**VOLUME TEN NUMBER FORTY 376** 

**TUESDAY, MAY 21, 1974** 

CUNION MLABEL 6 . - COM HEM

## On The Spot Report From Lisbon

# HILLES ENDINES IGH FAGINES



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# **Civil War Operation In Watts**

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The murderous police assault on the Watts hideout of Donald DeFreeze and five other reputed members of the Symbionese Liberation Army is the sharpest warning of the civil war preparations now being made against the entire working class.

Rather than a sign of any strength, the terror opera-tion in Watts reveals the desperation of a reactionary capitalist class in crisis. It knows that the runaway inflation and mass unemployment it seeks to impose on the working class means a confrontation with millions of workers and youth determined to fight back.

The bloodbath in Watts

exposes the real meaning of Nixon's Watergate conspiracy to construct a police state apparatus of repression against the basic rights of millions of workers.

Just as in operation "Zebra," in which masses of police were mobilized to terrorize an entire working class community, the SLA manhunt was a military operation carried out against the working class.

"Acting on a tip," the authorities instantly mobilized over 500 police. People in the area were given absolutely no warning. Houses surrounding the bungalow were riddled with bullets.

The authorities did not even know for sure who was in the house when they opened fire. In fact, after a half hour of firing, a hostage emerged from the building and it took several days before positive identification of the dead was released.

This could have been the home

of any working class family, and the victims could have been entirely innocent people for all the authorities knew.

For almost an hour, the house was sprayed with a withering fire of automatic gunfire, tear gas cannisters, and fragmentation grenades.

### INCREDIBLE

As one Watts resident described the scene, "There was so much shooting it was incrediible. They had been shooting about an hour when a heavy shot was fired and it sent up a big sheet of flame about ten feet high. Everybody kept shooting and the fire was everywhere.'

A house and an apartment building on either side of the bungalow were completely gutted by the flames.

It was clear from the beginning that the authorities were determined to make sure that no member of the SLA would

only two people died from bullet wounds, while four were burned to death. All the bodies were charred beyond recognition.

As this is being written, heavily armed detachments of police and FBI men continue to patrol the streets of south central Los Angeles.

To prove that their real purpose was to terrorize the working class, the slaughter was broadcast live on nationwide television, a public execution before the eyes of millions.

The real effect of this is precisely the opposite of what had been planned. This operation will only deepen the hatred that millions of workers and youth already feel toward the police and the government.

Despite pages of grizzly pictures, the press has been unable to report any sentiment in Watts other than outrage at the complete contempt for the lives of the residents displayed (Continued On Page 12)

The Workers Press is the British daily Trotskyist newspaper. Workers Press reporter Alex Mitchell is the only correspondent in Lisbon to get into the now occupied Lisnave shipyard and be shown around by the stewards. Here is his exclusive report cabled from the Portuguese capital.

### BY ALEX MITCHELL

LISBON -Workers at the Lisnave Shipyard, the largest industrial enterprise in Portugal, are staging an occupation strike in support of more wages and holidays.

The 10,000 Lisnave workers join the mounting wave of strikes which presents the Popular Front government, handpicked by the military junta, with its first enormous crisis.

And what of the role of the Communist Party, whose leader Alvaro Cunhal was declared cabinet minister without portfolio yesterday?

The Stalinists rush frenziedly from one strike to the other calling for an immediate return to work.

They start by calling for the consolidation of the fight against fascism and then by appeals to help restore the economy.

If this fails, they accuse those who want to press for better wages, "agents of the fascists" and "reactionaries who want to destroy our democracy.

At a meeting of hospital workers the other night I heard the (Continued On Page 12)

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"Long Live The Portuguese Revolution," Statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

 "Battle in the Printing Trades" by Cynthia

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COMPANDED SOME

FIFTEEN CENTS

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## **Nixon's Racism—The Excrescence Of Capitalism**

Sources familiar with the secret White House tapes have revealed that Nixon cut from the official transcripts hundreds of racist and antisemitic remarks that he regularly used in private conversations.

While plotting the Watergate coverup with Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Dean, Nixon commonly referred to Judge John Sirica as a "wop," to Dr. Daniel Ellsberg as a "jewboy," and to former FBI director Patrick Grey as a "mick."

Among the remarks deleted from the transcripts was

What We Think the following: "One of these Blacks, you know, goes in there and holds up a store with a goddamn gun and they give him two years and then probation afterward."

Nixon's virulent racism and antisemitism is not just ano-

ther aspect of his own corruption and criminality but is also a very significant expression of the decay of capitalism and the turn of the ruling class as a whole toward dictatorship and barbarism.

Nixon had been carefully groomed for the presidency over a period of more than 20 years in which he had emerged as the leading anticommunist politician in the United States. He entered the White House in 1969 as the post-war boom was beginning to break up, when the task of confronting the tremendous power of the working class was being posed to the capitalists by the growing economic crisis.

Racism and antisemitism is one of the main weapons used by the ruling class to divide and weaken the

working class, and Nixon is just the man to use it.

Shortly before he became president, Nixon admitted that he was a member of the Baltrusol Club, an organization which bars Jews and Blacks from membership.

Catholics are admitted only on rare occasions.

When he entered the White House, Nixon brought with him men like Dwight Chapin, Ronald Ziegler, Haldeman and Ehrlichman, all from southern California and trained in the UCLA fraternity tradition of obscene racism and antisemitism.

These fraternities were all centers of right-wing activities on campus, and flourished in the climate of McCarthyism and in the late 1950s and early 1960s played major roles in witch-hunting socialist movements.

The racism and antisemitism of Richard Nixon is an expression of the decay of capitalism. Under conditions of crisis, this filth emerges openly within the highest levels of government like puss from an abscess.

Just as the thinly-veiled antisemitism of German politicians and businessmen during the Weimar period encouraged the racist propaganda of the Nazis, Nixon's hatred of Blacks, Jews, and other minorities is deliberately used to create the climate in which the rightwing forces in the Wallace movement and the out-andout fascist elements like the American Nazis feel they can function openly.

The Watergate conspiracy and all that has emerged in the transcripts—which is barely the tip of the iceberg—is a sharp warning to the working class. The Nixon government, beneath the forms of bourgeois democracy, is seeking to prepare for different methods of rule, for dictatorship.

The revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party have written that the Watergate transcripts show the true face of capitalist rule. This is true. But they complacently transform this general truth into an abstraction which poses no urgent immediate tasks to the working class.

The Militant of May 17 comments on the transcripts only to conclude that they show the corruption of the capitalist class in general, and that there is no difference between Nixon, Johnson, and Kennedy.

Of course, Kennedy and Johnson were the representatives of the ruling class and defended the same class interests as Nixon. They were imperialist butchers, the leaders of international counterrevolution.

But they ruled under different economic and political conditions. They were politicians who led the ruling class under conditions of economic boom. To say there is no difference between Nixon and Kennedy is to say nothing has changed since 1963.

Nixon rules under conditions of rapid economic disintegration in which the relations between the working class and capitalists in the advanced countries now assume a revolutionary character. Nixon represents a further development of the world capitalist crisis.

There can be no revolutionary perspective for the working class without grasping this change in the material world. The SWP cannot grasp this change and therefore cannot lead the working class because of its abandonment of dialectical materialism, of Marxism.

The racism of Nixon is the face of the capitalist class as it prepares for civil war. This danger must be met by constructing the Workers League as the revolutionary leadership of the working class in the actual struggle to throw Nixon out and to construct a labor party as the alternative to this government.

## Exclusive Report From Portugal

This is an on-the-spot report from Alex Mitchell in Lisbon. It is reprinted from the Monday, May 13 issue of **Workers Press,** British daily Trotskyist newspaper.

The popular front government between Stalinists, Socialists, and Democrats will be sprung on the Portuguese working class either today or tomorrow.

There is little speculation as to who will be president. General Spinola has chosen himself for that position and invested it with sweeping powers in the traditions of Gaullism.

His prime minister is likely to be Adelino da Palma Carlos whom The Guardian says was barred from political activity in 1948 because of his liberal views.

But it should also be noted that he has been a leading law lecturer at one of the universities under the fascist regime and is currently on the board of an influential bank.

Mario Soares, the Socialist Party leader is seen as the Foreign Minister with other members of his reformist party and the more right-wing Democrats taking the remainder of the portfolios.

But by far the most sickening ingredient of this rotten political amalgam is the participation of the two top Stalinists, party secretary Alvaro Cunhal and his lieutenant Canaia Roma.

Cunhal was first of all tipped for Labour Minister but the huge tide of working class support for strong trade unionism, higher wages and decent hours and conditions has made the Stalinists think twice.

Now it is understood Cunhal will be a Minister without Portfolio, a kind of roving ambassador for the Popular Front and its top troubleshooter in the working class.

By entering the Popular Front government—the Stalinists worked hand in glove with Spinola and ex-fascists in preparing it—the Communist Party is attempting to strangle the independent movement of the working class and tie it to bourgeois parties and by that the preservation of the bourgeois state.

As one local newspaper editor told me, "We are really at the mercy of the Communist Party. If they said that workers must march on we could be in a revolution in this country."

But there are no signs of the Stalinists taking the political developments in the working class, the enormous and euphoric groundswell which is seen everywhere, any further.

Indeed apart from attacking "ultra-lefts" they have just issued an order to workers and in the provincial towns not to attack the fascist municipal leaders and oust them from office.

In factories where the works have been taken over by workers' committees the Stalinists are also arguing that it is time to go back to work for the nation. Shades of popular frontism in Chile.

### WILL

These acts of class treachery are all the more scandalous when you examine the will and determination of the working class. There were no shops open on Saturday afternoon normally one of the busiest periods under the old fascist regime. But no more. The workers decided last week that their hours were far too long.

Then there are the newspaper workers. For the time being at



least they are virtually determining what goes in the Press. When two reactionary proprietors wanted to publish articles that were mildly critical of the sweeping reforms there were strikes. These two proprietors no longer meddle in editorial

On the road in from the airport

we passed the Imperio Cinema. Enormous queues stretched down the road as workers, soldiers and students waited to get into the next session of Potemkin! Street names chosen by the fascists have been torn down and replaced. The most popular is Avenue April Twenty Five.

## Big Abstention In Dominican Vote

policy.

Twenty thousand soldiers were mobilized on May 16 to guard the voting places during the presidential elections in the Dominican Republic.

The hated Dr. Joaquin Balaguer was re-elected for the third time.

Less than one fourth of the two million registered voters abstained.

On.May 14, the main opposition, "Acuerdo de Santiago" (Santiago Agreement) a coalition of right and left parties, including the Stalinist Dominican Popular Movement (MPD), called for a national boycott of the elections because of the repressive atmosphere created by the military and special "red guard" police of Balaguer.

Balaguer's only opponent was the retired Admiral Luis Homero Lajara Burgos of the Popular Democratic Party which got an insignificant percentage of votes and whose program was no different from Balaguer's.

In the working class areas, a large majority of the people observed the boycott. In the countryside, where Balaguer had support in the past because of his so-called agrarian reform, a bigger turnout was reported, but many of the peasants nullified their votes.

During the four month election campaign, hundreds were wounded and dozens killed by Balaguer's police.

# Schmidt Is Chancellor

BY FRANK MARTIN Walter Scheel was elected president of the Federal Republic of Germany on May 15.

Scheel is the leader of the bourgeois, liberal Free Democratic Party which are the junior partners with the Social Democrats in the Bonn government.

Scheel is an ex-member of the Luftwaffe who flew missions over France and the Soviet Union during World War II.

Scheel's election cements the coalition between the Free Democrats and the Social Democrats and assures the ratification later this week in the Bundestag of Helmut Schmidt as Chancellor.

Schmidt assumes power under conditions of mounting crisis inside the Common Market following Denmark's imposition of a surcharge on all foreign imports. Schmidt has already called for retaliatory measures:

'In the interest of developing a common European concept, the Federal Republic can agree to make sacrifices, but it is not ready to play the role of blood donor for others, if they are not prepared to swallow the necessary medicine." There is growing opposition both within the trade unions and in the Social Democratic Party to the government's policies. Schmidt faces a mounting wages offensive by millions of German workers, centered among engineering and public service workers.

Schmidt is the leader of the extreme right-wing section of the Social Democratic Party. "Sergeant Major Schmidt," as he is known, is a law-and-order man with close links with both finance and military circles. At the last SPD conference, he led the attack on the left-wing youth movement, "Jusos" (Young Socialists).

In his youth, Schmidt was a member of the Hitlerjugend, the Nazi youth movement, the Reich Labor Service, and finally th Wehrmacht.

His nomination as chancellor was welcomed by leading German financial circles. As finance minister under Brandt, he has already planned massive budget cuts totalling 12 billion marks.

# How Nixon Deleted Tapes

BY MELODY FARROW

Information is leaking out behind the doors of the secret House Judiciary Committee impeachment hearings that expose more details about Nixon's desperate attempts to cover his guilt in the Watergate conspiracy.

It has now been proven that the transcripts were falsified to delete key portions of discussions. Parts of the tapes which the White House claimed were "unintelligible," were found to be very clear by the Committee.

The Committee received a transcript from the office of Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski, of the September 15,



Nixon in Oval Office with ex-chief of staff Haldeman.

1972 meeting between Dean, Haldeman and Nixon which includes three pages left out of the White House version.

The White House tape opens with Dean entering the room, when in reality the following discussion went on before Dean

entered the room:

Haldeman: speaking about Dean) "It—He'll never, he'll never, he'll never gain any ground for us, he's just not that kind of guy. But he's the kind that enables other people to gain ground while he's making sure

that you don't fall through the holes."

Nixon: "Oh, you mean..."

Haldeman: "Between times, he's doing, he's moving ruthlessly on the investigation of the McGovern people, Kennedy stuff and all that too..."

It is also revealed that in the White House version where the transcript is marked "further conversation following unrelated to Watergate," Nixon and his aides discuss how to use government agencies to retaliate against his opponents.

