

Bulletin

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER THIRTY FOUR 370

TUESDAY, APRIL 30, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

Mitchell-Stans Acquittal Means

Nixon Whitewash



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BY THE EDITORS

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for use against the entire working class.

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The East New York YS is putting forward a resolution on the Symbionese Liberation Army, explaining the bank-

ruptcy of terrorism and the need to turn to the only revolutionary force in society—the working class—by building the mass Young Socialists. East New York is also proposing a special amendment to the YS Draft Program on why youth must now turn to a study of Marxism.

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(Continued On Page 12)

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The acquittal on Sunday of former Attorney General John Mitchell and former Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans on 15 counts of conspiracy, obstruction of justice and perjury gives the green light to the White House, the capitalist press and the Democratic controlled Congress to proceed with a massive whitewash to keep Richard Nixon in office.

In the course of the trial mountains of evidence were provided by John Dean, two former Securities and Exchange Commission chairmen and an aide to Robert Vesco to prove that Mitchell and Stans were up to their ears in illegal activities.

It was established that the defendants accepted and concealed a \$200,000 contribution from Vesco in exchange for intervention with the SEC which was probing Vesco's shady financial affairs.

Stans himself is a confessed perjurer who admitted to lying to a grand jury and excused himself by claiming that his wife's illness had affected his mind.

The failure to reach a conviction was entirely the product of the government prosecution's attempts to conduct the trial on the basis of the narrowest legalisms, permitting the defense to portray its clients as simply conducting normal government activity.

The jury itself was originally split 8 to 4 for conviction. After the trial it came out that one of the jurors was a hard-nosed Republican convinced that Vesco was determined to smear the administration.

There can be no doubt that the administration intervened with the governments of Costa Rica and the Bahamas where Vesco is a fugitive to see to it that he was never extradited and forced to give testimony in the United States.

The disgusting attempt of Mitchell to wrap himself in the flag by declaring: "If there's one place I'm convinced you can get justice, that is from the American people. That's why I had

great faith in America and why I love this country," is the most revolting hypocrisy from a man who organized conspiracies against the basic democratic rights of millions of workers.

It parallels Nixon's own appeals to forces on the right through his buildup of reactionary racists like Stennis, Eastland and George Wallace, his hysterical anti-busing campaign and his "law and order" preparations for the sort of massive police terror that was recently carried out in San Francisco.

This verdict must now intensify the determination of the administration to take the offensive against a Congress which is already crawling on all fours before Richard Nixon.

The President now intends to throw the House Judiciary Committee subpoena back into its face by providing it with transcripts of requested tapes carefully edited to reveal only what he wants it to.

The Judiciary Committee will do nothing. It is already narrowing the scope of its impeachment inquiry to drop all charges relating to the sinister police state conspiracies behind the Watergate coverup.

The Democratic controlled Congress is thus engaged in a conspiracy to prevent such matters as Nixon's massive spy network, the military spy ring in the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the preparations for illegal activities against the left, the labor movement, and the Congress itself from being further exposed.

These same Democrats are now in the lead of those calling for maintaining wage freezing powers in Nixon's hands and continuing the role of the Cost of Living Council while inflation and unemployment soar.

The trade union bureaucracy bears a criminal responsibility for this situation because of its refusal to take any independent action against Nixon.

The recent so-called anti-Nixon demonstration in Washington which was

(Continued On Page 12)

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Stalinists Go All Out For Nixon

The banquet sponsored last week by the *New World Review* to push "For Friendship Among Nations and World Peace" was a nauseating display of the intensified campaign of the American Stalinists to keep Nixon in office in the interests of the Kremlin's reactionary collaboration with imperialism.

The Soviet bureaucracy is extremely frightened by the movement of American workers against Nixon. It considers this movement the greatest danger to its policy of detente.

What We Think

Revolutionary struggles by the working class threaten the existence of the parasitic Kremlin bureaucracy, which defends its privileges through alliances with foreign capitalists.

Having worked so closely with Nixon in

Vietnam and in the Middle East, Brezhnev does not want him out. For this reason, he has given the CP its marching orders. The Soviet Stalinists want a campaign around the issue of detente.

Through this campaign, the CP is to fight any independent movement by the American working class against Nixon. This means bitterly opposing the building of a labor party which would directly pose a struggle for power by American workers.

Instead, the CP is to seek to subordinate the working class to liberals and trade union bureaucrats in what is essentially a pro-Nixon movement in which he is "pressured" to continue the detente.

The *New World Review* which sponsored this ban-

quet—held in the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf Astoria—comes out of the old Soviet American Friendship Committee. The gathering represented an attempt to revive the politics of the Popular Front, a reactionary alliance of Stalinists and trade union bureaucrats with liberals and businessmen.

This was precisely the political coloration of the banquet. The chief speaker of the luncheon was Soviet ambassador Yakov Malik. He was joined by Angela Davis, now a full-fledged spokesman of Stalinism.

Also present was Abe Feinglass, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters. They all joined hands with Edward Lamb, the Ohio industrialist, and Corliss Lamont, the liberal millionaire.

The speakers all sought to propagate the brazen lie that detente means peace, while subtly suggesting that Richard Nixon is forging—in his own words—a "generation of peace."

This was said most blatantly by Feinglass, who called detente "the finest contribution to the people of the US and the world."

What detente is actually a policy of bloody repression of the workers movement internationally by American imperialism with the assistance of the Kremlin. In Chile, the Stalinists opposed the establishment of a workers state in order not to disrupt relations between the Kremlin and Nixon. In the Middle East, the Kremlin deliberately held the Arab armies back on the basis of its understanding with Nixon.

That detente means the defense of Nixon is shown very clearly by an article by a Soviet commentator reprinted in the April 24 issue of the *Daily World*.

It stated that "...normal peaceful relations between our countries are possible only on the condition that we shall not try to 'remodel' each other in our own image

by any other method but the force of the example of our own society."

This is in fact a pledge by the CP to oppose any fight against Nixon and of course any struggle for socialism.

Angela Davis spoke at the banquet and gave her blessing to this policy of betrayal. Though she owes her life to the support given by millions of workers in every part of the world who were determined to prevent Nixon from having her gassed in San Quentin, Davis now emerges as an apostle of peaceful coexistence.

She went so far at this banquet as to slander Alexander Solzhenitsyn as "a Czarist, who at last is alone with his multimillion dollar bank account in Switzerland."

Davis directly comes to the aide of the Kremlin bureaucrats, defending the brutal repression of dissidents within the Soviet Union who have spoken out against Stalinism. As for the crude slander about running to his Swiss banks, perhaps Davis might have mentioned that Solzhenitsyn was dragged from his home by the Stalinist police and expelled from the Soviet Union against his personal wishes.

The fight for the construction of the labor party and the revolutionary leadership in the working class that will lead the fight against Nixon and for socialism requires a struggle to expose Stalinism and to smash it politically.

This can be done only through the building of the revolutionary party based upon the principles laid down by Leon Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International, in the struggle against Stalinism.

The Second National Conference of the Young Socialists on May 4-5, which we urge all youth to attend, will be a major step forward in building this party.

Military Topples Portugal Regime

BY A

CORRESPONDENT

On Thursday, the Portuguese fascist regime of Marcello Caetano fell in a nearly bloodless military coup.

Beginning before dawn, in a matter of a few hours, the army had moved into Lisbon and occupied a radio station and key government ministries.

Troops sent by the Caetano government to resist the coup almost immediately went over to the rebels or surrendered after firing a few shots.

Thousands of people gathered around a military barrack where Caetano had taken refuge and shouted "Assassin" as an armored car believed to be carrying the deposed Premier drove out.

Power has now been assumed by a seven man military junta headed by General Antonio de Spínola. Spínola had been fired by the Caetano regime in February when his book *Portugal and the Future*, critical of the colonial war policy of the government, was published.

The coup expresses the desperate weakness of the Portuguese capitalist class facing defeat at the hands of a growing liberation movement in its African colonies and the increasing resistance of a powerful working class at home.

Spínola is a long-time supporter of fascism. He fought as a volunteer with the fascists in Spain. During World War Two, he served with the Nazis at Stalingrad. He volunteered to serve in Africa when the liberation struggle began in 1961.

Spínola reflects the growing opinion of Portuguese industrialists that the African wars cannot be won militarily. He hopes to work out an arrangement to set up puppet regimes which would be proclaimed as independent.

The new "junta of national salvation," in a bid for popular support, has proclaimed its intention of preparing gradually for a general election for a constituent national assembly.

But the Spínola regime faces impossible contradictions. The crisis in Portugal is deepening due to the international monetary collapse.

Inflation, now at 20 percent, is among the highest in Europe. Huge foreign investments, which were encouraged by Salazar's and Caetano's brutal policies of high taxes, no unions, and the total suppression of all civil rights, have built up a powerful working class which will use the breakup of the old regime to advance its struggle.

For the last five years, a large student movement has been growing at all the universities, reflecting the growing power of the working class.

Over 100,000 Portuguese draft resisters have fled abroad. Of the last class of youths called to the army, 50 percent refused to report.

Over one million Portuguese have left the country in the last 10 years, with almost 600,000 living in Paris. Their possible return poses grave threats to the new regime.

In Africa, the military situation is steadily deteriorating.

In Portuguese Guinea, the rebel forces have established their own state in the liberated areas and Portuguese troops are confined largely to big city bases.

In Mozambique, a guerrilla movement has become large and bold enough to launch attacks on the Rhodesian white supremacist regime as well.

In Angola, resistance forces are growing rapidly, receiving armed support from a number of African countries to the north.

The wars have drained off approximately 45 percent of the Portuguese budget, and the 140,000 largely conscript troops are demoralized and in many cases, refusing to engage in battle.

The desperation of the Portuguese ruling class was revealed recently with reliable reports that it had been working with the Rhodesian regime to allow Rhodesian troops into Mozambique to conduct raids and massacres, taking no prisoners.

These raids have been combined with an increasing use of bombings, defoliants and



Soldiers and military vehicles patrol the streets of Lisbon, Portugal.

herbicides aimed at terrorizing and starving the population into submission.

Under these conditions, the new junta will be able to solve nothing. The downfall of the

Caetano regime must spur the development of the revolutionary struggle throughout Africa, as well as open up the way for the emergence of a powerful movement of the

Portuguese working class.

The road is opening before the forces of the International Committee in Portugal to go forward to the construction of a mass revolutionary party.

Junta Blasts Chile Church

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

The brutal junta ruling Chile has blasted Catholic churchmen as "vehicles of communism," following the release of a conciliatory document which is mildly critical of the regime.

The document, "Reconciliation in Chile," protests the mass imprisonments, torture, and censorship carried out by the regime, and its economic policies.

It states, however, that the Bishops "do not doubt the righteous intention nor the goodwill of our governors."

"For love of our country," the document states in its opening sentences, "we must help to establish a regime of coexistence in which all Chileans can live and feel as brothers."

The Church claims support from 90 percent of the Chileans. The document reflects the crisis of the junta and the Chilean capitalists, which in spite of mass murder have been unable to break the working class. The junta has ended reforms in medicine and education, and allowed prices on such necessities as sugar and milk to rise as much as 20 to 30 times the already

inflated prices of Allende's era.

At a time when democratic rights are being destroyed in nations all over the world, in order to impose brutal economic conditions to resolve the monetary crisis, the bishops come forward to build up the illusion that the junta will restore rights by drawing up a new constitution.

"The basic condition for a peaceful coexistence is the full enforcement of a state of law, in which the constitution and the law are a guarantee for all of us. This is why we are interested in

the rapid elaboration of a new constitution."

The bishops applauded the recently-published "Declaration of Principles" as a sound "basis for orienting civic and social action in this emergency situation," and said it was valuable because of its "explicitly Christian inspiration."

During the seven months of its rule, the junta has dissolved Congress and the trade unions, banned all Marxist parties, and declared other groups in "indefinite recess." The press has been strictly censored.

New Offensive In Cambodia

BY A REPORTER

Six government positions have fallen to Cambodian insurgents in the last month, and a force of about 2500 men are trapped some 25 miles north of Phnom Penh.

The intense fighting continues throughout the area surrounding the Cambodian capital, in spite of continuing support from the US military. Air drops from American and Cambodian planes are the only source of supplies for the trapped garrison, which is running out of ammunition.

Helicopters are attempting to evacuate wounded soldiers, but officials say that communist forces, which surround Peam Lovek for about 10 miles on all sides, make it impossible to rescue the bulk of the company.

The Cambodian communists are now in a strong position to capture Phnom Penh and win control of the government, giving new support to the continuing fight against American imperialism.



Brooklyn dockers, members of the ILA, whose Guaranteed Annual Income is now under attack.

Real Wages Now Falling At 5.6% Rate

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

"I see the year 1974 at the end—and now it is very difficult for us to look that far ahead—but at the end, we will look back and say 1974 was not our best year as were 1972 and 1973, but it was a good year.

While these words may have brought the Mississippi Chamber of Commerce to its feet cheering when Richard Nixon uttered them on Thursday, the reality is totally different.

Almost simultaneous with the president's rosy predictions, Detroit's auto manufacturers were announcing their intentions of producing 20 percent fewer cars in May than one year ago.

The very next day, the Department of Labor published figures demonstrating the seriousness of the decline.

The figures for the first quarter indicate that workers' salaries are now falling at a 5.6 percent annual rate.

According to the Labor Department, the slowing of the economy combined with a shorter number of hours worked has now produced a fall in productivity per man hour of 5.5 percent on an annual basis.

These are ominous figures for big business which will use them to proclaim the need for even sharper speedup, more layoffs, and a new burst of price increases.

Retail sales are almost

identical to a year ago, yet prices have increased more than 10 percent. Business investment in the first quarter of 1974 for plants and machinery was down in real terms over 2 percent from the year before.

Yet precisely under these conditions, the Federal Reserve Board is upping the pressure to hike interest rates and reduce the supply of credit.

