

Bulletin

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

HOOVER
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INSTITUTION
NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

VOLUME TEN NUMBER SIXTY EIGHT 404

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1974

UNION LABEL 6

TWENTY CENTS

WARNING TO THE WORKING CLASS

Nixon's Plot For A Military Coup Revealed

Workers League Political Committee Statement

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On August 25, The New

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Starting with this issue, it is necessary to raise the price of the Bulletin to 20¢ a copy. At the same time, the subscription price is being raised to \$2 for three months, \$4 for six months, and \$8 for a year.

We are forced to take this step because of enormous increases in our costs of production. Virtually every material used in printing a paper—newsprint, plates, inks, chemicals, photographic materials—have risen tremendously over the last year and continue to go up almost from day to day. We have withstood these pressures as long as we could and maintained the Bulletin at 15¢, a price we have held since the Spring of 1971.

At the same time, we are now launching the Tenth Anniversary Bulletin Expansion Fund. This will be a drive for \$50,000 between now and December 15. We ask all our readers to help us with this drive, essential for the maintenance and expansion of the Bulletin in this critical period.

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- to prevent Congress from calling on a unit of the military to oust Nixon from office.

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In so far as it is possible to draw together the very sketchy information, the following chain of events emerges:

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Perhaps at the same time, powerful forces in the Congress may have contacted their own sources in the military to discuss removing Nixon by force if he persisted in his refusal to resign quietly.

Whatever the details of these maneuvers, there is no doubt that Schlesinger decided that there was enough evidence or danger to warrant special precautions.

Never in American history has any section of the government felt that it was necessary to take precautions against independent military action against Constitutional government. The very fact that precautions were taken means that all the political calculations of the ruling class now include the question of military activity in the United States.

The emergence of the military in domestic political activity comes out of the enormous crisis of the capitalist system which is threatened by the movement of workers in the United States and internationally.

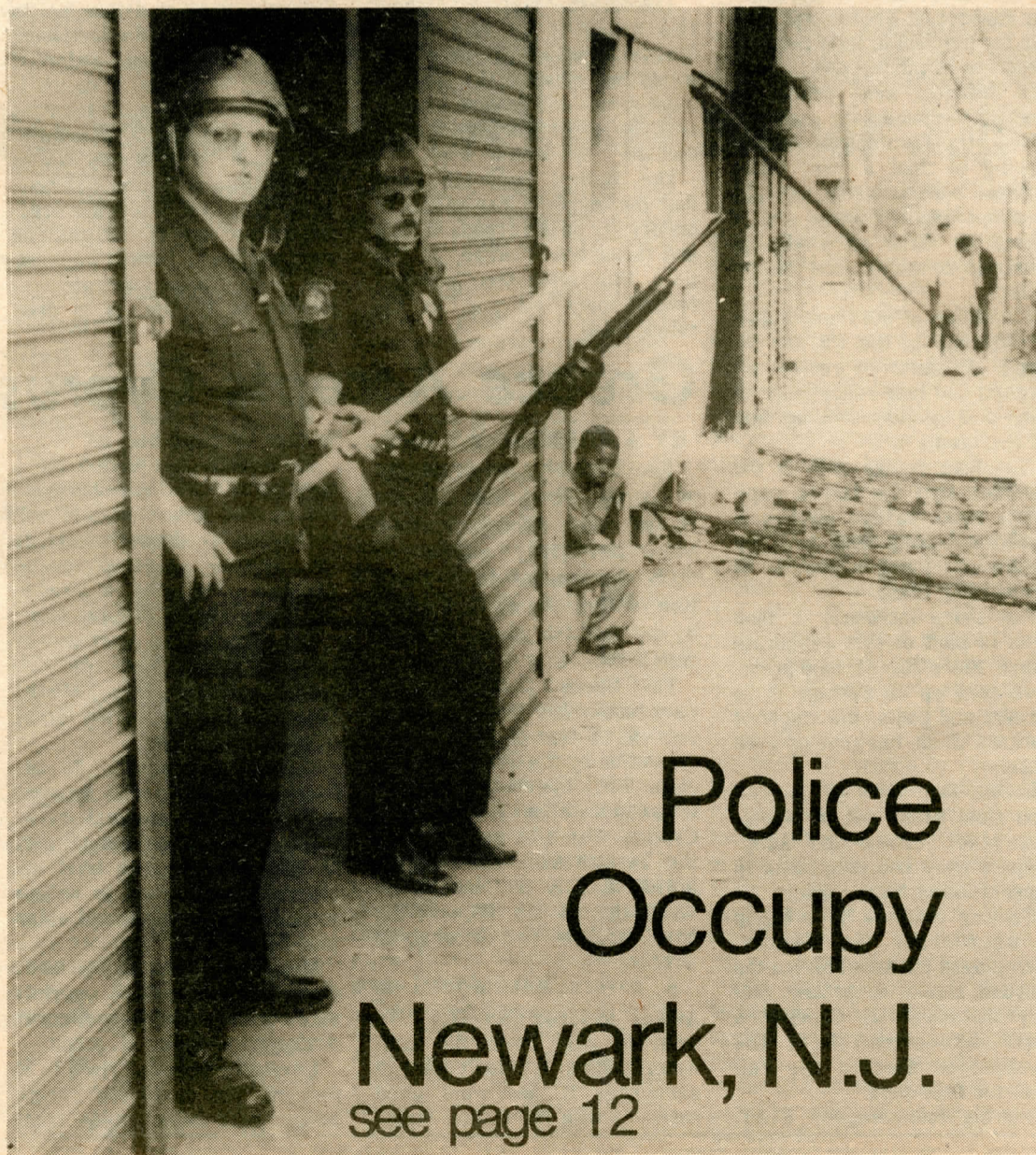
Just as the ruling class has intervened with the military in Latin America and every colonial country to brutally crush revolution and preserve the profits of US capitalism, it must now prepare the ground for dictatorship in the United States.

Latin American rates of inflation in the US must produce Latin American politics in this country.

Soaring inflation approaching an annual rate of 15 percent has led to a powerful wage offensive expressed by a wave of strikes in every industry.

As in Europe, American workers will not allow the bosses to throw them out into the streets as they did in the depression, but will occupy the fac-

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Police Occupy Newark, N.J.

see page 12

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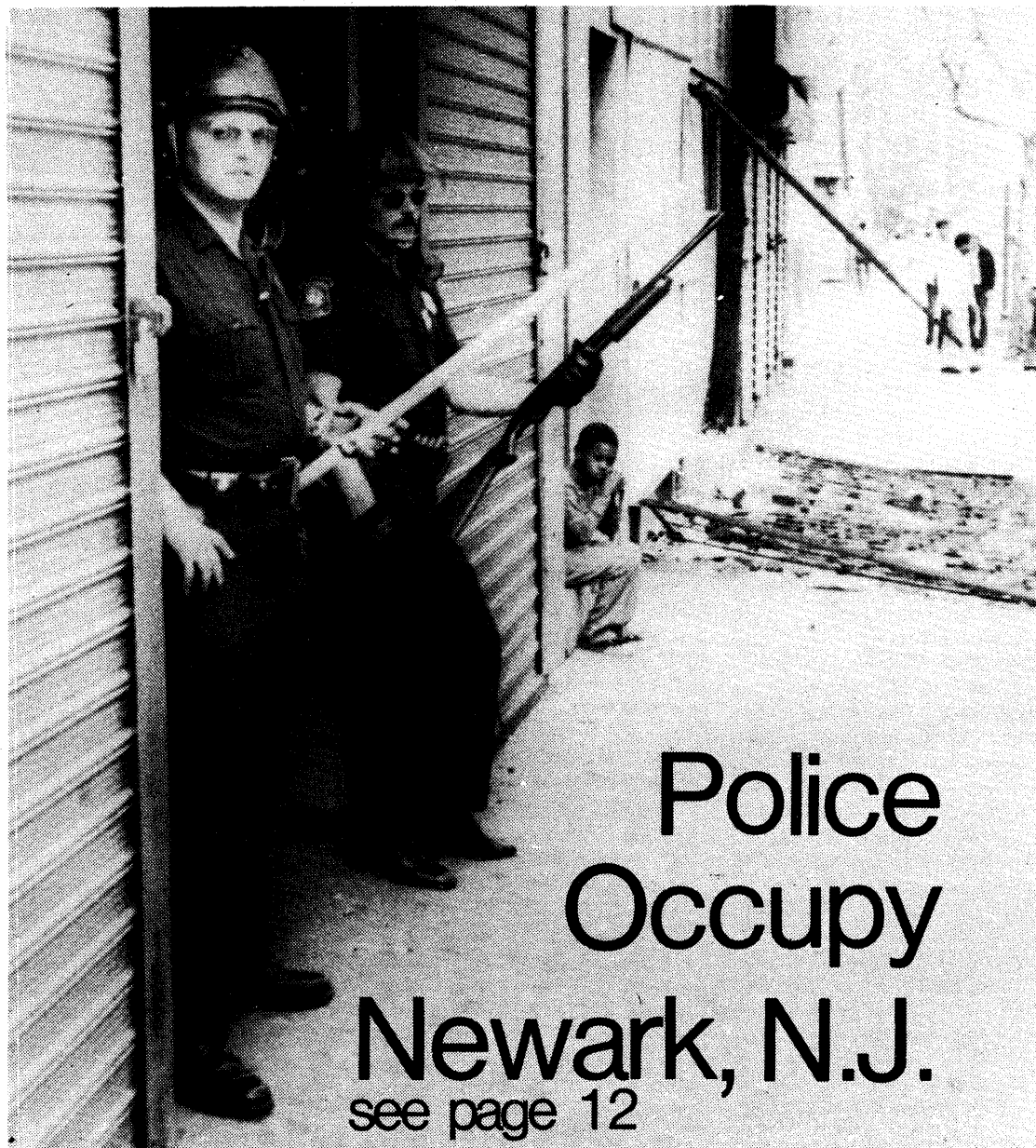
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Police Occupy

Newark, N.J.

see page 12

(Continued On Page 12)



British police drag youth away after a force of 600 police attacked the young crowd at a rock festival in Windsor. This brutal assault was a coldblooded training exercise as part of the conspiracy for a police state.

Italy Gets New Loan As Economic Collapse Nears

BY A REPORTER

The two billion dollar loan that West Germany has agreed to grant Italy is a desperate last ditch effort by Italian Premier Mariano Rumor to avoid total state bankruptcy.

However, the loan, far from resolving the crisis, only increases the enormous debt of Italy and places the crumbling banking structure in Germany, which is heavily involved in loans to Italy, in

Selassie Palace Is Nationalized

The Ethiopian armed forces committee has announced that Emperor Haile Selassie's Jubilee Palace has been nationalized—a move seen by observers as heralding the end of the monarchy in the country.

A special radio broadcast announced that as the Jubilee Palace had been built by the sweat of the people, it must henceforth be their property.

It would no longer be known as the Jubilee Palace—built in 1955 on the 25th anniversary of the 82-year-old emperor's reign—but as the National Palace.

The emperor has already been stripped of virtually all the autocratic powers he has held since he came to the throne—one of the oldest in the world—in 1930. His personal advisers are all in jail. His crown council has been abolished, his personal court of justice disbanded and his military advisory committee done away with.

The nationalization of the palace comes amid a mounting clamor in the press and on the radio for the total abolition of the monarchy.

This campaign has been going on for the past month with letters to the press and commentaries on the radio openly naming the emperor and the monarchy as the root of all the evils at present besetting the country.

great jeopardy.

In return for the loan, Italy will transfer part of its gold reserves from the Bank of Italy to the Bundesbank in West Germany. The gold will be a guarantee on the loan and will be valued at \$120 an ounce if Italy defaults on its payments.

At the same time, the Italian government has been forced to request a three month extension on another loan of \$4.2 billion that is due on September 18.

With prices of imported raw materials, especially crude oil, rising astronomically, the balance of trade deficit is expected to reach at least \$10 billion by the end of the year.

German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Rumor failed to get the support of France and Britain for the loan to Italy because these two countries, due to their own deficits, were unable to produce the necessary cash.

Now, the Common Market is seeking to float a joint international bond issue to bail out bankrupt member states and is asking the Arab oil producing countries to put in one billion dollars.

The Office of the Comptroller of Currency in the US has ordered all banks to review all medium and long range loans to Italy and is discouraging any further credit.

This loan brings with it the condition that the Italian capitalists make savage slashes in public spending and brutally reduce the living standards of the working class.