In a discussion September 15, Nixon threatened to delay renewing the licenses of the Washington Post, because of their special investigation of Watergate. Speaking to Haldeman, Nixon said:

Nixon: "...The main thing is the Post is going to have damnable, damnable problems out of this one. They have a television station...and they're going to have to get it renewed.

"And it's going to be goddamn active here...Well, the game has to be played awfully rough."

Four months later, challenges were filed against Post ownership of its TV stations.

Another portion of the tape also shows how Dean and Nixon consciously sat down and worked out the excuse of 'national security' for the breakin at Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office.

Nixon has refused to supply Judge Gerhard Geseel with any substantial evidence that national security was involved.

Nixon's good friend, Charles Bebe Rebozo, is being cited for contempt for refusing to supply his bank records to show what happened to the \$150,000 that he accepted for Nixon's re-election campaign. General Alexander Haig only testified to the Senate Watergate Committee after he was threatened with contempt.

Leon Jaworski is now openly seeking to protect Nixon. He made a deal with former Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, who was allowed to plead guilty to a minor contempt charge, while a perjury charge was dropped. He faces at the most one month in jail and a \$10,000 fine.

Despite the fact that Kleindienst testified that he was personally ordered by Nixon to drop the anti-trust suit against ITT, Jaworski declared Nixon had a right to intervene.

## Federal Bank Props Up Franklin

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

Despite a massive public relations job by the Federal Reserve Board to assure investors that the Franklin National Bank is basically sound, evidence continues to grow that the nation's 20th largest bank is on the brink of collapse.

Franklin management announced last Friday that the bank would omit its regular second quarter dividend, and disclosed that it may have lost as much as \$39 million in speculation on the foreign exchange markets.

Rumors are being circulated that former Treasury Secretary David Kennedy would be brought in, on an emergency basis, to take over as chairman.

Since leaving the treasury, Kennedy has been functioning as an "investment advisor" to Michele Sindona, a shady Italian banker who owns almost 22 percent of the stock.

The degree to which confidence in Franklin is evaporating is expressed in the bank's deposit figures. On Wednesday deposits had declined by \$60 million over the previous week.

The Federal Reserve Board has been organizing the biggest rescue operation in banking history, rivalling the sums poured out during the Penn Central and Lockheed crisis.

Last Wednesday, the Federal Reserve Board revealed that borrowings by member banks totalled \$1.74 billion, up from \$814 million the week before.

### POURED

The Wall Street Journal indicated that these figures meant that at least \$750 million had been poured into Franklin because of its difficulties in obtaining funds from other sources.

The decision by the Federal Reserve Board to make this money available is an extremely inflationary measure, which disrupts its declared policy of restricting the money supply.

The real state of affairs at more tim Franklin is still being-concealed demands.

by the bankers but it is already clear that Sindona, who took control of the bank in 1972, has funnelled a large share of its funds abroad.

#### CONSORTIUM

Franklin was part of a \$1 billion consortium that made an eight year loan to an Italian government agency that finances public works. It appears more than coincidental that Sindona has a controlling interest in the Societa Generale Immobiliare, an Italian based real estate and construction

firm, one of the largest in the world.

Sindona is also reported to have made numerous arrangements for Franklin to engage in foreign exchange transactions with foreign banks in which he has an interest and to make loans to non-banking companies which he controls.

Numerous banks are now rumored to be in a similar crisis. Many have extended long term loans on the basis of short term certificates of deposit which they must repay in 90 days or less.

# Hundreds Die In Zionist Bombing

BY FRANK MARTIN

Israeli jets carried out saturation bombing on Palestinian refugee camps and the homes of Lebanese workers in three different parts of Lebanon today.

The raids, the heaviest since the October war, were carried out on the pretext of the Maalot massacre, in which over 20 children and three Palestinian guerrillas were killed.

Unofficial reports estimate at least 200 are dead and injured in the refugee camp of Ein al Helweh alone. The bombs were consciously aimed at civilian targets, destroying three working class housing projects.

The 36 Israeli jets hit five other villages in the foothills of Mt. Hermon, near the Syrian border, and eight other jets struck targets in South Lebanon.

In a communique, the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine claimed responsibility for the Maalot raid. But it made clear that it was the Israeli army, and not the Palestinian guerrillas, who started the shooting which led to the death of the children.

The Israeli government has not even sought to deny this. But they claim that they were left with no choice because the guerrillas would not give them more time to carry out the demands.

This is an outright lie. The truth is that the Israeli government never had any intention of meeting the guerrilla's demands and saving the lives of the children. French ambassador Hurlé has made a statement that he was not required to know any password in order to negotiate with the guerrillas.

## NEGOTIATIONS

Hurlé, along with the Rumanian ambassador, was designated by the guerrillas to carry out the negotiations. Yet, the Israeli authorities refused to allow him to speak to the guerrillas, claiming he had not received the proper password.

Salah, a member of Al Fatah in Ein al Helweh, summed up the feelings of thousands of Arab workers in his remarks to American newsmen after the bombing raids:

"Tell your government that Phantoms are very good against innocent civilians. We hate the devil, Israelis and Americans, but today we hate the American the most.

## OCCUPIED

"What we don't understand is why in America and Europe, our case is not clear. Our land is occupied and when we fight to get our homes back we are called terrorists. But when the Israelis bomb civilians, they are heroes to you.

"Inside the camp, they hit a playground center for children who go there after school and the families are still digging out bodies."

Interest rates on CDs are now well over 11 percent putting an enormous squeeze on their ability to refinance the paper. Heavy loan demands from industry raise the possibility of massive defaults that could bring down the entire banking structure.

This situation is made a thousand times more dangerous by the international monetary crisis. Due to the international inflation, which has quadrupled oil prices and sent all commodity prices soaring, countries like Italy have been forced to borrow huge amounts on the international markets.

Harold Lever, a financial adviser to British Prime Minister Wilson, who just arrived in the US to meet with bankers and government officials, is warning that the increasing probability of a loan default by Italy could topple the entire international banking system.

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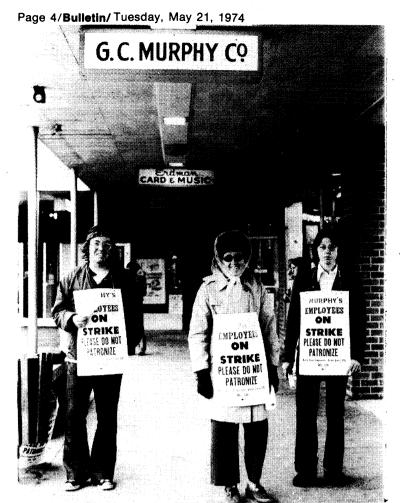
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Retail clerks have shut down GC Murphy stores in Baltimore as part of a

# **Strike Vote At Washington Post**

BY A REPORTER

WASHINGTON, DC-—By a vote of three to one, printers in Columbia Typographical Union Local 101, voted strike authorization against the Washington Post and the Washington Star-News.

The leadership of Local 101 immediately requested official sanction from the ITU International.

Robert Peterson, Secretary Treasurer of Local 101, told the Bulletin that he expects approval in a matter of days. In negotiations with the Star-News, a breakthrough has developed over the question of job security, and the use of automated typesetting equipment, the central issue in negotiations.

The Star-News has agreed to give lifetime guarantees to printers on both permanent and substitute positions but at the Post, bargaining remains dead-

The Post's last offer is a 5.5 percent pay increase with a cost of living escalator if inflation goes over four and three-quartconsiders this offer "impossible," in the face of an annual rate of close to 20 percent.

Peterson stated that "the union has always been for automation. We're for progress, but not for machines to be used against human beings and to threaten the livelihood of 800

Local 101 is preparing for a long and bitter strike and has been assured of support from other craft unions at the Post. A twenty-four hour picket line is being planned to stop all production. Management has made it clear that they will keep publishing in the event of a strike.

The publishers plan to bring in scab labor as they did in 1969, which led to violent confrontations between printers and State Law Dismantles Social Services Union

BY AN SSEU MEMBER NEW YORK-New state legislation passed on May 15 is another step toward destruction of the Social Services Employees Union, using reorganization to slash wages and eliminate hundreds of jobs.

The new law directs the New York City Council to set up a Division of Family Services to replace two present divisions, Services to Adults and Services to Children. These two divisions were themselves the result of earlier reorganization.

The City Council can now farm out field functions in the Bureau of Child Welfare to private agencies. Such functions as Intake, and Protective and Preventive Services will be opened up to nonunion and non-Civil Service workers, such as the Salvation Army.

The Council is also given authority to set manning and staffing levels which will pave the way for layoffs. This new stage of reorganization means the wholesale railroading of caseworkers in the BCW and Senior Day Care Centers into the communities, while their present functions are given to private agencies.

When the present Services divisions were set up, many functions were farmed out to family community workers who were nonunionized and non-Civil Ser-

They are paid \$2000 a year less than caseworkers, while the caseworkers have been placed in meaningless service jobs, and even that only after a protracted struggle with the administration.

This reorganization in the Bureau of Public Assistance was rammed down the workers throats by the past union leadership, with the full support of present SSEU President Pat Knight. Now the city proposed to introduce the same wholesale reorganization into the BCW, setting more workers up for layoffs.

The union leadership opposed

the original bill, which would have given control to the state rather than the City Council, but calls the bill in its final form a "major improvement." SSEU members are being told that they can fight the "farming out" provisions by writing letters to their Councilman.

This same Council is now moving to make additional slashes in Mayor Beame's city budget, which already includes the cut of 2500 provisional Civil Service workers and huge slashes in the Addiction Services Agency. Almost 16,000 city workers in all are scheduled to be cut under the terms of Beame's proposals.

The leadership of SSEU 371 and of District Council 37 have opened up all of the city labor movement to these attacks by refusing to fight previous layoffs of provisional workers.

Members of the Addiction Services Agency Chapter of SSEU-371 held a sit-in and protest de-

## 11**99 S**eeks

BY A LOCAL 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Hospital and Drug Workers Union Local 1199, has notified the League of Voluntary Hospitals that it will not continue negotiations for the upcoming July 1 contract, until the hospitals restore money that the Cost of Living Council cut from the last contract.

What is involved is one and one-half percent, or three dollars (whichever is greater), and a one-half percent increase in the pension fund for 33,000 workers at 48 hospitals and nursing homes throughout New York City.

The refusal of the Cost of

monstration at ASA headquarters on May 13 protesting the layoff of three provisionals in ASA who were union members. The leadership consciously confined the action to a demonstration of just ASA, and didn't announce that it had been held until the next day, because of its fear that action by the entire ranks of the SSEU might spark off a general strike against the hated Beame administration.

This action exposes the real character of Knight and Gotbaum's campaign to defend only "those provisionals who are union members." This reactionary stand was Beame's cue to move against all provisionals, and prepare mass layoffs against even those workers under Civil Service.

The only answer to these attacks is to build a leadership in the SSEU that will fight for a united strike of the city labor movement against these at-

## **Back Pay**

Living Council to approve the previous contract increases for over four months precipitated a citywide hospital strike last November 5.

Many of the workers were disgusted with the way Leon Davis, 1199 President, handled that strike. As one worker put it, "If we had stayed out one more week, we really would have had them. The hospitals would have had to put pressure on the government to give us our money.

The union leaders have now decided to pay a \$720,000 contempt of court fine for the November strike, after losing its last court appeal.

## Jury Suspects Cop Frameup

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

NEW YORK-"Some people in the jury don't trust the police," a retired post office worker said, explaining why he and his fellow jurors had been unable to come to a verdict in the trial of five men alleged to be members of the Black Liberation Army.

Their two and a half-month trial was declared a mistrial Wednesday and they will be retried on May 28, on charges of murdering two police officers at a Harlem housing project in May, 1971.

The jurors, who voted 11 to 1 for aquittal of several of the defendants, rejected the testimony of several women, including the wife of defendant Gabriel Torres. "They were under undue pressure,' juror said, supporting defense testimony. "They were threatened with losing their children."

Other jurors refused to accept evidence held by the police, including one officer's gun and a fingerprint found at the scene. "I don't believe in prints-I know the police, and fingerprints don't mean a thing," another juror told reporters.

This was the second time in the last three months that juries in the State Supreme Court refused to convict defendants accused of police murders. Henry S. Brown was recently found not guilty in a case involving a murder on the Lower East Side.

## Beame Cuts Services, Hires Police

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK-Declaring that he intended to provide "little in the way of new money for new programs," New York City's Mayor Beame's budget is a wholesale attack on vital city services and a massive handout to the large city banks.

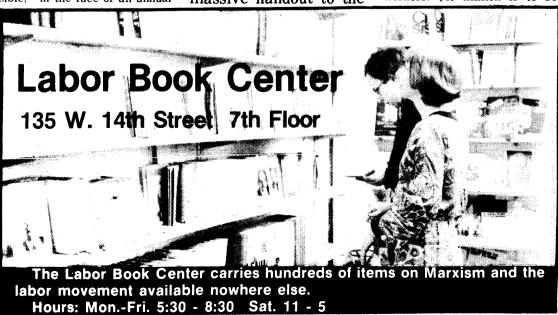
Beame's economies are aimed at slashing "low priority programs in order to shift resources to critical areas.'

The Addiction Services Agency and the Economic Development Administration are to be cut back.

workers. \$46 million is to be

Community Action programs will be slashed \$20 million.

forcing the layoff of 2000



taken from elementary and secondary school education eliminating more than 4200 teacher and paraprofessional jobs. Other programs such as housing construction, school lunches and health services will also be slashed.

Across the board cuts in civil service employment will eliminate 2500 provisional positions, and make 1515 present vacancies permanent. Attrition is being counted on to eliminate another 8000 salaried. positions.

But not every city agency has been forgotten. While the new budget will throw thousands of workers into the streets and result in a massive increase in youth unemployment, the number of police is to be increased by 1440 officers and an additional 900 are to be placed on the streets by hiring 900 civilians for clerical jobs.