The boom years of easy credit have encouraged a massive increase in debt. The Federal Reserve's own figures reveal that for all nonfinancial corporations, the ratio of debt to profit and debt to liquid assets has been soaring.

For individuals, the ratio of debt to income has also been mushrooming. Even the banks, supposedly the most stable section of the economy, are now extremely short on liquid funds and dangerously overextended in long term investments.

While Nixon is determined to release all controls on prices, paving the way for astronomical new increases, Federal Reserve policy, by pulling back on credit, threatens whole sections of business with collapse and millions of workers with mass unemployment.

The labor movement must take action to launch a massive wage offensive to win full compensation for all wages lost through inflation, as well as a 100 percent cost of living escalator.

This must be combined with a political offensive to defend all conditions and jobs through the construction of a labor party committed to driving out Nixon and bringing in a socialist government.

Are Police Involved In SLA Kidnapping?

BY ESTHER GALEN

The working class must take warning that police in this country will use provocation as a means to move in and use their methods of repression against workers.

Police and press have been whipping up a hysteria in San Francisco over the terrorist activities of the SLA and so-called Zebra killer in order to launch police terror in the Fillmore district.

This follows immediately the general strike in San Francisco. Because of this powerful movement by city workers against inflation and unemployment, the government is testing out its means of stopping rebellion, which it is preparing to use in every city of this country.

Evidence is accumulating that police may have some involvement in the activities, the kidnapping, and subsequent bank robbery of the Symbionese Liberation Army.

Donald David DeFreeze, known as Field Marshall Cinque, is the leader of the SLA. His history suggests that he may be a police agent.

In 1967, De Freeze was arrested for carrying a concealed weapon stolen from a military supply house in Los Angeles. He turned informer and led police to Ronald Coleman's apartment to find more than 200 stolen rifles and pistols.

Afterwards, he was released on probation.

In 1969, police picked up DeFreeze with a fully loaded semi-automatic rifle and 32 rounds of ammunition. Although he was then on probation, he was not arrested or jailed.

Later arrested for burglary and auto theft, he was set free.

DeFreeze has been wanted in New Jersey since 1965 to face charges of kidnapping, extortion, and assault with a deadly weapon. California Attorney General Evelle Younger has refused to extradite DeFreeze.

Younger, in 1960, formed the

Criminal Conspiracy Section of the Los Angeles Police Department to place informers and provocateurs of radical organizations in California.

It has recently come out that police knew, from notes taken in a raid on an SLA house, that some action was to be carried out against Patricia Hearst three weeks before her kidnapping. Why did they do nothing?

In England, several cases of police provocation have been exposed. The Littlejohn brothers were exconvicts hired by British intelligence and sent to the Irish Republic to carry out robberies, kidnappings, and fire-bombings to discredit the Irish Republican Army.

Kenneth Lennon acted as police informer for the Special Branch, while carrying out these activities for them: accumulating weapons, ammunition, and material for making bombs; planning a robbery so that three men were caught in a prearranged police ambush; and planning prison escapes with evidence to be used to frame up those taking part.

If the police are working within the SLA, it is the largest provocation job in the history of this country, involving kidnapping, bank robbery, and now murder threats.

It is clear that many of those in the SLA believe they are revolutionaries. Most of them come from middle class backgrounds. Camilla Christine Hall is the daughter of a Minnesota Lutheran minister. She worked in Duluth as a social worker, then in Minneapolis as a counselor to unwed mothers.

Emily Harris taught high school English in Bloomington, Indiana. William Harris earned a masters degree in urban education at Indiana University.

With the economic crisis, a section of the middle class, impatient with the working class, pick up the gun to try to gain concessions from the government. They maintain their middle class role, that of bargainer for the working class. Terrorism is thus, as Trotsky stated, liberalism with a gun.

The character of the SLA leaves it open to infiltration by

police agents so they can encourage violent acts which the government can use as an excuse to bust up left-wing movements and to smash the trade unions.

What is needed to fight the inflation, unemployment, and the government's moves towards dictatorship is to build a mass revolutionary party that mobilizes the working class politically and prepares workers for taking power.

The trade union movement must demand an inquiry to uncover whether or not police provocation is being used, and must prepare to defend its rights by calling a Congress of Labor now to stop these conspiracies.

Shippers Attack Work Rules To Weaken GAI

REPORTING TEAM
NEW YORK, NY—
Employer attacks on International Longshoremen's Association work rules and job protection guarantees are increasing in preparation for bitter struggles when the ILA contract ends on September 30.

A second injunction is about to be issued by a federal court against ILA contract rules requiring stripping and stuffing of all containers originating in or destined for a 50 mile radius of the port.

Under present ILA rules, all such boxes containing freight from more than one shipper must be unloaded and reloaded by longshoremen.

The injunction is expected to remain in force at least until the end of the year. The case is to be decided by the NLRB which has already declared such provisions on the West Coast docks to be illegal.

These new attacks accompany an all-out drive by the em-

ployers to gut the Guaranteed Annual Income provisions under which longshoremen are guaranteed wages when no work is available.

The Bulletin spoke to longshoremen in Manhattan who complained that they were being forced to work from 8 am until 2 am to avoid losing GAI rights.

Last week, a man who had complained of being sick dropped dead of a heart attack. One docker told us: "This guy died last week when they refused to let him go home."

"A lot of guys have been getting heart attacks from working the bananas."

Another said: "The last time they gave out the GAI checks four men out of 700 or 800 in Local 856 got the checks. The others were knocked off after they refused to work late twice. They didn't want eight hours overtime."

The employers are also using their rights to assign jobs to send men to work on piers involving as much as two hours travel time.

In this way, the GAI is being used to drive the ranks and to force a large number of men to either give up the right to GAI or

to leave the industry.

While there is tremendous bitterness against the way the GAI is used, many men still see it as their only protection. One docker said:

"I'm not on GAI, but if this pier closes, it's my only chance for a living.

"They'll never take it away. We're not going on welfare. There will be a long strike first."

Rather than strengthen the GAI and extend it to other ports, the ILA leadership intends to allow the employers to continue to dilute the protective provisions and turn it into a weapon against the ranks.

A new leadership must be constructed in the union committed to extending the guarantee to all ports, eliminating the penalty and travel provisions, and establishing the GAI as a simple guarantee of wages when no work is available to all dockers.

This means preparation for a fight to shut down the waterfront on September 30 and to win the support of the trade union movement for a political fight against the inevitable attempts of the government at strike-breaking.

Speculator Tries Mass Evictions

BY KATHY BROWN
BOSTON, Mass.— Tenants in the Fenway area of Boston have received their third eviction notices in less than a month from Levinson and Simon Realtors.

This is the latest in a long series of harassments by these speculators, to drive the elderly and their families out of the area.

The landlords seek to evict the tenants, do a quick rehabilitation, and jack up rents \$50 or more.

The Bulletin spoke to Lorette Lombard, a 52-year-old hospital worker who lives in the Fenway.

"A knock came at the door last night and they slipped the notice under the door.

"The notice states that my rent is late, but I've never been a day late.

"As far as I'm concerned, this is just another harassment. When the first eviction notice came, a group of Korean students with visas grabbed their bags and ran, but these older people just can't get up and leave. They go into shock.

"For all practical purposes,

there's been no heat or hot water in the building all winter. You can hear an old lady down the hall crying from the cold.

RAISE

"One 80-year-old woman said if they'd raise the rents it would be all right; she'd just eat a little less. If that doesn't make you want to fight, there's something wrong with you.

"When I got the first notice, I tried everything. I went to city hall, the housing department, legal aid, one to another. Nobody would help. They all gave me the runaround.

"People deserve some consideration. Are we at the mercy of these bureaucrats and politicians? They're all in collusion.

"The tenants had a meeting with Mayor White, and he said the harassment would stop. Then there comes another notice."

Mrs. Lombard stated that she's never seen a housing inspector in the 15 years she's lived on Peterboro Street.

"The landlords and the politicians have a good thing going, and they're not doing too bad at it.

"They couldn't care less if you slept in Fenway Park. But this is my home, and none of us are going to leave."

Beame Set To Cut 5,000 Jobs

BY A REPORTER
NEW YORK—Mayor Beame is now openly trying to bust the city trade unions.

Emboldened by the trade union leaders' complete capitulation to his previous

And Con Edison

Couldn't Care Less

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK, NY—A ruptured six-inch gas main in the basement of a commercial building here caused the explosion Monday which destroyed the building and injured at least 80.

The blast took place before people arrived for work, which avoided many deaths.

A break in a water-pressurizing tank jarred open a joint in the gas main, which was exposed in the basement. Gas filled the entire 24-story building before it exploded.

This is one of several gas explosions in the past several months for which Consolidated Edison is responsible.

Con Edison, while raising fuel rates astronomically, is on the verge of bankruptcy. The New York State legislature has agreed to buy two Con Ed generating plants now under construction.

Con Edison would receive a total of \$500 million. The plants would be leased back to the company, which would operate the facilities, paying the state only for their use.

attacks. Beame and his staff are preparing 5000 pink slips for provisional city workers effective July 1, 1974.

This is an increase of 3000 over previous announcements that 2000 provisional employees would be laid off and 10,000 vacant Civil Service job slots eliminated in order to close the city budget deficit of 1.5 billion dollars.

The Bulletin learned that out of 2436 provisional employees in the Department of Social Services, 1300 are due to be laid off.

These 1300 are mostly clerical workers in the Income Maintenance sections of welfare centers and members of Local 1549. The overwork situation is already staggering and now Beame wants to increase it through the layoffs.

SUMMER

This is what Beame has to offer the unions in contract negotiations this summer. Beame is also laying off 125 out of 170 provisional workers in the Human Resources Administration, and 100 each in the Department of Corrections and Addiction Services Agency.

Beame is consciously carrying out these attacks against the super agencies that Lindsay was forced to set up in the 1960s.

Most of these workers are minority workers who have not had a chance to take a civil service exam because the city has not given one in the last five years.



Junior, one of the many young workers recruited by the Puerto Rican government to work in the tobacco fields (below) in the northeastern US.

Tobacco Workers Fight Growers' Union Busting

BY LUCIA RIVERA
HARTFORD—The Farm Workers Association (FWA) is conducting an organizing drive here among workers employed by the Shade Tobacco Growers Association.

The FWA has a membership of 1500 in Connecticut, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. It has support from the United Farm Workers, Local 1199, District 65, the United Auto Workers, the American Federation of Teachers, and a number of municipal unions.

At present, the workers are represented only by the government of Puerto Rico which recruits them.

The growers bitterly oppose the union. It has brought charges against the FWA for simply trying to distribute a leaflet. Recently, the growers used their power to prevent a bill favoring farm workers rights to a union from passing the state legislature.

The Bulletin interviewed a number of young workers in Camp Windsor where more than 700 Chicanos and Puerto Rican farm workers live.

Junior and Tony, 19 and 20 years old, told us that they had signed up to work for eight months in the fields. They were told by the Department of Labor that they would get three hot

meals a day and fare to Connecticut.

According to Junior: "The government lied to us. The food we receive is no good for animals. For breakfast, bread and coffee. I got sick the first day because of that coffee.

"It's better to skip the other two meals. No taste and the same thing every day."

Tony said: "You have to work nine hours a day in the sun, so we

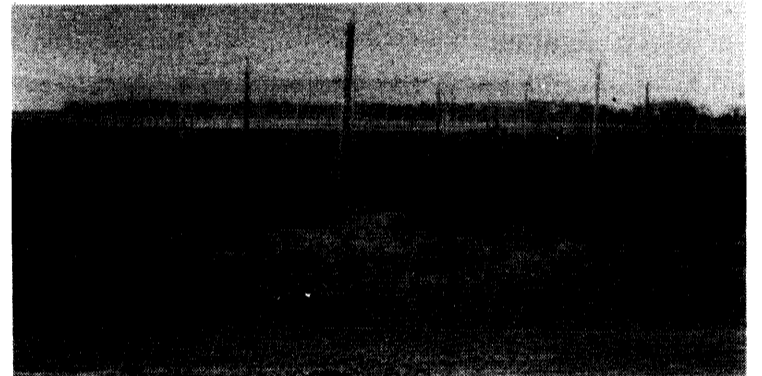
lunch. As soon as I finish, I have to start working again."

NEVER

Tony said: "If I knew about this, I would never have come here. It was difficult to find a job in the island.

"I'm 19 and never worked in my life because I couldn't find a job. It's the same with the other guys that work here.

Junior added: "I don't know



have to eat what they give us. One thing that really bothers me is that I worked 63 hours last week and got paid \$10.

"They took \$21 for food and \$4.55 for medical services, and the rest to pay my fare from Puerto Rico. How can I send money home to my family if I don't have enough for me?"

Junior told us that 19 Chicanos and 16 Puerto Ricans were thrown out of the camp for asking about the money.

