the labor movement—the independent organization of the working class expressed in its factory leadership.

There is, therefore, a 100 percent conflict between most militant and conscious workers and stewards at Cowley and the bureaucracy. The way the victimization of Alan Thornett was resisted gives grounds for tremendous confidence that the working class will win this struggle.

Despite all their rules and regulations, the bureaucracy cannot control the rapid development of the class struggle or curb the strength of the working class. They and Leyland have failed. Thornett remains a shop steward and a leadership will be built in the new branch.

In the first chapter we noted that the driving force behind all development was the economic crisis of capitalism. No bureaucrat, company boss or right-wing shop steward can avoid the consequences of this crisis. Neither can any worker at Cowley. They have already undergone a great change. They know now that they face the biggest fight for jobs in the history of Oxford. They know that only a principled leadership can lead this fight.

The struggle at Cowley has been a great lesson. The retreat that started during the QT strike allowed the bureaucracy to intervene and strike a blow at the plant leadership. The inquiry became a vehicle for the right wing, who, in turn, were the political agents of the company.

But the events at Cowley cannot simply be seen as a conspiracy involving the bureaucracy, the right-wing and the company. Such a view would be superficial. Rather the elevation of Parsons and the attempt to destroy independent trade unionism at the plant is the result of this profound development in the crisis of capitalism.

In common with the other giant capitalist corporations, British Leyland require an end to independent trade unions. The crisis forces them to close all avenues of compromise. They demand of the bureaucracy that it becomes transformed into its political police.



Bill Thompson (left) and Brian Mathers outside the special branch meeting at the Oxford Town Hall.

The bureaucratic leaders respond since they are reformists and, as such, wedded completely to class compromise. They go to conference to discuss how they can get the company out of the crisis. At national level they attempt to subordinate the movement of the working class to "social contract"—which is nothing more than a plan for wage cuts.

At Cowley, verbal gestures of support can be made, but basically the bureaucracy must move in against the 5/55 branch committee and the senior stewards because they represent a leadership that fights against class compromise and the independence of the working class.

What is the tendency behind this rapid development of the bureaucracy towards the interests of capitalism. In Trade Unions In An Epoch of Imperialist Decay Trotsky

wrote: "By transforming the trade unions into organs of the state fascism invents nothing new; it merely draws to their ultimate conclusion the tendencies inherent in imperialism."

But the working class is stronger than the capitalist class and its bureaucratic allies. The decision at Cowley to go outside the 5/55 branch and set up a rival organization was a declaration of weakness and desperation on the part of the T&GWU leadership.

The working class at Cowley will be in the vanguard of the fight. But the victimization of Thornett does show that the defense of basic democratic rights cannot succeed under a reformist leadership. It is a revolutionary question involving the expropriation of a bankrupt and degenerate system including the nationalization of British Leyland, without compensation

under workers' control.

This requires the construction of a revolutionary leadership—the Workers Revolutionary Party and its industrial section, the All Trades Unions Alliance. Far from Thornett's membership of the Workers Revolutionary Party being incompatible with his leading position in the trade unions, it was the revolutionary political training that the leadership at Cowley had undergone that made them able to withstand the biggest management onslaught in the company's history.

They emerged from this fight still in the vanguard at Cowley, and still with the only policy to meet the capitalist crisis, to defend jobs, wages and working conditions.

TO BE CONTINUED

A New Branch At Cowley

It began building the T&GWU at Cowley more than 20 years ago. It started with 400 members and before the split represented nearly 7000 workers. Its size has been matched by its militancy. This is recognized throughout British industry.

On the question of communication with membership the branch has a unique record. Meetings are held strictly every two weeks and sometimes more often. Members are encouraged to express their views. If items cannot be taken through lack of time they get priority at the next meeting. The persistent campaign for better attendances, more discussion and participation is obvious from reading the 5/55 Branch News itself one of the most important journals in the history of shop-floor organization.

Take this example of a Branch News appeal to the membership:

"What is a branch? It may well be that many of our members are not fully aware of the purpose and importance of the branch. The branch is the most important body of the union. Its policies are the policies of our union within the plant, and these are carried out. The branch however is not a shop stewards' committee or a committee run by branch officers; it is a membership organization (Original emphasis).

"In the branch every member has the same right of expression and the same power through his vote as the senior shop steward or branch secretary. Every single member of our union has the right to attend meetings, participate in policy decisions, or criticize the actions of the senior branch officers. The branch should be and is the center of the organization in the plant. The more members who attend the more powerful it becomes. As officers of this branch we extend an invitation to all those who do not normally attend to do so."

The appeal continued:

"Members are often disappointed when they attend that there is not sufficient time to discuss their particular problem. There is a simple remedy to this: notify your branch secretary you will be attending the meeting, inform him of the item of business you wish to raise; he can contact the branch chairman and place your matter on the agenda."

Such campaigns to get better attendance at the meetings were frequently run in the Branch News which also urged shop stewards to make sure they attended to report back discussions and decisions to workers in their own sections—such is the record of the "underground conspirators" who "manipulate" the trade union machine at Cowley!

The ludicrous charges of the Region 5 report do not stand examination. They were made for quite another purpose than "improving democracy" at Cowley.

The report's recommendations originated from a familiar source. It was the right-wing in the plant who put round the accusation that the stewards and the branch were "undemocratic." It was the right-wing who raised the demand for the election of senior shop stewards by works ballot, and it was the right-wing who wanted the 5/55 branch split.

They had made their position clear on all these issues. Both Harry Landon and Roy Gatehouse, extreme right-wingers and leaders of the so-called Organization to Represent Moderate Opinion of Trades Union Matters (see chapter four), raised the call for a works ballot for senior shop stewards.

Gatehouse witch-hunted five senior stewards in the April 1973 Bulletin of ORMOTU and called for them to "stand down from office . . . and submit themselves, with others, to an election, to give the assembly plant employees a chance to change their leader . . ." Later, two of his supporters put forward a motion at a 5/55 branch meeting for election of stewards.

The splitting of the 5/55 branch was a long-standing demand of Reg Parsons, the paint shop steward. In January 1974, he gave formal notice of a motion calling for the withdrawal of the assembly plant from the branch and contacted Mathers directly about his intentions.

It was with this anti-working class section of opinion that the Region 5 inquiry sided at Cowley. Region 5 proceeded in the most blatant bureaucratic manner. They and the T&GWU national leadership ignored the protests of the 5/55 committee over the report's recommendations and the

attack on Fryer. Again without any consultation with the branch officers, the election of a new senior steward and seven deputy senior stewards was organized. Balloting took place on Tuesday, June 4 in the most extraordinary circumstances.

The 5/55 branch committee were refused a request for scrutineers. The count took place in the early hours of June 5. Brian Mathers and Eddie McGarry were present. Parsons, who ran against Thornett and Fryer for senior steward, came top of the poll.

Another curiosity was the timing of Leyland's sudden announcement that they would, after all, grant Thornett steward's facilities. This was a dramatic change of heart. Days before, management sources had been circulating the plant claiming that if Thornett was elected the company would still withhold recognition and this would mean an official strike. But Leyland contradicted themselves by recognizing Thornett before they knew he had been defeated in the ballot. Or did they? There was the mystery of the "Financial Times" article.

The company announced its lifting of the victimization to Moss Evans by letter on Wednesday, June 5. This dates their decision on the matter to before the official declaration of the result (early hours, Wednesday, June 5).

Yet the Financial Times of June 6 reported:

"The management decision to accept Mr. Thornett back as shop steward came only after it had been revealed that he had failed in a bid to be elected senior Transport and General Workers Union shop steward at the plant."

Either management knew the result of the ballot before the count was completed, or there had been a mistake.

It appears, in fact, there had been a mistake on the part of the normally accurate Financial Times. Moss Evans rang the paper up to point out that Leyland, in fact, recognized Thornett before they knew the result of the ballot. Leyland management confirmed this story. Apparently there had been a breakdown in communications between the newspaper and its sources.

If the manner of the election made trade unionists in the 5/55 branch angry the establishment of the rival branch made them more so. Again, without informing the 5/55 branch officers, Mathers and the chairman of Region 5, Arthur Davies, circulated the membership. The communication was so worded as to suggest that the assembly workers—the vast bulk of the 5/55 membership—had little choice but to sign up for the new branch.

Region 5 appointed one of their non-elected members, Harry Cook, to head the new branch as acting secretary. Cook works at the British Leyland MG plant at Abingdon. He is the secretary of a T&GWU branch in Oxford that meets extremely irregularly. His position on Thornett's victimization was quite clear. His own branch—which had not met for a year, and only did meet after pressure from the members—voted \$24 for the drivers' strike fund. But Cook informed the members at the next branch meeting that he had not sent the money because he "disagreed" with the strike.

The branch passed a vote of no confidence in Cook for this flagrant disregard of policy. They also condemned the splitting of the 5/55 branch in the following terms:

"This branch deplors the intervention of the Region 5 committee in the democratic running of the 5/55 branch and the removal of the elected representatives before the end of their term of office, together with the splitting of the branch, thus weakening trade union organization at a time of impending redundancy."