While the sales tax is to go up 1 percent and real estate taxes are to be increased, the city debt is to go up a whopping 63 percent to a total \$1.5 billion, a full 12. percent of the budget.

For a ten year loan of over \$500 million, Beame has pledged to raise an additional \$65 million a year to return \$650 million to the

# **General Motors And Fascism**



World War Two. Above, German factory destroyed by Allied bombs. General Motors made huge profits from

#### BY BRIAN FLEET

In a report presented to the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, entitled "American Ground Transport," the author Bradford C. Snell depicts the role of GM, Ford, and Chrysler prior to and during World War Two.

The facts which he presents have been suppressed by the American government since 1946 in the interests of ''national security.''

What is revealed, however, is that the Big Three auto companies made millions in profit through financing and building Hitler's armies. Had Hitler won the war, GM would have become General Motors of Ger-

More importantly, the report explodes the Stalinist lie that sections of the liberal bourgeoie can be counted on to stop the growth of fascism. During World War Two, the American Communist Party supported the warmonger Roosevelt, claiming that he was a "progressive," who would fight the threat of German fascism.

### **CONSPIRACY**

In fact, Roosevelt had entered into a treacherous conspiracy with the American auto companies to boost their profits, at the expense of millions of workers in both Europe and Japan.

The report also sheds light on the worldwide dominance of US imperialism at the time of World War Two. Under those conditions. America not only won the war, but was in a position to dictate the terms of imperialist peace once the war was over.

took an extensive program of imperialist expansion. In 1929, General Motors acquired Germany's largest automobile company, Adam Opel, AG.

By the mid-1930s, these three American companies owned automotive subsidiaries throughout Europe and the Far East. Many of their largest facilities were located in Germany, Poland, Rumania, Austria, Hungary, Latvia, and Japan.

As the Axis Powers overtly prepared for war, the Big Three became major factors in the preparations and progress of the

GM's plants in Germany built thousands of bomber and jet fighter propulsion systems for the Luftwaffe at the same time that its American plants produced aircraft engines for the US Army Air Corps.

GM's participation in Germany's preparation for war began as early as 1935. That year, its Opel subsidiary cooperated with the Reich in locating a new heavy truck facility at Brandenburg, which military officials advised would be less vulnerable to enemy air attack.

### BLITZ

During the succeeding years, GM supplied the Wehrmacht with Opel "Blitz" trucks from the Brandenburg complex. For these and other contributions to wartime preparations, GM's chief executive for overseas operations in 1938 was awarded the Order of the German Eagle (first class) by Chancellor Adolf Hitler.

Ford was also active in Nazi Germany's prewar preparations. In 1938, for instance, it opened a truck assembly plant in Berlin which produced troop transport-type vehicles for the Wehrmacht. That year, Ford's chief executive received the Nazi German Eagle (first class).

The outbreak of war in Sep-During the 1920s and 1930s, the ember 1939 resulted in the full Big Three automakers under- conversion by GM and Ford of their Axis plants to the production of military aircraft and trucks. During the last quarter of 1939, for instance, GM converted its 432-acre Opel complex in Russelsheim to warplane production.

From 1939 through 1945, the GM-owned Russelsheim facility alone assembled 50 percent of all the propulsion systems produced for the JU-88 medium range bomber, which by 1940 had become the Luftwaffe's most important bomber, and remained so for the rest of the

### **JET ENGINES**

The Russelsheim facility also assembled 10 percent of the jet engines for the ME-262, the world's first operational jet fighter. With a top speed of 540 miles per hour, it was more than 100 miles per hour faster than the American P-510 Mustang, the fastest piston-driven allied fighter.

On the ground, GM and Ford subsidiaries built nearly 90 percent of the armoured "mule" 3ton half-trucks and more than 70 percent of the Reich's medium and heavy-duty trucks. These vehicles served as the backbone of the German Army transportation system.

In addition, the factories of Ethyl G.m.b.H., a joint venture of I.G. Farben, General Motors, and Exxon subsidiaries, provided the mechanized German armies with synthetic tetraethyl fuel. During 1935 to 1936, at the urgent request of Nazi officials who realized that Germany's scarce petroleum reserves would not satisfy war demands, GM and Exxon joined with German chemical interests in the erection of the Ethyl tetraethyl plants. According to captured German records, these facilities contributed substantially to the German war effort:

"The fact that since the beginning of the war we could produce lead-tetraethyl is entirely due to the circumstances that

shortly before, the Americans had presented us with the production plants complete with experimental knowledge.

"Without lead-tetraethyl," the wartime document added, "the present method of warfare would be unthinkable.'

After the cessation of hostilities, GM and Ford demanded reparations from the US government for wartime damages sustained by their Axis facilities as a result of Allied bombing. By 1967, GM had collected more than \$33 million in reparations and federal tax benefits for damages to its warplane and motor vehicle properties in formerly Axis territories, including Germany, Austria, Poland, Latvia, and China.

Likewise, Ford received a little less than \$1 million, primarily as a result of damages sustained by its military truck complex at Cologne.

Since World War Two, the rebuilt Russelsheim and Cologne plants have enabled GM and Ford, respectively, to capture more than two-thirds of the German motor vehicle market.

### **PURSUIT**

GM's contribution to the Nazi war effort typifies the role of the giant monopolies which dominate the globe in the pursuit of profit.

While GM was helping to arm Hitler, it was also providing Franco with trucks to defeat the Spanish Republic. Texaco shipped in the fuel. All of this

was done under Roosevelt's socalled "neutrality" towards the

Spanish civil war. The monopolies owe no loyalty to any government. The governments exist to serve their interests. Since World War Two. the American corporations have expanded to the point where they dominate vital sections of the economies of the vast majority of the capitalist world.

Most recently, the oil crisis has demonstrated the stranglehold maintained by a handful of oil monopolies which can literally hold entire countries up to ransom.

### **PETTY**

Their position is summed up by a statement from former GM chairman Alfred Sloan who reportedly told a group of stockholders on the eve of Germany's invasion of Poland in 1939 that his corporation was "too big" to be affected by "petty interna-tional squabbles."

But certainly never "too big" to profit from them.

With capitalism now heading for worldwide trade war and a desperate struggle for control over raw materials and markets, these same corporations prepare for new imperialist

The GMs can only be prevented from arming the Hitlers of the future through the construction of a labor party pledged to nationalize industry under workers control.





The Dewey Commission hearings, the forum used by Trotsky to present his case against Stalin. From left are: Jean van Heijenoort, Albert Goldman, Trotsky, his wife Natalya and Jan Fraenkel.

# Part Five The Fourth International And Centrism

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Fourth International. It combined with the internal crisis in the Soviet Union to force a change in the policies of Stalinism.

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All manner of "Leagues against Imperialism," "Leagues against Fascism and War," "Friends of the Soviet Union" and so on, were organized, all with the purpose of tying the working class hand and foot to the liberal capitalists, supposedly allies against fascism.

The Soviet Union joined the League of Nations, once denounced by Lenin as a "thieves kitchen," thus signalling the unqualified subordination of any revolutionary internationalism to the requirements of secret diplomacy.

Imperialism's mechanisms for duping the masses with illusions about security pacts and non-aggression treaties as a method of preventing war now received the support of what had been the revolutionary International set up to destroy imperialism as the only path to peace.

Here was the transition from "socialism in one country" to the current peaceful coexistence policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Those revisionists today who tell us that Stalinism has changed its nature choose to ignore these most fundamental questions.

Stalinism's counterrevolutionary character is rooted in the relations of the privileged bureaucracy to imperialism and to the proletariat, relations which it established and sustained on the basis of the revisionist theory of "socialism in one country." The repressions of Stalinism, exemplified above all in the Moscow Trials of the 1930s, are the results of this degeneration, not its essence.

The whole subsequent evolution of the communist parties into handmaidens of the national reformists in each country derives from theory and practice of the bureaucracy.

In May 1935, Stalin stated in a message to the French Prime Minister Pierre Laval, that he understood and approved completely the "policy of national defense of France."

This capitulation to imperialism signalled for each Communist Party that they should become national defensists and not challenge the power of their "own" bourgeoisie, so long as that bourgeoisie's foreign policy did not actively collaborate with those forces which opposed the Soviet

In the period 1934-1939, this policy was covered up to some extent with phrases about the defense of the workers state in the Soviet Union. Today the Stalinists throw aside even this deception and appear openly as opportunist advocates of "peaceful coexistence, advanced democracy" and the rest.

It is the foreign policy of the Soviet bureaucracy that demands of the British Communist Party, for example, that it opposes every attempt to mobilize the working class to force the Tory government to resign. The alternative revolutionary party in Britain could be founded only by those who had always opposed this Stalinist degeneration, i.e., by the Trotskyist movement, the Socialist Labour League.

The years of preparation for founding the Fourth International (1934-1938) were the years of the Comintern's "Popular Front" policy. Everywhere the young, comparatively isolated forces of Trotskyism had to hold aloft the banner of the revolutionary role of the working class, its political independence through the construction of revolutionary Marxist parties. It was necessary to denounce the whole fraud by which the working class was subordinated to the policies of the liberal bourgeoisie. That road could only lead to further fascist victories, as in Spain, or the inevitable World War Two.

When the Comintern made its about-turn, beginning in the autumn of 1934, Trotsky had also to embark on a protracted struggle against centrism. Centrists politically waver between revolutionary Marxism on the one hand and reformism on the other. The breakup of the social democrats in the 1920s and the Stalinist degeneration produced a number of such tendencies.

Some reacted to the historical shock of January 1933, the defeat of the German working class, by looking in the direction of the Fourth International.

But the relationship was very short-lived and the fate of it is extremely instructive for those who are now building the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The centrists of the Independent Labour Party in Britain, the Swedish Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party (SAP) of Germany, the Workers Party of Marxist Unity (POUM) in Spain and others had formed themselves into the London Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Unity (in fact the International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Unity). No sooner had they cast their eyes in the direction of the Fourth International than they were dragged off in the opposite direction by Stalin's right turn in the autumn of 1934.

Not unnaturally the "Popular Front turn" brought certain success to the Stalinist parties. All manner of "opportunists" and socialists who did not want to upset the relationships in the "national" life of their own country found it possible to embrace Stalin's new line. The electoral and recruiting successes of the communist parties on this reactionary base brought the centrists running back. They justified this cowardly capitulation as they always do with arguments about "being in the mainstream," about not isolating themselves from the masses.

They provided a center of attraction (as

they still do in the form of the International Socialist Group and the International Marxist Group) for all those who want "left" politics of the type which do not require an independent struggle for Marxist theory and practice against Stalinism and reformism.

For this reason they bitterly opposed the foundation of the Fourth International as "premature," just as they denounced the starting of the daily Workers Press and the formation of the Workers Revolutionary Party. They serve up historical comparisons to show that whereas the Third International was founded on the tide of mass revolutionary struggle, the Fourth International would be doomed because it was being formed in a period of great defeat and working class retreat.

Similarly today, centrists oppose the policies of the Workers Revolutionary Party on the grounds that it is leaping too far ahead of the working class in calling for the struggle to force the Tory government to resign.

Those who repeat the politics of the centrist in today's situation are a thousand times more criminal because the centrist opponents of the Fourth International went on to provide the historic proof of their non-revolutionary character.

In the case of the Spanish Revolution, there was Andres Nin, who conducted a long and thoroughgoing political correspondence with Trotsky.

Despite this polemic Trotsky concluded of Nin, one of the leaders of the POUM, that he was "honest and devoted to the cause" but "he was not a Marxist, but a centrist."

How did this manifest itself in the policy of the POUM? In Centrism and the Fourth International, Trotsky wrote: "The leaders of the POUM did not pretend for a single day to play an independent role; they did everything to remain in the role of good ' left' friends and counsellors of the leaders of the mass organizations. Their policy, which flowed from a lack of confidence in itself and in its ideas, doomed the POUM to duplicity, to a false tone, to continual oscillations which found themselves in sharp contradiction with the amplitude of the class struggle. The mobilization of the vanguard against the reaction and its abject lackeys, including the anarcho-bureaucrats (trade union leaders), the leaders of the POUM replaced by quasi-revolutionary homilies addressed to the treacherous leaders, declaring in self-justification that the 'masses' would not understand another, more resolute policy.'

The POUM was led by this centrist position into participation in the bourgeois "democratic" government in Catalonia. Its flirting with the Popular Front, its refusal to subordinate popularity to the most ruthless exposure of the Stalinists, reformists, and anarcho-syndicalists led it, eventually, to suffer the fate of thousands of its militants, including Nin, meeting their deaths at the hands of the Stalinists in Barcelona.

This was the terrible price paid for the rejection of Marxism in the form of centrism. The Spanish working class is still paying its own heavy price for the defeat which could have been prevented by revolutionary lead-

These lessons of the struggle against centrism were an essential basis in the foundation of the Fourth International in 1938 and they are written indelibly into the theoretical basis of the Workers Revolutionary Party. It is a Party founded on the determination and the understanding that the centrist shall not be permitted to disorientate the advanced workers.

The Workers Revolutionary Party was founded precisely to carry through the political preparations for the period we have now entered; a period in which the central question is that of the state power and of leadership which mobilizes the working class for the taking of that power.

# Part Six The Fourth International And World Revolution

"The alliance of the oppressed peoples with the proletarians of the oppressor countries—this alone can emancipate them both from the rule of their common foe: the capitalists of the whole world."

These were the words of Trotsky, addressed to the people of Morocco when

# Political **Foundations** Of The Revolutionary Party by Cliff Slaughter Reprinted from Workers Press

V.I. Lenin

Franco used Moroccan troops to suppress the Spanish revolution.

Here we have a cardinal principle of the

revolutionary movement.

Marx had called upon the English workers to take up the banner of Irish independence as the best way to strike a blow against the English ruling class: the point of view of the International Association (the First International) in regard to the Irish question is very clear.

Its first task is to speed up the social revolution in England. For this purpose a decisive blow must be struck in Ireland.