The sharp increases in food costs is part of this deliberate attack. Since July 31, food prices have gone up an average of 25 percent and pasta, the staple of workers' diets, has gone up even more.

In the last week of August, food riots broke out in Naples and other cities and shopkeepers were hoarding pasta in expectation of higher prices.

Factory closures have begun to accelerate. In Naples, unemployed workers blocked the railroad tracks to protest factory shutdowns. In Caserta, a mass demonstration of the unemployed blocked the rail lines for four days.

The big auto company, FIAT,

is planning huge layoffs of its 200,000 work force some time this month and plans to reduce production in the final quarter of this year.

In anticipation of revolutionary struggle, huge sums of Italian capital are being smuggled out of the country into Switzerland.

As the crisis approaches the breaking point, the Italian Communist Party is rushing in to prop up the Rumor government.

In a front page editorial on September 1 in their newspaper L'Unita, the Italian CP declares that Soviet-American detente has removed all obstacles to a coalition "popular front" government with the capitalist parties.

The editorial states: "Without the support of the Communists—whether they are inside or outside the government setup—the problems of our economic crisis cannot be tackled."

The Italian Stalinists know that the biggest class battles in history are on the agenda in Italy and throughout Europe. At this time, they offer their counter-revolutionary services to the ruling class.

Greece Accepts Cyprus Partition

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The Turkish vice-president of Cyprus, Denktash, has declared that Greek leaders have privately expressed their agreement to a partition of Cyprus, as demanded by the Turkish government of Bulen Ecevit.

The Greek government of Caramanlis has resisted partition out of fear of the massive opposition by the Greek working class. Since the unsuccessful attempt to install a dictatorship in Cyprus, with CIA support, and the Turkish invasion that followed on July 20, demonstrations against US imperialism have broken out throughout Greece.

A government official in Athens declared recently: "We want to play down the anti-Americanism. We don't want to encourage it...We want good relations with the United States

London Bank Close To Bankruptcy

BY MELODY FARROW

Lloyds Bank, one of London's Big Four, and one of the most prestigious in the country has been forced to reveal that its Switzerland branch has lost the staggering sum of \$75 million in foreign exchange dealings.

This event, coming on the heels of the recent bankruptcy and closure of Herstatt, one of the major West German banks, reveals how rapidly European capitalism, and particularly British capitalism, is headed for economic collapse.

The crisis at Lloyds, one of the most "solid" banks yet to suffer huge losses in currency speculation, is not only a sign of the growing slump in industry, but will deal another blow to any confidence left in the British economy.

The banking crisis will also worsen Britain's prospects of getting the desperately needed loans from either West Germany or the United States to cover the growing balance of trade deficit that is expected to rise to \$10 billion this year.

The sickness in British capitalism is expressed in the steady losses on the London Stock Exchange which fell from 250 to 200 points in only two weeks.

This in turn threatens leading banks, insurance firms, real estate and construction companies, and other industries with collapse.

The pound continues to fall. Several weeks ago, it reached its lowest point since mid-March. The Bank of England was forced to intervene to prop it up.

Industries unable to maintain their profit margins, with inflation soaring at an annual rate of 18 percent, are facing a serious cash crisis at a time when credit is increasingly hard to get. The auto company, British Leyland, one of the largest private employers in Britain, is in deep debt.

in case they can help us."

Caramanlis has called for a meeting of NATO members and has served notice that it will withdraw its commitments to the Alliance. Greece is demanding "national sovereignty" over US bases in the country.

The effect of a partition of Cyprus will be to deepen the divisions between the Turkish Cypriot minority and the Greek Cypriot majority.

Turkey has control of 70 percent of the island's wealth, including the commercial port of Famagusta, the mineral ore port of Xeros, the citrus fruit orchards near Morphou, as well as warehouses of wheat and other food supplies.

Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Greek and Turkish Cypriots face starvation because the war destroyed virtually all crops.

Unemployment has risen to 80 percent. An estimated 230,000 people have been driven from

The leading capitalists and Tory politicians recognize they can no longer postpone a violent confrontation with the working class. Plans for civil war and military dictatorship are being plotted by right-wing Tories together with the army chiefs.

Debates are being held in the columns of the London Times on the likelihood of a military coup d'etat.

Recently, a right-wing paramilitary force called "Great Britain 75" was formed by Colonel David Stirling, with the aim of "curbing the power of militant trade unionists."

Stirling is recruiting "patriots" for his strikebreaking force to:

- intervene in the event of a general strike.

- withstand a strike by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers or another powerful union.

- round up workers who occupy factories.

The British capitalists are up against a militant working class that is determined to fight and is not going to take massive unemployment or wage cuts.

This mood was shown by the rejection by Engineering Union delegates, representing over one million workers, of the "social contract" proposed by the leadership of the Trades Union Congress (British AFL-CIO).

This contract which the TUC is hoping to push through at its conference this week would tie the workers to "voluntary" wage restraints.

At the same time, the Labor Party leadership refuses to call any conference prior to the general election in October to cover its refusal to implement even the most minimal socialist measures.

The Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain is leading a fight for nationalization with no compensation of all banks, land, and industry; a sliding scale of wages to protect living standards; factory occupations to halt closures; and a workers militia to defend the working class against the army and police, in preparation for the political struggle for power.

STALINISTS

The Stalinists of the Cypriot Communist Party and the Moscow bureaucracy are complicit in the betrayal of the Cypriot people by denying their right to self-determination.

The revolutionary situation rapidly developing in Greece and the building of the Workers International League, Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, is critical for the building of the Trotskyist movement in Cyprus to unite Greek and Turkish Cypriots behind a socialist program.

Ford Plots Pay Controls

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Economists from around the country are gathering today in the White House for the first of a series of preparatory meetings for the economic summit, scheduled for September 27 to 28.

The meeting is being held at a time of the breakdown of the entire American economy, as part of the international crisis of capitalism:

- Inflation is expected to hit 10.8 percent this quarter and over 11 percent next quarter. Even the government predicts this trend will continue well into 1975 or perhaps even 1976. Under these conditions, government

each day. This is to tie the trade unions ever closer to the capitalist state in preparation for strangling them completely.

This can be seen if we note four related facts:

First—The economic policy of the Ford administration has already been clearly formulated and is of a long-range nature. Ford is committed, under orders from the big banks, and Eastern corporate heads like Rockefeller, to a drastic policy of deflation which will produce a level of mass unemployment far beyond the predicted 8 percent level.

His advisers talk of a year or two of such policies before any noticeable effect will be felt.

millions of workers.

Fourth—The conference must be placed in the context of the events which preceded Ford's sudden rise to the presidency. The role of the military in the events surrounding Nixon's fall has now been revealed. This, combined with the strengthening of the police forces all over the country, makes clear that what is called "jawboning" is only one side of the plans of Ford. All this is preparation for the use of force to enforce the policies of the large corporations upon a rebellious working class.

These conferences are part of the political preparation for a new introduction of wage

controls. At the same time, Ford prepares military and police power to crush any resistance of the working class to new controls. The working class must be forced to pay for the capitalist crisis no matter what.

This is why trade union militants must now demand in every union no participation of union officials in these conferences!

The request of the Communist Party to participate in these conferences only indicates the distance it has gone in joining the government in its plans to destroy the independence of the labor movement.

The independence of the labor movement today can only be defended through a political struggle. The working class is

under attack from all sides because of this economic crisis. The working class must therefore forge its own instrument, a labor party based on the trade unions, so it can fight for its own government to carry out socialist policies.

These policies must include:

- Full employment through a shorter work week. No layoffs!
- Nationalization under the control of the workers of any plants whose owners refuse to maintain full employment and decent wages.
- Wage increases to make up for the fall in the living standard of millions of workers backed up by full escalator clauses.
- No laws or government actions against the unions.



Ford at a meeting with economic advisors on August 27.

figures put the workers' purchasing power as 5.3 percent below a year ago, actually no higher than it was in mid-1965.

- Unemployment is expected to push as high as 8 percent within the next year.

- Production has fallen, with no growth in the Gross National Product predicted by the government until at least the end of the year.

- The US trade deficit reached \$728.4 million in July, the third highest in history.

- The stock market continues its fantastic fall. It dropped 15.25 points on Tuesday. The market is down over 150 points since the beginning of August, wiping out vast quantities of capital.

PURPOSE

The stated purpose of the preparatory conferences and the summit itself is to get advice for the formulation of economic policy under these critical conditions.

Its real purpose, however, is becoming clearer and clearer

Thus the summit is not expected to bring about any serious modification in this policy.

Second—The very first preliminary conference to be held after the opening one with the economists is the labor summit planned for September 11. This summit is the only other preliminary meeting to be directly chaired by Ford and to be held in the White House itself. This makes it clear that the entire structure of the conferences is aimed at roping in the labor bureaucracy and strengthening their hand against the membership's struggle to maintain its standard of living.

Third—Ford has ordered a three month delay in a measly 5.5 percent pay increase for 3.5 million federal workers and military personnel. What Ford does today to government workers clearly indicates what he hopes to impose on all workers: controls which will destroy trade unions as independent organizations and drive down the standard of living of

Auto Slump Threatens New Wave Of Layoffs

BY A REPORTER

Auto production slumped sharply in August, with industry output falling 4 percent below the same month last year and 11 percent below the projected monthly production.

Although part of the drop in production is attributable to several strikes called by the UAW, the production statistics reveal that the auto industry has entered into a major recession that threatens the jobs of hundreds of thousands of workers.

The situation is far more serious than during the energy crisis last December when the auto companies temporarily laid off 200,000 workers.

Not only has the production of big cars continued to slump, but the small car industry, which the Big Three manufacturers recently proclaimed was the wave of the future, is already falling apart.

PINTO

Ford announced last week that it is cutting back on the 1975 Pinto because the 1974 model is no longer selling. Between September 18 and September 30, Ford will close the Pinto plant in Milpitas, California.

Two thousand UAW members will be idled temporarily and 700 will lose their jobs permanently.

Pinto sales in July were down 32 percent from the previous

year. Dealers report that they have a 93-day supply of unsold Pintos compared to the 17-day supply which existed this time last year.

The auto companies have carefully worked out a strategy for mass unemployment. Richard C. Gerstenberg, chairman of General Motors, stated last week that he was well aware that the big price increases for 1975 models will mean a decline in sales.

DISTURB

"We know price increases we've put in effect," he declared, "are going to disturb the dickens out of this market."

In other words, the policy of the auto bosses is to drive up prices while slashing the work force and creating intolerable working conditions in the plants through speedup. It is a formula for extracting the greatest amount of value from the labor of every worker left in the plants.

The UAW bureaucracy, led by Leonard Woodcock, is in open collaboration with these plans.

Woodcock's policies are guided entirely by the needs of the auto companies.

A case in point is the recent strike at Local 1112 in Lordstown. After having refused strike authorization for nine months, Woodcock called the strike just when General Motors wanted to liquidate its stockpile of unsold Vegas. He then forced a settlement without any union demands being won in order to meet GM's 1975 model change-over timetable. (see stories on Lordstown and St. Louis settlements on page 10-11.)

However, the most treacherous of all of Woodcock's actions will be his series of meetings this month with President Ford.

Woodcock will be in the White House on September 11 to assist in the preparations for Ford's economic summit conference at the end of the month. The UAW president has also decided to participate in the meetings on September 27-28.

Hundreds of thousands of workers in all industries are being thrown out of work throughout the country.

Workers in the east coast tri-state area (New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut) are among the hardest hit by this unemployment.

In New York, unemployment in July was up to 7.5 percent from 6.8 percent the previous month.

NEWARK

In Newark, unemployment is estimated at 17 percent of the work force.

Between July 1973 and July 1974, unemployment rose: in Danbury, from 5.5 percent to 6 percent; in Bridgeport, from 8.3 percent to 8.8 percent; in Jersey City from 8.3 percent to 9.5 percent.

"We've managed to abolish the business cycle in New York City," stated one official. "Now we no longer have recoveries."

Auto workers in every local must immediately put forward resolutions demanding that Woodcock cancel his talks in Washington with Ford.

Instead, the power of the UAW and the entire labor movement must be mobilized against this government through the construction of a labor party.

Pardon For Nixon?

BY BARRY GREY

President Ford hinted broadly at his news conference last week that he is preparing to grant a pardon to prevent any further investigation or prosecution of Nixon.