Under the disguise of "more democracy" the bureaucracy were attempting to establish a leadership at Cowley dedicated to class collaboration. The apex of their bureaucratic pyramid was Reg Parsons. Here was a man who could still turn a left or militant phrase to disguise his own rapid movement to the right—a degeneration that had taken less than three years and had reached the point at the time of the election where Parsons occupied the most blatant corporatist position. He was just the kind of man the bureaucracy required.

After his election as senior steward Parsons declared:

"In some matters I may take a harder line than Alan Thornett. . . . And whether I act extremely or not, or follow a middle-of-the-road course, events will decide." (Oxford Mail, June 2.)

In fact, events had already decided Parsons' position.

Parsons' break with independent trade unionism began in 1971. In January, British Leyland forced through measured-day work in the South Side assembly (see chapter 2) by threatening to send workers who resisted to the unemployed pool. This was seen as the first step towards the sack. Despite this, most of the best militants refused to submit and they went into the pool. Parsons—then a member of the Socialist Labour League (fore-runner of the Workers Revolutionary Party), was not one of them.

Later when the senior shop stewards took the decision to continue the struggle against speedup by fighting for a mutuality agreement, Parsons made an about turn and adopted an ultra-left position.

He argued that a mutuality agreement involved a recognition of measured-day work. It involved nothing of the kind. The factory leadership was simply carrying out its primary duty of defending the interests of the membership against speedup. To do otherwise would be to leave the field completely clear for Leyland and their Industrial Engineers.

Parsons' disagreement was based on his abstract conception of struggle and the requirements of the working class. On this issue Parsons broke from revolutionary politics.

Parsons had, in fact, always scorned revolutionary theory claiming his "heart" for the working class would prevent him betraying. This was a dangerous illusion. The ideology of the working class—and even the majority of its shop stewards—is a bourgeois ideology. This is expressed in the clearest form by the bureaucracy itself, who follow the reformist policy of class collaboration and betray the interests of the trade union movement. One of the most important aspects of revolutionary practice therefore is the struggle for Marxist theory. By ignoring this Parsons set his course for the right-wing.

The degeneration was relatively swift. By the New Year of 1974 Parsons was openly opposing all attempts to prepare the working class at Cowley for the struggles that would emerge from the crisis.

He campaigned against the senior stewards' call for occupation if closure was threatened during or after the three-day week. The language he used was revealing. His resolution submitted to a branch meeting read:

"That this branch owing to the National Crisis, does not agree to any kind of industrial action against the employers or the government unless a full meeting of the membership approves."

The "National" crisis was in fact a direct result of the Heath three-day week (designed to isolate the miners) and the "government" Parsons did not want action against was the Tory government—responsible for the Industrial Relations Act, the jailing of five dockers and six building workers, the wage cuts under the state pay laws and massive fines against the unions including the T&GWU.

Parsons continued his campaign for Tory policy with a witch-hunt. He held meetings in his department—the paint shop—and castigated the senior shop stewards for exploiting workers' grievances as "a platform to bring about the closure of the plant in order to pursue their policy of occupation." This accusation of course was to play a prominent role in the capitalist Press campaign against Thornett.

Parsons was an eager participant in the witch-hunt. As soon as the company decision on Thornett was known he organized a meeting of the paint shop and carried a vote of no confidence in Thornett. These workers were stamped into the vote before the company's case against Thornett had been exposed. The incident served only one purpose—to provide the capitalist Press with the necessary "evidence" that Thornett and the "commies" were not supported by the Cowley work force.

When the Press began their redbaiting it met with Parsons' full approval. The Observer of April 21 reported, ". . . another shop steward, Mr. Reg Parsons, yesterday

Part Nine

declared his support for management and revealed that 300 paint shop workers in his section had passed a vote of no confidence in Mr. Thornett."

They quoted Parsons as saying: "I do not believe the company is challenging the right of unions to choose their own shop stewards—that is more than they dare to do. I believe the company is saying that it has no confidence in the leadership, which seeks to impose political views on the working people."

This outburst virtually establishes the right of the management to select the leadership they want and victimize any steward who stands in the way of company policy. It is an argument for completely subordinating the interests of the working class to capitalism in crisis. Parsons continued his tirade with a declaration in favor of Miller and her strike-breaking group.

The Daily Mirror on April 23 reported Parsons as saying:

"I take my hat off to these women. There is a lot of support for them among men. And I'm quite sure it's going to increase. It's taken them to show us what can be done—now it's up to the men to carry on the good work."

According to Radio Oxford, Parsons formed direct links with the women scabs. One of their programs featured the wife of one of the leading witch-hunters in the plant, Robert McGibbon. She was allowed to broadcast the so-called Parsons formula for settling the dispute in the following terms:

Interviewer: "Has Mr. Parsons given you permission to speak for him?"

Mrs. McGibbon: "Oh yes, he has given me permission. Reg has given me some notes and I would like to read them out on Radio Oxford. The note is headed 'Peace Formula.' Mr. Thornett will be recognized for the time being and an immediate return to work, Mr. Thornett's case being referred to national joint inquiry on arbitration. Now then that's up to the men then to go to their stewards and say 'We want him out' and then, if the stewards won't do what they want, they can get the stewards out."

Such appeals were broadcast throughout the victimization. Radio Oxford explained that they made their station available to women like Mrs. McGibbon because they abhorred outside interference in the trade union movement!

After his role in the witch-hunt there can be little doubt what kind of trade unionism Parsons stands for. It is not independent trade unionism, but a form of organization that is subservient to the interests of the company and capitalism.

The bureaucratic elevation of Parsons and the splitting of the 5/55 branch was an attempt to undermine and ultimately destroy the leadership in the Cowley factory.

Workers were actively encouraged to join the new branch. All kinds of innovations designed to divorce the shop-steward leadership from the members were introduced. Thus, the bureaucracy did everything in their power to impose the "check-off" system for collecting union dues.

This means that the collection of union subscriptions becomes the direct responsibility of the management. Dues collection by branch secretaries or the branch officers is not just an administrative chore. Apart from the principle that it is the union and its officers who should control the collection of finance, it also provides an important means of communication between the branch and the membership.

The check-off system can produce branch secretaries who are mere intermediaries between management and the union bureaucracy, who simply pass on the monthly

VICTIMIZATION AT COWLEY

by stephen johns

"Victimization at Cowley" was recently published as a pamphlet by the Workers Revolutionary Party of England.

The struggle against the victimization of shop steward Alan Thornett by the management of British-Leyland in Cowley tested in practice all tendencies in the workers' movement, and demonstrated on the very battlefield of the class struggle that only those forces trained as Marxists inside the trade unions—represented in Britain by the Workers Revolutionary Party and the All Trades Unions Alliance—can lead the working class in defense of its organizations and basic rights.

subscription check from the firm to union head office and collect their percentage.

In short, it undermines the independence of trade union organization—a weakness seized upon by the National Industrial Relations Court who ruled that fines against unions could be collected from dues collected by managements who operate the check-off system.

The other suggested "reform" was the direct election of the branch secretary and the branch chairman. Again this is unprecedented and again it militates against the development of leadership in the plant. In large factories like Cowley, it means that the inevitable backward, right-wing or simply unconscious block vote in the plant, made up of workers who never attend the branch meeting, can be used against the leadership of the factory, that is those workers who do go to meetings, are aware of the essential role of the union and do stand out for principles during strikes and disputes.

The pattern of trade unionism the bureaucracy would like to see at Cowley is quite clear. First they want to undermine a tested leadership that has been a thorn in their side since the start of the measured-day work struggle.

Second they want to replace this with a streamlined chain of command—from the national office, to the full-time officials in the regions and districts, on to their "hand-picked" right-wing convenors, branch secretary, chairman etc.; and through them direct to management. This is designed to by-pass, or at least to block, the most powerful force in the labor movement—the independent organization of the working class expressed in its factory leadership.

There is, therefore, a 100 percent conflict between most militant and conscious workers and stewards at Cowley and the bureaucracy. The way the victimization of Alan Thornett was resisted gives grounds for tremendous confidence that the working class will win this struggle.

Despite all their rules and regulations, the bureaucracy cannot control the rapid development of the class struggle or curb the strength of the working class. They and Leyland have failed. Thornett remains a shop steward and a leadership will be built in the new branch.

In the first chapter we noted that the driving force behind all development was the economic crisis of capitalism. No bureaucrat, company boss or right-wing shop steward can avoid the consequences of this crisis. Neither can any worker at Cowley. They have already undergone a great change. They know now that they face the biggest fight for jobs in the history of Oxford. They know that only a principled leadership can lead this fight.

The struggle at Cowley has been a great lesson. The retreat that started during the QT strike allowed the bureaucracy to intervene and strike a blow at the plant leadership. The inquiry became a vehicle for the right wing, who, in turn, were the political agents of the company.

But the events at Cowley cannot simply be seen as a conspiracy involving the bureaucracy, the right-wing and the company. Such a view would be superficial. Rather the elevation of Parsons and the attempt to destroy independent trade unionism at the plant is the result of this profound development in the crisis of capitalism.

In common with the other giant capitalist corporations, British Leyland require an end to independent trade unions. The crisis forces them to close all avenues of compromise. They demand of the bureaucracy that it becomes transformed into its political police.



Bill Thompson (left) and Brian Mathers outside the special branch meeting at the Oxford Town Hall.