ANGER

"Everybody is angry at the conditions in the camp and the fields. I only get five minutes for

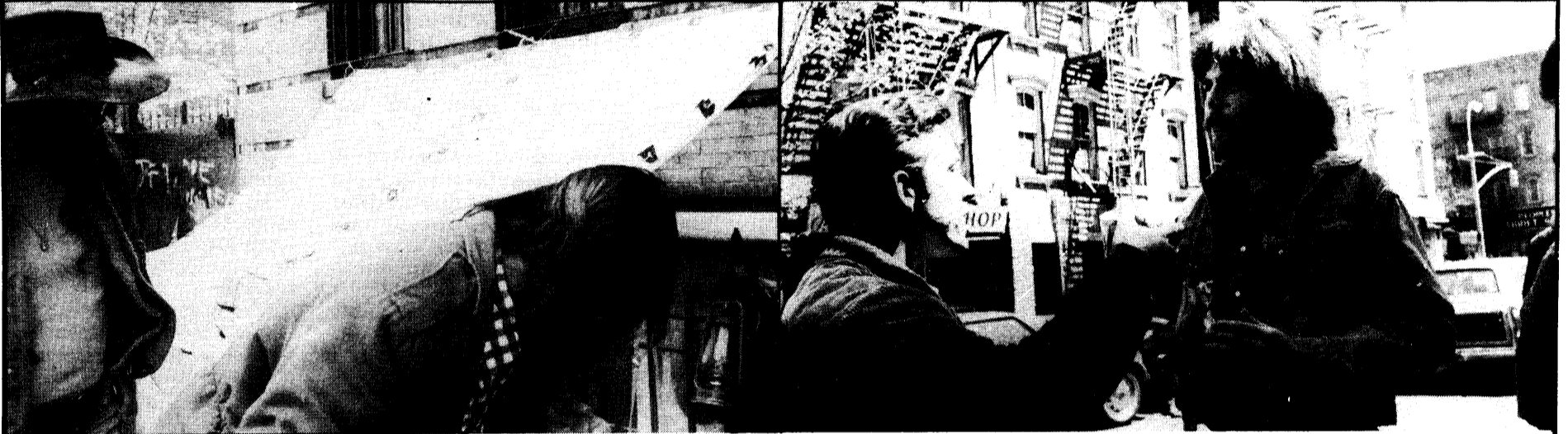
how long I'm going to take this. We are supposed to work until November. That's what the contract says. There is no place to go around here to have some entertainment."

So far the FWA, like Cesar Chavez, has relied on the courts to win the right to unionization. FWA president Irizarry has gone to the church and to the Democratic Party for support.

But as in California, the defense of the farm workers can only be taken forward in a fight to mobilize the labor movement politically to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

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Unemployed young men have set up tents on sidewalks near union hall. Below left: Tony, a former bank messenger. Top: Jose and Steve (with beard) waiting. Above right: A construction worker hoping to join the lather's talks with younger workers.

150 CAMP ON SIDEWALK FOR JOBS

"We're Not Exactly Here Because We Want To Be"

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—A shanty-town of some 150 young men has been set up here in front of the headquarters of the Metallic Lathers Union, Local 46.

The youth have been waiting, some of them for over two weeks, hoping to receive work permits so they can shape up for construction jobs on poured-concrete buildings.

They have been sleeping on the sidewalk under plastic shelters, or in parked cars, determined not to leave while there's a chance of getting work.

Their determination reflects the fighting spirit which comes forward as Nixon attempts to impose virtually total unemployment among the youth and inexperienced workers.

George Walsh, 29, was the first to appear in front of the hall. Last year, he was number 127 and didn't get a permit.

Unable to find a steady job during the whole year, he decided to camp out until the per-

mits were granted.

The union has not set a date yet for issuing the permits, or even confirmed that they will be given out on the same first-come, first-served basis as last year. There have been many rumors that a lottery system will be used instead.

The youth expect a decision on Monday, and say there will be "a real battle out here" if they do not get a chance to get the jobs.

With a decline in new building starts, there are fewer and fewer openings for youth who want training in the trades. And even if they get the permits, there is no guarantee of work.

"The most depressing part," one youth said, "is not the few union guys who come by and make really hostile remarks, but the friendly ones who tell us we might as well go home because there's already 350 members who can't get work every day."

But for most of the youth, even the chance of a few days work this summer at union scale, between \$10 and \$11 an hour, is worth the wait. Many in the line have been out of work most of the winter; some of them for over a year.

Like most youth, the ones who

had held jobs were paid minimum wages, or less. One youth summed up the feelings of many who had been trying to meet the skyrocketing prices on minimum wages:

"I can't see working for \$2 an hour. You take home about \$70 a week, and it costs you \$5 just to get to work and back. By the time you pick up the laundry, you're just existing."

Jose told the *Bulletin* he was a boxer in the garment district, earning \$1.30 to \$1.50 an hour before he was laid off a year and one-half ago.

Tony, who was a messenger at Chase Manhattan Bank, earned even less.

A plumber who could only find work in nonunion shops said he got laid off for "3 or 5 or 6 months every time they'd finish a job."

The union leadership, refusing at every point to wage a real fight for jobs by taking up a political struggle against Nixon, has allowed the press to build up the situation as a real battle between the youth and the union. Many of the youth disagree.

One youth, who has been out of work several months, said: "Myself, I'm on the union mem-

bers' side.

"A guy who's been up there 25 years, he's got a home and family, bills to pay. He should get work before me.

"But the government says they have to hire someone, so it might as well be me."

They're also angry about press reports that the "camp" is divided between minority youth and whites.

"We didn't know each other before we got here, but anyone who comes out here, he's here for just one thing, because he needs a job. We're in it together," one youth stated.

Steve, who was third or fourth in line, needs the money to go to law school.

"I don't know what I'll do if this doesn't come through. And soon. I was living in a friend's car parked on the street there, but he ran out of money and sold it this morning."

The union has been ordered to issue 250 permits annually, half to minority workers, since they lost a Justice Department suit charging discrimination two years ago. They are attempting to have the court order withdrawn.

"I'm worried about it," Steve said about the decisions now

being made. "The guy who was brought in to be an impartial mediator told the papers that 'We aren't making any kind of agreements on the sidewalk.'

"That doesn't sound impartial to me. We're not exactly here because we want to be. I don't see why we should hassle the union, especially. Why not the government?"

Several older workers on the line told the *Bulletin* they were already construction workers, steel carriers. "It's the heaviest job on the site," one said, "and this pays better.

"There's more benefits in the lather's contract, and a shape-up that's more fair.

"It's by priority, not some foreman's choice. So you have a better chance to put in some hours."

Only the campaign for a 30 hour week at 40 hours day, with industry nationalized under workers control and without compensation can guarantee that jobs will be open for both experienced workers and youth.

To win this, a labor party must be built. These demands are at the center of the 1974 Draft Program to be discussed at the Second National Young Socialist Conference May 4-5.

Part One

The Party of Lenin & Trotsky

"The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat."

These are the opening words of the Founding Program (1938) of the Fourth International, the world movement to which the Socialist Labour League belongs.

Trotsky, exiled from the Soviet Union, had gathered internationally all those revolutionaries who understood the need to take up the banner of socialist revolution, the banner trampled underfoot by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

By 1938, Stalin and his apparatus had demolished Soviet democracy in the USSR, had physically liquidated the cream of the Russian working class, the Bolshevik Party, and was responsible for the crushing defeats of the working class at the hands of fascism in Germany and Spain.

Trotsky, in the Transitional Program, explains that all the economic and material conditions for the transition to socialism not only have existed for a long time, but are rotten-ripe. In this period of "imperialist decay" only the false leadership of the working class provides the support to allow capitalism to continue: "The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership."

Today, when the SLL fights to transform itself into the Revolutionary Party, that is the outcome of the long struggle since 1938 consciously to resolve this crisis of revolutionary leadership. We do not begin from just the immediate problems of the workers movement in Britain, but from the foundations laid down by Trotsky, and earlier by Lenin and the Marxist movement.

The decision to form the Fourth International with independent revolutionary parties or "leagues" as part of it in every country was not taken lightly. It could be decided and carried through only by men of the greatest revolutionary will, by men with the most profound Marxist understanding of the epoch in which we live. Trotsky, after all, had been, after Lenin, the most prominent and renowned leader of the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, and of the international movement founded after its victory—the Third (Communist) International.

It was an enormous historic responsibility to draw the conclusion, after some 15 years, that the world movement founded precisely to answer the working class's need for revolutionary leadership, had become the main instrument for counter-revolution, could not be reformed, and must be replaced by a new, Fourth International. Furthermore, it was concluded that the Stalinist bureaucracy of the USSR had to be overthrown by the working class in a political revolution which would preserve and defend the economic gains of the October Revolution.

Yet Trotsky insisted, against all sorts of revisionists, that the Fourth International must be founded on the same basic principles as the Third (Communist) International (The Comintern or CI, as it was known) and the Russian Revolution.

In the early years, the Trotskyist movement had constantly to combat those elements who condemned Stalin's actions only as a path by which they reached anti-communism.

The Revolutionary Party in Britain will be based on the political foundations of the Communist International. It was the October Revolution, under the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik Party, which brought together in the Comintern (founded in 1919) the best of the revolutionary working class all over the world. Lenin had seen the necessity of a new revolutionary world International years earlier, when the Socialist Parties (of the "Second International") had gone over, with only isolated exceptions, to the sides of their own imperialists in each country on the outbreak of World War One in August 1914. "Never again the parties of the old type!" concluded Lenin.

What were the parties of the new type?

They were based on the principles of Bolshevism, and the decisions of the first four Congresses of the Comintern which outline in detail the structure, principles, strategy

and tactics of these parties, the insoluble foundation of our movement.

Above all, the October Revolution was led to success by a revolutionary party which based itself on Marx and Engels' theory of the state and revolution: the capitalist state cannot just be taken over by the working class in order to legislate socialism; it must be smashed and the workers own organs of power (Soviets, workers councils) put in its place.

The old social-democratic or reformist parties had fallen victim to the theory and practice of parliamentarism and gradualism. They claimed to be working for socialism by taking over power gradually within the institution of capitalism. In fact, they were themselves "taken over" by the capitalist system.

During World War One, Lenin devoted most of his energy and time to exposing this betrayal and its roots.

Capitalism had entered its last stage, the stage of imperialism: monopoly, the dominance of finance-capital, export of capital, wars for the division and redivision of the world; from the super-profits of imperialist exploitation, the growth of a labor aristocracy in the advanced capitalist countries, and on this social basis, rank opportunism and reformism in the socialist parties.

Lenin therefore insisted on parties of a new type, learning all the lessons of the Russian Bolsheviks. Their role was not to support their own imperialists in war, but to "turn the imperialist war into civil war" and take the state power.

Lenin and Trotsky saw the Russian Revolution as a breakthrough in backward Russia for the world revolution. The future of the Revolution would depend on the success of revolutionary struggles in the advanced capitalist countries.

By November 1918, the German working class rose up and overthrew the Kaiser's government, but the revolution was drowned in blood within three months. The treacherous social-democratic leaders had taken government office with the confidence of the working class and they conspired with the army generals to suppress those same workers. Thousands were killed in the streets. Their leaders, Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Jogiches, Karl Liebknecht, founders, too late, of the German Communist Party at the end of 1918, were brutally murdered in January 1919.

The Hungarian Revolution, following closely, was betrayed by the "left" social democrats, who had only recently joined into the same party with the communists.

Between these two events, the first Congress of the Communist International was convened, in a declaration with these main points:

"1. The present epoch is the epoch of the disintegration of the entire capitalist world system, which will drag the whole of European civilization down with it if capitalism with its insoluble contradictions is not destroyed.

"2. The task of the proletariat now is to seize state power immediately. The seizure of state power means the destruction of the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and the organization of a new proletarian apparatus of power.

"3. This new apparatus of power should embody the dictatorship of the working class (and in the same place also of the rural semi-proletariat, the village poor), that is, it should be the instrument for the systematic suppression of the exploiting classes and their expropriation. Not false bourgeois democracy—that hypocritical form of rule of the financial oligarchy—with its purely formal equality, but proletarian democracy, which gives the working masses the opportunity to make a reality of their freedom: not parliamentarism but self-government of these masses by their elected organs; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administration created by the masses themselves, with the masses really taking part in the government of the country and in socialist construction—this should be the type of the proletarian state. Its concrete form is given in the regime of the Soviets or of similar organs."

Can there be any doubt of who today upholds the real traditions of Lenin, Trotsky and the Communist International? Is it the Stalinists, with their lies about "peaceful, parliamentary roads to socialism," which led the workers of Chile into the holocaust, or is it the International Committee of the Fourth International, and its British section, the Socialist Labour League?

The Revolutionary Party will have to speak out clearly on this question of power,

the basic question of all questions, just as the Third International did. It must be a party independent of and "opposed to" all those parties which do not fight for working class power. Whatever temporary agreements may be necessary for the first defense of democratic rights, the revolutionary party will never give up its independent banner on this central question.

The declaration went on to say that the workers state must transform all private property in the banks, factories and land into national state property. Workers management must replace the capitalist bosses.

The working class, to defend such a revolution, must be armed, and the enemy class deprived of arms. Workers in all countries must unite for the struggle and there must be complete union of the countries where revolution was successful.

"The basic methods of struggle are mass actions of the proletariat right up to open armed conflict with the political power of capital."

Today, it is precisely the great "mass actions" provoked by uncontrolled inflation and the destruction of basic rights which the trade union and labor bureaucracy in Britain as well as the Stalinist bureaucracy internationally fear above all else. It is for these mass actions that the leadership of a revolutionary party is absolutely necessary, because the outcome of this struggle is the struggle for state power "against the political power of capital."

In relation to the "socialist" parties, the founding declaration took a clear, unequivocal stand:

"The old 'International' has broken down into three main groups: the avowed 'social chauvinists,' who throughout the imperialist war of 1914 to 1918 supported their own bourgeoisie or turned the working class into executioners of the international revolution; the 'center,' whose theoretical leader is Kautsky, consisting of those elements who are always vacillating, incapable of a firm line of conduct, and at times outright treacherous; finally there is the left, revolutionary wing.

"Towards the social-chauvinists, who everywhere at critical moments come out in arms against the proletarian revolution (Germany), no other attitude but unrelenting struggle is possible. As to the 'center,' the tactics of splitting off the revolutionary elements, and unsparing criticism and exposure of the leaders. Organizational separation from the centrists is at a certain stage of development absolutely essential.

"On the other hand it is necessary to form a bloc with those elements in the revolutionary workers movement, who, although they did not formerly belong to socialist parties, now stand by and large for the proletarian dictatorship in the form of Soviet power. Chief among these are the syndicalist elements in the workers movement.

"Finally, it is necessary to draw in all those proletarian groups and organizations, which, although they have not openly attached themselves to the left revolutionary tendency, nevertheless appear to be moving in that direction."