In the same letter, Marx made his famous observation: "Finally, England shows us today what Ancient Rome showed us on a much greater scale. A nation which brings others under its yoke is forging its own chains." The Fourth International and its sections, such as the Workers Revolutionary Party, take this as a founding prin-

When the first imperialist war (1914-1918) broke out, the socialist parties of that day (with the exception of the Bolsheviks and

the Serbian socialists) deserted this international principle and joined their "own" bourgeoisie to fight a war for the redivision of the world between the oppressor nations.

This desertion was based on the opportunist tendency in the socialist movement: a tendency of the upper layers of the working class (labor aristocracy) whose representatives prepared to get what they could out of an alliance with their own national capitalists rather than work for an alliance of the workers of the imperialist nations with the workers and peasants of the oppressed colonial nations.

Against this nationalist betrayal, the Communist International was founded by Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks. We have seen that the Stalinist bureaucracy, again on the basis of a nationalist deviation ("socialism in one country"), destroyed the Communist International.

The first great betrayal of the colonial peoples by Stalinism was in China in 1926-1927. At the same time as Stalinist policy was covering up for the British TUC's treachery in the 1926 General Strike, the young Communist Party of China was instructed to liquidate itself politically into the nationalist army of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang.

The danger, warned against by Trotsky. was that the Chinese bourgeoisie, led by Chiang, would get what it could out of the great national struggle against imperialism, and then turn viciously on the working class, the poor peasants and the Communist Party.

And this is exactly what happened. Stalin resurrected the Menshevik theory of two stages of the revolution in colonial countries: first a "democratic" revolution for national independence, under bourgeois leadership, establishing capitalism; and only later the second, "socialist" stage. With this "theory," the comrades in China were blinded to their fate and delivered into the hands of Chiang's assassins.

From these events we can see that something must be added to the affirmation of a common struggle of the colonial peoples and the workers of the advanced capitalist countries. It is this: within the struggle of an oppressed people against imperialism, the working class must take the leadership in order to solve the basic democratic task and go forward with its own class demands; and for this, a revolutionary party, part of the world revolutionary movement, independent of all other parties and classes, is indis-

This, the theory of Permanent Revolution, was the theory which had been confirmed in the struggle in 1917 in Russia. and it was the platform on which Trotsky fought the Stalinist bureaucracy with its ideology of "socialism in one country."

All these experiences were essential to the foundation of the Fourth International in 1938. The responsibility of revolutionaries in an imperialist country like Britain is to give unconditional support to the struggle of all oppressed peoples, from Ireland to the Middle East, from South Africa to Vietnam. But the central issue in this struggle is to build a revolutionary international, the Fourth International, whose sections in each of these countries will fight for the political independence and leadership of the working class.

This, for example, is what differentiated the Socialist Labour League, predecessor of the Workers Revolutionary Party, from all pseudo-revolutionary revisionist organizations in Britain on the question of Ireland since 1969.

All the revisionists, together with the Stalinists, put themselves forward as protagonists of the Irish struggle against imperialism. But not one of them came out with the demand for immediate withdrawal of British imperialist troops! The "International Socialism" (state capitalist) group even welcomed the troops saying they would give a "breathing space" for the Catholic workers to rearm themselves!

Not only this: while unable to oppose their own capitalist class and its state, these revisionists in Ireland itself are opposed to the building of independent revolutionary working class leadership. They have played the role of channeling the forces in struggle behind the petty bourgeois and "civil

The Social Democratic and Labour Party traitors who have entered the coalition with the Unionist Faulkner in an attempt to save the situation for imperialism were all built up politically by the Stalinists and revisionists and the protest politics.

It is clear that the standpoint of the Workers Revolutionary Party on proletarian solidarity with the struggle of the colonial peoples is not some vague humanitarian principle, but is organically linked with the struggle for the Fourth International to be built as the leadership of the world socialist revolution, which is a unified process, not just a series of separate vic-

Stalinism has degenerated even further than it had in Trotsky's last years. In the period leading up to World War Two, as we have seen in earlier articles, the Stalinists based themselves politically on the "Popular Front." This meant that the "democratic" capitalists of a particular country were accepted as the allies of the working class in that country, with all that that implied ideologically; acceptance of the "national interest" and of national defense; abandonment of the real basis of international working class solidarity.

Just as Stalin in 1935 assured the French premier Leon Blum that the USSR recognized the need of bourgeois France to defend its "national" interests, so in 1967. Kosygin assured DeGaulle that the Soviet bureaucracy saw the need for a "stony

France," a France which was the oppressor of the Algerian peoples, a France which was to need the counterrevolutionary role of the Soviet bureaucracy and French Communist Party in May-June General Strike in 1968.

Today's Stalinist policy of "peaceful parliamentary roads to socialism," to be decided according to the national characteristics of each people, is the explicit acceptance of the same reformist and national deviation from Marxism which led social democracy into the imperialist camp in August 1914.

Only Trotskyism, represented by the International Committee of the Fourth International and by the Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain, can lead the struggle for workers' power against these forces.

All those who adapted to Stalinism, who tried to liquidate Trotskyism, on the grounds that Stalinism was no longer counterrevolutionary, have had their answer in backward countries like Chile, as well as in advanced countries like France.

The basic problems of building revolutionary leadership, of defending and developing Marxist theory are international, common to every country. The only force capable of taking up the struggle for solidarity with the oppressed colonial peoples is the Fourth International.

The fact that these principles can be proved in practice today in the 1970s is a tremendous vindication of Marxism and of Trotsky's struggle for it in theory and practice, even in the 1930s, when defeat and reaction appeared to dominate everything.

The words of Trotsky in 1938, in concluding the Fourth International's founding program, provide us with the best possible conclusion to this brief series of articles on the foundation of the Workers Revolutionary Party:

'Skeptics ask: But has the moment for the creation of the Fourth International yet arrived? It is impossible, they say, to create an International 'artificially'; it can arise only out of great events etc., etc. All these objections merely show that skeptics are no good for the building of a new International. They are good for scarcely any-

"The Fourth International has already arisen out of great events: the greatest defeats of the proletariat in history. The cause for these defeats is to be found in the degeneration and perfidy of the old leadership. The class struggle does not tolerate an interruption. The Third International, following the Second, is dead for purposes of revolution. Long live the Fourth Inter-

"But has the time yet arrived to proclaim its creation? ...the skeptics are not quieted

"The Fourth International, we answer, has no need of being 'proclaimed.' It exists and it fights. Is it weak? Yes, its ranks are not numerous because it is still young. They are as yet chiefly cadres. But these cadres are pledges for the future. Outside these cadres there does not exist a single revolutionary current on this planet really meriting the name. If our International be still weak in numbers, it is strong in doctrine, program, tradition, in the incomparable tempering of its cadres. Who does not perceive this today, let him in the meantime stand aside. Tomorrow it will become more evident.

"The Fourth International, already today, is deservedly hated by the Stalinists, Social Democrats, bourgeois liberals and fascists. There is not and there cannot be a place for it in any of the People's Fronts. It uncompromisingly gives battle to all political groupings tied to the apron strings of the bourgeoisie. Its task—the abolition of capitalism's domination. It's aim-socialism. It's method—the proletarian revolution.

"Without inner democracy-no revolutionary education. Without discipline-no revolutionary action. The inner structure of the Fourth International is based on the principles of democratic centralism: full freedom in discussion, complete unity in

"The present crisis in human culture is the crisis in the proletarian leadership. The advanced workers, united in the Fourth International, show their class the way out of the crisis. They offer a program based on international experience in the struggle of the proletariat and of all the oppressed of the world for liberation. They offer a spotless banner.

"Workers-men and women-of all countries, place yourselves under the banner of the Fourth International. It is the banner of your approaching victory!'

CONCLUDED





The Dewey Commission hearings, the forum used by Trotsky to present his case against Stalin. From left are: Jean van Heijenoort, Albert Goldman, Trotsky, his wife Natalya and Jan Fraenkel.

## Part Five The Fourth International And Centrism

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For this reason they bitterly opposed the foundation of the Fourth International as "premature," just as they denounced the starting of the daily Workers Press and the formation of the Workers Revolutionary Party. They serve up historical comparisons to show that whereas the Third International was founded on the tide of mass revolutionary struggle, the Fourth International would be doomed because it was being formed in a period of great defeat and working class retreat.

Similarly today, centrists oppose the policies of the Workers Revolutionary Party on the grounds that it is leaping too far ahead of the working class in calling for the struggle to force the Tory government to

Those who repeat the politics of the centrist in today's situation are a thousand times more criminal because the centrist opponents of the Fourth International went on to provide the historic proof of their nonrevolutionary character.

In the case of the Spanish Revolution, there was Andres Nin, who conducted a long and thoroughgoing political correspondence with Trotsky.

Despite this polemic Trotsky concluded of Nin, one of the leaders of the POUM, that he was "honest and devoted to the cause" but "he was not a Marxist, but a centrist."

How did this manifest itself in the policy of the POUM? In Centrism and the Fourth International, Trotsky wrote: "The leaders of the POUM did not pretend for a single day to play an independent role: they did everything to remain in the role of good ' left' friends and counsellors of the leaders of the mass organizations. Their policy, which flowed from a lack of confidence in itself and in its ideas, doomed the POUM to duplicity, to a false tone, to continual oscillations which found themselves in sharp contradiction with the amplitude of the class struggle. The mobilization of the vanguard against the reaction and its abject lackeys, including the anarcho-bureaucrats (trade union leaders), the leaders of the POUM replaced by quasi-revolutionary homilies addressed to the treacherous leaders, declaring in self-justification that the 'masses' would not understand another, more resolute policy.'

The POUM was led by this centrist position into participation in the bourgeois "democratic" government in Catalonia. Its flirting with the Popular Front, its refusal to subordinate popularity to the most ruthless exposure of the Stalinists, reformists, and anarcho-syndicalists led it, eventually, to suffer the fate of thousands of its militants, including Nin, meeting their deaths at the hands of the Stalinists in Barcelona.

This was the terrible price paid for the rejection of Marxism in the form of centrism. The Spanish working class is still paying its own heavy price for the defeat which could have been prevented by revolutionary lead-

These lessons of the struggle against centrism were an essential basis in the foundation of the Fourth International in 1938 and they are written indelibly into the theoretical basis of the Workers Revolutionary Party. It is a Party founded on the determination and the understanding that the centrist shall not be permitted to disorientate the advanced workers.

The Workers Revolutionary Party was founded precisely to carry through the political preparations for the period we have now entered; a period in which the central question is that of the state power and of leadership which mobilizes the working class for the taking of that power.

## Part Six The Fourth International And **World Revolution**

"The alliance of the oppressed peoples with the proletarians of the oppressor countries—this alone can emancipate them both from the rule of their common foe: the capitalists of the whole world."

These were the words of Trotsky, addressed to the people of Morocco when

# **Political** Foundations Of The Revolutionary Party Cliff Slaughter V.I. Lenin



Franco used Moroccan troops to suppress the Spanish revolution.

Here we have a cardinal principle of the revolutionary movement

Marx had called upon the English workers to take up the banner of Irish independence as the best way to strike a blow against the English ruling class: the point of view of the International Association (the First International) in regard to the Irish question is very clear.

Its first task is to speed up the social revolution in England. For this purpose a decisive blow must be struck in Ireland.

In the same letter, Marx made his famous observation: "Finally, England shows us today what Ancient Rome showed us on a much greater scale. A nation which brings others under its yoke is forging its own chains." The Fourth International and its sections, such as the Workers Revolutionary Party, take this as a founding prin-

When the first imperialist war (1914-1918) broke out, the socialist parties of that day (with the exception of the Bolsheviks and

the Serbian socialists) deserted this inter national principle and joined their "own" bourgeoisie to fight a war for the redivision of the world between the oppressor nations.

This desertion was based on the opportunist tendency in the socialist movement: a tendency of the upper layers of the working class (labor aristocracy) whose representatives prepared to get what they could out of an alliance with their own national capitalists rather than work for an alliance of the workers of the imperialist nations with the workers and peasants of the oppressed colonial nations

Against this nationalist betrayal, the Communist International was founded by Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks. We have seen that the Stalinist bureaucracy, again on the basis of a nationalist deviation ("socialism in one country"), destroyed the Communist International.

The first great betrayal of the colonial peoples by Stalinism was in China in 1926-1927. At the same time as Stalinist policy was covering up for the British TUC's treachery in the 1926 General Strike, the

instructed to liquidate itself politically into the nationalist army of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang.

The danger, warned against by Trotsky, was that the Chinese bourgeoisie, led by Chiang, would get what it could out of the great national struggle against imperialism, and then turn viciously on the working class, the poor peasants and the Communist Party.

young Communist Party of China was

And this is exactly what happened. Stalin resurrected the Menshevik theory of two stages of the revolution in colonial countries: first a "democratic" revolution for national independence, under bourgeois leadership, establishing capitalism; and only later the second, "socialist" stage. With this "theory," the comrades in China were blinded to their fate and delivered into the hands of Chiang's assassins.

From these events we can see that something must be added to the affirmation of a common struggle of the colonial peoples and the workers of the advanced capitalist countries. It is this: within the struggle of an oppressed people against imperialism, the working class must take the leadership in order to solve the basic democratic task and go forward with its own class demands; and for this, a revolutionary party, part of the world revolutionary movement, independent of all other parties and classes, is indispensable.

This, the theory of Permanent Revolution, was the theory which had been confirmed in the struggle in 1917 in Russia. and it was the platform on which Trotsky fought the Stalinist bureaucracy with its ideology of "socialism in one country."

All these experiences were essential to the foundation of the Fourth International in 1938. The responsibility of revolutionaries in an imperialist country like Britain is to give unconditional support to the struggle of all oppressed peoples, from Ireland to the Middle East, from South Africa to Vietnam. But the central issue in this struggle is to build a revolutionary international, the Fourth International, whose sections in each of these countries will fight for the political independence and leadership of the working class.