Ford endorsed the statement by Vice-President Rockefeller that Nixon had been punished enough for his Watergate crimes. Asked if he was considering pardoning ex-president Nixon, Ford stated:

"I am not ruling it out. It is an option and a proper option for any president."

With these words, Ford has publicly thrown his weight be-

hind the most massive conspiracy to obstruct justice in the history of the United States.

Ford's moves to protect Nixon are possible only because of the complete support of the Democrats and the labor bureaucracy. They have united to prevent the working class from learning the truth about the preparations for dictatorship by the capitalist class which were exposed in the Watergate events.

No Democratic politician has demanded action be taken against Nixon. George Meany, as part of his support for labor-hater Ford, has maintained complete silence about the coverup of Nixon's crimes.

Ford has been putting pressure on Watergate prosecutor Jaworski to drop his investigation of Nixon and any plans to prosecute.

VICTORY IN HARLAN COUNTY

BY DAVID NORTH
HARLAN, Ky.—The 180 Brookside miners who shut down operations by the Eastover Mining Company for the last 13 months have won this historic strike, opening the way for the unionization of the rich coal mines of Eastern Kentucky.

Officials of Eastover, a subsidiary of the giant Duke Power Corporation, agreed Thursday to submit to the main demands of the Brookside miners: full union recognition with all UMW contract provisions.

The coal bosses capitulated shortly after the death of Lawrence Jones, a 23-year-old miner whose brutal shooting the previous Saturday by a company foreman pushed Harlan to the brink of civil war.

Jones died of a massive shotgun wound in the head. He had been walking a picket line at the Highsplit mine near Brookside when Billy Carroll Bruner, a foreman, cursed the miners. He then struck one miner in the mouth with the butt of a shotgun, and then blew off the left side of Jones's head with a deer slug.

Police immediately rescued Bruner. However, the shooting of Jones was the breaking point for Harlan miners.

NEGOTIATORS

Union and company negotiators met in desperate sessions as miners began openly to arm themselves. "Everyone was walking around with their hands on their guns," stated Ray Widner, a Brookside miner.

The settlement guarantees the Brookside miners UMW recognition and immediate payment of the official 1971 contract retroactive to November 1973.

All 59 miners fired during the course of the strike are to be reinstated immediately.

Duke Power agreed to sign UMW contracts at all Eastover mines where the workers vote to affiliate with the UMW.

The bosses also agreed to abide by the outcome of a representation vote at the Highsplit mine.

WAGES

The victory will mean a substantial rise in wages for the Brookside miners. As members of the company-controlled Southern Labor Union, their average pay has been \$30 per day. Under the terms of the official UMW pact, the miners will receive closer to \$50 per day.

However, UMW President Miller has accepted a clause which bars a strike by Brookside miners in the event of a national coal miners strike in November. Although Brookside miners are to receive the terms of the 1974 contract when it is ratified, this no-strike pledge would in fact make the Brookside mines a source for coal while the UMW is on strike.

There is no doubt that the victory of the Harlan miners will greatly encourage every miner and strengthen their determination to fight for important gains in the upcoming contract fight.

FIRM

The miners stood firm in the face of mass arrests, police brutality, prison terms, threatened evictions, firings, organized use of scabs, and physical violence.

The victory was won by the determination of the Brookside miners backed up by the enormous strength of the ranks of the UMW and the entire American working class.

Just two weeks ago, 125,000 miners went on strike for five days in solidarity with the Brookside miners. Coal production was crippled throughout the United States.

PROTEST

The Brookside miners won this strike despite the Miller leadership which at every point sought to hold the miners back with futile and useless protest tactics.

Even as the struggle of Brookside miners was reaching its climax, Arnold Miller was visiting Gerald Ford in the White House and agreeing to collaborate with the economic policies of the government.

More than 3000 miners from all over Kentucky turned out for the funeral of Lawrence Jones.

"That boy paid a great deal for this contract," one miner told the Bulletin. "He gave his life."

Miners In Strike Mood As Contract Talks Open

BY A REPORTER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Thousands of miners throughout the country have begun their countdown to the November 12 strike deadline as negotiations for a new United Mine Workers contract began here on Tuesday.

Not since World War Two have any UMW contract talks raised so clearly the danger of a full-scale assault by the government on the miners.

The determination of UMW members to win a large wage increase, a cost of living clause, a big increase in the monthly pension, a wide range of benefits and strong safety provisions must lead to a collision with the Ford-Rockefeller administration, which is now preparing new wage controls.

Ford knows full well that the movement of miners in this contract struggle could destroy the plans by the government to make the working class pay for the capitalist economic crisis by imposing wage controls and creating mass unemployment.

This is why Arnold Miller was invited to the White House last week on the eve of negotiations and asked to participate in the economic summit conference planned by Ford for later this month.

Miller told Ford that he will participate in this summit, thus actively assisting the preparations of the government and big business for attacks on the UMW and the entire trade union movement.

As negotiations began, Miller told a press conference:

"The UMW does not seek a strike, nor do we think a strike is necessary to settle our differences with industry."

However, as Miller was smoking the peace pipe, the coal bosses were making it very clear that they do not plan to give an inch to the miners.

Industry spokesmen Guy Farmer and Walter Wallace stated that drops in productivity "must be reversed" and that the Bituminous Coal Operators Association would meet its "grave responsibility" to fight inflation.

Furthermore, the steel indus-



Harlan County coal miners at the Duke Power's Brookside mine have won their fight for representation by the United Mine Workers. Strikers defeated every attempt to terrorize them back to work. Above, Kentucky state police protect scabs. Below, UMW President, Arnold Miller.



UMW prepare politically for the contract struggle. The 13-month struggle in Harlan County has made it clear that the government and coal bosses will resort to violence and repression to defeat the UMW.

This requires that the UMW rally the entire working class in this struggle by calling on the UAW, Teamsters, and AFL-CIO to convene a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party to force the resignation of the Ford-Rockefeller government and fight for socialist policies.

try is already threatening a lock-out of workers in the event of a strike.

"A coal strike could shut down the steel industry overnight," declared Frederick G. Jaicks, president of the Inland Steel Co.

The UMW has not published its full list of contract demands which are reported to number 200. Miller has not stated what the union is asking in wages.

It is reported that other main demands are:

- A cost of living escalator guaranteeing 1¢ for each 25¢ rise in the Consumer Price Index.

- An increase in the 80¢ a ton royalty for mined coal.

WORK RULES

In addition, the UMW is seeking changes in work rules, such as the right of miners to decide whether they want to work

straight or rotating work turns; the right of miners to miss more than two consecutive work days without threat of dismissal; double time pay for regular overtime and triple time for weekends and holidays.

The industry is already talking about seeking a Taft-Hartley injunction in the event of a strike. Coal stockpiles are exceptionally low this year because of the use of coal resulting from the energy crisis. The Carolina Power & Light Co. reports that it has only a 35-day supply, the Tennessee Valley Authority has a 56-day supply, and the Southern Co. has a 48-day supply.

The overwhelming desire of miners to strike to win a decent contract is shown by the 873 wildcat strikes between January and May alone.

Miners must demand that the

New Vote On Baltimore Docks

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
BALTIMORE, Md.—

Baltimore longshoremen led the rebellion on the North Atlantic docks by rejecting 1104 to 676 the master contract and local agreement drawn up by the International Longshoremen's Association.

At the Port of New York, the contract was ratified by a margin of one thousand votes, 6051 to 5005. Local 1814 in Brooklyn showed one vote out of three against and the checkers in Local 1 cast a large negative vote.

STANDSTILL

In Boston and Providence, dockers voted only on the master agreement, as local negotiations have reached a standstill.

Fearing a complete upset of their sellout deal with the Council of North Atlantic Shipping Associations, the ILA leadership refused to enter new negotiations with Baltimore shippers and scheduled a new vote on the same contract for September 5.

The master agreement, which goes into effect October 1, will raise wages only \$1.90 over the three years of the contract. The crucial question of job and income guarantees was left to each port to negotiate separately.

The Baltimore opposition centered on the guaranteed annual wage agreement, which continues the 1900 hour annual guarantee, rather than 2080 (a full 40 hours for 52 weeks) as the ranks had demanded. Local 333, the largest on the Baltimore docks, led the two to one no vote.

The widespread opposition in the New York locals, was also because of attacks on the GAI. All workers over 65 are to be forced off the docks or off the guarantee, and new work rules will mean that more and more dockers will have to choose between forfeiting guarantee money or accepting the most dangerous and difficult work assignments.

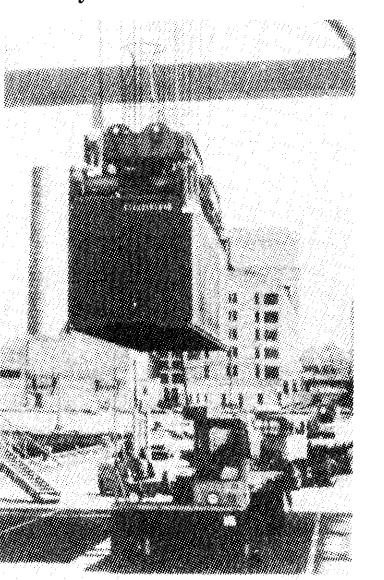
PDO

Prior Day Ordering, which has meant the breakup of work gangs and hours of travel throughout the port and the continued introduction of new equipment designed to further slash the work force, are all allowed

under the new agreement.

Far from initiating an "era of peace on the waterfront" as industry officials claim, the contract vote has settled nothing. Longshoremen in the South Atlantic and Gulf ports have not voted yet.

Every local must demand that preparations be made now for national strike action to break the CONASA contract which gives free rein to the shippers' plans to decimate the work force and restore conditions of virtual slavery on the docks.



NELSON ROCKEFELLER -CAPITAL STEPS IN

BY DAVID NORTH

"After the July Revolution, when the Liberal banker, Lafitte, led his godfather, the Duke of Orleans, in triumph to the Hotel de Ville, he let fall the words: 'From now on the bankers will rule.' Lafitte had betrayed the secret of the revolution."

—From the *Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*, by Karl Marx.

When Gerald Ford appointed Nelson Rockefeller vice president, he betrayed the same secret. The most powerful forces of big business have dictated the appointment of Rockefeller, scion of what is possibly the largest fortune in the world, to carry out the policies of deflation and slump demanded by the banks.

American workers must now confront the most reactionary government in the history of the United States. With this nomination, the banks seek to combine the labor-hating conservatism of Gerald Ford with the power of Rockefeller, whose wealth is the product of a century of exploitation.

It was through crimes such as the murder of 27 miners at Ludlow, Colorado in 1913 that Rockefeller amassed his fortune.

It is through massive unemployment, wage cutting and repression that Nelson Rockefeller plans to defend that fortune today.

The total wealth of the Rockefeller family cannot be calculated. At best, it can be approximated at the nearest half-billion. The main source of this fortune is the empire erected by John D. Rockefeller between 1860 and 1900 around Standard Oil of New Jersey.

In his day, Rockefeller was known as the most hated man in America. His fortune was commonly referred to as "blood money." Of all the robber barons to emerge out of the post-Civil War development of capitalism, Rockefeller was the most ruthless—a veritable pioneer in the creation of vast monopolies and trusts.

Rockefeller himself was indifferent to criticism of his business tactics. A devout Baptist, he declared that God gave him his money. He explained his credo:

"I believe the power to make money is a gift of God...to be developed and used to the best of our ability for the good of mankind. Having been endowed with the gift I possess, I believe it is my duty to make money and still more money, and to use the money I make for the good of my fellow man according to the dictates of my conscience."

His destruction of competitors and brutal exploitation of the working class was also, claimed Rockefeller, in harmony with the Lord's will. He once told a Sunday School audience:

"The growth of a large business is merely the survival of the fittest. The American Beauty rose can be produced only by sacrificing the buds that grow up around it. This is not an evil tendency in business. It is merely the working out of a law of nature and a law of God."

John D. Rockefeller died in 1937, failing to achieve his often-stated ambition to live to be 100 by only two years. His son, John D. Rockefeller Jr. not only



expanded the fortune left behind by the old man but developed the much-bragged about philanthropy of the Rockefellers into a virtual science of tax breaks and the accumulation of political power.

Longevity is apparently a family trait and John D. Rockefeller Jr. died at the age of 86 in 1960.

Control of the family fortune passed into the hands of the five grandsons of Rockefeller Senior, John D. III, Nelson, Laurence, Winthrop (deceased) and David.

The Rockefeller fortune was not diminished by the thorny problem of inheritance taxes. Long before he died, John D. Rockefeller Jr. had handed over most of his wealth to his sons in the form of gifts or tax-exempt Foundations.