What is clear is that, having made an absolutely clear and principled distinction from the agents of exploitation in the workers movement, the founders of the Third International sought to rally to the revolutionary banner every element in the working class that strove for the revolutionary interests of the class. And this is precisely what the Communist International did.

In the course of the struggles, the majority of those leaders coming from the revolutionary syndicalist movement could not be assimilated to the communist movement, but it was absolutely necessary to take the movement through the struggle with this tendency, which in countries such as France and Britain had rallied many workers who could not tolerate the parliamentarism or bureaucracy of the Socialist Parties.

On these revolutionary political foundations, the Communist International proceeded to build the party of world revolution, and its first four Congresses, thrashing out every experience of the international struggle, provided in their reports and resolutions an analysis and development of all the basic questions of Marxist strategy and tactics.

Part Two

Strategy & Tactics

Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik leaders did not start afresh when they elaborated the strategy, tactics and organization of the revolutionary parties which united to form the Third International.

Marx and Engels before then had already laid the theoretical foundation on which the Bolshevik Party grew to lead the working class in Russia between the years of 1903 and 1917.

They began from the principle that the working class is the only revolutionary class in modern society. Politically the first task of Marxism must be to establish the political independence of this class—that is its independence politically of the aims and interests of all other classes.

This could only be done by a movement which disciplined and centralized the advanced sections of the working class organized in a party.

It was from this concept of political independence and revolutionary organization that Lenin developed democratic centralism.

The Bolsheviks, the parties of the Communist International and the sections forming the Fourth International, including the Revolutionary Party being built by the Socialist Labour League, have this type of organization.

The policies and program of the Party are thrashed out through the maximum participation in discussion, with members guaranteed the right to oppose the leadership and fight for alternative policies.

But the policies decided upon by the national Congress and by the elected leadership are binding and are always acted on in a disciplined way by all members, whatever the temporary differences that may exist at any time.

The democratic centralist form of organization is the only one which conforms to the theoretical basis of a Marxist Party.

The highest point of theory is revolutionary practice, and theory can be developed only in the test of practice. In this respect democratic centralism is the organizational method by which the party engages in conflict in order to bring theory and program into life.

This process deepens the theory, so enabling the working class to engage in higher forms of revolutionary practice up to the point of taking state power—the strategic aim of the working class.

Along this road tactics are the policies adopted to establish the actual leadership of the revolutionary party, to defeat the agencies of the class enemy in the workers movement, to unite the various sections and levels of the working class against the common enemy and to extract from every partial struggle (strike, opposition to oppression, protest, movements against high prices, and so on), the maximum that can be contributed to the preparation of the working class and the revolutionary party for the decisive struggle for political power.

The one basic thing that many "advisers" of Lenin and Trotsky always have "reservations" about is this question of a party of the Bolshevik type. They like to suggest it was suited only to Tsarist Russia and the prevailing conditions of dictatorship. In Britain, they argue, such a vanguard party is unnecessary.

But these people "forget" that such a type of party was laid down by the Communist International for all the member-parties and that in Left-Wing Communism, Lenin starts by saying he is drawing the lessons from the Bolsheviks' experience for the whole of the international movement.

The struggle for the political independence of the working class through democratic-centralism has nothing national about it. It is an international question of the relation between the class and party.

Lenin said on this question: "The stronger our party organizations, made up of genuine social democrats (i.e. Marxists) and the less the waverers and instability within the party, the broader and more varied, the richer and more fertile will be the influence of the party on the working class masses who enliven it and whom it leads."

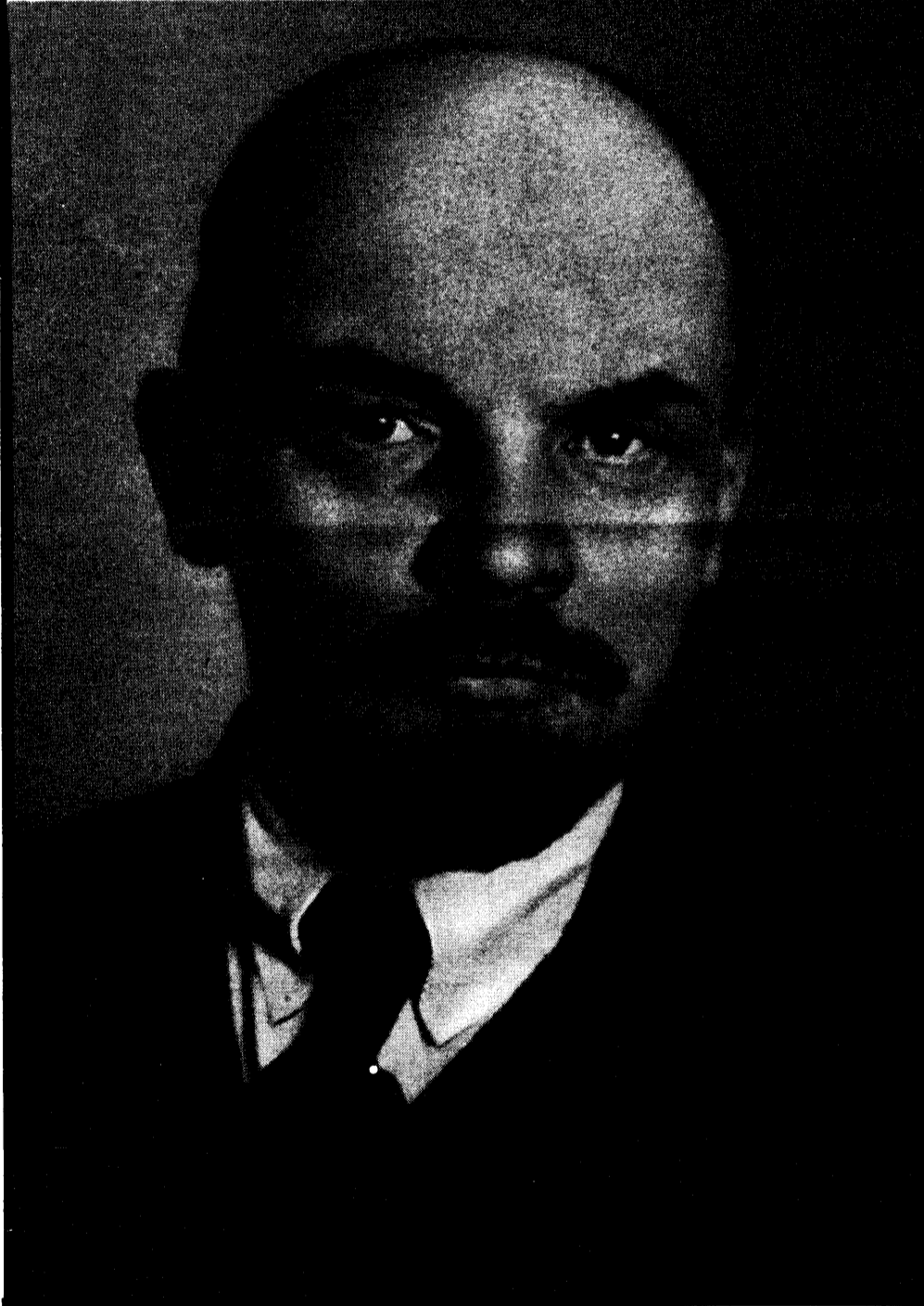
In this way the Party which we found will have to sink its roots into every part of working class activity in every part of the country. The most apparently settled and conservative layers of working class life will be profoundly affected by the crisis. The shock in these quarters will provide a

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But only a Party united for action in a disciplined way on the basis of Marxism will actually be able to call forward this potential in the working class. Only the formation now of the Revolutionary Party conforms to the conditions created by this profound world crisis.

The first task of the Communist International was to separate the genuine revolutionaries from the remnants of reformism and opportunism. It was in order to do this that the famous "21 Conditions" of application to the international was drafted.

But very soon Lenin and Trotsky found it necessary to counter another type of opposition to revolutionary tactics.

Among the British, Dutch, Hungarian and other Communists there developed a set of ideas called by its adherents "left-wing"

communism.

Against these tendencies Lenin wrote his **Left-Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder** and Trotsky made a number of detailed reports on the issue to the Third International (see Trotsky's **The First Five Years of the Communist International**, 2 Volumes, New Park Publications, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG).

These "left-wing" communists were of the opinion that all the forms of working class organizations and political struggle which preceded the revolutionary party and the Soviets were nothing but mechanisms of capitalist corruption. They opposed participation in parliamentary elections; they opposed any agreements with non-communist parties; they opposed work in the existing trade unions.

In answering them, Lenin and Trotsky made very clear the tactics of the Marxist

Party and these answers became the basis of the Third International. They have always been basic to the work of the Trotskyist movement and the Socialist Labour League and will be the tactical base-line of the new Revolutionary Party.

A circular letter of the executive committee of the Communist International, dated September 1, 1919, includes the following passage:

"Are we in favor of retaining bourgeois 'democratic' parliaments as the form of state administration?"

"No, in no circumstances. We are for Soviets.

"But are we in favor of using these parliaments for our communist work, so long as we are not strong enough to overthrow them?"

"Yes, we are in favor of that, on a number of conditions.

"We know very well that in France, America and England, the workers have not yet produced from their ranks parliamentarians capable of this kind of action. In these countries, until now, we have had parliamentary treachery. But that is no proof of the incorrectness of the tactics which we consider right. It only means that they have had no revolutionary party of the proletariat such as the Bolsheviks of the German Spartakists. When there is such a party, everything can become quite different. In particular it is necessary:

"1) that the center of gravity of the struggle shall be outside parliament (strikes, revolts, and other forms of mass struggle);

"2) that action inside parliament shall be bound up with this struggle;

"3) that the deputies shall also do illegal work;

"4) that they shall act on the instructions of the central committee and subordinate themselves to it;

"5) that in their actions they shall disregard parliamentary forms (not fearing outright collisions with the bourgeois majority, speaking 'over their heads,' etc.).

"Whether, at any given moment, to take part in elections, in the electoral campaign, depends on a number of concrete circumstances which must be very carefully considered in the given country at the given time. The Russian Bolsheviks were in favor of boycotting the elections to the first Imperial Duma in 1906, and the same Bolsheviks were in favor of taking part in the elections to the second Duma, when it became clear that the bourgeois-landowning power in Russia would still be ruling in Russia for many years.

"Before the elections to the German National Assembly in 1918 some Spartakists were in favor of participation, others against. But their party remained a united communist party."

On this basis, Lenin went out of his way to advise the British Communists to unite in a single party and immediately to reject the ultra-left positions of Gallacher and Sylvia Pankhurst. They must participate in parliamentary elections in such a way as to hasten the break of the British working class from their rotten Labour leaders.

This meant applying the policy of united front under the particular conditions of a labor movement dominated by reformism. Where the Communists were not strong enough to put up candidates, they should advocate the support of Labour candidates and the election of a Labour government in order to bring the masses in experience to the point of proving the treachery of the Labour leaders. These would be the best possible conditions for building the alternative revolutionary leadership.

Just as the participation in parliamentary elections and in parliament was to be qualitatively different from that of the old socialist parties, so the work in trade unions was to be communist work, revolutionary work.

The trade unions are the basic mass organizations of the working class, and it is absolutely essential that Marxists lead the fight in the unions against the trade union bureaucracy, agents of the enemy class within the unions.

In the era of socialist revolution, none of the basic questions of the working class can be settled by trade union action alone, because trade unions have been built as defensive organizations. In the new conditions they will become either organs of the capitalist state or instruments of struggle for the overthrow of the state. Marxists must fight for the leadership on every basic question coming up in the trade unions and the factories, but always in an organized political way, from the standpoint of building the revolutionary party for the winning of state power.

Today, as the Socialist Labour League fights to transform itself into the revolutionary party, these tactical questions become extremely urgent. The trade unions' very existence is threatened by the Industrial Relations Act and the "anti-inflation" legislation.

The union leaders collaborate with the Tory government which passes these laws. Never were conditions more favorable for political work in the trade unions, with every basic question of wages and conditions bringing the workers directly into conflict with the government and the courts. To turn away from the trade unions on the grounds that they are led by reformists and bureaucrats would be to abandon the most fundamental area of struggle.

It was this same question—the building of the revolutionary party in the trade unions—which divided the parties of the Communist International from syndicalism. The syndicalists concentrated on the spontaneous revolutionary potential of the masses, and regarded political work, especially parliamentary work, as a reactionary diversion.

Sounding very "left," they subordinated everything to agitation in the "rank and file" leading towards a General Strike. In such a strike, they said, the power of the working class would be manifested and the bourgeoisie and its state would be isolated.

Lenin and Trotsky, building on the principles put forward in Lenin's **What Is To Be Done**, attacked the dangerous one-sidedness of this approach. The contradictions of capitalism are not a matter of only the experiences of the working class, but mature at the level of relations between the classes and between class and state. They can be grasped on the basis of scientific theory. This theory can be advanced only by a party which organizes a practice taking in all these spheres, which informs every working class struggle with an overall understanding of the whole crisis.

Without this revolutionary party, starting from the preparation for power, the working class would certainly be involved in mass actions, but it would be defeated. Eventually most of the revolutionary syndicalists who had joined the Communist International left it on this fundamental question of the revolutionary party.

Stalinism later liquidated the independent role of the revolutionary party in the trade unions in favor of collaboration with the "left" reformist union leadership. In this way the Stalinists encouraged the persistence of syndicalist illusions in the working class.

Today it is the Stalinists who play the main role in keeping the workers in the trade unions away from their political task—mobilization of the class in unity to defeat the Tory government. Their line is that such a political mobilization is "premature," and they favor a mere protest movement to put pressure on the so-called "left" union leaders.

They are supported in this campaign by all the revisionist groupings. The International Marxist Group, for example, explains that if we call for bringing down the Tory government, this encourages illusions about the Labour government. In this way the ultra-left talk of sectarian groups combines with the open betrayal of the Stalinists to exclude revolutionary politics from the working class, right at the time when they are most necessary.