This, for example, is what differentiated the Socialist Labour League, predecessor of the Workers Revolutionary Party, from all the pseudo-revolutionary revisionist organizations in Britain on the question of Ireland since 1969.

All the revisionists, together with the Stalinists, put themselves forward as protagonists of the Irish struggle against imperialism. But not one of them came out with the demand for immediate withdrawal of British imperialist troops! The "International Socialism" (state capitalist) group even welcomed the troops saying they would give a "breathing space" for the Catholic workers to rearm themselves!

Not only this: while unable to oppose their own capitalist class and its state, these revisionists in Ireland itself are opposed to the building of independent revolutionary working class leadership. They have played the role of channeling the forces in struggle behind the petty bourgeois and "civil

The Social Democratic and Labour Party traitors who have entered the coalition with the Unionist Faulkner in an attempt to save the situation for imperialism were all built up politically by the Stalinists and revisionists and the protest politics.

It is clear that the standpoint of the Workers Revolutionary Party on proletarian solidarity with the struggle of the colonial peoples is not some vague humanitarian principle, but is organically linked with the struggle for the Fourth International to be built as the leadership of the world socialist revolution, which is a unified process, not just a series of separate vic-

Stalinism has degenerated even further than it had in Trotsky's last years. In the period leading up to World War Two, as we have seen in earlier articles, the Stalinists based themselves politically on the "Popular Front." This meant that the "democratic" capitalists of a particular country were accepted as the allies of the working class in that country, with all that that implied ideologically; acceptance of the "national interest" and of national defense; abandonment of the real basis of international working class solidarity.

Just as Stalin in 1935 assured the French premier Leon Blum that the USSR recognized the need of bourgeois France to defend its "national" interests, so in 1967. Kosygin assured DeGaulle that the Soviet bureaucracy saw the need for a "stony

France," a France which was the oppressor of the Algerian peoples, a France which was to need the counterrevolutionary role of the Soviet bureaucracy and French Communist Party in May-June General Strike in 1968.

Today's Stalinist policy of "peaceful parliamentary roads to socialism," to be decided according to the national characteristics of each people, is the explicit acceptance of the same reformist and national deviation from Marxism which led social democracy into the imperialist camp in August 1914.

Only Trotskyism, represented by the International Committee of the Fourth International and by the Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain, can lead the struggle for workers' power against these

All those who adapted to Stalinism, who tried to liquidate Trotskyism, on the grounds that Stalinism was no longer counterrevolutionary, have had their answer in backward countries like Chile, as well as in advanced countries like France.

The basic problems of building revolutionary leadership, of defending and developing Marxist theory are international, common to every country. The only force capable of taking up the struggle for solidarity with the oppressed colonial peoples is the Fourth International.

The fact that these principles can be proved in practice today in the 1970s is a tremendous vindication of Marxism and of Trotsky's struggle for it in theory and practice, even in the 1930s, when defeat and reaction appeared to dominate everything.

The words of Trotsky in 1938, in concluding the Fourth International's founding program, provide us with the best possible conclusion to this brief series of articles on the foundation of the Workers Revolutionary Party:

"Skeptics ask: But has the moment for the creation of the Fourth International vet arrived? It is impossible, they say, to create an International 'artificially'; it can arise only out of great events etc., etc. All these objections merely show that skeptics are no good for the building of a new International. They are good for scarcely anything at all.

"The Fourth International has already arisen out of great events: the greatest defeats of the proletariat in history. The cause for these defeats is to be found in the degeneration and perfidy of the old leadership. The class struggle does not tolerate an interruption. The Third International, following the Second, is dead for purposes of revolution. Long live the Fourth International!

"But has the time yet arrived to proclaim its creation? ...the skeptics are not quieted

"The Fourth International, we answer, has no need of being 'proclaimed.' It exists and it fights. Is it weak? Yes, its ranks are not numerous because it is still young. They are as yet chiefly cadres. But these cadres are pledges for the future. Outside these cadres there does not exist a single revolutionary current on this planet really meriting the name. If our International be still weak in numbers, it is strong in doctrine, program, tradition, in the incomparable tempering of its cadres. Who does not perceive this today, let him in the meantime stand aside. Tomorrow it will become more evident

"The Fourth International, already today. is deservedly hated by the Stalinists, Social Democrats, bourgeois liberals and fascists. There is not and there cannot be a place for it in any of the People's Fronts. It uncompromisingly gives battle to all political groupings tied to the apron strings of the bourgeoisie. Its task—the abolition of capitalism's domination. It's aim—socialism. It's method—the proletarian revolution.

"Without inner democracy-no revolutionary education. Without discipline-no revolutionary action. The inner structure of the Fourth International is based on the principles of democratic centralism: full freedom in discussion, complete unity in action.

"The present crisis in human culture is the crisis in the proletarian leadership. The advanced workers, united in the Fourth International, show their class the way out of the crisis. They offer a program based on international experience in the struggle of the proletariat and of all the oppressed of the world for liberation. They offer a spotless banner.

"Workers-men and women-of all countries, place yourselves under the banner of the Fourth International. It is the banner of vour approaching victory!'

CONCLUDED

## **Export War Intensifies**

The recent moves by the Italian government to declare a ban on 40 to 50 percent of all imports entering the country represents a blow towards the disintegration of the Common Market, a generalized European recession, and the division of Europe into open capitalist trade rivalry.

The new regulations require all Italian importers of nonessential goods to place a deposit covering 50 percent of the value of the import with the Italian central bank for a period of six months. The deposits will earn no interest.

More than 400 items are covered in the new restrictions. They include a wide variety of chemical products, automobiles, motorcycles, tractors, and other farm machinery, as well as a considerable amount of foodstuffs, particularly meat which is now considered a "luxury item."

The import restrictions are taken at a time when Italian banks have already raised their prime rate close to 15 percent and are under government decrees restricting the expansion of credit. Even importers willing to absorb the losses of depositing the sums are effectively cut off from doing so by the impossibility of getting credit.

The import slashes will have the biggest impact on Germany and France, which last year increased their exports to Italy by 35 percent.

The measures strike particularly hard at the elaborate Common Market agricultural system of maintaining high food prices within the bloc through an elaborate system of subsidies to farmers. There are already reports of long lines of trucks at the Italian border as officials check through produce.

The Italian decisions were made unilaterally with no consultation with her Common Market partners. If they have been temporarily accepted, it is only because there was no choice.

Italy is currently running a balance of payments deficit, approaching an annual rate of \$13 billion. Inflation is now soaring at an astronomical 30 percent a year.

The government is desperately seeking to negotiate a whole series of international loans under conditions in which confidence in its ability to repay is almost non-existent.

In addition to slashing imports, the deposit scheme has the effect of freezing funds in the central bank with deflationary effects.

Recently, the vice-chairman of the stateowned oil corporation declared that the Italian moves could very well be the first step to a European-wide recession.

The impact is enormous. This can be seen most clearly in the hard-hit automobile industry. Italy is the world's largest exporter of cars after Germany and Japan.

Fiat chief Agnelli recently declared: "My fear is that on this route, retaliation can be provoked on the part of other countries."

Italy had a \$500 million surplus on auto sales last year. Already, foreign auto dealers are complaining that the ban on autos and auto parts is a trade war measure opening the way for the subsidization of auto exports and "modifying articifically the existing competitive situation."

With auto sales slumping throughout the world, and even giants like Volkswagen now running in the red, the pressure for retaliation against Italian exports will become irressistible.

Despite assurances to the contrary, there are mounting fears that England, which is running a deficit estimated at \$10 billion a year, may be forced to introduce similar policies. Already, Denmark has followed the Italian lead by introducing discriminatory taxes on imports.

The Italian measures, far from relieving the situation, only deepen the crisis by forcing each country to attempt to increase its exports at the expense of its neighbors.

It is already estimated that the leading industrial countries will be \$45 billion in deficit because of the mounting costs of oil and commodities.

Italy's import curbs are a warning. They are designed to salvage its payments situation by brutal attacks on the working class through massive slashes in consumption. This guarantees civil war confrontations with the powerful Italian working class.

if the Common Market continues to hold together at all it is only because the leading European capitalist powers share a fear of their own working classes and seek to maintain the market as a weapon against the labor movement throughout Europe.

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# Pollution Worse At Clairton Steel

BY HAL STANTON CLAIRTON, Pa.—Clairton, located 20 miles south of Pittsburgh, along the Monongahela River, is the site of the largest coke-making facilities in the world.

Clairton supplies United States Steel with the coking coal that is vital for the fuel for its blast furnaces in every plant in the Pittsburgh area. It is also one of the most dangerous industrial plants ever built, for both the men who work in the plant and the people who live in the steel towns nearby.

The conditions in the plant and the pollution which pours from its coke oven batteries have long been an issue between the United Steel Workers of America and US Steel.

However, the federal government dominated by the big corporations has never seriously attempted to enforce its pollution standards, and the USWA leadership has refused to wage a serious fight against these conditions.

Leonard G., a steelworker at the Clairton plant, described the conditions to the **Bulletin**:

"We were completely sold down the river on the local issues. The conditions in our plant are so terrible that it is a disgrace.

#### DISGUSTING

"In broad daylight, we can hardly see anyone standing 10 or 12 feet away. To let things go on like this is disgusting.

"When they have inspections, the company lets the inspector come only where they want them to come. They don't see the pathways between the oven batteries that are barely visible.

"And now the plant is being eaten away by chemicals. There is a new chemical plant that dumps waste into the water that we quench with.

#### RESPIRATOR

"They equip each of us with a respirator, but within seven weeks, the thing gets eaten up.

"You wear one for seven and one-half hours each day, and at the end of your shift, the filter is black as tar. Then you wipe your nostrils, and they're just as black, so you're still breathing all that stuff.

"It's 10 times worse than working in the mines. My uncle works in the mines, and he even says so. You have to see it with your own eyes to believe it.

#### SICK LEAVE

"Thirteen men on a single shift went out on sick leave last week. There are 22 units in the entire coke works.

"How shall we solve this? I blame the unions. We pay our dues, so we should get protection.

"But we don't even know what an International representative looks like. You would think that the company is paying them all off.

#### PENSION

"We were sold out on everything. If a man at Clairton lives to get his pension, he should get a full pension. But few guys ever live long enough to be able to get it.

"The young guys aren't like the older guys, though. They aren't going to take it.

"Ever since they put the nostrike clause in, we have gone down, down.

"Truthfully, a labor party either should be a third party, or better yet, the one party. The two parties we have now are doing nothing for us. Yes, we need a workers party."

## Chicago Orchestra Votes On Contract

BY DEBRA WATSON CHICAGO, Ill.—The Lyric Opera of Chicago cancelled its 1974 season on Friday after negotiations with the Chicago Federation of Musicians, representing 72 members of the Lyric Orchestra, broke down.

After a four hour negotiating session last Monday, a tentative agreement between management and the union was reached, but the Lyric management has not rescinded its cancellation notice, and has declared it will wait until union members have voted before reopening the season of the world-famous opera company.

### VOTE

The vote will be delayed, as several members have taken jobs in other cities during the off-season period and voting will be by mail ballot.

### BLAME

The management of the Lyric Opera has backed the union into a corner, attempting to pin the blame on the orchestra members if the season is cancelled.

This move was engineered through the closest collaboration of Mayor Daley, William Lee, president of the Chicago Federation of Musicians, and Daniel Garmoni, the local union president.

## INTERVENE

Daley called from his hospital bed, where he had been confined since a stroke last week, and asked Lee to intervene in the Monday night contract talks.

### ISSUE

The major issue of dispute is the conditions under which an orchestra player can be dismissed, for "serious deterioration in his ability to perform."

The players are asking that the company's co-artistic director

make this decision and that it be ratified by a board of players.

The management has refused

The management has refused to accept this and has called the demands "an unacceptable usurpation of management's function on the one hand, and an unwarranted attempt to achieve tenure without guarantee of performance."

The management's offer was defeated by a wide margin by the union membership last week.

## ACLU Helps Nazis Get Fair Booth

BY LOUIS MILLER CHILLICOTHE, Ohio—The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is backing an attempt by the Nazis, National Socialist White People's Party, to set up a propaganda booth at this year's Ross County Fair.

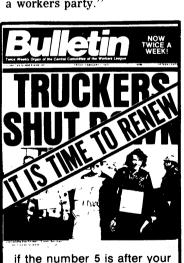
An ACLU attorney and two members of the Nazi group met with the Ross County Fair Board to protest a "delay" in granting the group a booth.

Bennett Junk, fair board chairman, claims the delay is due only to "The Nazi Party's attitude towards Black people." The same officials have been reluctant to release money for a municipal swimming pool here on the grounds that only Black youth would use it.

### NAZIS

Last November, two members of the Nazis, James K. Mason and Gregory Hurles, of Londonderry, Ohio were convicted on a charge of aggravated assault on two Chillicothe youth. The youth were attacked with mace.

The ACLU intervened in this case too, to provide the Nazis with free legal counsel, although the judge insisted that they had ample resources for defense.



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## midwest news

## **UAW Must Call National Strike**

Statement Of The Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party

The wave of shutdowns which country as GM, Ford, and has hit a number of General Motors plants in the midwest represents a powerful development of the offensive by American workers against the attempts of the Government and employers to drive down living standards, create unbearable working conditions and destroy basic trade union rights.

More than 4000 workers at the Fisher Fleetwood plant in Detroit have gone on strike to defeat a GM plan to step up production by 80 cars per day with reduced manpower on the assembly line due to earlier indefinite layoffs.

The Terex division of GM in Hudson, Ohio, is closed by a strike of 1500 workers over grievances and speedups.

Members of UAW Local 393 in Sandusky, Ohio have been on strike since April 19, fighting a company drive to break up work rules through the arbitrary assignment of workers to new departments.