There have been only sketchy estimates of the value of the Rockefeller estate. In 1964, *Fortune* magazine wrote:

"Any real clues as to the wealth of the brothers have been vigilantly guarded since their birth. None of the terms of the trusts established for them by their father has ever been revealed, and even the names of the trustees are known only to the family and a few key advisors. The great concentration of the brothers' wealth is in oil companies like Jersey Standard, Creole, and Socony-Vacuum, but the precise amount is still their secret..."

Along with the vast holdings in Standard, the Rockefeller family controls two of the three largest banks in the United States. David, who has been pressing for deflationary policies of credit restrictions and high interest rates, is the chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank. His cousin, James S. Rockefeller, is the chairman of First National City Bank.

The family finances are coordinated by Rockefeller Family and Associates, located in Rockefeller Center, one of the most valuable pieces of real estate in the United States.

In 1964, Ferdinand Lundberg

estimated Rockefeller holdings in shares of Standard Oil of New Jersey to be worth over \$2,600,000,000. The total stockholdings of the Rockefeller family were estimated at a shade below \$5 billion.

Rockefeller wealth is stashed away in more than 70 secret foundations. The largest publicly-acknowledged foundations are the Rockefeller Foundation with assets estimated at \$831 million (1972) and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, with assets of \$238 million.

The family fortune is valued at anywhere between \$7 to \$10 billion. Nelson Rockefeller's share of the fortune is estimated between \$500 to \$800 million dollars. An art financier, his collection of pre-Columbian, impressionist, cubist, and other modern works may be worth close to \$20 million.

Nelson Rockefeller is so arrogant about his wealth that recently he told reporters that it may vary by several million dollars on any given day, depending on the latest stock market averages.

He lives in baroque splendor, dividing his time between a town house in Washington, a summer home in Seale Harbor, Maine, a six-square mile estate in Westchester called Pocantico Hills, a duplex apartment off New York's Fifth Avenue, and a 5000 acre ranch called Monte Sacro in Venezuela.

There is a very deliberate division of labor between the four surviving Rockefeller brothers. John D. III is in charge of the "non-profit" (!) and philanthropic investments that are vital for guarding the family fortune from taxes; Laurence is in charge of expanding the wealth with investments; David is in charge of banking and finance; and Nelson has the task of safeguarding the political interests of the family.

Nelson Rockefeller has been active politically since 1940 when he joined the Roosevelt Administration as an expert on Latin American affairs. He was parti-

cularly concerned with the growing dangers to the vast Rockefeller holdings in South America. From the earliest days, Nelson and David Rockefeller emerged as the most determined spokesmen of imperialism and counterrevolution.

Through various foundations, Rockefeller spent millions on developing a program of anti-communist subversion in Latin America as well as a missile program for nuclear war against the Soviet Union. It is through one of these projects that Nelson Rockefeller discovered Henry Kissinger and launched him on his political career.

Kissinger was the main writer in a Rockefeller Brothers Fund project entitled "International Security: The Military Aspect." The report dealt with the struggle to crush revolutionary movements among masses particularly in Latin America.

"It is imperative," declared the report, "that in addition to our retaliatory force we develop units that can intervene rapidly and that we are able to make their power felt with discrimination and effectiveness."

The Rockefeller report asserted that "the effectiveness of our power depends on our unmistakable ability and willingness to oppose force with force at whatever level of intensity may be required."

In the late 1950s, Nelson Rockefeller became quite convinced of the necessity of nuclear war against the Soviet Union. Upon becoming governor of New York, he launched a publicity drive to encourage the building of bomb shelters in every cellar or backyard. He himself built lavish shelters in his major residences.

The burning hatred felt by the workers of South America for Rockefeller exploded in 1969 when he received a reception in every country he visited that made Nixon's welcome in Venezuela in 1958 appear almost friendly.

His first stop was Honduras, where one student was killed in

rioting against the Rockefeller mission.

From there he flew to Ecuador and was greeted by a general strike in Quito. Helicopters flew above his car to protect Rockefeller against angry crowds. The government had to call out 1000 soldiers and policemen.

Peru abruptly cancelled Rockefeller's visit so he flew to Bolivia. But mass demonstrations prevented Rockefeller from ever leaving the airport.

Chile and Venezuela then announced that Rockefeller could not enter their borders.

The Brazilian regime rounded up 2500 people to prepare for Rockefeller's arrival and the Paraguay junta staged a welcome of carefully-picked spectators.

Rockefeller's flight to Uruguay was delayed one day as rioting and firebombing broke out to protest his arrival.

When Rockefeller arrived in Argentina, the government declared a state of siege.

Four people were killed in rioting against Rockefeller in Santo Domingo.

Rockefeller concluded his mission with a visit to Haiti where he appeared on a balcony with Papa-Doc Duvalier and warmly embraced the arch-butcher of the Caribbean.

That Rockefeller is prepared to use the same brutality against American workers that he uses in defense of imperialism abroad was made clear in September 1971 when he ordered the murder of 42 men to crush the Attica rebellion.

This is the man who now joins Ford in the first unelected Administration in American history, determined to carry out with force policies aimed at destroying the basic rights and living standards of the working class.

The trade unions must act to force the resignation of Ford and Rockefeller and construct a labor party as the alternative to this government of bankers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE ORIGINS OF LIQUIDATIONISM

Throughout the history of the Fourth International every revisionist opponent of Marxism has been concerned with one central aim: to destroy the theoretical and organizational basis of the revolutionary party.

Trotskyism has been forced to fight a life-and-death battle against all forms of anarchism, against centrism, Stalinism and, inside the Fourth International, against Pabloite liquidation into Stalinist and social-democratic parties.

Despite its varying forms, the content of revisionism and its attack on Marxism has always been the same: to destroy the independence of the revolutionary party and subordinate the working class once more to the existing bureaucratic leaderships of the working class.

This is why, in the epoch of imperialist decay, the revisionists have always been concerned to cover up the real role of bureaucracy and its objective-material relationship to the class struggle. It has been no accident, therefore, that revisionism has always assumed a particularly virulent and dangerous form in the movement in precisely those periods when the working class and the youth threatens to break from the bureaucracy.

Pabloism emerged as a liquidationist trend within the Fourth International on the eve of the great movements of the East German working class against the Stalinist bureaucracy in 1953 and, above all, in Hungary and Poland in 1956. In Britain the

A Reply To The British Agents Of The OCI Liquidationists



—first of six parts by michael banda & peter jeffries —

Robin Blick, in his attack on the revolutionary party, uses the same method and Max Shachtman, (center), who led a petty bourgeois faction within Trotsky, (right), fought to expose the impressionist method that character

Pabloites emerged as the principal opponents of the Socialist Labour League (forerunner of the Workers Revolutionary Party) in the struggle of the Young Socialists after 1960 when the main task was to break the youth from the grip of the reformist bureaucracy.

Today, however, the attacks against revolutionary theory and organization assume a far more reactionary and overtly counterrevolutionary character than ever before. For today, revisionism represents the concentrated pressure of a bureaucracy and capitalist class which is forced to fight head-on a resurgent working class in the midst of an insoluble world economic crisis.

Hatred and fear of Marxism and revolutionary leadership, inspired by the forward movement of the working class and its absolute determination to defend each of its past gains and rights, has necessarily become a major obsession for the bourgeoisie and its petty bourgeois servants in the bureaucracy and revisionist movements.

All the energy of the ruling class is turned on trying to discredit and suppress the revolutionary party and isolate it from the mounting struggles of the working class. That is why in Britain the Tories, with the support of sections of the Labour leadership such as Prentice, in the last months of power tried to build up an enormous "reds under the bed" witch-hunting campaign designed to confuse more backward workers, stampede the middle class and discredit Marxism.

They failed to intimidate the working class. But they certainly did not fail in driving the petty bourgeois revisionists even further into abject capitulation to the bureaucracy and, through it, to the capitalist state.

The strength of the working class was such that the Tories were beaten and replaced by a minority Labour government. Far from resolving the crisis, the election of the Wilson government has brought the working class into even sharper conflict with the bureaucracy. The Labour cabinet is determined that the burden of the crisis be placed directly on the backs of the working class and sections of the middle class. The Queen's speech and Healey's budget is the clearest indication that the Labour government has opened the door to a Chilean-type inflation and the concomitant danger of a Bonapartist regime.

But the struggle against the betrayals of

the social democrats and their Stalinist and centrist allies means, above all, the struggle to build the revolutionary party and to transform it into a mass party of the working class. The struggle to build the Workers Revolutionary Party and assimilate into its ranks the many new forces coming towards it, is directly bound up with the fight against every expression of middle class propagandism, of anti-centralism and subversion to spontaneity.

This is the essential pre-condition for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' state in Britain. It is only through this irreconcilable fight that the authority and continuity of the Workers Revolutionary Party leadership has been established. Without it there can never be developed the "perseverance, discipline, firmness, inflexibility and unity of will" (Lenin) which the preparation for and the taking of power by the working class demands.

The distinguishing feature of Trotskyism, shaped in 40 years of struggle, has been its ability to integrate through this continual inner-party struggle, the best elements from the working class, the youth and the intellectuals and to make this task of cadre-training the basis for the development of Marxist theory.

THE STALINIST REID AND THE RENEGADE BLACK

It is no accident that for revisionism this, the very essence of Trotskyism, has been the object of its deepest class hatred. This is the meaning of the continual attacks on our movement as "sectarian" and "ultra-left." The leadership in these attacks has, of course, always been taken by Stalinism. A relatively recent and notorious example of Stalinist lying and distortion was Mrs. Betty Reid's booklet "Ultra-Leftism in Britain." The substance of her attack on the Socialist Labour League was contained in a conscious misrepresentation of the nature of the Socialist Labour League.

"The technique of keeping members at a high pitch of activity and excitement, promising them the leadership of the revolution as an immediate perspective, and launching them into battle against a sea of enemies, has its own hazards. The casualty rate is very high, the average age of membership is very low, the effect upon leading figures totally decimating, as is seen by the high rate at which their names disappear, and by the absence of any influence in the mass movement." (pp. 21-22).

On the instructions and under the direct guidance of the Socialist Labor League, Mr. Robin Blick (alias Robert Black) wrote a reply to Mrs. Reid's slanders, "Stalinism in Britain" (August 1970). This is what Mr. Blick at that time wrote in reply to Mrs. Reid:

"But the slander most calculated to discredit the leadership of the Socialist Labour League and divert attention away from its policies and principles is Reid's reference to our allegedly high 'casualty rate.' The opposite is the case. Especially since the split from the 'state capitalists' and Pabloite revisionists (the groups led by T. Cliff and J. Lawrence) the Socialist Labour League has built up a basic cadre that is being constantly strengthened by political developments in the Young Socialists and our supporters in the adult movement now organized in the All Trades Unions Alliance. There is in the leadership of the League a combination of many generations and layers of the working class movement, blended with intellectuals who have broken from Stalinism and social democracy. It is the political striking power and principled firmness of this leadership that Reid hates and slanders. When she lyingly refers to the decimation of 'leading figures' she is really protesting at the principled way in which we have always carried through our splits with revisionist and opportunist elements."

Yet after he wrote the book Blick, without the slightest struggle, discussion or explanation, left the Socialist Labour League and his post as Foreign Editor of Workers Press in the summer of 1971. During the crucial period of the Tory government he refused to take part in any political activity. But it is now clear that though silent he was not entirely inactive. Together with John Markham (Mark Jenkins) who had left the Socialist Labour League in 1968, he was preparing a polemical attack on the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Today Blick-Jenkins have emerged as the newest agents of liquidationism, working on behalf of the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) from whom the International Committee split in 1971 after a long struggle over philosophical and political differences. (See In Defense of Trotskyism, Workers Revolutionary Party).

We entirely welcome the latest attack, contained in the document "Workers Revolutionary Party Perspectives: A Discussion Document." We welcome it because it gives us yet another opportunity

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Agents of the Revisionists



uses the same method as British Stalinist Betty Reid (left), bourgeois faction within the Socialist Workers Party. Leon method that characterizes the middle class intellectual.

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to take up the fight against revisionism, the basis on which we have always educated and trained our movement.

What is instructive to note is that in their attack on Trotskyism, Blick and Jenkins use fundamentally the same method as Mrs. Reid. One example alone will suffice to demonstrate this at this stage.