For this reason, the Socialist Labour League is calling upon all those in the working class who see the need for an independent political leadership to help to transform the League into the Revolutionary Party. Such an independent revolutionary party is the first necessity, at a time when all the "left" tendencies do everything in their power to keep the working class away from the essentially political tasks, and combine together with the Stalinist bureaucracy to protect the trade union bureaucracy and the capitalist state. It is not in the least remarkable that at the point where the "left" leader Jones takes the step of actually instructing his members to work machines serviced by men who are breaking an EEP TU strike, the Stalinists and revisionists are his main defenders. This is the real end result of "rank-and-file-ism." Once again it is only the Socialist Labour League which carries forward the revolutionary traditions of Lenin and the Communist International.

We shall see in future articles that Trotsky's whole work, after the rise of Stalinism, was to defend every principle of Marxism and of the Third International, and to refound the international movement on these principles.

TO BE CONTINUED

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But very soon Lenin and Trotsky found it necessary to counter another type of opposition to revolutionary tactics.

Among the British, Dutch, Hungarian and other Communists there developed a set of ideas called by its adherents "left-wing"

communism.

Against these tendencies Lenin wrote his **Left-Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder** and Trotsky made a number of detailed reports on the issue to the Third International (see Trotsky's **The First Five Years of the Communist International**, 2 Volumes, New Park Publications, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG).

These "left-wing" communists were of the opinion that all the forms of working class organizations and political struggle which preceded the revolutionary party and the Soviets were nothing but mechanisms of capitalist corruption. They opposed participation in parliamentary elections; they opposed any agreements with non-communist parties; they opposed work in the existing trade unions.

In answering them, Lenin and Trotsky made very clear the tactics of the Marxist

Party and these answers became the basis of the Third International. They have always been basic to the work of the Trotskyist movement and the Socialist Labour League and will be the tactical base-line of the new Revolutionary Party.

A circular letter of the executive committee of the Communist International, dated September 1, 1919, includes the following passage:

"Are we in favor of retaining bourgeois 'democratic' parliaments as the form of state administration?"

"No, in no circumstances. We are for Soviets.

"But are we in favor of using these parliaments for our communist work, so long as we are not strong enough to overthrow them?"

"Yes, we are in favor of that, on a number of conditions.

"We know very well that in France, America and England, the workers have not yet produced from their ranks parliamentarians capable of this kind of action. In these countries, until now, we have had parliamentary treachery. But that is no proof of the incorrectness of the tactics which we consider right. It only means that they have had no revolutionary party of the proletariat such as the Bolsheviks of the German Spartakists. When there is such a party, everything can become quite different. In particular it is necessary:

"(1) that the center of gravity of the struggle shall be outside parliament (strikes, revolts, and other forms of mass struggle);

"(2) that action inside parliament shall be bound up with this struggle;

"(3) that the deputies shall also do illegal work;

"(4) that they shall act on the instructions of the central committee and subordinate themselves to it;

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"Whether, at any given moment, to take part in elections, in the electoral campaign, depends on a number of concrete circumstances which must be very carefully considered in the given country at the given time. The Russian Bolsheviks were in favor of boycotting the elections to the first Imperial Duma in 1906, and the same Bolsheviks were in favor of taking part in the elections to the second Duma, when it became clear that the bourgeois-landowning power in Russia would still be ruling in Russia for many years.

"Before the elections to the German National Assembly in 1918 some Spartakists were in favor of participation, others against. But their party remained a united communist party."

On this basis, Lenin went out of his way to advise the British Communists to unite in a single party and immediately to reject the ultra-left positions of Gallacher and Sylvia Pankhurst. They must participate in parliamentary elections in such a way as to hasten the break of the British working class from their rotten Labour leaders.

This meant applying the policy of united front under the particular conditions of a labor movement dominated by reformism. Where the Communists were not strong enough to put up candidates, they should advocate the support of Labour candidates and the election of a Labour government in order to bring the masses in experience to the point of proving the treachery of the Labour leaders. These would be the best possible conditions for building the alternative revolutionary leadership.

Just as the participation in parliamentary elections and in parliament was to be qualitatively different from that of the old socialist parties, so the work in trade unions was to be communist work, revolutionary work.

The trade unions are the basic mass organizations of the working class, and it is absolutely essential that Marxists lead the fight in the unions against the trade union bureaucracy, agents of the enemy class within the unions.

In the era of socialist revolution, none of the basic questions of the working class can be settled by trade union action alone, because trade unions have been built as defensive organizations. In the new conditions they will become either organs of the capitalist state or instruments of struggle for the overthrow of the state. Marxists must fight for the leadership on every basic question coming up in the trade unions and the factories, but always in an organized political way, from the standpoint of building the revolutionary party for the winning of state power.

Today, as the Socialist Labour League fights to transform itself into the revolutionary party, these tactical questions become extremely urgent. The trade unions' very existence is threatened by the Industrial Relations Act and the "anti-inflation" legislation.

The union leaders collaborate with the Tory government which passes these laws. Never were conditions more favorable for political work in the trade unions, with every basic question of wages and conditions bringing the workers directly into conflict with the government and the courts. To turn away from the trade unions on the grounds that they are led by reformists and bureaucrats would be to abandon the most fundamental area of struggle.

It was this same question—the building of the revolutionary party in the trade unions—which divided the parties of the Communist International from syndicalism. The syndicalists concentrated on the spontaneous revolutionary potential of the masses, and regarded political work, especially parliamentary work, as a reactionary diversion.

Sounding very "left," they subordinated everything to agitation in the "rank and file" leading towards a General Strike. In such a strike, they said, the power of the working class would be manifested and the bourgeoisie and its state would be isolated.

Lenin and Trotsky, building on the principles put forward in Lenin's **What Is To Be Done**, attacked the dangerous one-sidedness of this approach. The contradictions of capitalism are not a matter of only the experiences of the working class, but mature at the level of relations between the classes and between class and state. They can be grasped on the basis of scientific theory. This theory can be advanced only by a party which organizes a practice taking in all these spheres, which informs every working class struggle with an overall understanding of the whole crisis.

Without this revolutionary party, starting from the preparation for power, the working class would certainly be involved in mass actions, but it would be defeated. Eventually most of the revolutionary syndicalists who had joined the Communist International left it on this fundamental question of the revolutionary party.

Stalinism later liquidated the independent role of the revolutionary party in the trade unions in favor of collaboration with the "left" reformist union leadership. In this way the Stalinists encouraged the persistence of syndicalist illusions in the working class.

Today it is the Stalinists who play the main role in keeping the workers in the trade unions away from their political task—mobilization of the class in unity to defeat the Tory government. Their line is that such a political mobilization is "premature," and they favor a mere protest movement to put pressure on the so-called "left" union leaders.

They are supported in this campaign by all the revisionist groupings. The International Marxist Group, for example, explains that if we call for bringing down the Tory government, this encourages illusions about the Labour government. In this way the ultra-left talk of sectarian groups combines with the open betrayal of the Stalinists to exclude revolutionary politics from the working class, right at the time when they are most necessary.

For this reason, the Socialist Labour League is calling upon all those in the working class who see the need for an independent political leadership to help to transform the League into the Revolutionary Party. Such an independent revolutionary party is the first necessity, at a time when all the "left" tendencies do everything in their power to keep the working class away from the essentially political tasks, and combine together with the Stalinist bureaucracy to protect the trade union bureaucracy and the capitalist state. It is not in the least remarkable that at the point where the "left" leader Jones takes the step of actually instructing his members to work machines serviced by men who are breaking an EEP TU strike, the Stalinists and revisionists are his main defenders. This is the real end result of "rank-and-file-ism." Once again it is only the Socialist Labour League which carries forward the revolutionary traditions of Lenin and the Communist International.

We shall see in future articles that Trotsky's whole work, after the rise of Stalinism, was to defend every principle of Marxism and of the Third International, and to refound the international movement on these principles.

TO BE CONTINUED

Part One The Party of Lenin & Trotsky

"The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat."

These are the opening words of the Founding Program (1938) of the Fourth International, the world movement to which the Socialist Labour League belongs.

Trotsky, exiled from the Soviet Union, had gathered internationally all those revolutionaries who understood the need to take up the banner of socialist revolution, the banner trampled underfoot by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

By 1938, Stalin and his apparatus had demolished Soviet democracy in the USSR, had physically liquidated the cream of the Russian working class, the Bolshevik Party, and was responsible for the crushing defeats of the working class at the hands of fascism in Germany and Spain.

Trotsky, in the Transitional Program, explains that all the economic and material conditions for the transition to socialism not only have existed for a long time, but are rotten-ripe. In this period of "imperialist decay" only the false leadership of the working class provides the support to allow capitalism to continue: "The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership."

Today, when the SLL fights to transform itself into the Revolutionary Party, that is the outcome of the long struggle since 1938 consciously to resolve this crisis of revolutionary leadership. We do not begin from just the immediate problems of the workers movement in Britain, but from the foundations laid down by Trotsky, and earlier by Lenin and the Marxist movement.

The decision to form the Fourth International with independent revolutionary parties or "leagues" as part of it in every country was not taken lightly. It could be decided and carried through only by men of the greatest revolutionary will, by men with the most profound Marxist understanding of the epoch in which we live. Trotsky, after all, had been, after Lenin, the most prominent and renowned leader of the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, and of the international movement founded after its victory—the Third (Communist) International.

It was an enormous historic responsibility to draw the conclusion, after some 15 years, that the world movement founded precisely to answer the working class's need for revolutionary leadership, had become the main instrument for counter-revolution, could not be reformed, and must be replaced by a new, Fourth International. Furthermore, it was concluded that the Stalinist bureaucracy of the USSR had to be overthrown by the working class in a political revolution which would preserve and defend the economic gains of the October Revolution.

Yet Trotsky insisted, against all sorts of revisionists, that the Fourth International must be founded on the same basic principles as the Third (Communist) International (The Comintern or CI, as it was known) and the Russian Revolution.

In the early years, the Trotskyist movement had constantly to combat those elements who condemned Stalin's actions only as a path by which they reached anti-communism.

The Revolutionary Party in Britain will be based on the political foundations of the Communist International. It was the October Revolution, under the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik Party, which brought together in the Comintern (founded in 1919) the best of the revolutionary working class all over the world. Lenin had seen the necessity of a new revolutionary world International years earlier, when the Socialist Parties (of the "Second International") had gone over, with only isolated exceptions, to the sides of their own imperialists in each country on the outbreak of World War One in August 1914. "Never again the parties of the old type!" concluded Lenin.

What were the parties of the new type? They were based on the principles of Bolshevism, and the decisions of the first four Congresses of the Comintern which outline in detail the structure, principles, strategy

and tactics of these parties, the insoluble foundation of our movement.

Above all, the October Revolution was led to success by a revolutionary party which based itself on Marx and Engels' theory of the state and revolution: the capitalist state cannot just be taken over by the working class in order to legislate socialism; it must be smashed and the workers own organs of power (Soviets, workers councils) put in its place.

The old social-democratic or reformist parties had fallen victim to the theory and practice of parliamentarism and gradualism. They claimed to be working for socialism by taking over power gradually within the institution of capitalism. In fact, they were themselves "taken over" by the capitalist system.

During World War One, Lenin devoted most of his energy and time to exposing this betrayal and its roots.

Capitalism had entered its last stage, the stage of imperialism: monopoly, the dominance of finance-capital, export of capital, wars for the division and redivision of the world; from the super-profits of imperialist exploitation, the growth of a labor aristocracy in the advanced capitalist countries, and on this social basis, rank opportunism and reformism in the socialist parties.

Lenin therefore insisted on parties of a new type, learning all the lessons of the Russian Bolsheviks. Their role was not to support their own imperialists in war, but to "turn the imperialist war into civil war" and take the state power.

Lenin and Trotsky saw the Russian Revolution as a breakthrough in backward Russia for the world revolution. The future of the Revolution would depend on the success of revolutionary struggles in the advanced capitalist countries.

By November 1918, the German working class rose up and overthrew the Kaiser's government, but the revolution was drowned in blood within three months. The treacherous social-democratic leaders had taken government office with the confidence of the working class and they conspired with the army generals to suppress those same workers. Thousands were killed in the streets. Their leaders, Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Jogiches, Karl Liebknecht, founders, too late, of the German Communist Party at the end of 1918, were brutally murdered in January 1919.

The Hungarian Revolution, following closely, was betrayed by the "left" social democrats, who had only recently joined into the same party with the communists.

Between these two events, the first Congress of the Communist International was convened, in a declaration with these main points:

"1. The present epoch is the epoch of the disintegration of the entire capitalist world system, which will drag the whole of European civilization down with it if capitalism with its insoluble contradictions is not destroyed.

"2. The task of the proletariat now is to seize state power immediately. The seizure of state power means the destruction of the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and the organization of a new proletarian apparatus of power.

"3. This new apparatus of power should embody the dictatorship of the working class (and in the same place also of the rural semi-proletariat, the village poor), that is, it should be the instrument for the systematic suppression of the exploiting classes and their expropriation. Not false bourgeois democracy—that hypocritical form of rule of the financial oligarchy—with its purely formal equality, but proletarian democracy, which gives the working masses the opportunity to make a reality of their freedom: not parliamentarism but self-government of these masses by their elected organs; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administration created by the masses themselves, with the masses really taking part in the government of the country and in socialist construction—this should be the type of the proletarian state. Its concrete form is given in the regime of the Soviets or of similar organs."

Can there be any doubt of who today upholds the real traditions of Lenin, Trotsky and the Communist International? Is it the Stalinists, with their lies about "peaceful, parliamentary roads to socialism," which led the workers of Chile into the holocaust, or is it the International Committee of the Fourth International, and its British section, the Socialist Labour League?