These strikes in the heart of basic industry comes as broad sections of the working class move against Nixon. West Coast longshoremen have staged a oneday strike to initiate their demand for back wages cut by the Pay Board. In Los Angeles, 40,000 carpenters have gone on strike to win back money cut from their contract. Hospital workers in Local 1199 are now demanding a 15 percent wage hike in addition to what was cut by the Pay Board last fall.

The UAW must take the lead in this fight against Nixon, which is absolutely necessary for the defense of its members, by extending the local strikes into a national strike of the entire auto industry. A national strike will unite auto workers who face the same attacks throughout the industry, but also rally the entire working class against Nixon.

Auto workers have shut down plants in Detroit, Sandusky, and Hudson because of the brutal conditions which the employers are seeking to introduce, based on the previous mass layoffs which occurred during the winter.

These attacks are duplicated in auto plants throughout the

Chrysler seek to overcome the tremendous crisis in the industry by forcing those who have not been laid off during the past six months to do even more work than was normally done when there was a full work force.

Even in those plants where a number of workers have been called back, UAW members are finding that the old work conditions and past agreements have been thrown out.

In plants like Delco Moraine in Dayton, workers are being disciplined for not being able to meet new production standards. At the same time, exhausting overtime work is being required as management seeks to meet production quotas ahead of schedule in order to shut down departments and dismiss workers.

These attacks on the working conditions of all auto workers take place as living standards continue to drop beneath the weight of inflation. Nixon has given the auto bosses a green light to raise their prices with the expiration of controls, but auto workers are still stuck with the miserable three percent increase negotiated by **UAW President Leonard Wood**cock last fall.

The fight to defend jobs, working conditions, and to force the reopening of the contract on the question of wages requires a national auto strike in which the full strength of the UAW is mobilized.

Woodcock is following the exact opposite policy. He is working with the auto bosses to isolate each strike, going back to the discredited policies of the "mini-strike" in which plants go out one at a time for. several days, only to win nothing.

Auto workers at UAW Local 93 in Kansas City went on strike last Friday in order to win a local contract and resolve issues related to work rules, job security, discipline, and speedup. They were called back by the International the following Tuesday, still without a local contract and with no issue resolved.

At every plant now on strike, there are no local contracts because the UAW International leadership deliberately isolated the members by signing a national pact that went into effect independent of the issues in each plant.

Woodcock seeks to isolate each struggle because he knows that a national UAW strike will mean a direct collision with the Nixon government which can be forced out by the direct action of the working class. Woodcock does not want to break up the "social contract" through which the trade union bureaucracy helps keep Nixon in office.

Auto workers must demand in every local that the upcoming UAW Convention call a national strike to win a 20 percent wage increase with a full cost-of-living escalator, the immediate recall of all laid off UAW members, and an end to the speedup and attacks on working conditions.

Delegates to the Convention must be instructed by the local members to demand that the UAW break with the Democrats and Republicans and launch an all-out drive to force Nixon out by calling for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies, including the nationalization of the auto industry.

The fight for these policies must be taken forward by building a revolutionary leadership in the UAW. We call on all workers to join the Workers League, to subscribe to the Bulletin, and help build branches of the TUALP in every local.

## ATU Stops Wage Cut

BY DEBRA WATSON

CHICAGO, May 17-The first authorized strike since 1919 of the Chicago transit system ended at 2:15 am last Friday, when a tentative agreement was reached between the Amalgamated Transit Union and the Chicago Transit Authority.

After two and one-half hours on strike, the 11,000 Rapid Transit workers forced CTA Chairman Milton Pikarsky to retreat from his attempt to cut their wages.

### BREACHED

The Executive Board of Divisions 241 and 308 called the strike after Pikarsky breached an earlier agreement and sent the union's cost-of-living formula to arbitration, in an attempt to cut it down.

Last December, the union and the CTA signed a contract covering the year from December 1, 1972 to November 30, 1973. An agreement was reached then not to submit the employees' cost-ofliving formula to arbitration during negotiations for the 1974 contract.

After the wildcat of Division 241 last fall was broken up by the police, members of the ATU have continued to demand action for a new contract.

The union members must vote not just on the cost-of-living, but on all the provisions of the con-



26, (above) has been disabled since January 30 when he was shot in the back, for no reason, by a Burns security guard, while he was walking through a parking lot. Equipped with special uniforms and even tanks, the police carry out raids on homes without warning.

## **Unions Sign Press Pact**

BY HAL STANTON PITTSBURGH-Typographical Union No. 7 and two other unions representing printers, mailers, and paperhandlers, settled with the Pittsburgh Press Company last week, after a 46-day strike and lockout.

All of the unions gave in on the key issue of automation. The Press will be allowed to install its new equipment in every department of the plant, in return for an agreement that the Press will eliminate jobs through attrition, instead of layoff, and find new work at the same rate of pay for the men replaced by the new machines.

The wage hike won by the unions is completely inadequate and the cost of living clause is ambiguous, providing for "adjustments in the event of runaway inflation" in 1975 and

The Press won three-year contracts instead of the one-year pacts demanded by the union and stated when the settlement was reached: "We hope these longterm agreements will help assure us the labor peace that all of our strike-plagued employees desire.

One mailer told the Bulletin: "We didn't get enough money, and we accepted the attrition clause. We can do without the Teamsters, the ITU, the whole bunch.

"We just weren't prepared for the strike. They finally settled because they were afraid that the Press would lose too much business to the new daily edition published in Greensburg.

## **PUBLIC MEETINGS**

Lenin: The Man, The Party, The Revolu-

Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, Workers League.



**PHILADELPHIA** WED. JUNE 5 Wharton Center 1708 N. 22 St.

7 p.m. **WASHINGTON DC** 

SAT. JUNE 8 Federal City College 925 "E" Street NW Electric Playhouse 7 p.m.

**BOSTON** WED. JUNE 12 Roxbury YMCA Warren St. 7 p.m.

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## Silver Bay Mining Co. Still Open BY JAY NELSON

MINNEAPOLIS—The Eighth District US Court of Appeals failed to make a ruling on the future of the Silver Bay Reserve Mining Company.

At issue is a court decision to order Reserve Mining's taconite plant in Silver Bay closed, for dumping hundreds of millions of tons of tailings containing asbestos fiber into Lake Superior.

The Silver Bay plant has been operating the past three weeks, after Judge Miles Lord's order to close the plant was stayed by the Court of Appeals. A plant shutdown will affect over 3100 workers and their families in Silver Bay and the mining town, Babbit.

The president of Republic Steel, which owns Reserve Mining, told Republic stockholders two weeks ago that if the court decides to force Reserve to install an on land disposal process, the plant will be closed.

Meanwhile, the Federal Court in Minneapolis under Judge Lord has been hearing testimony. The last witness heard by Judge Lord was Harry Holliday, newly appointed Armco presi-

Holliday was identified by C. William Verity, board chairman of Armco, as the author of the notes which fell into the hands of the State Attorney, which exposed a conspiracy involving Reserve owners and top government officials.

Holliday and all other subpoenaed corporation officials said they didn't remember what was discussed at the Reserve board meeting held in Chicago, February 23, 1971.

In exchange for political contributions to the Nixon re-election campaign, Reserve bought the services of government officials, including former Attorney General John Mitchell, to block court action.

## **Trade Unions And The CIA**

Part 2

The Free Trade Union Committee became active in Latin America after the war when Serafino Romualdi, an emigré from fascist Italy, began undercover work to split the Latin American Confederation of Labor (CTAL).

At first the US State Department was reluctant to back Romualdi's efforts because the CIO (this was before its merger with the AFL) supported CTAL.

Two things changed this position. Romualdi launched a red scare accusing the State Department of "pro-communist" activities—an attack backed by Nelson Rockefeller and other leading industrialists—and the CIO was merged with the AFL.

The hand behind this merger was Arthur Goldberg, the general counsel to the CIO and an officer in the OSS, the precursor of the CIA.

The upshot was that the CIO stopped supporting CTAL and backed Romualdi's anti-communist "free" trade union rump organization in South America. From this point government and corporation finance began to flow into Romualdi's Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT).

By 1961 ORIT had become so unpopular among the Latin American masses that AIFLD assumed more the key role.

The Institute boasts to having trained 188,795 "trade unionists" up to 1972, 1092 of these were put through the tightly-guarded "Little Anti-Red Schoolhouse" at Front Royal, Virginia.

AIFLD's influence is spread by a lavish aid and housing program which is a thinly disguised system of bribery to win over sections of workers and the middle class.

Its role in Latin America has been a bloody one. In GUATEMALA, when Jacobo Arbenz was elected with popular support and began to threaten action against the United Fruit Company, Romualdi attempted to organize a rival anti-Arbenz trade union. This failed through lack of support and Romualdi took his labor mercenaries into the CIA "liberation army" under Carlos Castillo Armas which toppled the Arbenz government.

Armas, with the help of CIA funds, instituted a bloody repression and utterly destroyed the trade union move-

In Guvana (formerly British Guinana) AIFLD financed and organized the General Strike which brought down Cheddi Jagan, the target of the CIA. Union leader Arnold Zander admitted that his AIFLD-backed union existed on CIA cash.

In the DOMINICAN REPUBLIC the AFL-CIO agents Andrew McLellan and Fred Sommerford formed the United Workers For Free Unions (FOUPSA). At the end of the vicious Trujillo dictatorship in 1962 the FOUPSA leader Miquel Soto refused a \$30,000 bribe from McLellan to call off a General Strike. The two agents went on to form a small union CONATRAL.

This supported the Cabral coup which overthrow Trujillo's "left" successor Juan Bosh. Cabral smashed the trade union movement. Sommerford is listed on page 489 of Who's Who in the CIA as "1950-1965 work for the CIA; Chief of Central American Section, Information Service of Department of State."

In CHILE, AIFLD was behind the formation of CUP-ROCH, the Confederation of Chilean Professionals. They became an important force in the truck owners' strike in October 1972 that did much to undermine the Allende re-

These are four examples of CIA work through apparently legitimate organizations established by the American unions to support fascism and dictatorship in Latin America.

The crucial element in these operations is the complicity of the right-wing leadership of the AFL-CIO. No doubt the CIA has to find similar right-wing collaborators for the activities in Europe and Britain.

Do the US labor leaders know their organizations are being used in this way?

On August 5, 1967, George Meany, the AFL-CIO chief, said: "Not a penny of CIA money has come into the AFL-CIO to my knowledge over the last 20 years, and I say this, if it had come in, I would know it."

No doubt.

But Who's Who in the CIA has another interesting entry on page 75. It reads, "George Meany; from 1948 work for the CIA."

CONCLUDED

(Reprinted from the May 7, 1974 issue of Workers Press, daily organ of the Workers Revolutionary Party.)

# **Carpenters Back** Without 30 Cents

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES--Nearly 40,000 Southern California carpenters ended their three day strike, after employers agreed to pay a 30 cent hourly wage increase that was eliminated by the Pay Board in a contract negotiated two years ago.

The carpenters and the contractor associations reached the agreement just as a court order was issued ordering the strikers back to work. The court order charged that the strike was illegal and in violation of the union's no-strike clause.

The 30 cents will not be paid, however, until an agreement is reached on a new contract to replace the current pact, which expires June 15.

During the strike, leaders of the Carpenters Unions prohibited any picketing and instructed carpenters to remain away from the job sites.

The settlement has been called a fraud by many carpenters. It was hastily reached in order to avert an all-out strike in the construction industry.

Construction work has been slowed down, not only by the carpenters strike, but by a strike of 4000 bricklayers. The Bricklayers Union has rejected the employers' proposal of \$1.92 increase in wages and benefits over the next two years. Next week, the huge Laborers Union is scheduled to strike over

When Jimmy McKee, a brick mason, heard of the carpenters settlement, he said, "Someone's trying to split up the construction unions. By Monday, we could have everything shut down tight with the laborers going out, but now the carpenters are going

back and not even getting their money until a new contract is signed.'

Louis Woodmere, a carpenter, told the Bulletin: "It looks to me like the leaders of our union don't want to fight. They'll talk against Nixon, but they can't explain why they didn't call for picketing."

## **Retail Clerks** Reject Pact

LOS ANGELES--Members of the Southern California Retail Clerks Union have just rejected the latest offer of the Food Employers Council (FEC), representing supermarkets in nine counties.

The contract, covering 54.000 retail clerks that work. in the supermarkets, expired April 30. The offer by the FEC was a 6.46 percent wage increase, with no fringe benefits.

A year ago the clerks gave their leadership an overwhelming mandate to strike, but union leaders negotiated a 5.3 percent wage increase and sold it by telling the members they could not go against the Pay Board guidelines.

## Scab Truck Injures Stanford Striker

BY JIM WOLCOTT

PALO ALTO-A member of the striking United Stanford Employees (USE) was hospitalized on May 16 after being hit by a scab truck that tried to crash through the picket line.

A spokesman from the union told the Bulletin that the police did not even write up a report on the incident, until after 20 minutes of angry protests by the strikers.

USE President John Berk was arrested while trying to block construction equipment at Stanford Hospital.

USE is on strike to win its first contract. The University is determined to break the strike. Trucks are being rented and driven by non-union Stanford employees to break through the picket lines.

A hospital worker said "The regular Teamsters are honoring our lines. Guys that are driving are non-union.

"The hosptal has made a practice of hiring non-union engineers who are against the union. They have a nice little clique of union-haters working for them. Most of us who joined the union are hoping the union will take over the hospital.'

USE, which represents 1400 workers in numerous job classifications, is demanding a 15.5 percent wage increase and a cost-of-living clause which would raise pay six dollars a month for every one percent increase in the cost of living.

The response of the University to the cost-of-living demand was to arrogantly declare that it 'was not a useful concept.'

The strategy of the union is centered on shutting down three construction sites on the campus; the hospital site, the Law School, and the Stanford Linear accellerator.

Stanford is now trying to obtain an injunction against the

## CATCH UP

Now that the guidelines are ended, the clerks are demanding a contract that will catch up with inflation.

Wayne Kelly, a young retail clerk at Better Foods said, "Everybody wants a raise because the price of living is going up. We want at least 12 percent to keep up with Nixon and his boys.