In a postscript to the book (*Betty Reid and the Socialist Labour League*) Blick, this time with no prompting at all from the leadership, had this to say about the Socialist Labour League and its leader, Gerry Healy:

"But as we pointed out in our reply to Reid, the crisis of Stalinism and the revisionists has created a situation where anti-Trotskyist hacks such as Mrs. Reid are forced to discriminate between genuine Trotskyists and those that use the name of the Fourth International as a cover for their own capitulation to Stalinism. The only organization singled out by Reid for this special type of Stalinist slander is, of course, the Socialist Labour League. The anti-Soviet 'International Socialism' group and the openly anti-Marxist 'Solidarity' group are treated quite politely in comparison with Reid's series of slurs on SLL methods and leadership. With one exception, the National Secretary of the League is referred to as either 'Mr. Healy' or just 'Healy.' But when Reid turns to the various revisionist groups, her tone softens. Instead we have Ted Grant (twice) and the highly familiar Ernie Tate (also twice). A small point? No. The style is also the politics. Mrs. Reid's politics are Stalinist, and cannot but be full of hatred for the principles of Trotskyism. This hatred is expressed in a subjective form through the habit of addressing her revisionist allies by their first names and her most bitter and long-standing Trotskyist enemy as 'Mr. Healy.' Reid also seeks to draw a contrast between Stalinist methods of political persuasion, which operate 'by argument and discussion and participation in struggle,' and those of the Socialist Labour League. According to Reid, 'its finances, rules, conferences are all private. It faithfully maintains the atmosphere of conspiracy, feuding, public attacks upon individuals and blow-by-blow accounts of controversies with rival groupings.' (p. 22)

"This is perhaps the most impudent slander of all. The Stalinist Reid, who endorsed all the crimes of Stalin, has the audacity to lecture the Socialist Labour League on the conduct of its internal affairs! The political struggles that have

developed between opposed tendencies within the Trotskyist movement have always revolved around questions of basic principles. As far as our conferences are concerned, they are private for the obvious reason that we prefer to hammer out our strategy free from the scrutiny of the capitalist Press and other representatives of the class enemy. We take our opponents seriously, and therefore conduct our internal affairs with a corresponding sense of responsibility to our members and the working class as a whole."

Yet in the Blick-Jenkins document we now read that:

"Responsibilities of leadership do not seem to extend to the General Secretary."

And again, speaking of the WRP leadership:

"The cult of infallible leadership and its subjective method can only bring progressive demoralization to the party."

Serious readers who are concerned to establish the fundamental principled differences between Blick-Jenkins and the Workers Revolutionary Party will no doubt be curious to know how it is that they can traverse such a wide political spectrum in such a short time. How is it possible to defend one of the leaders of the Socialist Labour League as an "inveterate enemy" of Stalinism and bureaucracy in one period and insinuate that he is the leader of a self-perpetuating bureaucracy the next?

To answer this question it is necessary to examine the philosophical method of the Blick-Jenkins document. We shall find that behind all the attacks on "concrete questions" against the WRP lies an idealist philosophical method. It is this philosophical method which lies behind their conception of perspectives, of the nature of bureaucracy and of Stalinism and social democracy.

To determine their method, however, is not enough. More important still is that we establish the class nature of this opposition because without such a class analysis it is impossible to arrive at a correct political orientation.

THE CLASS NATURE AND METHOD OF BLICK-JENKINS

"Inconsistency," wrote Trotsky of Shachtman and the petty bourgeois opposition in the Socialist Workers Party, on the eve of World War Two, "usually serves a social function. There are social groupings which cannot be consistent." (*In Defense of Marxism*, New Park Publications 1966, p. 59).

This is indeed demonstrably true of the method and outlook of Blick-Jenkins. Blick's amnesia in relation to what he wrote as recently as 1970 and his manifest failure to attempt even the slightest explanation of this contradiction in a document which is devoted almost exclusively to the alleged "contradictions" of the WRP, is a succinct expression of his contradictory middle class outlook.

It is not entirely unknown in the history of Trotskyism, and in fact bears a close resemblance to that of Shachtman which Trotsky dissected in his well-known article, "A petty bourgeois opposition in the Socialist Workers Party."

"Correct method not only facilitates the attainment of a correct conclusion, but connecting every new conclusion with the preceding conclusions in a consecutive chain, fixes the conclusions in one's memory. If political conclusions are made empirically, if inconsistency is proclaimed as a kind of advantage, then the Marxian system of politics is invariably replaced by impressionism—in so many ways characteristic of petty bourgeois intellectuals.

Every new turn of events catches the empiricist-impressionist unawares, compels him to forget what he himself wrote yesterday and produces a consuming desire for new formulae before new ideas have appeared in his head." (*In Defense of Marxism*, ed. cit., p. 79.)

This is why Blick's inconsistency, which leads him to write lyrical praises of the SLL-WRP one day and strident denunciations the next, is in no way the product of a personal psychological aberration. It is organically rooted in the class interests which he and Jenkins represent and defend.

It reflects the inconsistency of the middle class overwhelmed by major historical events and utterly unable to elaborate a consistent theory of knowledge, a unified materialist conception of the class struggle or an integrated economic and political perspective.

Blick-Jenkins will no doubt protest. But let us see how they actually commence their attack on Trotskyism and the

Workers Revolutionary Party. The opening lines of their document tell us: "Vital to the effectiveness of a revolutionary party's role in a situation of developing crisis is the perspective it has of the possible courses open to the class enemy." From this perspective, "checked and corrected" they say, the Party must "work out" the likely reaction of the working class and its established reformist and Stalinist leaders.

What could be clearer! Blick-Jenkins find it impossible, as petty bourgeois, to start from the class struggle, and the historical tasks of the working class within this struggle. Instead, like all middle class sceptics, they begin from the plans of the ruling class. For them, the working class is merely an object of history, which can only "react" to the initiatives of the ruling class. The conception of the working class as the only consistently revolutionary class in society—a role which flows from its historical relationship to the means of production—is entirely rejected.

Not only is the middle class method of the document exposed. The philosophical standpoint of the middle class—idealism—is just as starkly laid bare. Instead of starting from the struggle between classes as the source of all political developments, Blick-Jenkins start from the "plans" and intentions of one of the classes, the capitalist class. They start their "analysis" in a completely one-sided way from only one of the opposites within the struggle. The essence of materialist dialectics, namely that it starts always from the unity, conflict, interpenetration and transformation of opposites in nature and society, is abandoned from the very outset.

"The splitting of a single whole and the conflation of its contradictory parts...is the essence (one of the 'essentials,' one of the principal, if not the principal characteristics or features) of dialectics." (Lenin, "On the Question of Dialectics," *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 359.)

This was the essence of Lenin and Trotsky's method against the revisionist idealists. In his summary speech to the report on the world economic crisis given at the Third Congress of the Communist International Trotsky sharply criticized the one-sidedness of the formalistic method which characterized the Kantian idealists of the Second International:

"...just as it is impermissible to counterpose a sword to statistics, so it is impermissible to counterpose the subjective factors of history—the revolutionary will and the revolutionary consciousness of the working class to the objective conditions. After all, the opportunists—the Hilferdings, the Kautsky's and the Kautskyites—render automatic the process of mental and spiritual development by introducing into their prodigious historical statistics only the objective factor, the will of the hostile class—which is for us an objective factor. And by virtually excluding the subjective factor, the dynamic revolutionary will of the working class, they thereby falsify Marxism, converting it into sophistry." (L. D. Trotsky, *The First Five Years of the Communist International*, New Park Publications, Ltd. 1973, p. 280).

Instead of the method outlined by Lenin and Trotsky the Blick-Jenkins document says that change comes from one of the opposites in the class struggle, the ruling class, to which the working class can only respond.

Marxism begins not from an estimate of the course, "projected" or "envisaged" by the ruling class, but from the objective developments of capitalist economy, which is the material basis of the class struggle. Political changes, the "plans of the ruling class," the "reactions" of the working class are part of the superstructure of society. By superstructure we mean the political, legal, religious and other institutions and their corresponding ideology which arise on the given economic foundation of society.

Blick-Jenkins' attention is directed entirely to this superstructure. Marxists do not of course in any way ignore changes in the superstructure; indeed in revolutionary periods such changes assume a decisive importance. But to know how and when they become decisive requires that they be grasped through their inter-relationship and conflict always from the standpoint of their material basis—the productive forces and the social relations of production which correspond to these forces.

Trotsky's consummate grasp of the dialectic method was nowhere established more clearly than when he dealt with this problem of elaborating perspectives in the

first four congresses of the Communist International. The following extract from his writings of that period show not only the continuity of the struggle now being waged by the Workers Revolutionary Party but also the enormous gulf between the theoretical charlatanism of these renegades and the scientific method and outlook of Marxism:

"...While Marxism teaches that class relations arise in the process of production and that these relations correspond to a certain level of productive forces; while Marxism further teaches that all forms of ideology and, first and foremost, politics correspond to class relations, this does not at all mean that between politics, class groupings and production there exist simple mechanical relations, calculable by the four rules of arithmetic. On the contrary, the reciprocal relations are extremely complex. It is possible to interpret dialectically the course of a country's development, only by proceeding from the action, reaction and interaction of all the material and superstructural factors, national and world-wide alike, and not through superficial juxtapositions, or through formal analogies." (*The First Five Years of the Communist International*, New Park Publications Ltd. 1973, p. 77).

Such knowledge is arrived at only through the struggle of the Party to carry its theory into practice. The Party is engaged in a continual struggle within its own ranks and within the working class against all the forms of bourgeois ideology whose role is precisely to restrict ideas to the surface, to the superstructure. In the bourgeois idealist outlook, the criterion of truth is whether the individual's ideas correspond to these surface developments. For Marxists, the objective truth of our ideas, including our perspectives, depends on whether they correspond to the laws of motion of nature and society, i.e., the class struggle. This is established in history only through the practice of the revolutionary party as the most conscious factor in the struggle of the working class.

Blick and Jenkins consider perspectives without any examination whatsoever of the objective developments in the class struggle, which is the material basis of all political development and ideas. Once cut off from this objective basis, the source of our knowledge and ideas, they inevitably remain in the camp of idealism. The laws of this material world in motion cannot be identified with the actual day-to-day changes in the economic and political situation. These political forms cannot be accepted at their face value. The very opposite.

"...the general law of motion—both of the external world and of human thought—(are) two sets of laws which are identical in substance but differ in the expression insofar as the human mind can apply them consciously, while in nature and also up to now in human history, these laws assert themselves unconsciously in the form of external necessity in the midst of an endless series of seeming accidents." (Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach*, Emphasis added.)

The ideological superstructure, including politics, is the form taken by the contradictory development of the economic basis of society on which arises the class struggle. To take the relations between elements of the superstructure divorced from this material base—as do Blick-Jenkins—is to adopt the subjective standpoint of the petty-bourgeois intellectual who is opposed to the struggle to build the revolutionary party in the working class. It reflects the impotent position of the petty bourgeoisie in the period of capitalist disintegration.

Idealism, which sees the class struggle from the standpoint of ideas in the head and not the other way around, is the ideological advanced guard of the social-democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies as they now prepare their greatest betrayals. It is because this is the content of Blick-Jenkins' philosophical position that they can give no account whatsoever in their document of what they represent or where they have come from. For them everything starts in the head and it is this philosophical idealism which allows them, as footloose petty bourgeois, to flit from position to position, answerable and responsible to no one, least of all the working class.

The petty bourgeois' illusion is always that he speaks as an individual fighter for "justice" and "truth," that he is "independent" and speaks for all honest men and not for any class.

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Constant Danger At Brook Park

BY FRANK DENISON
CLEVELAND, Ohio—Behind the collapse of auto production safety standards is the falling rate of profit, combined with a staggering 30 percent drop in sales hitting all the auto manufacturers.

Ford is taking the lead by cancelling \$22 million in planned expansion and other capital expenditures. Inflation and recession mean fewer men will be driven to produce more cars with deteriorating machinery.

At Ford's Brook Park casting complex, company safety programs have been abandoned and accidents are on the rise.

CARELESSNESS

"The company says accidents are caused by carelessness," Tom, a Brook Park worker, said. "But it isn't like that at all. The machinery is 25 years old and breaking down. The company isn't even interested in fixing it, they are interested only in production.

"I know a guy who has a bad back. One day it was hurting him on the job and the foreman refused to let him stop working. Because of that he spent a week in the hospital. He should have taken a month to recover but the company doctor cut it short and sent him back to work."