The bureaucratic leaders respond since they are reformists and, as such, wedded completely to class compromise. They go to conference to discuss how they can get the company out of the crisis. At national level they attempt to subordinate the movement of the working class to "social contract"—which is nothing more than a plan for wage cuts.

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wrote: "By transforming the trade unions into organs of the state fascism invents nothing new; it merely draws to its ultimate conclusion the tendencies inherent in imperialism."

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The working class at Cowley will be in the vanguard of the fight. But the victimization of Thornett does show that the defense of basic democratic rights cannot succeed under a reformist leadership. It is a revolutionary question involving the expropriation of a bankrupt and degenerate system including the nationalization of British Leyland, without compensation

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This requires the construction of a revolutionary leadership—the Workers Revolutionary Party and its industrial section, the All Trades Unions Alliance. Far from Thornett's membership of the Workers Revolutionary Party being incompatible with his leading position in the trade unions, it was the revolutionary political training that the leadership at Cowley had undergone that made them able to withstand the biggest management onslaught in the company's history.

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TO BE CONTINUED

Drive The Nazis Out Of Chicago

**BY DEBRA WATSON
CHICAGO, Ill.—The labor unions must take action to drive the Nazi Party out of Chicago.**

The Nazi Party campaign for alderman in the fifth ward is being used to spread the most virulent, racist filth and is an open call for attacks on blacks.

The fifteenth ward has changed racially in the past seven years, from virtually all white to 40 to 50 percent white. Many black families moved from the deteriorating conditions of the West Side Chicago ghettos and the massive State Street Projects.

When the first black families moved in, the real estate companies immediately moved into action.

There is an average of one home per block in the 250 block ward presently abandoned because many families who finance the homes on FHA cannot get home improvement loans. Then the real estate companies move in to foreclose mortgages.

This was widespread last January when the jump in real estate taxes pushed some notes from \$135 a month to as high as \$165 a month. After the real estate agents reclaim the house, they attempt to resell.

But this practice is not the major source of income. The money rolls in when block busting and panic peddling starts.

A block is "busted" when a black family is moved in to an all white block. Then the real estate company goes around and encourages all the white families to sell, often at below the market value. Then the companies can sell at a higher price to the black families who need a place to live.

This has absolutely nothing to do with open housing, because the areas are carefully picked out by the real estate companies to ensure that there will always be a line that blacks must cross.

An area on one side of the line is turned into an all black area so public services can be cut back and schools allowed to deteriorate. Then a campaign is waged on the other side of the line to try and turn the concern of the white workers for decent homes into racism against the black workers.

The issue facing both black and white workers is how to defeat the money hungry real estate speculators. Many white residents have their life savings invested in these homes and

realize that the real estate companies are out to squeeze more blood money from them through the panic peddling.

While the money making went on, organizations of the right were allowed to step in and spread their racist poison in the neighborhood. The present alderman, Francis Lawlor, a Catholic priest, has campaigned to keep black families out.

In his second term, Lawlor, having failed to hold the line, embarked on a campaign to keep Gage Park High School as white as possible by getting the area redistricted, sending black students to Englewood or Harper High Schools.

Students at Gage Park High School told the Bulletin about the attempts by the Nazi Party to recruit at the school and to exploit tensions among Latin, black, and white students.

From the day they moved into the neighborhood in 1966, they have been greeted by both black and white residents with contempt. They were thrown off the Coalition of Concerned Parents. Their offices have reportedly been bombed three times. In 1972, they ventured into a western suburb where some blacks had moved, and attempted to make a speech. White workers threw them out of a bar and beat them to a pulp before they could say a word.

Last summer, in mixed borderline areas, Lawlor's men campaigned with flyers door to door for the increased interest rates on home loans, while the Nazis patrolled the streets and threw "Back to Africa" tickets out car doors.

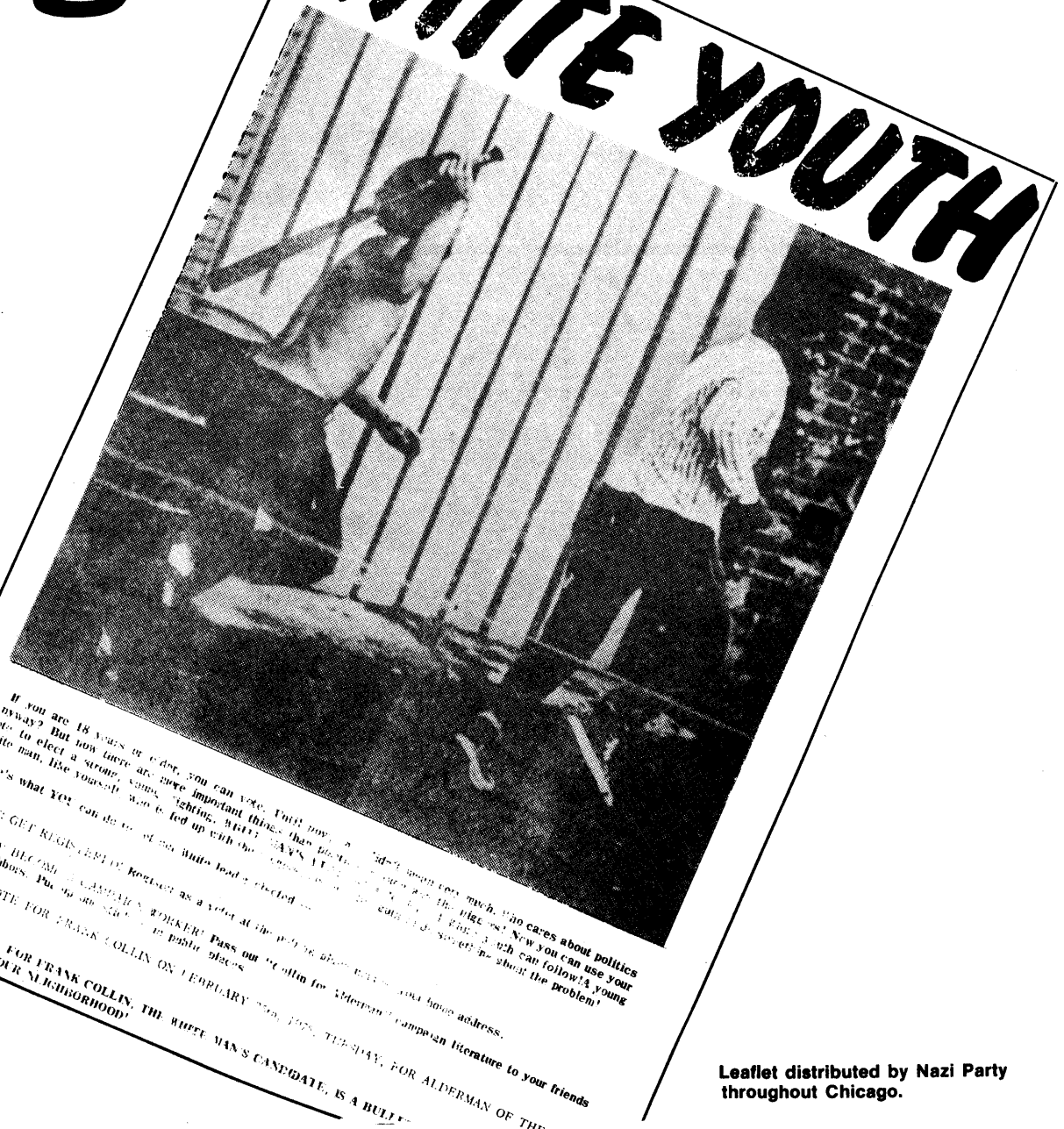
Neither the Republican or Independent Democratic candidate offer any alternative to workers in Chicago. Just as they do in Boston, the Democrats allow the racists and fascists to operate freely and are tied to the big real estate and corporate interests who they defend.

The trade unions cannot be silent on these issues. Defense guards of both white and black workers must be organized to throw the Nazis out of the fifteenth ward. A campaign must be mounted to throw them out of the city.

The crisis in housing can only be resolved by the nationalization of the real estate companies, home building associations, construction companies, and all industry under workers control.

The labor movement must call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party to carry this out and to provide a crash program of billions for new inexpensive housing for all workers.

WHITE YOUTH



Leaflet distributed by Nazi Party throughout Chicago.

City Slashes Welfare

**BY A REPORTER
NEW YORK, NY—**
Business at the Vietnam Veterans' Income Maintenance Center in Brooklyn starts early.

Around about 3 am. That is when a tiny line starts to form in the cold, dark street.

If they come down at 9 am when the office opens, they won't be seen. So they come earlier and earlier.

Almost all of them are out of work. The rate of unemployment among veterans is high: discrimination by the employers coupled with the chronic lack of jobs caused by the economic crisis.

They are there to get money to which they are entitled, to live, to feed, and clothe their families and to pay the rent. But the money paid by federal and state programs is getting tighter.

New eligibility requirements have removed tens of thousands of needy cases from the welfare roll. One of the stringent regulations is that beneficiaries have to turn up with a battery of documents to undergo face-to-face interviews.

CLOSED

If you fail to show up, your "case is closed." This means you come off the register. You are "out of the system;" you do not get any welfare.