"The conditions in the markets are getting bad. The managers are really pushing us around. It's time for a change. This system is dead. We need a change.

"This time we're going to strike and the union leaders won't stop us."

Workers League & Young Socialists

## West Coast Weekend School

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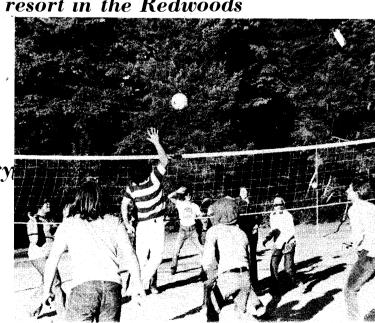
Sat. & Sun. May 25 & 26

speaker:

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary Workers League



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## **ILWU Strike Continues** At Dole Co. In Hawaii

BY MARTY MORAN

Two hundred members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), Local 142 are on strike against Dole Can, a subsidiary of the Castle & Cooke conglomerate of Hawaii.

The strikers have been out eight weeks for a cost of living clause, wage and fringe benefit improvements, and security against layoffs.

The can workers originally struck along with 15,000 ILWU sugar and pineapple industry workers. Field workers went back to work three weeks ago, leaving the Dole Can men isolated.

The ILWU leadership is isolating the can workers because they have refused to give up their demand for a cost of living clause, which was dropped in the field workers settlement.

According to a union spokesman, "It's an autonomous union, and these people would not accept what everyone else got.'

The strike could bring massive layoffs if it continues into the pineapple harvest season in June. Plantations producing pineapple for canning would be unable to go through with the harvest.

## **PHILIPPINES**

These companies have already threatened to pull up stakes and move to the Philippines and Thailand to grow pineapples. The pineapple field workers contract makes no provision against layoffs and merely "cushions" the impact with higher severance pay. If the plantations close down, the can plant would be next to go.

Earlier this week, pickets from Hawaii stopped all unloading of a Dole banana boat in Los

## Arrest Two In Dasco Wildcat

BY A REPORTER

OAKLAND—Police have begun arresting strikers at the Dasco paper products plant in East Oakland, following a court injunction issued against the strike.

Two workers were arrested on May 16 when police pushed 70 scabs through a mass picket line.

### **INJUNCTION**

The company obtained the injunction on the grounds that the no-strike clause in the contract with Teamsters Local 853 was being violated. The union leadership has joined in this attack by declaring the strike a wildcat, and agreeing to submit all issues to arbitration.

The strike began three weeks ago over the firing of a shop steward. Now forty workers have been fired, and over two hundred are out on strike.



teur.

SAN FRANCISCO—-The Board of Education has announced that cutbacks totaling \$11.7 million are being planned to reduce a so-called "imbalance" in next year's school district budget.

This will eliminate 750 jobs and almost every special education program in the di-

The teachers in San Francisco who were on strike for three weeks, only agreed to go back on condition that the 6 percent wage increase won by the teachers union would not be used to slash needed educational programs and supplies, or to cut back in teaching personnel.

Now it is being announced that 500 paraprofessionals will be eliminated, 23 clerical jobs, and 191 teachers. In addition, 19 special programs will be totally eliminated, including a big cut in office supplies and equipment.

Lyle Eickert, the budget and

cal groups and act as a provoca-

of the SLA or the "Zebra" kill-

ings, but of the government offi-

cials, police, and newspapers,

who are using the Cinques and

Anthony Harris's to set up

frameups, whip up racism, and

prepare the conditions for po-

lice state repression against the

working class.

The real conspiracy is not that

planning supervisor, said the district faces a \$13.6 million deficit, which is approximately the amount the Board must pay for the settlement of the teachers' strike. The only programs being kept are the reading and bilin-

James Ballard. Teachers Union President, demanded a week ago an accounting from the school board on cutbacks they were planning. Now he is simply saying that the district is not

gual programs.

broke and called this "the same old game.

#### MORE CUTS

Eickert hinted more cuts were ahead by stating that the district teachers still faced a \$4.5 million deficit. even with these

So far, the teachers union has not made any preparations to fight against this attack on the union and on decent education.

#### Indict 4 In Zebra Frameup

BY A REPORTER SAN FRANCISCO-

Four Black men have been indicted here by a state grand jury on charges of murdering three whites, as part of the so-called "Zebra" conspiracy.

Three of the indicted men were arrested in the May 1 raids on the Black community by 100 heavily armed police. The fourth is already in prison on previous charges.

Two of the men are charged with murder, on the basis that they were allegedly driving around in a white Dodge van last October 20. On this date, a white couple was forced into a white van and robbed. The wife was murdered, and the husband severely wounded with a machete.

The charges against the other two men connect them with being in the vicinity where other shootings and murders took

The charges against the men are primarily based on the testimony of a mysterious witness, Anthony C. Harris, a state prison parolee. It is now claimed that Harris testified because he wanted protection by the police from the Zebra killers.

It appears likely that Harris was sent into the Black Self-Help Moving and Storage Company, where most of the indicted men work, as a police agent to set up a frameup of the Muslims.

The indictments are a warning that Mayor Alioto and the police are determined to press ahead with their massive terror campaign against the Black community.

The indictments expose the elaborate hoax of the composite sketch of the so-called lone Zebra killer which was published in the San Francisco press to justify the police occupation of the Fillmore area, with stop and search operations

Since the Zebra hysteria began, three minority youth have been killed in Bay Area communities by police who have used the growing terror to justify their shoot-to-kill methods.

The Zebra witch-hunt appears more and more connected to the witch-hunt being organized against the SLA.

A grand jury has been meeting in San Francisco for the last two months. Last Wednesday, two witnesses who refused to testify were held in contempt and face up to 16 months in jail.

The jury, which operates in secret, is empowered to ask any questions it chooses, even if unrelated to the SLA. Witnesses granted immunity must answer or face contempt charges.

Two US attorneys from the Justice Department have been brought in to oversee the hearings.

There is no doubt that the jury intends to use its powers to institute a witch-hunt against the entire left. Representative Ichord, of the House Internal Security Committee, has already attempted to link the SLA to such organizations as the Black Panthers, Venceremos, the UFWU, Vietnam Veterans against the War, and others.

This coincides with new demands from the FBI for a broadening of its authority to engage in wiretapping and other activities against left-wing organiza-

These developments take place amidst increasing evidence that Cinque, the leader of the SLA, has a history of activities as a police informer.

After an incredible series of arrests for possession of stolen weapons and bombs without being jailed, Cinque was finally sent to Vacaville after a bank robbery.

Placed under minimum security, he escaped prison in March, 1973.

Even the New York Times reveals that there is a likelihood that Cinque was allowed to escape in order to infiltrate radi-

## **IBT Strikes Frito-Lay**

BY JOHN ARMAND

SAN JOSE-Sales and delivery drivers of Teamsters Local 296 are on strike against Frito-Lay, Laura Scudders, and Granny Goose potato chip companies for a 20 percent wage increase over three years. They have been working without a contract since February.

Northern California is the only area in the country where the potato chip industry is unionized. Last year, the companies broke the Los Angeles Teamsters Local. This union busting drive is led by companies like Frito-Lay, which is part of the Pepsi-Cola conglomerate.

Many drivers feel this strike will be the beginning of a similar attack on the union in Northern California. A driver for Granny Goose stated, "With the old contract, the drivers had one contract for Granny Goose. Laura Scudders, and Frito-Lay. Now they want individual contracts with each company. This is the company's plan to break the union.

"Inflation is going up at a continuous rate. Three years ago. the Teamsters didn't get their wage increase. They were out over 5 weeks and got nothing.'

Kitchen workers, packers, maintenance and shipping personnel represented by Teamster Local 287, have been idled by the drivers strike. More than one thousand workers have been laid off at Frito-Lay in San Jose

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

## lucha obrera

-lucia rivera-

## Watergate: Planes Capitalistas Contra Los Obreros

Bajo la forma de la democracia capitalista en la cual vivimos: el derecho a votar en las elecciones, las cortes, libertad de palabra, de organizarnos en una unión, la clase capitalista se esta preparando para destruir los derechos basícos conquistados por la clase obrera a través de sangrientas luchas.

Esta movida de la clase capitalista proviene de las desiciones de Nixon en agosto 15 del 1971, de remover el valor del oro del dólar. Esto le presentó a la clase capitalista internacionalmente que para poder salvar su sistema de ganancias frente al poderoso movimiento de la clase obrera, en lucha por mantener su nivel de vida, ellos tenían que proceder con otros métodos fuera de los democráticos.

La preparación de guerra civil y de dictadura por parte de los capitalista es el resultado de la crisis économica que este sistema se enfrenta en estos momentos.

Los revicionistas del Partido Socialistas de los Trabajadores (SWP) presenta correctamente que las trancripciones señalan la verdadera cara del gobierno capitalista. Pero ellos proceden a genaralizar esta verdad y presentan que tanto Johnson, Kennedy como Nixon son todos iguales.

Al generalizar esto, el SWP no comprende la diferencia en la actual situación économica que propele a los capitalistas a atacar el nivel de vida de los obreros a través de la incontrolable inflación y el desempleo masivo.

Tanto Johnson como Kennedy pertenecen a la misma clase capitalistas y defiende los mismos intereses. Ellos fueron los responsables de llevar la guerra en contra del pueblo vietnamita y de la invasión en el 1965 en Santo Domingo, pero Nixon esta gobernando en una época de aguda crisis économica y política.

Hoy día el dólar tiene verdaderamente un cuarto de valor (es solo un veinticinco porciento el que guarda relación con el oro) Internacionalmente es esta la misma situación que se da en todos los países capitalistas. Es esta lo que ha llevado al gobierno alemán a adoptar una posición de que va a salvar su éconómia imponiendo una serie de brabas comerciales a otros países.

A la misma vez el nivel de vida del trabajador alemán ha de ser destrouido para los capitalistas poder salvar su sistema. Es solo el trabajador el que puede y darle valor a la moneda crear valor a través de su fuerza de trabajo.

Las transcripciones de Watergate no solo exponen los métodos de Nixon y de sus ayudantes en la Casa Blanca de conspiración, espionaje e intimidación en contra de la masas de trabajadores, pero son estos los mismos métodos de toda la clase capitalista.

A través de las transcripciones de Watergate el soborno es discutido entre Dean y Nixon para prevenir que todos los detalles de Watergate y los planes del gobierno sean descubiertos por los millones de trabajadores. A la misma vez discuten como las cortes puden ser manipuladas fácilmente para acomodar los propósitos de Nixon.

La preparación del terror policiaco y de la intimidación en contra de los trabajadores, juventud y organizaciones socialistas es discutido con gran cinicismo en la Casa Blanca.

Nixon señala que es hora de crear un nuevo cuerpo represivo ya que las agencias que con las que cuenta el gobierno como el Buró Federal de Investigaciones (FBI) y la Agencia Central de Inteligencia (CIA) no son adecuados para llevar a cabo sus planes.

En Los Angeles, el pasado sábado la policía cerco una casa en el ghetto conocido como Watts y mantuvo una balacera en contra de una casa donde se hallaban una serie de supuestos miembros del Ejercito de Liberación Simbalés (SLA). Luego de la mobilización de cientos de policías armados con M-16, granadas de fragmentación, cinco personas fueron asesinadas y la casa quemada. Aún las autoridades estatales no pueden presentar un detalle que no sea cuesionado por el pueblo.

Lo que existe debajo de esta conspiración de Nixon es la preparación de una dictadura en contra de la clase obrera. La demostración reciente de 25 nazis en completo uniforme en City Hall en la ciudad de San Francisco es la expresión de las fuerzas reacionarias y derechistas que la clase capitalista esta organizando en esta época en contra de la clase obrera.

No es accidente que en el mismo San Francisco donde la policía esta arrestando jovenes afroamericanos y acusandolos de ser complices en la operación zebra, que estos elementos fascistas hagan su primera demostración pública.

En estos momentos cuando hay una ola de huelgas en las industrias basícas luchando por mejoras salariales, los capitalistas proseguirán con sus planes de dictadura con más ahinco.

Los planes de la clase capitalistas tienen que ser contestados ahora por la clase obrera a través de la construcción de su propio partido, indepenfiente de los democrátas y republicanos, formando un partido obrero. La Liga Obrera llama a todos los trabajadores y jovenes a que se unan al partido revolucionario para destruir los planes de este gobierno y la clase que representa.

# D'Estaing Gets Narrow Edge In French Vote

BY A REPORTER

Valery Giscard d'Estaing won the French election on May 19 by a narrow margin of 1.4 percent of the vote, over Socialist Party leader Francois Mitterand.

D'Estaing, leader of the Independent Republicans, an ally of the Gaullist party, got 50.7 percent of the votes and Mitterand got 49.3 percent, or 13 million votes.

In the first round of the election May 5, called when President George Pompidou died, the Gaullist candidate Jacques Chaban Delmas was eliminated after winning barely 15 percent of the votes.

Mitterand ran as the common candidate of the Left Union, a Popular Front coalition of the Socialist Party, Communist Party, and a section of the Radical Party.

While the vote shows the collapse of the Gaullists and represents a large increase in

votes for the workers parties, over the 1969 election, the refusal of Mitterand to put forward any clear alternative to D'Estaing undoubtedly contributed to his defeat.

All socialist demands were eliminated from Mitterand's program and he refused to call for the abolition of the reactionary French Constitution established in 1958.

This crisis, expressed in the soaring balance of trade deficit and the inflation, will now lead to an enormous intensification of class struggle in France.

## PORTUGAL . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Stalinists play this line.

The workers, both manual staff and nurses who are terribly exploited— about \$60 a month—were outraged and finally pushed into silent hostility to the slanders made against them.

But it is the Lisnave occupation which demonstrates the truly explosive character of the situation.

Last Friday the new works committee presented a charter of demands to the owners, Companhia Uiau Fabril (CUF).