NO REGARD

Chuck, who works in the foundry explained, "The company has no regard for your safety. When we were working a lot of overtime, they let you work doubles every night. They take advantage of the people who don't make enough money, by encouraging overtime so they don't have to hire new men.

"Two guys I heard of got heart attacks that way. One of them was in his twenties."

Not only is the machinery dangerous and always eaking down but this danger is magnified by the ever increasing speed

that workers are forced to use it. The common accidents; smashed hands, electrical shocks, torn ankles and knees, sprained backs, are all related to speedup, short cut procedures and cheap material.

DISPUTE

Aaron told the Bulletin that "If there is a dispute about whether a machine or procedure is safe or not the contract says you can refuse to do it. But the foreman gets around that by accusing you of refusing to work.

"One trouble we have is that it's hard to get a committeeman in cases like this and when he does come, he takes the side of the company.

"Just to show you what can happen, yesterday they told me to grind something. When I turned on the motor, the stone flew apart. It didn't hit me but it was close."

Another worker said the company ignores his complaints about the danger of stacking metal bars in a rack just above the place where he is supposed to work.

"What will happen if one of those things were to fall and hit me? All the company says is they'll see what they can do about it. The union—those guys won't help you. It's a company union. We need a whole new leadership."

Machinery breakdowns lead to "downtime." Under these conditions, Ford, rather than invest in new equipment, drives the men even more savagely for more production.

"If you see a piece come down and it looks like you are going to have trouble with it, or suppose you are having trouble with a piece.

"They won't stop the line because the foreman starts yelling, so you have to take chances or risk a confrontation."

What is furthest from the minds of the committeemen or UAW 1250 is the fight to actually change the conditions. Unbearable heat, fumes, dust and sand have long term effects.

Workers who work jobs in the foundry are exposed to silicosis from sand cleaning machines,

dizziness from heat and fumes, and unknown, debilitating side effects that build up over periods of time. Workers complain continually of machines like the "shot blast."

"These are little pellets like buckshot" said Allan. "They are forced out of a machine under tremendous pressure. This is used to clean the castings. The shot bounces off the parts and sting when it hits your body and it can put out your eyes. We wear safety glasses but they still get into your eyes."

In addition to Ford's drive to speed up production and cut maintenance, a further danger is the way they use their manpower.

PUSHED OUT

The older men are pushed out, to be replaced by younger men who are moved from job to job without regard to their training or classification.

"They have a fellow on a job one day, then they put him somewhere else. The man never gets to know his job."

The national contract signed by the Woodcock leadership is carefully tailored to give the auto makers a free hand in destroying the rights and working conditions won by the auto workers.

Last January, Local 1250's leadership strangled the strike movement of Brook Park workers. A strike at the key Brook Park plant would lead to a national strike against Ford which Woodcock fears above all else. TUALP, the industrial arm of the Workers League is the only leadership that has fought the attacks on the auto workers. The 1973 contract cannot be accepted. Auto workers must demand a national strike to reopen the contract, to win a \$1 an hour across the board wage increase and 100 percent monthly Cost of Living, a shorter work week at full pay, and union control of safety and production standards.

The UAW must demand the calling of new general elections to unseat the right-wing Ford government and replace it with a labor party, committed to socialist policies.

midwest news

BEHIND THE WILDCAT— HARVESTER GEARS FOR SPEEDUP DRIVE



Workers at the Dodge Truck plant in Warren, Michigan, urge co-workers to join wildcat strike last June. Since the return to work, and despite a strike mandate, nothing has been resolved.

New Explosion Brews At Dodge Truck

BY JANE JACKSON—
WARREN, Mich.—
“There’s been no change at all in my department. We still have the smoke, the unsafe working conditions today that we had before the walk-out.”

This is how Jerome Walker described the situation at Dodge Truck in Warren, Michigan just outside Detroit, where workers wildcatted in early June over the unsafe and rotten working conditions and the refusal of the union leadership to fight for improvements, and the rehiring of twelve militant workers.

“Instead of eliminating smoke, they started using a new kind of prime and eliminated the people on that job,” Walker explained. “We were supposed to get a decent cafeteria with air conditioning a month ago. We got nothing.”

“As far as I’m concerned, it’s the union leadership all the way up to Woodcock that’s responsible for the way Chrysler operates. When you read the small print in the contract, everything is up to the International. We don’t even own our own union hall, it’s the International’s.”

“If they worked in the plant, they’d have authorized the strike a month ago.”

On June 20, the 6000 members of UAW Local 140, voted overwhelmingly for a strike. Since that time, the leadership has managed to stall the actual deadline for a strike by carrying on daily talks with Chrysler offi-

cial and making empty promises of “improvements” in working conditions.

“One week we get one locker and the next week we get a fan. This is what they call improvements,” Don Hawkins stated.

The same conditions that led to the wildcat, where the Warren Police Department and a judge in court robes descended upon the pickets outside the plant gates, with scores of arrests and traffic tickets for workers who even stopped to see what was going on, are creating conditions for another explosion.

At that time, police were called in by union officials to evict the men from their own union hall where they had assembled for a meeting.

The Bulletin interviewed one worker who asked that his name not be used because of the threats of Chrysler, that anyone who even talks to a newspaper reporter will be fired.

“I think people should know about how they run these plants, because they need to be changed. There are a lot of plants and all of them bad, but some are worse than others and Dodge Truck is the worst.”

“I work on assembly. Since we went back after changeover, they’ve speeded up the line so you can hardly keep up. There’s never enough material to work with and you’re always bumping into someone trying to do your job.”

“It starts even before you get to work. The street you have to come in has no lights, and with hundreds of cars, it’s hazardous

just getting into the parking lot.

“Then, when and if you get in, the floors are covered with grease and you slip all the time. I fell and really hurt my back and neck a few weeks ago. They sent me to the company doctor and when I told him my neck hurt, he said, ‘What has your back got to do with your neck?’”

“Another thing is the wash room. They never clean the place, and it’s a health hazard. People are getting cut all the time because they don’t furnish enough ‘sleeves’ or gloves. You get one pair of gloves a week and that pair lasts about eight hours. You have to go rummaging into this dirty barrel to find a worn out pair. One guy reached in about a week ago and got bit by a rat. That happens all the time.”

“Last week, we had a pretty good rain and we had to go home because the place got flooded. We only worked four hours that day. If it’s only raining lightly they keep you working with the rain coming right through the roof.”

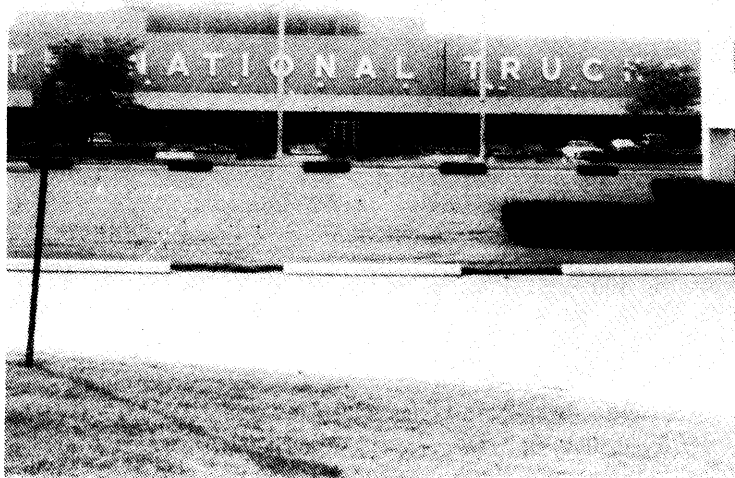
“Chrysler also changes you around from plant to plant. Warren Stamping is my original plant, but they won’t send me back there. When you go to a new plant you lose your seniority and have to start all over.”

“Sure we should be on strike right now, but I don’t think the union will call one. They’re playing it cozy with the company. The general feeling among all the men is that there is no leadership.” With inflation out of control, and profits and sales falling, the auto manufacturers will not only introduce even greater speedup and layoffs, but will begin to close down entire plants.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, industrial arm of the Workers League, is leading the fight in the auto plants for a new leadership to throw Woodcock out.

TUALP is fighting to unite all auto workers in a nationwide strike, to reopen the 1973 contracts and win a minimum 20 percent wage increase now, plus cost of living, rehiring of all laid off workers, and an end to speedup.

This program requires the building of a labor party, pledged to a socialist program of nationalization of industry, under workers’ control.



The International Harvester plant in Springfield, Ohio.

BY A BULLETIN
REPORTING TEAM
SPRINGFIELD, Ohio,
The recent walkout of United Auto Workers Local 402 workers at International Harvester began at the modern truck assembly plant on the outskirts of Springfield and quickly spread to the old downtown body plant and the Urbana facility.

In retaliation, the company initiated a massive lockout declaring all workers that didn’t report to work on Tuesday, August 13, suspended. 5000 workers were declared suspended for the remainder of the week.

Almost all the workers told the Bulletin that they had been suspended for the three days.

One worker said that a steward had been fired for opposing the excessive overtime, particularly in Department 55. He also stated that a major cause of the walkout was the company’s flagrant violation of the contract by having the foreman work, particularly on weekends. 200 foremen worked over one weekend.

Another worker stated, “They got all kinds of bird dogs standing over us,” and “there is one foreman to every six men.” “Heaven only knows where they’re getting them,” but “something is up.”

He said it was possible that Harvester was preparing to retime jobs. Another worker stated that his job had just been retimed.

One worker, referring to the new massive increase in super-

visory personnel, stated, “The company brought them in to push.”

“Nothing is settled yet. They’re loaning people out to other departments instead of hiring new people. Everything’s all messed up.”

Another worker said “There’s no room to work, it’s so crowded.”

“They work us like dogs, the company’s on you all the time. You even have to ask to get to go to the bathroom.”

“Things are pretty bad. The company’s getting ready to do something, but I don’t know what.”

The stewards who were fired for allegedly attempting to stop forced overtime were reinstated. Their dismissal and the suspension of 40 other workers who refused to work because of the dismissals was what sparked the wildcat. The workers returned only after the stewards were rehired.

A worker in the body plant said, “We got these guys back; we proved our point. If we hadn’t, we would have asked for strike authorization.”

“We would never accept forced overtime. We hit the bricks for that. Some of these foremen are no good rascals. Some of them are going to find their guts lying out on the ground one of these days.”

Union officials state that nothing is settled yet. They refuse to give out any details on the conditions or the walkout and maintain a tight secrecy, no doubt on orders from Woodcock.

It is clear that International Harvester is gearing for a major speedup drive. The company’s attack is part of a national attack by the corporations to increase the exploitation and productivity of labor in order to restore profits.

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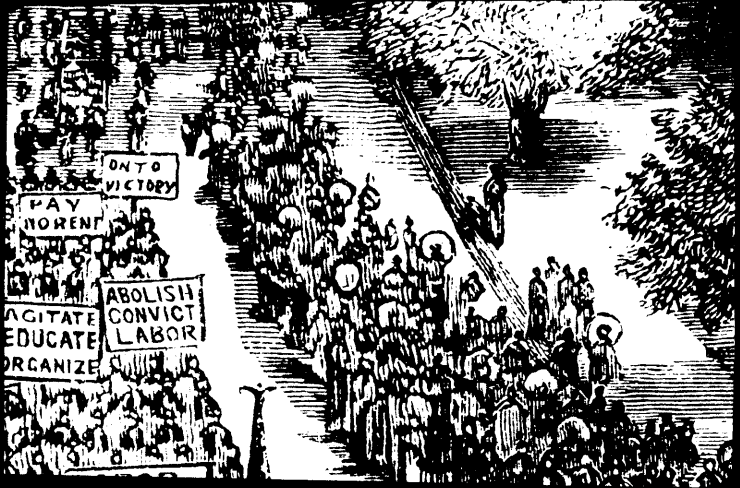
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by Sheila Brehm

books



Nancy Fields & Tim Wohlforth

The American Working Class a materialist assessment

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

World War One ushered in a new stage in the class struggle and proved to be the testing ground for the socialist movement.

In the chapters entitled "From Socialism to Communism," Wohlforth examines the reasons for the decline of both the Socialist Party and the International Workers of the World (IWW).

"Cadres and leaders not only adequate to the tasks of one period, but excelling in one period, like Debs and Haywood, can collapse before the changed tasks of a new period. History proves over and over again that few, very few cadres are capable of the theoretical struggle required to make such basic changes. But those who do fight through such changes are central to the continuity of Marxism from one period to the next."