Even if you get through the interview, the department has a policy of harassing people off the role. It is becoming common practice to use the bureaucratic

red tape to get people removed from the social service program.

This is a dramatic change from the 1960s, the years of raging liberalism when anyone was presumed eligible until proven otherwise. Now, it is the other way around. Every case is "suspect" until his or her need is absolutely confirmed to the letter.

There is supposed to be a procedure for hearings and appeals. This has been transformed into a bureaucratic backlog to screw the needy.

Let's take a case worker's family.

Joe X is married with four children. He is considered "employable," so he has to work at the minimum wage rate in order to receive his check.

CLEANING

He has been put in a local hospital to do odd cleaning jobs. He is not paid civil service rates and does not get any of the benefits or protection of civil service employment. In other words, he is a kind of indentured slave.

A few years ago, it would have been very different. Joe could have been included on a vocational training program, learning a trade. This was abolished by the Nixon administration as part of a "reform in the welfare system."

Joe has no future as a cleaner/maintenance worker. As part of an unorganized labor force, part of the corporate poor, he could be threatened to join a scab force in the event of strikes at the hospital.

Welfare is paying him \$129 for

two weeks. Once his bills are paid—food, clothing, utilities, transportation, cigarettes—he has nothing left. In fact, he owes some money to the local grocer and there's a big electricity bill to come which he won't be able to pay.

Joe and the many families like him receive about \$5,000 a year in welfare (rent included). This is half of the income which government statisticians said was adequate for a New York family—in 1972. That was before the soaring increases in the cost of living.

IMPACT

The impact of this attack on basic living standards is visible in many districts of the city. On the subways, in the parks, and streets, there is a growing army of panhandlers. It is no longer confined to the Bowery and one or two city blocks. You can find derelicts at Rockefeller Center.

In this situation, the extreme right-wing Conservative Party candidate for the 14th Congressional District said on the radio last week that the single most important issue in the election is "crime."

He is right—but in the wrong way. It is the "crime" of the monopolists who want to make the working class pay for the crisis of spiralling inflation and recession.

The Fords and Rockefellers want to return the working class to the "hungry thirties," to let the unemployment lines grow, and to turn working people into a mass of paupers.

That is the meaning of Ford's "anti-inflation" program.

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Bridges Responsible For Betrayal

Lessons of the Borax Strike

BY SHEILA BREHM
BORON, Calif.—US Borax miners have bitterly ended their four and one half month strike.

The miners voted 480 to 83 to accept a contract that every miner hates because ILWU President Harry Bridges refused to carry out his pledge to shut the docks to defend the strikers.

The contract lasts three years and provides an 11 percent wage increase the first year, 7 percent in the next two years, and a severely limited cost of living escalator clause.

Over 200 scabs hired during the strike will be allowed to remain and will join the union in 30 days.

When the 800 miners shut Borax down on June 15, they demanded a 25 percent wage increase in one year and a full cost of living clause. They were immediately met with one of the most vicious union-busting campaigns in recent history.

Owned by Rio-Tinto Zinc, Ltd., which faces a deep financial crisis, Borax set out from the beginning to break the union and impose the slave labor conditions that exist in their gold and diamond mines in South Africa.

US Borax spent hundreds of dollars hiring scabs and a special elite guard during the third month of the strike. Boron, population 2500, was occupied by police for two days when they opened the gates to scabs.

ARRESTED

110 miners were arrested, and others severely beaten, including a pregnant woman who lost her baby. Every miner's family was harassed by police.

Over 200 families moved out. Many lost their homes and have gone to other towns to look for work. Others, embittered by the betrayal of the strike, are planning to move. The vice-president of Local 30 moved out and there are rumors that President Kenny Gordon also plans to leave.

But it was not the brute force of US Borax that set back the miners. Throughout the strike they displayed a tremendous determination to fight and had the support of the entire town behind them.

As one miner said: "This strike was entirely different from 1968. Every member was involved. We all knew the

issue—the right to a union."

It was the cowardly betrayal of Bridges who starved Local 30 out, that led to this settlement.

When Bridges spoke before Local 30 and told them they were foolish and he was going to let them sit it out, he was nearly booed out of the meeting. When the ranks demanded action, Bridges pledged if necessary to shut the docks and drain the ILWU treasury.

It was only two weeks later that Borax realized that Bridges would not take action and that it was just militant talk. At this point, it brought in the scabs and cops.

DOCKS

Even after this onslaught of police terror, Bridges refused to act on his pledge to shut the docks. At another meeting, on the demand of one Local 30 member, Bridges representative Bill Percy, had pledged to go to all the dock unions and ask them not to handle any Rio Tinto products anywhere. But the minute Percy returned, this demand was dropped.

Bridges refused to shut the docks because he knew it meant a confrontation with the Ford government and the Democratic-controlled Congress.

The Borax strike shows sharply that every struggle for wages is a political struggle against the government and its courts. Governor Ronald Reagan, a long time backer of Borax, was responsible for the sending in of police, while no opposition was raised by any Democrats.

Despite the outcome of this strike, there exists among many miners a determination to build a new leadership against Bridges, based on these experiences. The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, industrial arm of the Workers League, met with miners during the strike to fight for a turn towards longshoremen and for the need to raise the demand for a labor party.

As a miner said, "Now I can see we should have done that. This is why Bridges isolated us but I didn't understand it when we were going through it. We never had confidence in Bridges but we thought we could carry out the fight in Borax and avoid Bridges, and making longshoremen aware of what they face or what he was going to do."

Another miner, Dennis Cartet, said, "We may have lost a battle, but we didn't lose the war."



Borax picketers during early days of the strike.

Baltimore PSTA To Begin Contract Talks

BY A PSTA MEMBER

BALTIMORE, Md.—City teachers begin contract negotiations in early November for the 1975 to 1976 school year.

The Public School Teachers Association (PSTA) leadership has given every indication that it will refuse to fight on a program that meets teachers' needs. A recent PSTA questionnaire asked teachers how they would trade off demands for smaller class size, fringe benefits, or wages if this becomes necessary in the negotiations.

The present two-year contract, which expires in June, was rammed down the throats of the membership after a month-long strike last February.

At that time, a strike meeting of 4000 narrowly rejected the contract against the recommendation of Karl Boone, PSTA's president. PSTA leaders then said the strike would continue, but called it off later in the day after teachers had gone home. This betrayal left teachers only 9 percent in salary increases over the two years, a partial tuition reimbursement plan, and better health benefits. There was no reduction of class size negotiated.

FRAUD

A parity clause, which teachers were told would increase their pay if other city workers got a higher percentage increase, has been revealed as a fraud. The clause is only valid in relation to other city employees with "comparable salary or higher." City blue-collar workers, who won a 10 percent yearly increase through a militant city strike this summer, make less than teachers.

Despite decreasing overall enrollment, class sizes have continued to soar. Mark, a first-year eighth grade history teacher, told the Bulletin: "The conditions are terrible. I have one class with 44 kids in it and another with 42. If they all came to school every day, I'd have quit three weeks ago."

Teachers who have requested course reimbursements and many due step increases in salary have faced long delays and mistakes due to under-

staffing at the Board of Education offices. Costs of many college courses are not even covered by the limited reimbursement provisions of the current contract.

Charles Wheatley, head of the Maryland State Teachers Association, recently stated in the PSTA Newsletter:

"We want to see the elimination of the need for strikes in the public sector, and we will push for an era of mediation and arbitration so that disagreements between public officials and their employees can be resolved amicably and in a manner beneficial to both."

Teachers who struck for four weeks last year after months of "mediation and arbitration" and impasse panels can see the logic of Wheatley's policies. Ford's proposal for a \$300 billion budget ceiling means massive cuts in money for education, and continuing destruction of school conditions.

The teachers and the working class as a whole must now turn toward a political fight against the government and its attacks.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is forming a caucus in the PSTA to fight for the following contract demands:

- An immediate 25 percent wage increase to meet the inflation; a 100 percent cost of living escalator clause.

- Full and unconditional tuition reimbursement.

- Class size limits of 20 for elementary and 25 for secondary. Full employment for teachers.

- Repeal the state's public employee no-strike law.

- Full and immediate merger of the PSTA and BTU, with AFL-CIO affiliation.

- The AFT and NEA must fight in the labor movement for the calling of a Congress of Labor and the formation of a labor party to unite the working class against the government's attacks.

Mayor Ties Firemen's Pay To Productivity

NEW YORK, NY—The new productivity committee set up between Mayor Beame and four city unions is being used as a bludgeon against the city firefighters.

Their bitterly-fought contract, settled early in the summer, has never been signed by the city, and 10,500 firefighters are owed about \$300 each in retroactive pay increases. Richard J. Vizzini, head of the Uniformed Firefighters Association, has filed "improper labor practices" charges.

Vizzini's charges that the city wants to undermine the UFA contract's productivity clause by replacing it with the new city-wide agreement. "The city is ready and willing to get the benefits of the new contract into the paychecks of the uniformed firemen, but not until the UFA leadership makes the same commitment to improved productivity that we received from the other municipal unions," Deputy Mayor James Cavanagh replied to the charge.