The Revolutionary Party will have to speak out clearly on this question of power,

the basic question of all questions, just as the Third International did. It must be a party independent of and "opposed to" all those parties which do not fight for working class power. Whatever temporary agreements may be necessary for the first defense of democratic rights, the revolutionary party will never give up its independent banner on this central question.

The declaration went on to say that the workers state must transform all private property in the banks, factories and land into national state property. Workers management must replace the capitalist bosses.

The working class, to defend such a revolution, must be armed, and the enemy class deprived of arms. Workers in all countries must unite for the struggle and there must be complete union of the countries where revolution was successful.

"The basic methods of struggle are mass actions of the proletariat right up to open armed conflict with the political power of capital."

Today, it is precisely the great "mass actions" provoked by uncontrolled inflation and the destruction of basic rights which the trade union and labor bureaucracy in Britain as well as the Stalinist bureaucracy internationally fear above all else. It is for these mass actions that the leadership of a revolutionary party is absolutely necessary, because the outcome of this struggle is the struggle for state power "against the political power of capital."

In relation to the "socialist" parties, the founding declaration took a clear, unequivocal stand:

"The old 'International' has broken down into three main groups: the avowed 'social chauvinists,' who throughout the imperialist war of 1914 to 1918 supported their own bourgeoisie or turned the working class into executioners of the international revolution; the 'center,' whose theoretical leader is Kautsky, consisting of those elements who are always vacillating, incapable of a firm line of conduct, and at times outright treacherous; finally there is the left, revolutionary wing.

"Towards the social-chauvinists, who everywhere at critical moments come out in arms against the proletarian revolution (Germany), no other attitude but unrelenting struggle is possible. As to the 'center,' the tactics of splitting off the revolutionary elements, and unsparing criticism and exposure of the leaders. Organizational separation from the centrists is at a certain stage of development absolutely essential.

"On the other hand it is necessary to form a bloc with those elements in the revolutionary workers movement, who, although they did not formerly belong to socialist parties, now stand by and large for the proletarian dictatorship in the form of Soviet power. Chief among these are the syndicalist elements in the workers movement.

"Finally, it is necessary to draw in all those proletarian groups and organizations, which, although they have not openly attached themselves to the left revolutionary tendency, nevertheless appear to be moving in that direction."

What is clear is that, having made an absolutely clear and principled distinction from the agents of exploitation in the workers movement, the founders of the Third International sought to rally to the revolutionary banner every element in the working class that strove for the revolutionary interests of the class. And this is precisely what the Communist International did.

In the course of the struggles, the majority of those leaders coming from the revolutionary syndicalist movement could not be assimilated to the communist movement, but it was absolutely necessary to take the movement through the struggle with this tendency, which in countries such as France and Britain had rallied many workers who could not tolerate the parliamentarism or bureaucracy of the Socialist Parties.

On these revolutionary political foundations, the Communist International proceeded to build the party of world revolution, and its first four Congresses, thrashing out every experience of the international struggle, provided in their reports and resolutions an analysis and development of all the basic questions of Marxist strategy and tactics.

Part Two Strategy & Tactics

Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik leaders did not start afresh when they elaborated the strategy, tactics and organization of the revolutionary parties which united to form the Third International.

Marx and Engels before then had already laid the theoretical foundation on which the Bolshevik Party grew to lead the working class in Russia between the years of 1903 and 1917.

They began from the principle that the working class is the only revolutionary class in modern society. Politically the first task of Marxism must be to establish the political independence of this class—that is its independence politically of the aims and interests of all other classes.

This could only be done by a movement which disciplined and centralized the advanced sections of the working class organized in a party.

It was from this concept of political independence and revolutionary organization that Lenin developed democratic centralism.

The Bolsheviks, the parties of the Communist International and the sections forming the Fourth International, including the Revolutionary Party being built by the Socialist Labour League, have this type of organization.

The policies and program of the Party are thrashed out through the maximum participation in discussion, with members guaranteed the right to oppose the leadership and fight for alternative policies.

But the policies decided upon by the national Congress and by the elected leadership are binding and are always acted on in a disciplined way by all members, whatever the temporary differences that may exist at any time.

The democratic centralist form of organization is the only one which conforms to the theoretical basis of a Marxist Party.

The highest point of theory is revolutionary practice, and theory can be developed only in the test of practice. In this respect democratic centralism is the organizational method by which the party engages in conflict in order to bring theory and program into life.

This process deepens the theory, so enabling the working class to engage in higher forms of revolutionary practice up to the point of taking state power—the strategic aim of the working class.

Along this road tactics are the policies adopted to establish the actual leadership of the revolutionary party, to defeat the agencies of the class enemy in the workers movement, to unite the various sections and levels of the working class against the common enemy and to extract from every partial struggle (strike, opposition to oppression, protest, movements against high prices, and so on), the maximum that can be contributed to the preparation of the working class and the revolutionary party for the decisive struggle for political power.

The one basic thing that many "advisers" of Lenin and Trotsky always have "reservations" about is this question of a party of the Bolshevik type. They like to suggest it was suited only to Tsarist Russia and the prevailing conditions of dictatorship. In Britain, they argue, such a vanguard party is unnecessary.

But these people "forget" that such a type of party was laid down by the Communist International for all the member-parties and that in Left-Wing Communism, Lenin starts by saying he is drawing the lessons from the Bolsheviks' experience for the whole of the international movement.

The struggle for the political independence of the working class through democratic-centralism has nothing national about it. It is an international question of the relation between the class and party.

Lenin said on this question: "The stronger our party organizations, made up of genuine social democrats (i.e. Marxists) and the less the waverings and instability within the party, the broader and more varied, the richer and more fertile will be the influence of the party on the working class masses who enliven it and whom it leads."

In this way the Party which we found will have to sink its roots into every part of working class activity in every part of the country. The most apparently settled and conservative layers of working class life will be profoundly affected by the crisis. The shock in these quarters will provide a

Political Foundations Of The Revolutionary Party

by Cliff Slaughter

V.I. Lenin

Reprinted from Workers Press



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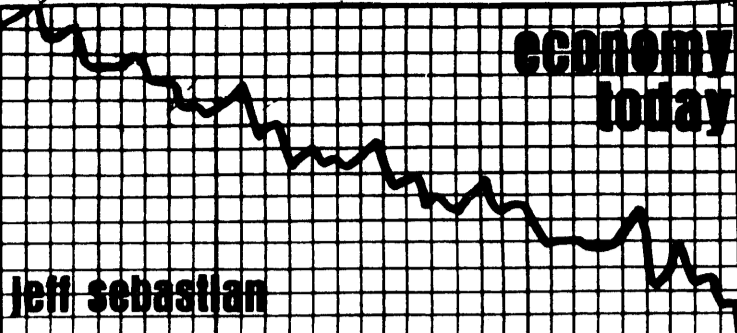
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TO BE CONTINUED



Food For Ransom

Consumer price index figures released last week document the continued leap in food prices which is hitting millions of workers.

The index, which is computed on a 1967 figure of 100, shows that since 1967, food prices across the country have risen by nearly 60 percent.

Most recently, despite some slight and temporary declines in meat and egg prices, the rises in cereals, baked goods, dairy products, sugar and processed fruits and vegetables have more than compensated. In the year through March, 1974, food prices have leaped 18.3 percent.

While month by month workers' buying power has been eroded by the soaring cost of an absolute necessity, the large food processors and chain markets are gobbling up profits at a rate far beyond the increases in inflation.

A **Business Week** composite average for 1973 shows the picture. The largest chain stores included in these figures raked in profits for the last quarter of 1973 of \$109.8 million, representing a leap of 26 percent over the comparable period in 1972. Overall for 1973, they took in \$354.7 million in profits for a gain of 32 percent over the 1973 figures.

Some of the giants did much better, of course. Stop and Shop boosted its profits for 1973 by 96 percent. Kroger reported in with a whopping 41 percent increase for the year.

The food processors did a bit more modestly, reporting profits of over half a billion for the last quarter of 1973, for a 21 percent increase, and overall profits for the year approaching \$2 billion, for an increase of 17 percent over 1972.

Once again, these figures hide profit increases as high as 80.7 percent for Campbell Soup, 103.4 percent for Kraftco, and 82 percent for Del Monte.

Behind these fantastic profit figures is a food industry increasingly dominated by a small number of monopolist producers in many cases controlling every aspect of the food process from the growing, through processing and distribution, to the final sales at the supermarket counters.

The degree to which this concentration has taken place is revealed in the supermarket industry. The top four, A&P, Safeway, Kroger, and National Tea, accounted for one-fifth of all grocery sales in the country.

If we add a few more chains to this list, then the 20 largest food chain stores dominate three quarters of all food sales in the country.

The degree to which the large food processors are involved in the retail trade is demonstrated by the fact that one-third the sales volume of the biggest 200 food manufacturers is generated in their own outlets. The American food industry, which is the largest in the world, is a \$150 billion a year industry larger even than auto, steel or oil.

This industry with its huge cash flow has proved particularly attractive to the conglomerates with their ever pressing need for ready cash.

A typical case is Tenneco which recently announced a profit increase of 53 percent for the first quarter of 1974.

Tenneco which previously had operated in the oil, pipeline, chemical, packaging, and shipbuilding industries has a massive share in food production as well.

The company holds land in California's rich Kern County equivalent to a one mile strip running from San Francisco to Los Angeles. Through this, it controls 70 percent of all date production and 10 percent of table grapes, as well as 10 to 15 percent of the California market in such fruits as peaches, plums, strawberries, and cherries.

Or take Consolidated Foods, one of the ten biggest in the country. Beginning as a wholesale house, it includes agricultural holdings, food processing, including such names as Chicken Delight, and a chain of hundreds of supermarkets, dairy processors, and dairy stores.

For companies like Tenneco and Consolidated, inflation is an invitation to grab for profits at every link in the chain leading to the final sale of the product.

These are the giants making astronomical profits from the speculation in primary food products that is doubling and tripling prices on the world markets.

The working class can only answer the speculation and profit gouging in food by constructing its own labor party committed to taking the profit out of food by nationalizing the industry without compensation under workers control.

Teamsters Strike For Wage Hike

BY FRANK DENISON
CLEVELAND, Ohio, April 25—As the strike of Teamster Local 244, which has halted garbage collection throughout Cleveland, enters its eleventh day, court-supervised negotiations continue to be deadlocked.

The city has refused to go beyond a 20 cent raise unless it is tied to massive layoffs of city workers. This is what the Perke administration has demanded since passing the new city budget.

In retaliation for the Teamsters strike, 750 members of Local 1099, who maintain the trucks and garages, were laid off immediately.

Striking Teamsters are demanding a dollar an hour increase tied to a 100 percent cost of living escalator, and an end to the second class citizen treatment given to all city workers.

UNITED FRONT

Despite the fact that 16 unions had wage reopeners due January 1, that were ignored by the city, Local 244 alone remains on strike in defiance of the daily fines of \$3000 that are mounting up under the Fergusen Act, and



Striking Cleveland Teamsters are demanding a dollar an hour raise. Below: Streets of Cleveland with uncollected garbage.

threats to call up the National Guard.

From the beginning, the union leadership has refused to take the strike forward by turning to the Cleveland labor movement in a political fight against the hated Perke administration.

Yesterday, nine unions, representing 2500 nonuniformed city workers, announced the formation of a "united front" in the negotiations. This means that all wage reopeners must be settled before the Teamsters resume garbage collections.

The ranks are demanding

united action. They know the city is determined to give them nothing.

One picketing member of Local 244 told the **Bulletin**: "The leaders are playing politics with the mayor and the courts. The truth is, they don't want to bargain for what we need."

"They are looking for a few crumbs. I don't want to take anything from the police or the firemen or anyone else. They'll have to pay us what we have coming."

Another worker answered: "All the unions should go out. Then we will get some action."

GENERAL STRIKE

Other unions in the negotiations include IBEW Local 1377 and Local 39, Service Employees Locals 47 and 48, and Ohio Nurses Association. The strike must now be taken forward into a general strike of all 11,500 city workers to defend the basic right to collective bargaining denied to workers by the Fergusen Act, and to reopen all contracts to include a one dollar an hour catch-up, tied to a 100 percent cost of living and no layoffs.

The city turns to the court negotiations, not because it will bargain, but so it can buy time to whip up the campaign in the press against the unions and to create the conditions to bring in the National Guard.



Radicals Back Union Bureaucrats

BY LOUIS MILLER
COLUMBUS, Ohio—A demonstration of various liberal groups was held here Friday as a display of support of the Borden Columbus Coated Fabric workers, members of Local 487,

Textile Workers of America. Among the participants were the local tenants union, National Lawyers Guild, Progressive Labor Alliance, Young Socialist Alliance, and Students for a Democratic Society.

The coalition with these groups comes in the wake of a

ruling by the National Labor Relations Board, saying the union had not submitted enough evidence of Borden's attempts to break the union.

Borden's president blatantly told the Columbus press in February that machinery was being moved for the purpose of breaking the union.

Working class alliances with the middle class have consistently proved destructive to workers, confining their struggle to radical protest.

The labor bureaucracy's alliance with the SWP, Progressive Labor and SDS constitutes a cover-up for its failure to win through capitalist legal bodies.

The local 487 bureaucrats deliberately divert the workers from the political fight now required. That is why workers were forbidden to attend the Dayton Auto Conference which showed the way to unite auto workers in a national strike action against auto companies.

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St. Paul, Minn., April 25—Auto mechanics of IAM 737 here are still picketing dealers' showrooms after four weeks. As one worker told the Bulletin: "They want to give us 6 percent a year over the next three years and your story there reports a 14.1 annual raise in the cost of living this year along. "No Way! We'll stay out. That's why the men voted 5 to 1 NO." Minneapolis Teamsters officials keep the Minneapolis auto mechanics, organized by IBT working by once again extending their strike deadline for two more weeks. Minneapolis men have been working without a contract since April 15. In effect, they are being forced to scab against their brothers in St. Paul, since much work is simply shipped across the city line to the same dealer's shop in Minneapolis.

midwest news

Closings Hit 6400 Detroit Ford Workers

BY JANE JACKSON
DETROIT—Ford Motor Co. has begun one and two week layoffs of 6400 workers in Detroit area plants.