As Lenin noted, it was the death agony of imperialism, a period of war and revolution. The Russian Revolution of 1917 proved that socialism was a reality. America rose to power as the dominant imperialist master under conditions of capitalist decay.

The American working class was well prepared for this period by the bitter labor struggles during the 1870s and 1890s. Through their experiences, hundreds of thousands became convinced of the necessity of revolutionary struggle.

However, American workers entered this new period very much conditioned by the thinking of the past, of an earlier period of capitalist development. The conditions of the expansion of capitalism encouraged pragmatic thought. This thinking was hostile to theory, concerned with only that activity which brings immediate results. It was hostile therefore to an international perspective and to an overall understanding of the capitalist system.

Eugene Debs, one of America's greatest revolutionary fighters, neglected theoretical matters and thus was without a strategy for the working class to achieve socialism.

Lenin, however, noted that just at the time when a party becomes popular among the masses, as the SP did, it is accompanied by the lowering of the theoretical level. It is precisely at this point that the sharpest theoretical struggle is required to combat bourgeois thinking in the working class.

The left wing of the SP failed

to grasp the lesson of the Russian Revolution; that disciplined, centralized, parties, beginning with an international perspective were required to bring the working class to power to establish socialism. Because this left section could only express the revolutionary desires of the working class, but could not concretely prepare for the struggle for power, it collapsed.

Likewise, the IWW collapsed. The IWW rallied the most revolutionary workers to its cause and led the bitterest strike battles from the West Coast to Lawrence, Massachusetts.

The history of the IWW expresses the limits and the inadequacy of trade union militancy. The IWW's outlook was that politics could be kept out, and that by organizing workers into one big union that would call a general strike, capitalism would be defeated.

Some of the outstanding leaders like Haywood and James P. Cannon, however, did make a break from the narrow American, trade union outlook and joined the early Communist Party after the Russian Revolution.

This marked an important turning point in the history of the Marxist movement. Strategy and tactics were developed which grew out of the experiences of both the American and international working class, through the battle to construct a revolutionary party as part of an international world party.

The Depression of the 1930s created new conditions of struggle. In the character of all development in America, the CIO was built in a great leap, in only two years, through sit-down strikes, and mass strikes.

The CP, already dominated by the Stalinist bureaucracy that had grown up in the Soviet Union, played an absolutely reactionary role in that period, using its influence in the CIO to chain workers to the Democratic Party, preventing the construction of a labor party.

As the world working class enters this period today, the stranglehold of the CP over the labor movement is weakened, and the opportunity for the building of Trotskyist parties has never been greater.

The publishing of this book is a product of the struggle of the Workers League to build a Marxist party as part of the International Committee of the Fourth International, against all those who seek to divert the working class from taking power.

It is indeed a vital tool today, to arm revolutionists for the period of revolution.



General Motors workers in St. Louis at meeting where a proposal to end the strike was pushed through.

Woodcock Rams Sellout Of St. Louis GM Strike



Nat Mosely, second from left, and his supporters after the vote to return to work was passed, despite a large opposition. While Mosely led this opposition, he had no program to win the strike and only called for extending it a "few more weeks."

BY HOWARD WEST
ST. LOUIS, Mo.—
United Auto Workers International and Local 25 officers pushed through ratification of a local contract between the St. Louis General Motors Assembly Division management and Local 25 members on September 1.

Local 25 had been on strike for 10 weeks and will return to work on September 3. Over 5700 members work at the plant which manufactures the larger Chevrolet passenger models as well as trucks and Corvette sports cars.

The new contract settles none of the major issues which sparked the strike. Not even the work overload grievances (Paragraph 78 of the International con-

tract) are settled and the major issue of job security will not be settled until the men return to work.

The majority of the over 2000 men laid off in the nine month period before the strike will remain unemployed. The issue of seniority throughout the whole plant still remains in the hands of management.

The vote was pushed through despite large opposition from many of the workers. The union bureaucrats called in the St. Louis police department to patrol the parking lot around the union hall. Over a dozen police cars remained a couple of blocks from the union hall ready to act against union members.

OVERRULED

The executive board of Local 25, acting on the insistence of the International, overruled the bargaining committee when it rejected the company's proposal. The executive board then called the ratification meeting.

The opposition to the contract

was lead mainly by Nat Mosely and Rod Galey, two militant committeemen from the Corvette section of the plant, but they presented no alternative to the sell-out. The major reason that ratification was pushed through was the opposition's inability to put forward a perspective to win the strike.

Only a national strike against GM and the other auto companies can fight the attacks facing all auto workers. Such a strike can force the reopening of the 1973 contract to throw out Woodcock's 3 percent wage sellout.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party has fought for a program of a 20 percent wage increase, and recall of all laid off workers. In this period of economic collapse and crisis in the auto industry, these demands are inseparable from the fight for a labor party, based on the trade unions, to fight for socialist policies such as nationalization of the auto industry without compensation and under workers control.

No Change In Line Speed At Lordstown

BY NANCY RUSSELL
LORDSTOWN, Ohio—Workers from Local 1112 returned to work here Wednesday, August 28, ending a seven-week strike with conditions essentially unchanged.

Charles, a worker on the truck line said: "It was not worth it. We were out all that time. Most Paragraph 78s (planned speedups) were thrown out. They changed a couple of little things and expect you to be satisfied."

The union leadership sent maintenance workers back to work before the ratification vote was completed on Tuesday, August 27. Mary Ann, a worker on the Vega told the Bulletin:

"The contract guarantees transfer from one plant to another, which was considered a major issue, more repair materials, people for replacement, and a lot of stuff that didn't pertain to very many people.

"The big thing we got in our department was four closed in telephone booths.

"The general consensus was that we weren't satisfied, but you go back to work when GM says you will. I think the union requesting maintenance workers to go back to work ahead of time was a violation of membership rights. They pulled a fast one."

On the vital issue of line speed, absolutely no change has been made. Vega production has been 100 to 110 cars per hour. Now GMAD is introducing the Pontiac ASTRA which will run on the same line at 40 per hour, while Vegas will be maintained at 60 per hour, which makes it exactly the same line speed. In fact, workers will be forced to learn the new model at the same line speed as the old (100 cars per hour).

The truck line which had been raised from the standard 25 per hour to 30 per hour a couple of months ago when no local contract existed, will continue at 30 under the new local agreement.

"Since changeover will take place in a couple of weeks, the union said it was no use to change job descriptions," Mary Ann reported. This is an outright dismissal of the main issue of the strike.

It is reported that four issues on disciplinary layoffs have been settled in favor of workers. Charles told the Bulletin: "They got a couple of men on DLO back. So they got a couple back and they use this as a coverup for the rest of the contract.

"That they called maintenance men back to work early showed it was all like a put-up job. Most men say the same thing about this contract. We lost money for nothing. We are still producing year-end '74s.

"The unions should run these plants. We should go out to win nationally. Instead, the union officials say one thing and do another. They say they can only go so far."

The growing threat of bank-

ruptcy was revealed in the report on Supplementary Unemployment Benefits given by the union at the ratification meeting. SUB had guaranteed 95 percent of a worker's salary during layoff. This was a company fund. Five percent of the company profits are earmarked to the SUB fund nationally.

Mary Ann said, "They reported that the SUB fund is nearly defunct. With the oil cutoff and the economic situation, look at how many GM workers have been laid off. I think they're truthful about this. GM is saying if worse comes to worse, we're not going bankrupt for these people so we might get nothing. They figure that whatever it takes, they will keep money where it is.

"On the assembly line, you're like a peasant. They rule you. We need some young blood in the union. People willing to change.

"These leaders don't know what change is. They say they want change, but they say they must work by the rules. They say the company is giving us our bread and butter. I believe we must change this system."

The newly elected union leaders have betrayed this critical seven-week long strike. While nothing has been settled by this contract, a new leadership, committed to a national labor party, committed to socialist policies must be built in the UAW.

The betrayal of the Lordstown strike means that the most urgent task for auto workers is the strengthening of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in every plant, as the alternative leadership to Woodcock, that fights to unite auto workers with the entire working class in a political fight against the policies of Ford.

Psychological Torture At Butner Jail

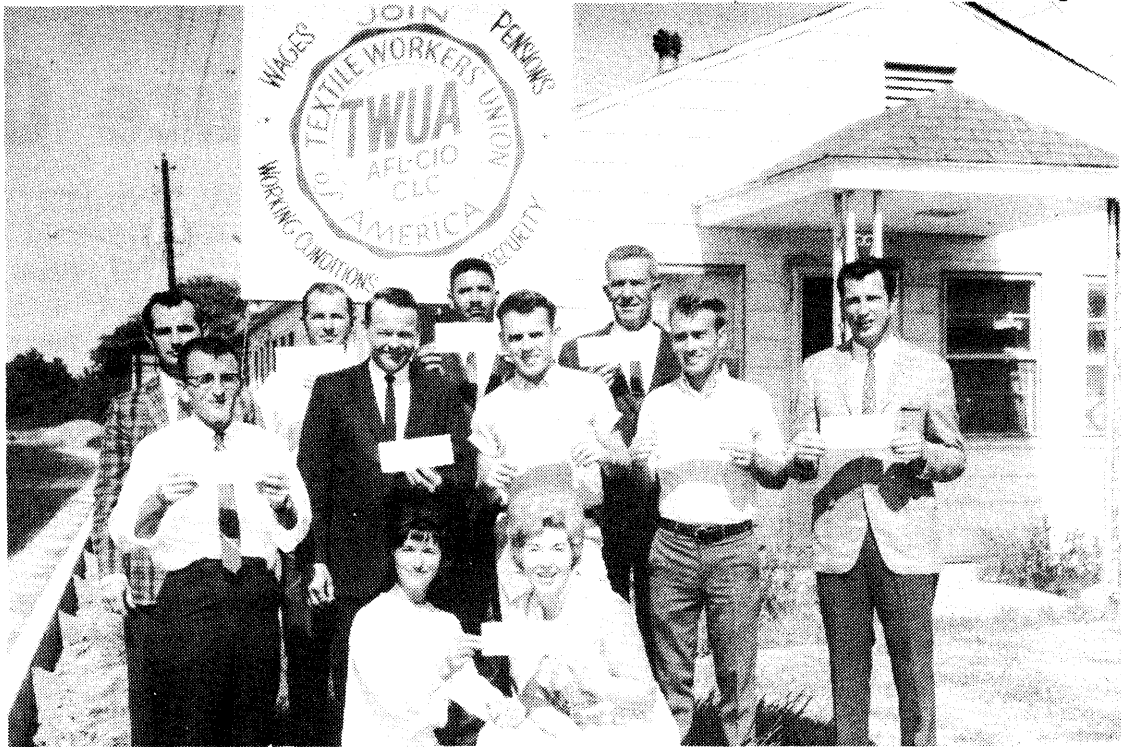
BY HOWARD WEST
The Bureau of Prisons is now finalizing plans for the newest development, originally called Center for Behavioral Research, in Butner, North Carolina.

This center will provide facilities for all types of psychological research to manipulate human behavior and is scheduled to open in 1975.

Already this type of treatment of prisoners has been reported from a number of prisons across the country. These include psychosurgery, where parts of the brain are removed surgically to modify the behavior of individuals, as well as the administration of drugs for similar purposes. Punishment techniques range from shock treatments to solitary confinement.

These techniques were in daily use in Vietnam and today are used in Northern Ireland by the British troops to extract information from prisoners.

The research wing of the institution will house 200 prisoners drawn from federal prison in the eastern United States. They will



J.P. Stevens workers who were re-instated after being fired for organizing activities hold up retroactive pay checks.

J.P. Stevens Workers Win Recognition

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
ROANOKE RAPIDS, N. Carolina—Workers at seven J. P. Stevens textile mills have won an 11-year fight for union recognition.

The Textile Workers Union of America is now conducting negotiations for a contract and has stepped up the drive to organize the company's 73 other plants in the South and in Canada.

Stevens employs 45,000 workers. It is the country's second largest textile manufacturer.

At one point in its attempts to prevent unionization, Stevens wiretapped the rooms used by a union organizer in South Carolina. The National Labor Relations Board forced the company to rehire 289 people who were fired for joining the organizing drive.

Wages at the Stevens mills average \$3.17 an hour, and the

union has demanded a minimum pay of \$3.50 an hour. Only 15 percent of the country's textile workers are unionized, which has been an important factor in keeping industry pay scales over a dollar an hour less than in other manufacturing industries.