City workers covered by the new committee, which includes the powerful District 37 and Sanitation unions must take the sharpest warning from Cavan-

agh's threat. The agreement which Vizzini is defending over the committee's deal already calls for binding arbitration of any productivity issue that cannot be settled by a UFA-management committee.

Cavanagh's accusation that Vizzini is "attempting to erode the city's management prerogatives won at considerable expense in past contracts" means that the city wants a free hand to impose brutal speed-up and layoffs in every city department.

Vizzini himself has no perspective for leading a fight against these attacks. Just hours before he filed the charges, he spoke in support of the reelection of Republican Governor Malcolm Wilson, whose administration has victimized him for leading a five hour walkout last November. At the same time, Victor Gotbaum of DC-37 leads the list of supporters for Democratic candidate Hugh Carey.

The fight to defend the jobs and working conditions of city workers is a political fight, for the city unions to split from these two union-busting parties and to fight for an independent labor party.



Plant was occupied for two days by police.

BY DAVID NORTH

In the November 1 issue of *The Militant*, newspaper of the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, the following questions were raised in a published letter sent by a reader, Patrick Clay from Chicago.

"I really appreciated *The Militant's* coverage of the Boston school fight," he wrote, "but I don't understand why you demand that federal troops be sent there to protect the black students. If the troops were sent to Boston, wouldn't they be used against the black community as easily as against the racists? It was the National Guard that shot down students at Kent State.

"You point out that the racist antibusing campaign has been actively supported by Congress, by Nixon and Ford, and lately by the Supreme Court. I agree. But if this is the case, wouldn't it be better to teach the oppressed to rely on their own power rather than on the government?"

Patrick Clay has asked the right questions, and we propose to answer him. This must be done because the reply published by *The Militant* represents a complete rejection of basic Marxist principles and a reactionary turn against the most burning interests of the working class.

Furthermore, in defending their call for federal troops, *The Militant* has attacked the Workers League as "sectarian" for opposing the invasion of Boston by the military bodies of the capitalist class.

If this makes the Workers League "sectarian," then so was V.I. Lenin whose *State and Revolution* makes absolutely clear the position of Marxist revolutionaries on the role of the state.

Basing himself on the writings of Engels and Marx, Lenin stated: "The state is a product and a manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. The state arises where, when, and insofar as class antagonisms objectively cannot be reconciled."

This Marxist position was the opposite of the revisionist position, stated Lenin, which views the state as "an organ for the reconciliation of classes."

Lenin declared that the power of the state "consists of special bodies of armed men, having prisons, etc., at their command." He added: "The state is a special organization of violence for the suppression of some class."

The conclusion drawn by Lenin was that the working class must smash the capitalist state in establishing workers' power.

According to SWP leader Peter Camejo, whose recent speech in Boston is reprinted in *The Militant* as part of the answer to Patrick Clay, this position is sectarian.

"Sectarians argue from sche-



The logic of the SWP's line is shown above as police are brought in to attack black youth in Boston.



Peter Camejo

matic formulas," stated Camejo. "They say: (1) the bourgeois state represses the workers; (2) the army and police are part of the bourgeois state; (3) therefore, everything they ever do is against the interests of the workers."

It is absolutely clear from what Camejo says that when revisionist opportunists speak of "sectarianism," they are attacking a serious commitment to basic Marxist principles and refusing to subordinate the working class to the ruling class.

For the SWP, the defense of the working class against the state's "armed bodies of men" is sectarian.

By placing itself at the forefront of the campaign for federal troops in Boston, the Socialist Workers Party has taken a class position which places itself in the camp of the capitalists.

Camejo stated: "The demand to bring in federal troops puts the responsibility right where it lies: in Washington. They're placed on the spot, and forced to produce or not produce."

Produce what? The American ruling class, which has organized the murder and oppression of millions of workers all over the planet, now must confront the working class in this country. It must go to war against the workers in order to defend the profit system.

The poison of racism is spread deliberately by the capitalists to divide the working class and divert it from the fight against the government's attacks on jobs and living standards.

Just as the British imperialists used religion in Northern Ireland to create the conditions to send in the army and launch a reign of terror against Protestant and Catholic workers alike, the Ford government whips up racism to create the conditions for the repression of all workers.

In 1969, the British co-thinkers of the SWP, the International Marxist Group, would not fight against the sending of troops to Ulster. They went along with the fraud that imperialist troops would prevent a Protestant

Answer To The SWP BETRAYAL IN BOSTON



British troops in Ulster.

pogrom against Catholics.

Today, the SWP takes the lead in demanding troops.

The SWP seeks to blot out the class issues posed in Boston. The demand for troops, it claims is supported by the "black community" and opposed by the "racists."

By "black community," the SWP means the reactionary bourgeois nationalist politicians to whom it has adapted. By "racists," the revisionists mean all white workers.

As they write off the white workers, the revisionists openly state that the government is to be credited for all the past gains made by black workers.

Camejo can barely contain his enthusiasm for the role played by federal troops during the Selma to Montgomery march in 1965.

TROOPS

"I was there. I marched. I saw the troops. I was glad they were there. We would camp at night—there were about 2000 of us in the early part of the demonstration—and the guards would stand all the way around us all night. This enabled the march to continue, and that was a victory."

The SWP is guilty of an enormous deception of the working class when it claims that federal troops would defend the youth of Boston against racist elements who have been openly encouraged by Ford. Patrick

programs which express the objective and historical interests of the working class must, according to Camejo and the SWP, be discarded. That is all "make-believe."

What is here is the capitalist state and its organs of repression. Since the working class has not yet created defense guards, Camejo considers it positively unlawful to call for one. But since the capitalists do have a state and an army, the working class has no choice but to do the best it can with it.

When the SWP attacks us for fighting for defense guards that do not exist, they are actually throwing the entire Transitional Program of the Fourth International, written by Leon Trotsky, overboard. The Transitional Program serves to overcome the gap between the maturity of the objective conditions and the consciousness of the working class in order to prepare it for power. It seeks to mobilize the masses for the conquest of power.

As for the question of defense guards, the Workers League did not invent this proposal. We took it straight out of the Transitional Program. Trotsky wrote: "It is necessary to write this slogan into the program of the revolutionary wing of the trade unions."

We are proud to continue Trotsky's struggle.

Camejo's arguments are as vulgar as those of the most bankrupt trade union functionaries who consider it pointless to fight for jobs when the capitalists close down their factories. It is "make-believe" as far as the bureaucrat is concerned to fight for what no longer exists. For every revisionist, Stalinist, and bureaucrat, socialist policies have always been "unrealistic" and "make-believe."

At the moment, there is no labor party. The logic of the SWP leads to the conclusion that in the absence of this party, the working class must support the lesser of the two presently existing evils, the Democrats or Republicans.

OPPORTUNIST

The SWP counterposes opportunist practice to revolutionary practice.

Like all pragmatists, the revisionists pride themselves on their practical measures for the situation in Boston. What their "practical" measures amount to is stabbing the working class in the back by opening the door for the army and National Guard.

The only policies that can assist the working class of Boston and lead them forward are those based on principles. The Workers League is proud of the fact that its comrades in Boston have intervened in the struggle against Ford and his racist allies by fighting in the trade unions and the communities for those policies that are necessary to unite all sections of the working class against the government.

We are conducting a campaign in opposition to the sending of any troops into Boston and demanding the construction of a labor party by the trade unions in opposition to the capitalist parties.

We will continue this fight, building the Workers League on the basis of principles and in this way, training the revolutionary party that will lead the working class to power.

When opportunists call us sectarians, we are flattered. Because they are attacking that which is our strength—the defense of principles—and making clear the class lines which divide revisionism and Trotskyism.

Clay is absolutely right to refer to the murder of students at Kent State. But the implication of troops in a major city are in fact much more dangerous. With federal troops come curfews, laws barring demonstrations, provocations against trade unionists, arrests and killings. That is what occurred in Ulster.

If Ford does not yet send troops to Boston, it is because he knows that such action would meet powerful resistance from the working class.

Nothing outrages Camejo more than the call of the Workers League for trade union defense guards to protect youth against the racist attacks fomented by the government. He writes:

"The call for trade union defense guards isn't realistic right now. There are no trade unions that even have defense guards, much less any that have offered them to defend black students...It's not a serious proposal. It has nothing to do with meeting the needs of the black community today.

"You sectarians live in a make-believe world of sloganeering. In your world, trade union defense guards are counterposed to federal troops. But in the real world, they're not counterposed because the trade union defense guards do not exist."

This, of course, is the argument to end all revolutionary practice. Policies and

The Truth About Ramon Castro's Death

BY KEN WESTON
DETROIT, Mich.—
On the morning of September 11, Ramon Castro, a 53-year old metal finisher at the Budd Manufacturing Company, was crushed to death beneath a steel stock rack.

At work on his grinding machine, Ray, as he was known to fellow workers, received no warning when the 600 pound storage rack fell on him from behind, crushing his head and shoulders against the machine he was working on.

Contrary to the company reports, which carefully say he was dead on arrival at St. John's Hospital, workers in the first floor work area say he was killed on the spot.

Every worker in Department 121, where Ray worked, walked off the job after the incident. Workers are disgusted with the company's failure to listen to warnings and complaints from the men about the unsafe conditions, which in this case caused the death of a worker.