Hardest hit is the Wixom assembly plant which produces the Lincoln, Mark IV, and Thunderbird models. Thirty-five hundred of the 5300 United Auto Workers there face one to two week layoffs as the company reduces the production of these cars to a one shift operation.

Local 36 vice president, Jim Babb, told the Bulletin that there was still the possibility of more layoffs as the plant changed over to new models.

"It's strictly by sales that they

schedule the production," he stated, "and they only run on a 10 day sales report, so we really don't know from day to day what's going to happen as far as layoffs are concerned."

At the Livonia Transmission Plant, 2700 will be idle the week of May 6. The plant makes transmissions for the big cars, and this is the third layoff in the past three months. According to the financial secretary of Local 182, UAW, this may not be the last of the one week layoffs for some time to come.

In addition to these two plants, 125 workers are laid off for two weeks at the Utica Trim Plant, and 75 for one week at the Plymouth Parts Plant.

Indefinite layoffs began for 440 during this three week period, including 170 at a metal stamping division plant in Dearborn, and 270 at the Dearborn Casting Plant.

Stroh's Strike Still Solid After 4 Weeks

BY PETE KELLY
DETROIT—As Teamster Local 181 and 1088 enter their fourth week of strike action against Stroh's Brewery, the union leadership has remained silent on the negotiations taking place.

This blackout comes at the same time that Stroh's has put management to work in the plant in an effort to save the yeast on hand from spoiling.

"There's some agreement that was made years ago that if the yeast spoils because of a strike, the company can slap a lawsuit on us," Ray Uren explained. "They have to put the beer in storage tanks, though, and can't bottle it."

Another worker said: "I've been working here since 1934 and I know that the capitalists will not give up an inch."

"All they keep talking about is progress. I'd like to make a little progress too, but we can't make it if the union doesn't tell us anything."

Pickets at the Stroh's plant near downtown Detroit were uncertain about when the next meeting to discuss the latest company offer will be held. Picketing continues, with those who put in the specified time receiving \$20 a week in strike benefits. An increase to \$45 a week is due, but no one is sure when.

Uren, who worked in the packaging department for a year and one-half told the Bulletin: "At first it wasn't bad, but the bills keep coming in and all the company wants to offer is peanuts."

One worker stated: "I agree with the Bulletin. Nixon has to be forced out and a labor party built."

"Nixon is nothing but a liar, and a cheat. He gets six months to pay his back taxes and we get the jailhouse."

Teachers Protest Firing Of 75

Teachers Protest Firing Of 75

BY A REPORTER
YOUNGSTOWN—About 30 teachers picketed the Board of Education headquarters last week to protest the firing of 75 of their fellow teachers.

These teachers were notified by letter that their contracts were not being renewed for next year. Some of the teachers have as much as seven years seniority, but they are not tenured.

Youngstown Education Association President Charles Jewell told the Bulletin he expected hundreds of teachers at a picket of the next board meeting on April 24.

"I sure hope to have a massive turnout. We are demanding the rehiring of all 75 teachers."

"We're taking a stand against all layoffs. Youngstown wasn't fully staffed this last year either."

"Something's got to be done for the kids in these schools," said Larry Delino of East High School. Delino is a member of

the Youngstown Federation of Teachers, the AFT affiliate in Youngstown.

The YEA is the bargaining agent for the system's approximately 1000 teachers.

Some of the teachers doubted that the "informational picketing," as the union has called it, could change the

Sealy Ranks Bitter Over Sellout

BY A REPORTER
ST. PAUL, Minn.—Sealy workers are returning to work after a bitter four month strike under a sellout agreement negotiated by the officials of Upholsterers Local 61.

Workers denounced the contract in interviews with the Bulletin.

"I got cut \$2 an hour," Roger reported. It's the same offer we turned down four weeks ago."

In addition to accepting the pay cuts, the workers gave up factory seniority for department seniority, the biggest setback was their return to work

board's mind.

"You can't accomplish anything with those rinky-dinks," said one of the teachers who has been fired. "I don't expect this to do any good."

State education appropriations are reported to involve the elimination of 40 teaching jobs in Youngstown.

without the two militant strikers fired early in the strike, supposedly for throwing rocks at company windows.

These cases will be arbitrated, and as one man put it: "We doubt if they will ever be back."

Most of the workers are not back yet and will not be for a week or two—and then only at huge reductions of pay. Joe H. for example, after 17 years as a dock worker, will return as a piece worker and lose about \$2 an hour.

Clifford stated: "I really got shafted. Not only do I take a

terrible wage cut, but I'm back to the old job it took me 10 years to get off.

"It's too bad the union couldn't have stuck together like it did in the beginning. If the union would have done what it was supposed to do, we'd still be on strike and we'd have won."

"The union should have really fought and have kept the mattresses from being shipped in here from Albany, Denver, Chicago, and Wisconsin."

"That would have really mobilized some support for us and kept the workers united."

Layoffs Hit Bell Telephone Ranks

BY DEBRA WATSON
CHICAGO, April 25—As the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers prepares to negotiate a national contract with the Western Electric Company by the July 17 termination date, layoffs are continuing around the country in plants that produce telephone equipment for the Bell Telephone System.

A Western Electric Company spokesman told the Bulletin: "We have already laid off 200 at our Hawthorne Works in Chicago."

"We can't say how many more will be laid off. It all depends on the orders we get from AT& T Bell Telephone."

"We are owned by them and sell almost only to them."

"We expect that we will lay off until our work force reaches 1400, sometime in 1975. This is not just a local thing. Plants around the country are cutting back."

"In the five other Chicago plants, they hope that all the reductions will be through attrition. But the economy is sluggish, and we just aren't getting the orders from Bell Telephone."

In 1968 Western Electric employed 19,000 at the Hawthorne works. In 1970 they employed 25,000. Now the work force is down to 15,000 and the cut of 1000 is only an estimate by the company spokesman.

MAINTENANCE

Bob Gorman, Vice-president of Local 1859, which represents the production and maintenance employees at the Hawthorne Works said:

"This has nothing to do with the energy crisis, which many people believe is a hoax."

"When I talk about the energy crisis, I mean what happened in the Auto Industry and in Steel. The economy is very sluggish now, and it is rough in these plants."

"Under the union contract Movement of Personnel provision, men are being double

trained and triple trained to fill other jobs as they are laid off. Even this is not a sure thing.

"You can only bump someone in your own branch if you have under 10 years seniority, and although a branch of the local is very large, there does not necessarily have to be a job for you. With under 10 years you can go to another branch if there is a vacancy."

"If you have over 10 years seniority, there is plantwide seniority if you get a job, but the wages may or may not be the same. It depends on the particular job you go into."

Just how rough it really is was described by Mrs. Wilson, the wife of a production worker in the Step by Step Shop.

PLANTWIDE

Although the layoffs are plantwide, the first and hardest hit is the shop which produces equipment that is becoming obsolete. One-fourth of the men are due to be laid off in the branch, including anyone with five years seniority or under.

"Ardell just got his four years. He started working there in 1970. He's hoping that maybe they will

pass him by, there might be a chance the layoffs won't be so bad."

"If they offer him a job in another department, he can take that, but he probably will be starting at a lot lower than he gets now."

"With three kids, he would get about 90 dollars compensation. That is probably what he would get if he takes a job in another department."

"When my brother-in-law was laid off in 1970, they gave him a choice of another job. That dropped him down to 90 dollars."

NEXT YEAR

"They told us earlier that the layoffs would probably not start until March of next year, so we would have another year of work at least. Then they came out with this on Monday. Nobody knows how long the layoffs will last or when they will start."

AT& T is not concerned with the number of phones it installs, or the quality of its service, but profit. Thus the squeeze is on and the resulting layoffs are carried out with the arrogance of the Western Electric spokesman: "It's nothing earth shaking."

FILM

by Collette Windsor

Love & Anarchy



Salome gives a piece of her mind to the madame of the house.

Lina Wertmuller, the first woman to become a film director in Italy, has made an excellent portrait of a farm boy turned anarchist in Mussolini's Italy.

Despite bourgeois critics' attempts to turn a solidly political film into either semipornography or humanistic farce, *Love and Anarchy* is a limited masterpiece in technical and artistic aspects and stands firmly with the working class and peasantry, while the uselessness of political assassination is subtly expressed throughout.

Under the assumed name of Tunin, a young farmer arrives in Rome with a shabby suitcase, and gold bullet marked BM. His mission is to assassinate Mussolini, and his contact and comrade is Salome, the classiest whore in Rome's fanciest "maison."

The whorehouse is much fre-



Giancarlo Gianini as Tunin, in a fit of terror.

quented by the fascists and one of Salome's most ardent admirers has arranged to get seats for her and her country "cousin" at a public rally right next to Il Duce himself.

During the three days before the rally, Tunin is Salome's guest at the whorehouse and falls in love with a young prostitute, Tripoli. He confesses his mission to her, but it is clear she cannot understand.

The film shows the events leading up to his arrival in Rome. Seeing his best friend, an anarchist, brutally murdered by the fascists, Tunin vows to take up his friend's mission where he left off. He goes to Paris, to the exiled leaders of the Italian anarchists and assures them that he will kill Mussolini. They train him to use a gun and send him

back to Rome.

Salome tries to convince him that he need not go through with the assassination, but Tunin stands firm.

"We farmers, we live worse than field mice. There comes a time when a man must say, 'that's enough' or no longer be a man."

The atmosphere of a bordello is conducive to blatant honesties, and thus the setting becomes a vehicle for quick and sharp glimpses into the characters, which develop an understanding of the driving forces behind them, but always in terms of individual experiences lacking political assessment.

The film shows the fascists for what they were—utter swine with absolute contempt for the working class. In a fascinating scene, Salome's general takes Tunin for a wild midnight ride to a fountain lit by moonlight, and mounting the sculptured figures, the general gives a drunken speech against the "socialist and anarchist scum who always talk about The People, The People!" Tunin becomes enraged, but becomes even more enraged when the general makes fun of his romance with Tripoli.

The character of Tunin very much expresses not only the individualism of anarchy, but also the individualism of the proletariat and farmers of that period in Italy.

Tunin, reaching the point of saying "that's enough," expresses the desperation of the defeated Italian working class, and with no political background or theory, he turns to a simple, immediate, and individual solution.

Giancarlo Gianini as Tunin deserved the Cannes Film Festival award for best actor. Mariangela Melato, as Salome, also gave her part a superb interpretation.

One cannot blame the film for showing an anarchist in anarchist terms and methods. This is, in fact, its great strength, for it anchors the plot and solidifies the characters to make, overall, a piece of cinema which is both emotionally and politically powerful.

But while we recognize the heroism of anarchists, it must also be made clear that assassination and terrorism are acts of impotence, which, as isolated acts are incapable of destroying the structure of the capitalist state because neither is based on the building of a mass revolutionary party.

Police Plan New 'Zebra' Tactics

BY BARRY GREY

SAN FRANCISCO— Under the cover of a drastic cutback in the week old stop and search operation for the Zebra killer, San Francisco police have announced their intention to make their occupation of the Black areas permanent.

The capitalist media are representing a directive from Chief of Inspectors Charles Barca to "be more selective" when stopping young Black men as a major concession to the massive opposition from the communities and two suits being brought against the police terror campaign.

The police intend to circumvent the ruling by federal Judge Alfonzo J. Zirpoli, that the searches are unconstitutional.

A memo submitted by Barca to Zirpoli before the ruling said: "From now on, be more selective when making stops. Make them when the individual is acting, or appears to be, out of the ordinary."

Barca went on to explain what "out of the ordinary" means. One example he gave is if someone is waiting for a Muni bus and "the Muni vehicle arrives and he doesn't board it."

The other is when an automobile drops a person off and "stops either within sight or around the corner or the passenger vehicle stops and the passenger continues walking on ahead."

LIE

The police continue their "big lie" tactics, denying reports in Los Angeles newspapers that over 24,000 separate stops have been made, and claiming only 567 Blacks have been stopped over the whole week.

This is despite the fact that there are hundreds of police mobilized twenty four hours a day to do nothing but stop and search.

The police admit that 181 field interrogation cards have been made. These are permanent records for police files, listing name, address, occupation, employer, physical description, and other information.

The racist hysteria around the Zebra killings has been escalated with the arrest of three Black Muslims in Sacramento for the shotgun murder of a white man

on Wednesday.

The three are also being investigated for the wounding of a white policeman and another white man. The press is billing these shootings as a new Zebra plot. The arrests were followed immediately by a police raid on the Muslim temple.

Sheriff Duane Lowe told the press: "I believe the Zebra killings in San Francisco fostered these killings. The three young Black men under arrest have been identified as members of the Black Muslims."

"This organization appears today to be involved in some of the greatest hostility against the white population in the East Bay and San Francisco."

Students at McAteer High School who live in the Fillmore district expressed their anger

over the police terror. One youth said: "They better not try to stop me without a warrant. That's not right, stopping people for nothing." A girl said: "Next they'll be banging down people's doors."

The Young Socialists are fighting to unite the youth and workers of San Francisco against the police attacks, demanding that the Labor Council call a mass trade union demonstration against any suspension of democratic rights.

The center of this fight is the campaign to send a large delegation of youth from the Fillmore to the Young Socialists National Conference in New York May 4-5. This will be a giant step forward in the building of a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

Strike Threat At Pacific Gas

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—

By a three to one margin, 19,000 Pacific Gas and Electric (PG&E) workers voted down the company's wage offer Monday and are ready to shut down the giant utility for the first time in its history.

"Hell, yes, I'd like a strike," one gas worker told the *Bulletin*. "We're not supposed to, being a utility, but the city workers weren't supposed to either."