They wanted a \$288 a month basic wage (at present they get \$192, a 40-hour week (they at present work between 44 and 46), one month's holiday a year, the ending of the midnight to 8 a.m. shift, as well as health and welfare benefits.

#### DEADLINE

Management asked for ten days to consider the document, but the negotiators were instructed to give a 48-hour deadline

Why? Because the workers wanted to put their proposals forward and have them settled while the junta was running things and before the Popular Front took over yesterday.

So much for the workers' happiness with a Stalinist-reformist-democratic-military stew of a government.

On Wednesday afternoon at 2 p.m. the works negotiators reported that no agreement had been reached.

The company said it wanted more time for discussion.

So while the "strong-man of Portugal," General Antonio Spinola was being installed as head of state, 7000 workers downed tools, threw up a picket line, surrounded the administration block and announced that they would not leave the yards until their demands had been met.

I arrived about 5 p.m. and became the first and only Press representative allowed into the yards.

### CREDENTIALS

Stewards checked my credentials and then agreed to conduct me on a tour of inspection and to introduce me to workers.

The picketing began hesitantly—"we have not had a strike since 1969. On that occasion the armed police surrounded the yards with dogs, locked us in and tried to starve

"Then we all were forced to come outside and sign a piece of paper agreeing to work at the company's wages.

"But that was under fascism. Now the Portuguese worker is waking up from a sleep and he wants his rights so that he can fight properly for his standard of living," one worker told me.

Outside the administration block there was howling activity.

A navy commander, a junior member of the junta, came onto the balcony with a megaphone.

He called for calm. He said no one wanted violence.

The Portuguese economy was in a crisis. The junta would like to give more wages, but it was not possible.

He asked the workers to disperse and go home and let the negotiations continue.

He was heard in stony silence. But as he lowered the megaphone the thousands of workers in the courtyard shouted back, "It's today." with the enthusiasm of a football crowd.

The chanting went on forcing the commander to quit the balcony and give the megaphone to a workers committee representative.

He began by telling them to go home. He didn't get any further because he was drowned by angry calls.

Fearing a sellout, hundreds of workers rushed to the rear of the building to strengthen a picket at

all the exits.
The Stalinist

The Stalinist-dominated committee then retired inside for further talks while the workers chanted for the sacking of the director of the yards—Pelestero— "Vampiro"—whose salary is \$4080 a month.

After the abortive meeting animated groups of workers were discussing how to get rid of

their "old" leaders.
You had to do a do

You had to do a double take to recall that the committee only came into existence three weeks ago!

But such is the rapidity of events.

Yesterday the workers decided to work only two hours each day and to maintain their occupation.

Wives are arriving at the gates to give food to the men inside.

The strong picket is searching every vehicle to make sure that nothing illegal is brought inside like explosives and that nothing leaves in the boot of cars—like the company executives.

At the Ministry of Information Press conference yesterday I asked the Army major what was the attitude of the military junta to the refusal to lift the strike and occupation.

He replied that it was not the business of the junta any more but the popular front government.

He said it was the responsibility of the Labor Minister appointed yesterday.

And who is he?

Pacheco Goncalves, a former leader of the bank workers' syndicate.

And he is a Stalinist.

See page 2 for more reports.

## SLA . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

by the authorities. Throughout the assault, hundreds of youth jeered and taunted the police.

Despite their heroism, the SLA was only a handful of isolated individuals. That they inspired such fear in the ruling class only expresses their dread of the powerful struggles ahead of millions of workers and youth in defense of their jobs, wages, and basic democratic rights.

Now the FBI and the police are preparing for a whole new wave of terror by issuing shoot to kill orders for Patricia Hearst and several other suspected SLA members.

One Watts youth shouted out during the gun battle, "You can kill our brothers, but you can't kill the revolution. You and all your guns can't kill that."

### LEADERSHIP

But the revolution means preparing the leadership. It means the fight to mobilize the enormous power of the labor movement to smash up the civil war preparations by constructing a labor party to drive out the government. It means building the Workers League and the Young Socialists as the revolutionary leadership for this fight.

## Building The Bulletin Detroit Trailblazer Begins

Up to this point, we have received 589 Bulletin subs towards our monthly goal of 4000 for the branches. This weekend we will be holding national Bulletin trailblazing campaigns, with the aim of completing our entire quota. This poses a real challenge because of the slowness in getting started.

The weekend of May 11 and 12, the Young Socialists national trailblazing got a total of 559 subscriptions, going over the monthly quota of 500. This was possible because of the tremendous campaign carried out by the Young Socialists after the Second National YS Conference.

The Detroit trailblazing is starting this weekend with a goal of 1000 Bulletin subs.

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

## lucha obrera

-lucía rivera-

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Tanto Johnson como Kennedy pertenecen a la misma clase capitalistas y defiende los mismos intereses. Ellos fueron los responsables de llevar la guerra en contra del pueblo vietnamita y de la invasión en el 1965 en Santo Domingo, pero Nixon esta gobernando en una época de aguda crisis économica y política.

Hoy día el dólar tiene verdaderamente un cuarto de valor (es solo un veinticinco porciento el que guarda relación con el oro) Internacionalmente es esta la misma situación que se da en todos los países capitalistas. Es esta lo que ha llevado al gobierno alemán a adoptar una posición de que va a salvar su éconómia imponiendo una serie de brabas comerciales a otros países.

A la misma vez el nivel de vida del trabajador alemán ha de ser destrouido para los capitalistas poder salvar su sistema. Es solo el trabajador el que puede y darle valor a la moneda crear valor a través de su fuerza de trabajo.

Las transcripciones de Watergate no solo exponen los métodos de Nixon y de sus ayudantes en la Casa Blanca de conspiración, espionaje e intimidación en contra de la masas de trabajadores, pero son estos los mismos métodos de toda la clase capitalista.

A través de las transcripciones de Watergate el soborno es discutido entre Dean y Nixon para prevenir que todos los detalles de Watergate y los planes del gobierno sean descubiertos por los millones de trabajadores. A la misma vez discuten como las cortes puden ser manipuladas fácilmente para acomodar los propósitos de Nixon.

La preparación del terror policiaco y de la intimidación en contra de los trabajadores, juventud y organizaciones socialistas es discutido con gran cinicismo en la Casa Blanca.

Nixon señala que es hora de crear un nuevo cuerpo represivo ya que las agencias que con las que cuenta el gobierno como el Buró Federal de Investigaciones (FBI) y la Agencia Central de Inteligencia (CIA) no son adecuados para llevar a cabo sus planes.

En Los Angeles, el pasado sábado la policía cerco una casa en el ghetto conocido como Watts y mantuvo una balacera en contra de una casa donde se hallaban una serie de supuestos miembros del Ejercito de Liberación Simbalés (SLA). Luego de la mobilización de cientos de policías armados con M-16, granadas de fragmentación, cinco personas fueron asesinadas y la casa quemada. Aún las autoridades estatales no pueden presentar un detalle que no sea cuesionado por el pueblo.

Lo que existe debajo de esta conspiración de Nixon es la preparación de una dictadura en contra de la clase obrera. La demostración reciente de 25 nazis en completo uniforme en City Hall en la ciudad de San Francisco es la expresión de las fuerzas reacionarias y derechistas que la clase capitalista esta organizando en esta época en contra de la clase obrera.

No es accidente que en el mismo San Francisco donde la policía esta arrestando jovenes afroamericanos y acusandolos de ser complices en la operación zebra, que estos elementos fascistas hagan su primera demostración pública.

En estos momentos cuando hay una ola de huelgas en las industrias basícas luchando por mejoras salariales, los capitalistas proseguirán con sus planes de dictadura con más ahinco.

Los planes de la clase capitalistas tienen que ser contestados ahora por la clase obrera a través de la construcción de su propio partido, indepenfiente de los democrátas y republicanos, formando un partido obrero. La Liga Obrera llama a todos los trabajadores y jovenes a que se unan al partido revolucionario para destruir los planes de este gobierno y la clase que representa.

# D'Estaing Gets Narrow Edge In French Vote

BY A REPORTER

Valery Giscard d'Estaing won the French election on May 19 by a narrow margin of 1.4 percent of the vote, over Socialist Party leader Francois Mitterand.

D'Estaing, leader of the Independent Republicans, an ally of the Gaullist party, got 50.7 percent of the votes and Mitterand got 49.3 percent, or 13 million votes.

In the first round of the election May 5, called when President George Pompidou died, the Gaullist candidate Jacques Chaban Delmas was eliminated after winning barely 15 percent of the votes.

Mitterand ran as the common candidate of the Left Union, a Popular Front coalition of the Socialist Party, Communist Party, and a section of the Radical Party.

While the vote shows the collapse of the Gaullists and represents a large increase in

votes for the workers parties, over the 1969 election, the refusal of Mitterand to put forward any clear alternative to D'Estaing undoubtedly contributed to his defeat.

All socialist demands were eliminated from Mitterand's program and he refused to call for the abolition of the reactionary French Constitution established in 1958.

This crisis, expressed in the soaring balance of trade deficit and the inflation, will now lead to an enormous intensification of class struggle in France.

## PORTUGAL . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Stalinists play this line.

The workers, both manual staff and nurses who are terribly exploited— about \$60 a month—were outraged and finally pushed into silent hostility to the slanders made against them.

But it is the Lisnave occupation which demonstrates the truly explosive character of the situation.

Last Friday the new works committee presented a charter of demands to the owners, Companhia Uiau Fabril (CUF).

They wanted a \$288 a month basic wage (at present they get \$192, a 40-hour week (they at present work between 44 and 46), one month's holiday a year, the ending of the midnight to 8 a.m. shift, as well as health and welfare benefits.

#### DEADLINE

Management asked for ten days to consider the document, but the negotiators were instructed to give a 48-hour deadline.

Why? Because the workers wanted to put their proposals forward and have them settled while the junta was running things and before the Popular Front took over yesterday.

So much for the workers' happiness with a Stalinist-reformist-democratic-military stew of a government.

On Wednesday afternoon at 2 p.m. the works negotiators reported that no agreement had been reached.

The company said it wanted more time for discussion.

So while the "strong-man of Portugal," General Antonio Spinola was being installed as head of state, 7000 workers downed tools, threw up a picket line, surrounded the administration block and announced that they would not leave the yards until their demands had been met.

I arrived about 5 p.m. and became the first and only Press representative allowed into the yards.

### CREDENTIALS

Stewards checked my credentials and then agreed to conduct me on a tour of inspection and to introduce me to workers.

The picketing began hesitantly—"we have not had a strike since 1969. On that occasion the armed police surrounded the yards with dogs, locked us in and tried to starve us

"Then we all were forced to come outside and sign a piece of paper agreeing to work at the company's wages.

"But that was under fascism. Now the Portuguese worker is waking up from a sleep and he wants his rights so that he can fight properly for his standard of living," one worker told me.

Outside the administration block there was howling activity.

A navy commander, a junior member of the junta, came onto the balcony with a megaphone.

He called for calm. He said no one wanted violence.

The Portuguese economy was in a crisis. The junta would like to give more wages, but it was not possible.

He asked the workers to disperse and go home and let the negotiations continue.

He was heard in stony silence. But as he lowered the megaphone the thousands of workers in the courtyard shouted back, "It's today. It's today," with the enthusiasm of a football crowd.

The chanting went on forcing the commander to quit the balcony and give the megaphone to a workers committee representative.

He began by telling them to go home. He didn't get any further because he was drowned by angry calls.

Fearing a sellout, hundreds of workers rushed to the rear of the

building to strengthen a picket at all the exits.

The Stalinist-dominated committee then retired inside for further talks while the workers chanted for the sacking of the director of the yards—Pelestero— "Vampiro"—whose salary is \$4080 a month.

## SLA . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

by the authorities. Throughout the assault, hundreds of youth jeered and taunted the police.

Despite their heroism, the SLA was only a handful of isolated individuals. That they inspired such fear in the ruling class only expresses their dread of the powerful struggles ahead of millions of workers and youth in defense of their jobs, wages, and basic democratic rights.

Now the FBI and the police are preparing for a whole new wave of terror by issuing shoot to kill orders for Patricia Hearst and several other suspected SLA members.

After the abortive meeting animated groups of workers were discussing how to get rid of their "old" leaders.

You had to do a double take to recall that the committee only came into existence three weeks ago!

But such is the rapidity of events.

Yesterday the workers decided to work only two hours each day and to maintain their occupation.

Wives are arriving at the gates to give food to the men inside.

The strong picket is searching every vehicle to make sure that nothing illegal is brought inside like explosives and that nothing leaves in the boot of cars—like the company executives.

At the Ministry of Information Press conference yesterday I asked the Army major what was the attitude of the military junta to the refusal to lift the strike and occupation.

He replied that it was not the business of the junta any more but the popular front govern-

He said it was the responsibility of the Labor Minister appointed yesterday.

And who is he?

Pacheco Goncalves, a former leader of the bank workers' syndicate.

And he is a Stalinist.

See page 2 for more reports.

One Watts youth shouted out during the gun battle, "You can kill our brothers, but you can't kill the revolution. You and all your guns can't kill that."

### LEADERSHIP

But the revolution means preparing the leadership. It means the fight to mobilize the enormous power of the labor movement to smash up the civil war preparations by constructing a labor party to drive out the government. It means building the Workers League and the Young Socialists as the revolutionary leadership for this fight.

## Building The Bulletin

## **Detroit Trailblazer Begins**

Up to this point, we have received 589 Bulletin subs towards our monthly goal of 4000 for the branches. This weekend we will be holding national Bulletin trailblazing campaigns, with the aim of completing our entire quota. This poses a real challenge because of the slowness in getting started.

The weekend of May 11 and 12, the Young Socialists national trailblazing got a total of 559 subscriptions, going over the monthly quota of 500. This was possible because of the tremendous campaign carried out by the Young Socialists after the Second National YS Conference.

The Detroit trailblazing is starting this weekend with a goal of 1000 Bulletin subs.