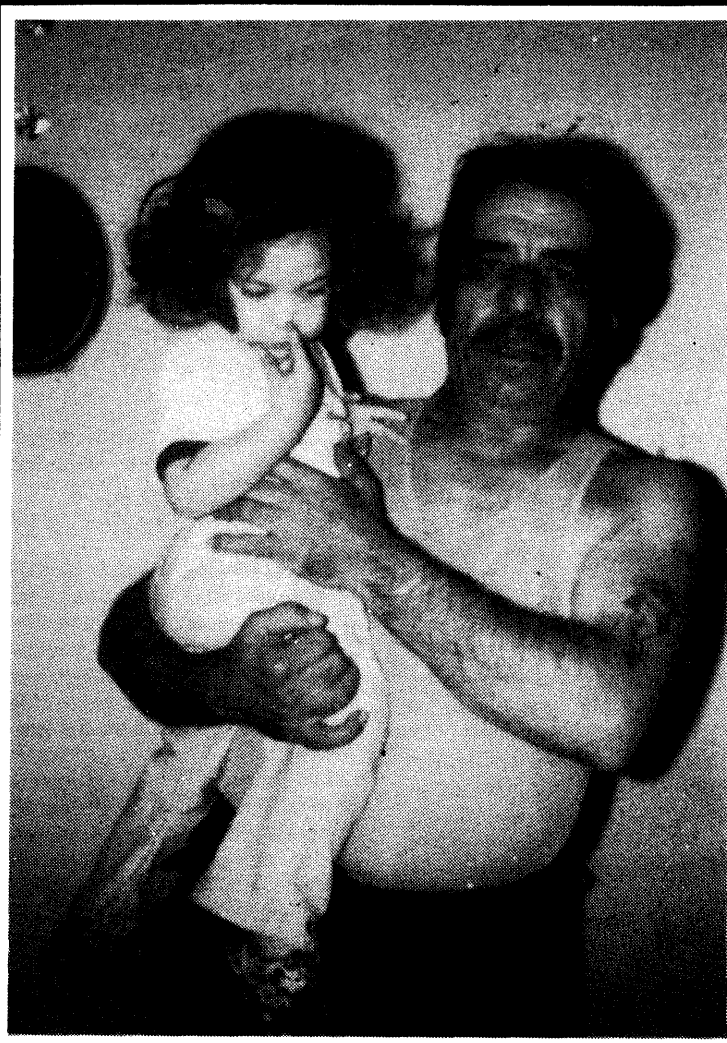
Ramon is survived by his wife, Doris, and their three-year old daughter, Ramonsita, as well as two teen-age step-children.

Doris Castro is angry and bitter over her husband's death. She said: "From what I heard, those racks were stacked up over him and he couldn't even have seen them when they fell. On TV, I heard about an accident at another plant. It seems like they just don't care what happens to the men."

CHILLS

"It sent cold chills through me the other day when I walked through the plant on my way to see about the insurance. If I had known how bad it was in there, I would have told Ramon not to work there."

Doris said the company attitude has been cold. "We haven't heard anything from them. When it happened, they sent a company nurse to my house. She told me Ray had a



serious accident and that I had to go to the hospital right away, so I fixed myself up to look nice for Ray. I thought maybe he had broken his leg or something.

HOSPITAL

"At the hospital, I asked a nurse where my husband was...was he gone already? She shook her head yes.

"The next day Budd sent a car out to take me to the morgue to identify his body. I've heard nothing from the company since."

Mrs. Castro feels the company and the union are trying to cover up what happened. Henry McCarter, one of Ray's closest friends at the plant agreed. He was working right next to Ray the day the rack fell on him.

"They had no business stacking these racks so close to a guy where he's working. Ray complained about it plenty of

times, and so did the union. The company is trying to protect itself now, but they knew about the danger."

The Budd Company is one of the largest manufacturers of wheels and parts for automobiles and trucks in the country. The present slowing down of car sales and production effects suppliers who depend solely on auto production. Shortcuts in production, meaning fewer men and elimination of maintenance workers is more profitable for these companies.

A huge billboard outside the Budd Plant on Charlevoix on the East Side of Detroit, urges workers to "Think Safety." The only way that these giant plants will ever be made safe for those who have to work on the inside is to nationalize them under workers control.

AUTO JOBS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

only the liquidation of tremendous amounts of capital, the wiping out of competition abroad and the return to slave labor in the plants can solve this.

At every point in these attacks the auto companies have been met with tremendous resistance. Strikes have exploded at the St. Louis and Lordstown

GM plants, at Delco Moraine and Delco Remy and now at GM's Framingham plant near Boston. In every strike, the UAW bureaucrats made a secret deal to force the men back to work, with not one issue resolved.

Auto workers must use their strength to demand in every local that Woodcock mandate an immediate national auto strike

to halt all layoffs and to recall all those still laid off from previous cutbacks.

Such a strike immediately raises the question of who shall run these plants, and who shall run the government that backs the employers.

Auto workers must demand that if GM, Chrysler and Ford cannot provide jobs and decent

Proposition L: Threat To Basic Union Rights

BY SUSAN
FREDERICKS

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—"L NO!" is the cry being raised among thousands of San Francisco city workers from the civil service unions, building trades, and transport union.

They are fighting Proposition L, slated for the November 5 election.

This proposition, constructed carefully by the big business interests in the Chamber of Commerce; proposes the complete abolishment of collective bargaining for wages and benefits for all city workers. This will be left to the whim of the board of supervisors, which require a two-thirds vote to increase wages or benefits. It also takes away the emergency power of the Mayor to relegate labor disputes to the board of supervisors for direct collective bargaining.

This is the second step being taken this year to try and take away the basic rights of city workers. Already, thousands of city workers have been denied a raise of \$45 a month and a dental plan, payable July 1, which was agreed to after a strike last March. The union's leadership made no move to fight this, except to challenge the injunction against the raise in court.

CANVASSING

Each Saturday in October, hundreds of bus drivers, social service workers, hospital workers, and laborers have spent the day canvassing in working class neighborhoods and shopping centers to get out a massive "no" vote.

One leaflet put out by the joint committee exposes the lie being told to the public that Municipal Railway drivers make \$21,000 to \$22,000. Based on \$6.22 an hour, yearly wages come to \$12,937.60.

One driver told the Bulletin: "When a young man gets off his run at the end of the day, he is one very frustrated, tense indi-

vidual. Why do we have to be treated like this?"

Many drivers are working 11-hour days for 9 hours straight time pay and no lunch hour off. No Muni driver makes as much as his counterpart in Alameda County or commuter drivers to Marin county.

Bake sales are being held in social services buildings to raise money for TV time and signs. There are streets in the Ingle-side District where every house, garage, or car carries a big "L No."

DEMOCRATIC

While city workers have been out canvassing among fellow trade unionists for support, the city labor leaders have attempted to tie the campaign to the Democratic Party. At the City Hall rally called by the unions on October 19, Senator Moscanne was invited, as well as SF Mayor Alioto who had threatened to call out the National Guard against the SF city workers strike last spring.

Moscanne declared: "Proposition L is the wrong way." But he went on to state that strikes should be prevented by "honest talking between the employer and employee on the local and factory level."

The union leaders in SF are following the example of the major union leaders on Ford's Labor-Management Committee by working hand in glove with the local Democrats.

Proposition L represents the move by the government to destroy the independence of the unions and tie them into a corporate state setup.

The campaign of city workers against this proposition poses the need for a total break with the Democrats and Republicans, for a labor party to repeal all the anti-union laws of previous governments, and to defend wages. SF city workers must demand their leaders fight for this. If Proposition L is passed, preparations must be made for massive citywide strike action to rally the entire trade union movement to smash it or it will be used to attack every union in the country.

wages the industry must be nationalized under workers control and without compensation. Now is the time to prepare for occupations of any plant that shuts down and to win labor support for such action.

The UAW leaders who begin with the interests of big business and not the interests of the working class must be answered by the demand for organizing a

labor party, to break with the Democrats and Republicans, and for a fight for socialist policies to organize production of basic industry for need, not for profit.

The most urgent question facing every trade unionist is the convening of an emergency Congress of Labor to plan action against rising unemployment and inflation and to launch the labor party now.

NY Bus Co. Drivers Reject Deal

NEW YORK, NY—Drivers for the New York Bus Company have refused to end their three-month walkout until they achieve full parity on wages and cost-of-living protection.

Negotiators for Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union reached a compromise settlement with the company October 25, but the agreement was rejected by a wide margin. Union officials refuse to disclose the terms of the latest offer.

The New York Bus Company runs express bus service from the huge Co-op City apartment complex in the Bronx to Manhattan, and also handles special service to area race tracks, Jones Beach and Shea Stadium. These runs carry some 11,000 riders a day.

Drivers walked off the job July 1 after the company brought in a last-minute offer of three percent for 1974 and five percent for 1975. They are demanding full parity with TWU Local 100 drivers for the New York Transit Authority, who won an eight percent/six percent settlement last spring and one of the nation's strongest escalator clauses.

The drivers have also demanded improvements in pension and medical benefits. No new negotiations are scheduled.