"If hospital workers and nurses can strike, you know for sure we can strike."

ISN'T ENOUGH

PG&E is offering a two year contract with seven percent the first year and six percent the second year. A worker in manhole and dump said: "It isn't enough. Besides the wages, there is nothing."

Another added: "The television said thirteen percent, but what they didn't say was seven and six."

The leadership of Local 1245 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which covers the Bay Area, was forced to recommend rejection of the

contract for the first time in the history of the union. But business agent L.L. Mitchell announced he would begin new negotiations next week.

NOTORIOUS

PG&E is notorious for its open use of racial discrimination in promotions and job upgrading to pit workers against each other and keep the union bureaucrats in its pocket.

An older worker said: "As far as Black people are concerned, the company is a dog. It is the most racist in the Bay Area."

Since the beginning of the energy scare, the company has raised its rates a half dozen times, and another whopping increase is now pending. First quarter profits just announced set an all-time record of \$72 million.

Electricity and gas workers are being told by the company that they will have to finance these huge profits with lower real wages.

This has created the conditions for uniting Blacks and white workers in defense of their standard of living.

PG&E workers must demand an immediate strike vote. The union must prepare for a political fight against the politicians like San Francisco Mayor Alioto who will try to whip up a hysteria about "public safety" in the event of a strike.

From N.E.P. To Socialism

By E.A. Preobrazhensky.

Available for the first time in English, this book was written by one of the leading Soviet economists of the 1920s who joined the Left Opposition and was murdered on Stalin's orders. Written in 1920 as a series of imaginary lectures in Moscow in 1970 after the victory of the world revolution, it put forward Preobrazhensky's views on planned industrialization in a backward country. The book, which remains banned in the Soviet Union, will be of great interest to all those concerned with Marxist theory.

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west coast news

United Faces May 3 Strike By Machinists

BY A REPORTER
SAN FRANCISCO—
The International Association of Machinists District 141 has set a strike deadline of May 3 for United Airlines, the nation's largest domestic airline.

A proposed contract settlement was rejected overwhelmingly in voting last Friday. The main opposition was to the wage increase of only 15 percent over 28 months and the year delay before the cost of living escalator takes effect.

The union leadership set a strike date previously for April 5, then backed down and recommended acceptance of the com-

pany's offer. The massive rejection vote shows that the bureaucracy will have an impossible task in avoiding a strike.

NEGOTIATING

One worker at the San Francisco airport said: "They're back there negotiating. We're expecting a new offer. I think that would be pretty bad."

He said that the majority of United workers are "really ready to go out."

"One wrote a bulletin of his own about it."

United workers must shut down the airline and demand full protection against both inflation and layoffs. This requires immediate preparations to fight government intervention with Taft-Hartley style injunctions under the strikebreaking Railway Labor Act.

Layoffs Hit Freightliner

BY IRVING HALL
CHINO, Calif.—The Freightliner assembly plant in Chino has announced a layoff for a week of all but 160 of its over 900 employees because of parts shortages.

The plant produces about two dozen freight trucks daily and is one of the largest manufacturing employers in the Pomona Valley.

Peter Built and Kenilworth in Fresno and Oakland, which also produce freight trucks, have reportedly also closed down because of similar shortages.

Before the announcement of the shutdown on Friday, April 19, Freightliner workers had been told that a year's future orders were stacked up and they had been offered overtime regularly.

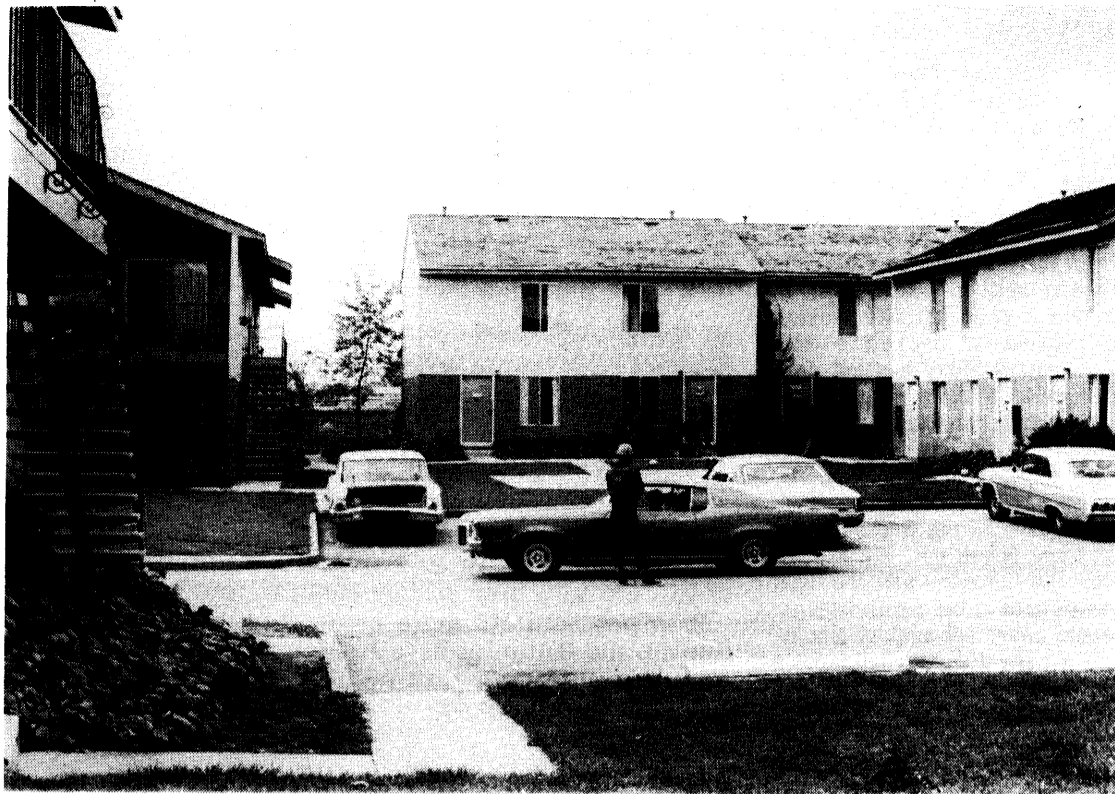
Although the company has offered vacation pay for the week for those who already have it coming, no unemployment insurance will be available because of the seven-day waiting period. Neither Freightliner nor the International Association of Machinists has any compensation program for the more than 700 affected by the layoff.

Phillip, a young worker on daylight, said: "With what's happening with the whole economy and Watergate, I don't believe a thing Nixon or Freightliner says. I'm filing for unemployment right now."

Ken, another young worker on swing who has been at the plant several years, told the Bulletin: "Some of the guys think we'll have a short vacation and then come back and everything will be rosy."

"The Portland Freightliner assembly plant was also told they'd be laid off a week because of shortages. Now they're going into their second week. I think it is something else."

When the IAM representative



Santa Teresa Apts. in East San Jose where HUD is cutting back funds, affecting 301 families.

Growing Witchhunt In Hearst-SLA Case

BY ANN LORE
SAN FRANCISCO—"As for being brainwashed, the idea is ridiculous to the point of being beyond belief."

These are the words of Patricia Hearst in the latest communique of the Symbionese Liberation Army.

This still has not ended the speculation going on in the bourgeois press about Patricia's participation with the SLA.

Just the day before the latest tape was received, the Hearst San Francisco Examiner carried a long interview with an executive who was kidnapped last summer and had escaped.

Melvin Zahn said: "But I can tell you this, from my own experience: if it was a question of my life, and they wanted me to make it look like I was robbing a bank to prove that I was alive or to mislead my family and the police—or for whatever reason—I wouldn't have hesitated for a second."

The same edition carried what was intended to be a "scientific" study of the photos showing that Patricia Hearst was forced by the SLA to take part in the Hibernia Bank robbery and "probably was being set up to be killed."

TRUTH

The truth, which the capitalists consciously wish to cover, has been made clear by Patricia's own words: "It's absurd to think that I could surface to say what I am saying now and be allowed to freely return to my comrades."

"The enemy still wants me dead. I am obviously alive and well. Consciousness is terrifying to the ruling class."

This tape also contained another sharp attack against her father, calling him Adolf and referring to further actions which "will put his mind at ease."

The Hearst press is forced to continue coverage of the SLA's communiques to maintain their position that she is still being held against her wishes and they are trying to get her released.

Hearst said he still believes his daughter has been brainwashed. "The girl we have known all her life would not say something like that of her own free will."

The police and the FBI have continued to broaden their witch-

hunt. Two women were summoned to testify before the federal grand jury investigating the SLA.

LINKS

Both are said to have links with the SLA. One of them, Mrs. Janet Cooper Weiss was a member of Venceremos at Stanford University and also the Bay Area Revolutionary Union. Allegedly, one of the cars rented for the getaway last week was rented in her name.

Further, it has just been reported in the San Jose Mercury that a month ago, Ronald Beaty was brought before a State Senate Subcommittee on civil disorder.

Beaty, a convicted murderer, has proven himself valuable to the government before. It was solely on the basis of his testi-

mony, that four members of Venceremos were convicted of murder for the participation in his prison escape.

He has now testified that the SLA and Venceremos are the same.

Beaty, who had been recruited into Venceremos before his escape said he knows "several" SLA members personally and he is "sure there are Venceremos elements involved" in the SLA.

TACTICS

He told the senators that the SLA and Venceremos differ "in name only," but their tactics are exactly the same.

From the beginning of the kidnapping, the government has been trying to exploit this event into a scare campaign and witch-hunt against all left tendencies on the West Coast.

Los Angeles Preparing For 45 Cent Bus Fare

BY DENNIS BREHM
LOS ANGELES—Jack Gilstrap, the General Manager of the Southern California Rapid Transit District (RTD) had just released a plan to increase bus fares from 25 cents to 40 or 45 cents.

He said the increase would be necessary if the county board of supervisors did not continue its special subsidy to cover operating losses and additional expenses.

The subsidy started on April 1 of this year to cover the loss in revenue due to the experimental lower fare of 25 cents. Before this, the fare was 30 cents, plus more for each additional zone travelled. The average fare was 54 cents.

RELIEF

The 25 cent flat rate was such a relief for Los Angeles commuters that in less than a month the number of passengers increased about 17 percent. On June 30, when the subsidy is due to run out, the fare will go to 45 cents plus 10 cents for each zone.

The subsidy now includes \$25,000 for each Sunday, when the fare is ten cents. The reduced fares paid by the elderly

and school children would be increased to 25 or 30 cents.

It is obvious that the 25 cent reduced fare was no more than a diversion, while plans for an increase were being formulated.

EXPENSIVE

With the price of gas at least 55 cents per gallon, and the long commuting distances in Los Angeles, transportation is becoming very expensive.

Los Angeles is the only major city in the United States without a mass rapid transit system. This is due mainly to the efforts of the auto, gas, and rubber industry.

The Electric Rail System which existed in the area began to be destroyed by General Motors in 1932. GM, along with Firestone Rubber and Standard Oil of California, formed the National City Lines Company to buy up the electric railroads and put them out of business. The largest of these was the Pacific Electric Railway which served 56 cities and 80 million passengers a year.

Not only have these companies destroyed every attempt to build mass rail transit in LA, they are now driving up the cost of commuting to unbearable levels.

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lucha obrera

lucía rivera

Vivienda En El Sur Del Bronx

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NIXON...

(Continued From Page 1)

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The Conference will also launch the campaign of Helen Halyard for Congress in the Bedford-Stuyvesant district of Brooklyn in order to raise popularly among masses of workers the need to build a labor party. It is through this campaign that we will fight to build the Workers League and the YS in the communities.

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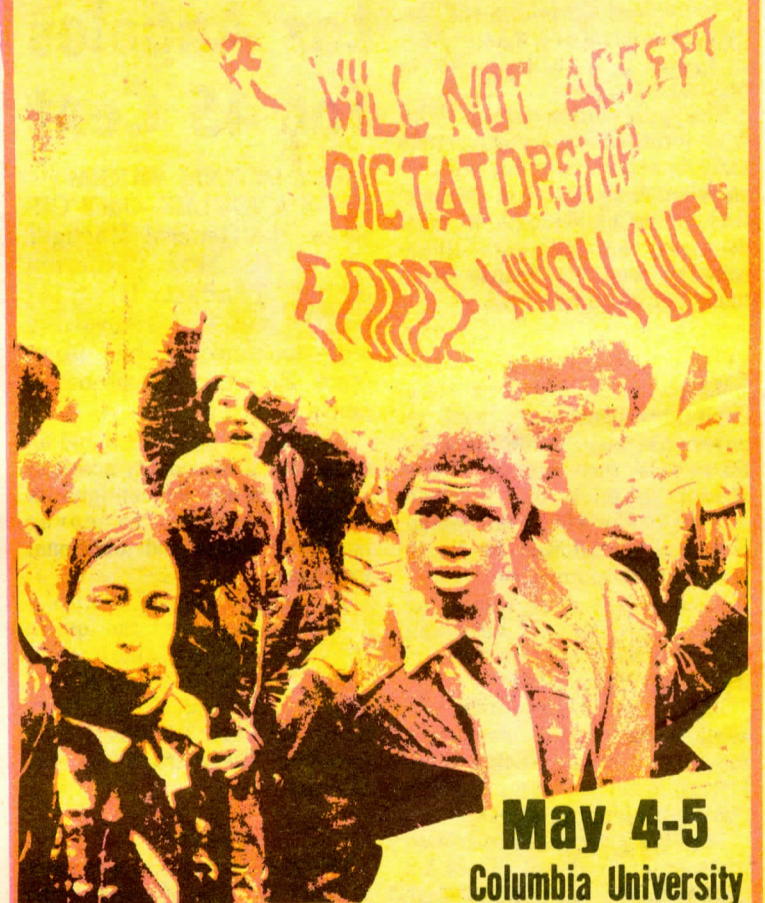
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