United Textile Union (UTU) members at the Dan River mills in Danville, Virginia have been on strike for eight weeks after rejecting a 10 percent raise that was paid beginning June 1. A three-year contract was signed in April with wages still to be negotiated. The raise was paid out before a settlement was reached in an attempt to head off strike preparations.

The Dan River mills in Danville operate 6700 looms with 8300 workers. The AFL-CIO has agreed to call for a boycott of the company's underwear, bed linens, carpets, and knitwear if the strike is not settled by September 16.

Local 248 is demanding a 16.5 percent wage increase, in a fight to break through the 10 percent

wage ceiling established by the textile industry for this year. In addition to breaking the pay agreement, the union is demanding more paid vacation time, union dues checkoff, and vested pension rights after five years.

Under the present pension plan, a worker gets back only his own contribution to the plan if he leaves the company before retiring. The company has made no payments into the fund for over two years, claiming that the fund has enough money to cover retirements in the coming period.

In addition to actually paying out the raises before negotiations were concluded, Dan River has installed air conditioning and food vending machines for the scab work force now running the looms six days a week. Company officials stand at the gate during shift changes to personally greet the scabs, while strikers are prevented from gathering to prevent entry into the plant.

be randomly assigned to four separate communities called "correctional program research units."

Each unit is devoted to conducting a program which combines in various ways group therapy, individual counseling, educational instruction, vocational skills training, and physical education.

All types of techniques will be involved in these programs such as yoga; biofeedback training; self-counseling to confessions in the Catholic Church as developed by a Jesuit priest, and psychodrama.

The unifying theme behind all these programs is that the prisoners will act as individuals in opposition to everyone else in the group. Ned Opton, psychologist at the University of California, Berkeley, described an incident at a California women's prison where a similar program is in operation. During an all-night marathon, the group concentrated a lengthy attack on a political radical which ended in the group beating her up.

Thus these programs are to develop means of breaking up any unity among the prisoners as well as using the prisoners themselves to break other prisoners. This is termed by some psychia-

trists as developing "self-esteem, resourcefulness, and skills that will enable them to find rewarding and socially acceptable employment."

Martin G. Groder, the warden at Butner, is more blunt in describing his programs. His first appointment in the federal prison system was at Marion, Ohio where he established one of these "games," as he calls it.

RIP

"Eight of them walked into the room and sat down—and I proceeded to rip them off, one after the other. I just shit all over them about all the things that had come to my attention that were so obvious to me about the of the so-called 'convict code,' presentations, their attempts to get negative strokes by playing kick me, their inane dedication to stupidity, their tremendous fear of breaking any of the rules of the so-called 'convict code,'" while at the same time being busily engaged in breaking them and covering up the fact—just the whole ball of dirty wax."

The development of these techniques, ostensibly aimed against criminals, is a warning that the fascistic methods used by the CIA abroad are being prepared for political opponents and workers here.

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

lucha obrera

—lucía rivera—



El Verdadero Rockefeller

El nombramiento de Nelson Rockefeller como vicepresidente de los Estados Unidos significa que la sección derechista de la clase gobernante—los banqueros de Wall Street y los industriales, han asumido control directo sobre el gobierno.

Con Rockefeller en el gobierno conjuntamente con el anti-obrero de Ford, las grandes compañías se moverán más rápidamente para implementar políticas deflacionarias necesarias ahora para los bancos poder preservar su sistema capitalista.

Esto significa desempleo masivo y el colapso de muchas industrias.

La riqueza de la familia Rockefeller es el producto de siglo de explotación. Entre el 1860 y 1900 David Rockefeller, abuelo de Nelson, construyó su imperio basado en el negocio del aceite, Standard Oil of N.J. El era señalado por todos los obreros quienes llamaban su fortuna "la fortuna sangrienta".

Desde entonces, el imperio de Rockefeller ha crecido continuamente a espensas de la explotación más cinica de los trabajadores en el país y en el extranjero. Hoy la familia es dueño de dos de los tres bancos más grandes en los Estados Unidos.

David Rockefeller III, quien esta de acuerdo con la política deflacionaria de restricción de crédito y de altos intereses, es el presidente del Chase Manhattan Bank, y James Rockefeller, primo de Nelson es el presidente del First National City Bank.

La riqueza de la familia no es conocida exastamente pero es estimada entre los 5 y 7 billones de dolares. Los hermanos, conscientemente han dividido a la clase obrera para conservar sus ganancias.

John D. III esta encargado de las inversiones filantropicas que son vitales para proteger su fortuna de los impuestos. Laurence esta encargado de las inversiones para acumular más fortuna. Las operaciones bancarias y financieras estan en las manos de David. Nelson esta encargado de las operaciones políticas de la familia.

Nelson, cuya fortuna personal esta estimada entre los 500-800 millones de dolares, ha estado activo en política desde el 1940. El sirvió en la administración de Roosevelt como un experto en los asuntos Latinoamericanos, esta intervención con el solo proposito de proteger sus inversiones.

El papel que Nelson ha jugado en Latinoamérica personalmente y a través de las intituiciones que la familia tiene, son de carácter contra-revolucionario.

Ellos han invertido varios millones en desarrollar un programa de operaciones anti-comunista y de subversión en Latinoamérica.

Kissinger comenzó su carrera política trabajando con los Rockefeller. El fue el principal colaborador en un escrito titulado "Seguridad Internacional: El Aspecto Militar," en el cual el escribió: "La efectividad del poder depende de nuestra habilidad y deseo de oponer fuerza contra fuerza a cualquier nivel de intensidad requerida".

El nombre de Rockefeller es conocido en el exterior como simbolo del Imperialismo norteamericano. El es odiado por los trabajadores a través de todo el mundo, dondequiera que su imperio ha llegado a explotar a los trabajadores.

En el 1969, Nelson R. llevo a cabo una visita a través de toda Latinoamérica que expuso más crudamente el odio de las masas hacia el capitalismo norteamericano.

En Honduras, el fue recibido con demostraciones que causo la muerte de un estudiante. En el Ecuador una huelga general exploto en Quito. En Bolivia, debido al odio en contra de él, este no pudo ni siquiera abandonar el Aeropuerto de La Paz.

En Brazil y en Paraguay la caravana de bienvenida fue cuidadosamente controlada por el gobierno y los militares. En la Argentina se estableció un estado de sitio, prohibiéndose la reuniones en la calle. Debido al temor a las masas trabajadoras peruanas el gobierno decidió cancelar la visita de Rockefeller al país. Chile y Venezuela anunciaron que Rockefeller no podía entrar al país.

Este hombre, odiado por la clase obrera internacionalmente, sin duda no dejara de usar su poder para reprimir a la clase obrera. Cuando él era el gobernador de Nueva York el fue responsable de la matanza de 42 reclusos y guardias en la prisión de Attica en el 1971.

Jovenes y Trabajadores deben de actuar de inmediato demandando nuevas elecciones y construyendo un partido obrero basado en demandas socialistas.

Police Occupy Newark

BY DAVID NORTH AND LUCIA RIVERA
NEWARK, NJ, Sept. 5—Police armed with shotguns seized 11 more people on Wednesday, bringing to 42 the total number of arrests since last Sunday.

A brutal police assault Sunday on workers attending a Puerto Rican holiday festival in Branch Brook Park touched off demonstrations throughout the city.

A state of seige exists in Newark. Mayor Kenneth Gibson has ordered a full mobilization of the 1500-man Police Department and given them instructions to shoot to kill.

Gibson has imposed a curfew forcing youth under 18 years of age off the streets between 10 pm and 6 am. All demonstrations have been banned and police have instructions to break up all public gatherings of more than three people.

Police are seeking to terrorize the Black and Puerto Rican workers and youth of Newark. Their invasion of Branch Brook Park on Sunday was a deliberate provocation.

As hundreds of workers and their families strolled through the park enjoying a festival of music and games, police mounted on horses swept through the field like a charging cavalry with absolutely no warning. Police have ludicrously claimed that they were trying to stop an illegal craps game.

STATEMENT...

(Continued From Page 1)

tories to defend their right to work.

Every battle over wages and jobs will pose to the working class the necessity of preparing the political struggle to take power and establish socialism.

It is only in the framework of this enormous political and economic crisis that we can grasp the meaning of the military plot which has just barely been uncovered.

Every worker must ask himself: If the question of military action was raised to settle a political dispute within the ruling class, what is the ruling class as a whole prepared to do when its profits and power are threatened by the working class?

The capitalist press and government officials are silent on Nixon's last conspiracy precisely because the conspiracy to build up the power of the military still continues.

Schlesinger acted against Nixon because the ruling class fears an immediate confrontation with the working class.

Rather, it has moved to place Ford and Rockefeller in power to weaken the working class with mass unemployment and inflation, while constantly preparing the ground for dictatorship.

The Workers League is the only movement that has consistently warned that Watergate did not simply represent the corruption and power drive of one individual. It exposed the moves of the capitalist class internationally to establish a new form of rule.

In a Political Committee statement in the October 23 issue of the Bulletin, we stated:

"By defying the courts and dis-

People were trampled by the horses. It is reported that one pregnant woman and small child knocked down by the police horses have died of their injuries.

One man has been found dead, his body ripped open with the same 12-gauge buckshot being used by police.

On Tuesday night, a regiment of police circled the Christopher Columbus Homes project and sprayed the decaying building with machine gun fire. Many workers and housewives narrowly escaped death as the bullets passed through windows and into their bedrooms.

Defying the police, youth have burned several patrol cars. Youth have been shot and beaten. The Bulletin witnessed the clubbing of one youth, not more than 14 years old, by a cop carrying a wooden stick in one hand and a shotgun in the other.

Police have also fired tear gas into crowds.

COPS

"The cops started this," declared Hattie Anderson, who lives in Columbus Homes. "They are shooting at everybody and they've arrested 30 or 40 people. After we demonstrated at City Hall, they really came down on us.

"Gibson's not doing anything but sitting on his butt. All the Blacks and Puerto Ricans hustled to get him in, and he doesn't do nothing for us. But he gave orders to shoot to kill.

"We live here and now we can't even walk on our own streets."

Alvin Tomassini witnessed the

police assault on Columbus Homes on Tuesday:

"They started shooting up at around 10 pm. A lot of little kids live there. A lady was looking out the window and she got shot. That's why people are mad."

Tomassini saw a police car deliberately sideswipe a man as he stood on a curb.

Across the street from Columbus Homes, police stand guard outside stores. Periodically, the cops point the shotguns menacingly at youth who, in response, stand their ground and jeer them.

REACTIONARY

Conditions in Newark have exposed the utterly bankrupt and reactionary character of the reformists and nationalists of the Democratic Party, represented by Gibson. Unemployment is conservatively estimated at 17 percent. Among youth, it is closer to 50 percent. Unemployed workers are finding it impossible to meet the cost of food.

The struggle in Newark today is not a repetition of 1967. The movement of the working class in this city is part of the powerful forward movement of the entire working class against the conditions of skyrocketing inflation and mass unemployment which big business is seeking to impose.

The New Jersey labor movement must come to the defense of Newark workers by demanding the immediate withdrawal of the police and fighting for the political mobilization of the working class through the construction of a labor party.

The working class must be armed and united politically in a labor party and must mobilize its full strength to demand new elections to throw out Ford, Rockefeller and the Democrats.

The economic summit of Ford to plot how the workers will be forced to tighten their belts must be answered with a summit of labor, of delegations from unions and factories throughout the country to carry this out.

The labor bureaucracy and the AFL-CIO leadership together with the Democrats are lining up behind Ford to defend the interests of capital and to tie workers to the requirements of big business.

The labor party can only be fought for by an alternative revolutionary leadership in the trade unions based on the policies of the Workers League.

We intend to take this forward in the election campaign. The Workers Party is entering two candidates in the New York congressional race to extend and deepen the campaign for a labor party.

Through this fight, the Workers League must be built as a mass revolutionary party, as the leadership that will prepare workers for the struggle for power. We urge every reader and trade unionist to take the step of joining the Workers League now.

In the Midweek Edition

•James P. Cannon, 1890-1974: An assessment of his political life, by Tim Wohlforth.

We based this above all on a confidence in the strength in the working class and of the revolutionary role it will now play.

Since Ford has assumed office, the crisis has intensified. Inflation is approaching an annual rate of 12 percent; unemployment is headed for 8 percent; production and profits are declining at a catastrophic rate.

Trade union militancy by itself cannot defeat the conspiracy and defend living standards.