Ray Calore, President of UAW Local in Tarrytown, NY.

lucha obrera



10 AÑOS DEL BULLETIN

El 25 de octubre, con la asistencia de 200 obreros, estudiantes y juventud, conmemoramos el décimo aniversario de la publicación del Bulletin, en el local de la Unión 1199 (Debs Hall).

Fred Mazelis, Secretario Nacional de la Liga Obrera describió este acontecimiento como "de suma importancia para el trotskismo internacional por la continuidad del periódico marxista en la lucha por la construcción de un liderazgo revolucionario en la clase obrera, luego que el SWP degenerara en revisionismo en 1963."

Otros miembros del partido, como Adele Sinclair, editora del periódico Young Socialists, Helen Halyard y Terry Delgado, candidatas del "Workers Party" para el Congreso de Brooklyn, Dennis Cribben, líder del "All Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party" y la representación especial del "Workers Revolutionary Party" de Inglaterra con Alex Mitchell, editor de noticias del Workers Press, órgano del partido.

En menos de 10 años, el Bulletin ha desarrollado hasta el actual bisemanario de 12 páginas. Y representa la continuidad histórica de la lucha por el marxismo en Estados Unidos.

Nuestro aniversario coincide con el quinto aniversario del

Workers Press de Inglaterra, el primer periódico diario en la historia del trotskismo. Y coincide además con la profundización de la crisis económica y política del capitalismo

El periódico revolucionario debe ser propagandista, agitador y organizador del movimiento. En el período en que era necesaria una campaña propagandista, el Bulletin no se separó del desarrollo de la lucha de clases en las uniones.

En agosto de 1971, el Bulletin explicó que: "La devaluación del dólar combinada con la política de Nixon de congelar los sueldos atacando a la clase obrera, delinea el fin del período de prosperidad de postguerra, y la relativa paz de las clases, que el capitalismo ha disfrutado por cerca de 25 años. El reloj capitalista ahora regresa a los años 1929 y 1930."

Fue la campaña contra la congelación y control de sueldos durante 1971 y 1972 que hizo posible la construcción de la Juventud Socialista.

El Bulletin entrena a la sección obrera marxista al mismo tiempo que interviene en las luchas de la clase obrera, trayendo las lecciones de la lucha internacional, desde Vietnam, las luchas Arabes y Palestinas contra el imperialismo,

hasta la sangrienta derrota en Chile, y las heroicas luchas en los países coloniales y semi-coloniales, y los últimos desarrollos revolucionarios en Portugal, Inglaterra e Italia.

El Bulletin ha expuesto continuamente la teoría y práctica de los stalinistas y las tendencias revisionistas, que usan fórmulas marxistas con el fin de deformar su contenido revolucionario y mantener a la clase obrera en los límites del capitalismo.

El desarrollo del Bulletin ha sido posible por el tremendo apoyo de la clase obrera. En los últimos años, gracias a los fondos recolectados de cientos de miles de dólares, hemos sacado el bisemanario con nuestra propia imprenta.

El mitin concluyó con una exitosa colecta para mantener la expansión del Bulletin. Obtuvimos \$1300 en contribuciones. Un estibador donó \$50, un teamster dio \$100 y los demás obreros y juventud contribuyeron generosamente.

Al iniciar este período, lo hacemos con la confianza en la clase obrera en fábricas y uniones. La crisis política en Estados Unidos, crea nuevas oportunidades para reclutar nuevas fuerzas dentro del partido revolucionario.

Inflación Aumenta Mas Que Sueldos

POR DAVID NORTH
El aumento del 12.1 por ciento anual en el Índice de Precios del Consumidor (IPC) ha tenido un impacto devastador en el nivel de vida de los trabajadores.

Estadísticas del Dpto. de Trabajo prueban que los contratos han dejado los aumentos salariales muy por debajo del aumento del costo de vida.

El aumento salarial medio ha sido de 9.8 por ciento para los nuevos contratos. Esto significa un corte de 2.3 por ciento anual en los salarios.

Sin embargo, el impacto real de la inflación ha sido aún peor, debido a que millones de trabajadores aún están bajo contratos firmados en el período en que el máximo aumento permitido por el gobierno era de 5.5 por ciento.

Los obreros de la industria básica son los más afectados. El contrato firmado por el presidente de la UAW, Leonard Woodcock, permite un aumento de solo tres por ciento anual por tres años.

AUMENTO

Esto significa que el aumento promedio que un trabajador del auto recibe en tres años no equivale al aumento del IPC en un año.

A pesar de tener en su contrato una escalada por el costo de vida ésta queda muy por debajo de la inflación.

Los trabajadores del acero, que están atados a un tres por ciento anual en un contrato de tres años, se quejan regularmente que los ajustes al costo de vida son muy difíciles de seguir.

A menudo el ajuste al costo de vida es retrasado tanto en la vida del contrato que los obreros pasan meses de reducidos ingresos con ninguna seguridad.

Trabajadores de la General Electric y Westinghouse tienen un contrato de tres años que se firmó poco antes de que la fase tercera expirara.

Estas estadísticas son una enorme denuncia de la burocracia de las uniones, que han colaborado abiertamente, primero con Nixon y ahora con Ford, en estos tres años, para controlar los sueldos con la llamada "lucha contra la inflación."

La defensa de nuestros niveles de vida requiere la decidida acción de la clase obrera.

Obreros atados a pactos salariales firmados durante las fases uno a tres, deben demandar reabrir sus contratos para ganar por lo menos 25 por ciento en sus sueldo.

Todos los nuevos contratos deben incluir una escalada del 100 por ciento al costo de vida, ajustable cada mes, de acuerdo con las estadísticas de la AFL-CIO.

Las uniones deben convocar a un congreso del trabajo y construir un Partido Obrero para movilizar al proletariado contra el gobierno que defiende las corporaciones que hacen millones en ganancias.

PERDIDA

Un oficial de la unión de electricistas calculó que entre abril de 1973 y setiembre de 1974, han sufrido una pérdida de 52 centavos por hora en el poder adquisitivo de sus sueldos.

Hasta ahora los trabajadores de electricidad han recibido un ajuste de cinco centavos. Y a fin de mes recibirán otro de 14 centavos. Esto seguirá manteniendo a los trabajadores de la GE y Westinghouse con 33 centavos por hora menos que cuando se iniciara el contrato.

Los trabajadores del Consejo Distrital 37 (Bienestar y Hospitales), ganando menos de \$10,000 van a tener un aumento del 17 por ciento luego de un período de 21 meses. Así la inflación no aumente más rápidamente, el alza del costo de vida subirá al 20 por ciento en el mismo período.

Estos obreros reciben un ajuste al costo de vida de \$21 anuales por cada cuatro por ciento de aumento del IPC. Pero esto solo da una limitada protección ya que hay un considerable atraso entre el último pago al costo de vida y la firma de un nuevo contrato.

Liga Condena Provocaciones

Cinco bombas estallaron temprano en la mañana del sábado 26. Dos de ellas cerca de Rockefeller Plaza, malogrando la entrada de los edificios. Otra estalló en el edificio de la Exxon.

Un grupo llamado Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN) se ha hecho responsable de estos actos. Este grupo es desconocido en la comunidad puertorriqueña.

En una nota dejada por el FALN, ellos demandan la "independencia inmediata e incondicional de Puerto Rico."

La Liga Obrera declara que esta clase de acción no puede en forma alguna adelantar la lucha por independencia. Solo puede servir para que el estado lance una represión violenta en contra de la clase obrera y la juventud.

Estos estallidos, el día anterior a la concentración auspiciada por el comité "Día de Solidaridad con Puerto Rico," levanta preguntas legítimas sobre la verdadera identidad y motivos políticos del acto terrorista.

Stalinistas Preparan Otro Chile En Portugal

El Partido Comunista portugués ha llamado a las Fuerzas Armadas para que se queden en el poder por un largo período.

De esta manera, los stalinistas conscientemente abren las puertas para las fuerzas fascistas de la contra-revolución.

En Portugal existe una situación de doble poder desde que el movimiento obrero derrocó al General Spínola cuando preparaba un golpe de estado con el apoyo de los fascistas.

Al mismo tiempo que declaraban que toda mención a la dictadura del proletariado debe de ser eliminada del programa del partido, los stalinistas, en el último congreso del PC realizado en Lisboa proclamaron:

"La alianza entre el pueblo y el Movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas es una política a largo plazo."

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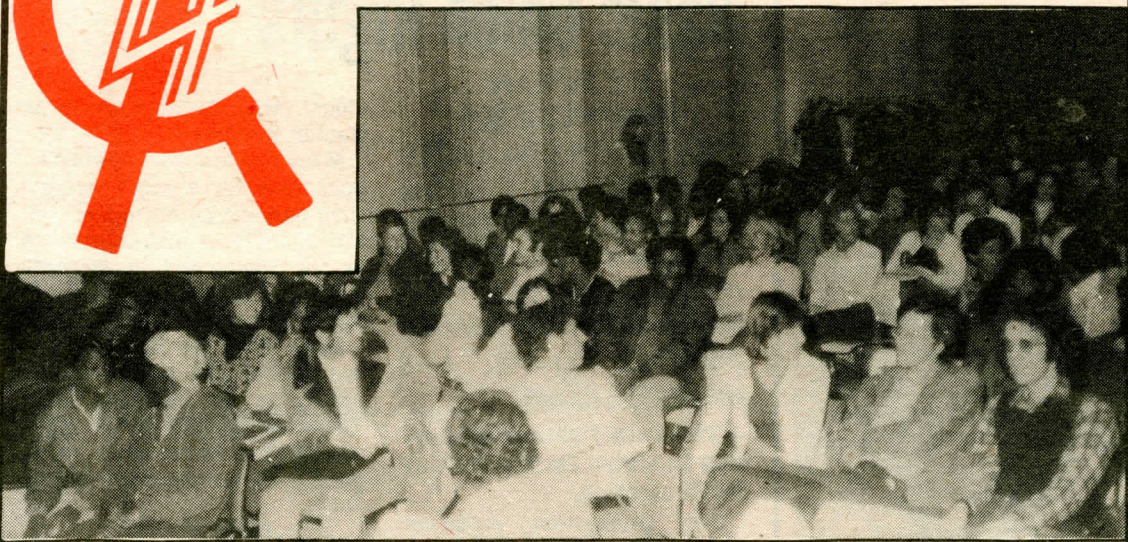
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lucha obrera



10 AÑOS DEL BULLETIN

El 25 de octubre, con la asistencia de 200 obreros, estudiantes y juventud, conmemoramos el décimo aniversario de la publicación del Bulletin, en el local de la Unión 1199 (Debs Hall).

Fred Mazelis, Secretario Nacional de la Liga Obrera describió este acontecimiento como "de suma importancia para el trotskismo internacional por la continuidad del periódico marxista en la lucha por la construcción de un liderazgo revolucionario en la clase obrera, luego que el SWP degenerara en revisionismo en 1963."

Otros miembros del partido, como Adele Sinclair, editora del periódico Young Socialists, Helen Halyard y Terry Delgado, candidatas del "Workers Party" para el Congreso de Brooklyn, Dennis Cribben, líder del "All Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party" y la representación especial del "Workers Revolutionary Party" de Inglaterra con Alex Mitchell, editor de noticias del Workers Press, órgano del partido.

En menos de 10 años, el Bulletin ha desarrollado hasta el actual bisemanario de 12 páginas. Y representa la continuidad histórica de la lucha por el marxismo en Estados Unidos.

Nuestro aniversario coincide con el quinto aniversario del

Workers Press de Inglaterra, el primer periódico diario en la historia del trotskismo. Y coincide además con la profundización de la crisis económica y política del capitalismo

El periódico revolucionario debe ser propagandista, agitador y organizador del movimiento. En el período en que era necesaria una campaña propagandista, el Bulletin no se separó del desarrollo de la lucha de clases en las uniones.

En agosto de 1971, el Bulletin explicó que: "La devaluación del dólar combinada con la política de Nixon de congelar los sueldos atacando a la clase obrera, delinea el fin del período de prosperidad de posguerra, y la relativa paz de las clases, que el capitalismo ha disfrutado por cerca de 25 años. El reloj capitalista ahora regresa a los años 1929 y 1930."

Fue la campaña contra la congelación y control de sueldos durante 1971 y 1972 que hizo posible la construcción de la Juventud Socialista.

El Bulletin entrena a la sección obrera marxista al mismo tiempo que interviene en las luchas de la clase obrera, trayendo las lecciones de la lucha internacional, desde Vietnam, las luchas Arabes y Palestinas contra el imperialismo,

hasta la sangrienta derrota en Chile, y las heroicas luchas en los países coloniales y semi-coloniales, y los últimos desarrollos revolucionarios en Portugal, Inglaterra e Italia.

El Bulletin ha expuesto continuamente la teoría y práctica de los stalinistas y las tendencias revisionistas, que usan fórmulas marxistas con el fin de deformar su contenido revolucionario y mantener a la clase obrera en los límites del capitalismo.

El desarrollo del Bulletin ha sido posible por el tremendo apoyo de la clase obrera. En los últimos años, gracias a los fondos recolectados de cientos de miles de dólares, hemos sacado el bisemanario con nuestra propia imprenta.

El mitin concluyó con una exitosa colecta para mantener la expansión del Bulletin. Obtuvimos \$1300 en contribuciones. Un estibador donó \$50, un teamster dio \$100 y los demás obreros y juventud contribuyeron generosamente.

Al iniciar este período, lo hacemos con la confianza en la clase obrera en fábricas y uniones. La crisis política en Estados Unidos, crea nuevas oportunidades para reclutar nuevas fuerzas dentro del partido revolucionario.

Inflación Aumenta Mas Que Sueldos

POR DAVID NORTH
El aumento del 12.1 por ciento anual en el Índice de Precios del Consumidor (IPC) ha tenido un impacto devastador en el nivel de vida de los trabajadores.

Estadísticas del Dpto. de Trabajo prueban que los contratos han dejado los aumentos salariales muy por debajo del aumento del costo de vida.

El aumento salarial medio ha sido de 9.8 por ciento para los nuevos contratos. Esto significa un corte de 2.3 por ciento anual en los salarios.

Sin embargo, el impacto real de la inflación ha sido aún peor, debido a que millones de trabajadores aún están bajo contratos firmados en el período en que el máximo aumento permitido por el gobierno era de 5.5 por ciento.

Los obreros de la industria básica son los más afectados. El contrato firmado por el presidente de la UAW, Leonard Woodcock, permite un aumento de solo tres por ciento anual por tres años.

AUMENTO

Esto significa que el aumento promedio que un trabajador del auto recibe en tres años no equivale al aumento del IPC en un año.

A pesar de tener en su contrato una escalada por el costo de vida ésta queda muy por debajo de la inflación.

Los trabajadores del acero, que están atados a un tres por ciento anual en un contrato de tres años, se quejan regularmente que los ajustes al costo de vida son muy difíciles de seguir.

A menudo el ajuste al costo de vida es retrasado tanto en la vida del contrato que los obreros pasan meses de reducidos ingresos con ninguna seguridad.

Trabajadores de la General Electric y Westinghouse tienen un contrato de tres años que se firmó poco antes de que la fase tercera expirara.

Estas estadísticas son una enorme denuncia de la burocracia de las uniones, que han colaborado abiertamente, primero con Nixon y ahora con Ford, en estos tres años, para controlar los sueldos con la llamada "lucha contra la inflación."

La defensa de nuestros niveles de vida requiere la decidida acción de la clase obrera.

Obreros atados a pactos salariales firmados durante las fases uno a tres, deben demandar reabrir sus contratos para ganar por lo menos 25 por ciento en sus sueldo.

Todos los nuevos contratos deben incluir una escalada del 100 por ciento al costo de vida, ajustable cada mes, de acuerdo con las estadísticas de la AFL-CIO.

Las uniones deben convocar a un congreso del trabajo y construir un Partido Obrero para movilizar al proletariado contra el gobierno que defiende las corporaciones que hacen millones en ganancias.

PERDIDA

Un oficial de la unión de electricistas calculó que entre abril de 1973 y setiembre de 1974, han sufrido una pérdida de 52 centavos por hora en el poder adquisitivo de sus sueldos.

Hasta ahora los trabajadores de electricidad han recibido un ajuste de cinco centavos. Y a fin de mes recibirán otro de 14 centavos. Esto seguirá manteniendo a los trabajadores de la GE y Westinghouse con 33 centavos por hora menos que cuando se iniciara el contrato.

Los trabajadores del Consejo Distrital 37 (Bienestar y Hospitales), ganando menos de \$10,000 van a tener un aumento del 17 por ciento luego de un período de 21 meses. Así la inflación no aumente más rápidamente, el alza del costo de vida subirá al 20 por ciento en el mismo período.

Estos obreros reciben un ajuste al costo de vida de \$21 anuales por cada cuatro por ciento de aumento del IPC. Pero esto solo da una limitada protección ya que hay un considerable atraso entre el último pago al costo de vida y la firma de un nuevo contrato.

Liga Condena Provocaciones

Cinco bombas estallaron temprano en la mañana del sábado 26. Dos de ellas cerca de Rockefeller Plaza, malogrando la entrada de los edificios. Otra estalló en el edificio de la Exxon.

Un grupo llamado Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN) se ha hecho responsable de estos actos. Este grupo es desconocido en la comunidad puertorriqueña.

En una nota dejada por el FALN, ellos demandan la "independencia inmediata e incondicional de Puerto Rico."

La Liga Obrera declara que esta clase de acción no puede en forma alguna adelantar la lucha por independencia. Solo puede servir para que el estado lance una represión violenta en contra de la clase obrera y la juventud.

Estos estallidos, el día anterior a la concentración auspiciada por el comité "Día de Solidaridad con Puerto Rico," levanta preguntas legítimas sobre la verdadera identidad y motivos políticos del acto terrorista.

Stalinistas Preparan Otro Chile En Portugal

El Partido Comunista portugués ha llamado a las Fuerzas Armadas para que se queden en el poder por un largo período.

De esta manera, los stalinistas conscientemente abren las puertas para las fuerzas fascistas de la contra-revolución.

En Portugal existe una situación de doble poder desde que el movimiento obrero derrocó al General Spínola cuando preparaba un golpe de estado con el apoyo de los fascistas.

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