

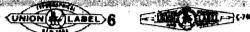
# Bulletin

NOV  
TWICE  
WEEK

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

VOLUME NINE NUMBER FIFTY SIX 331

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1973

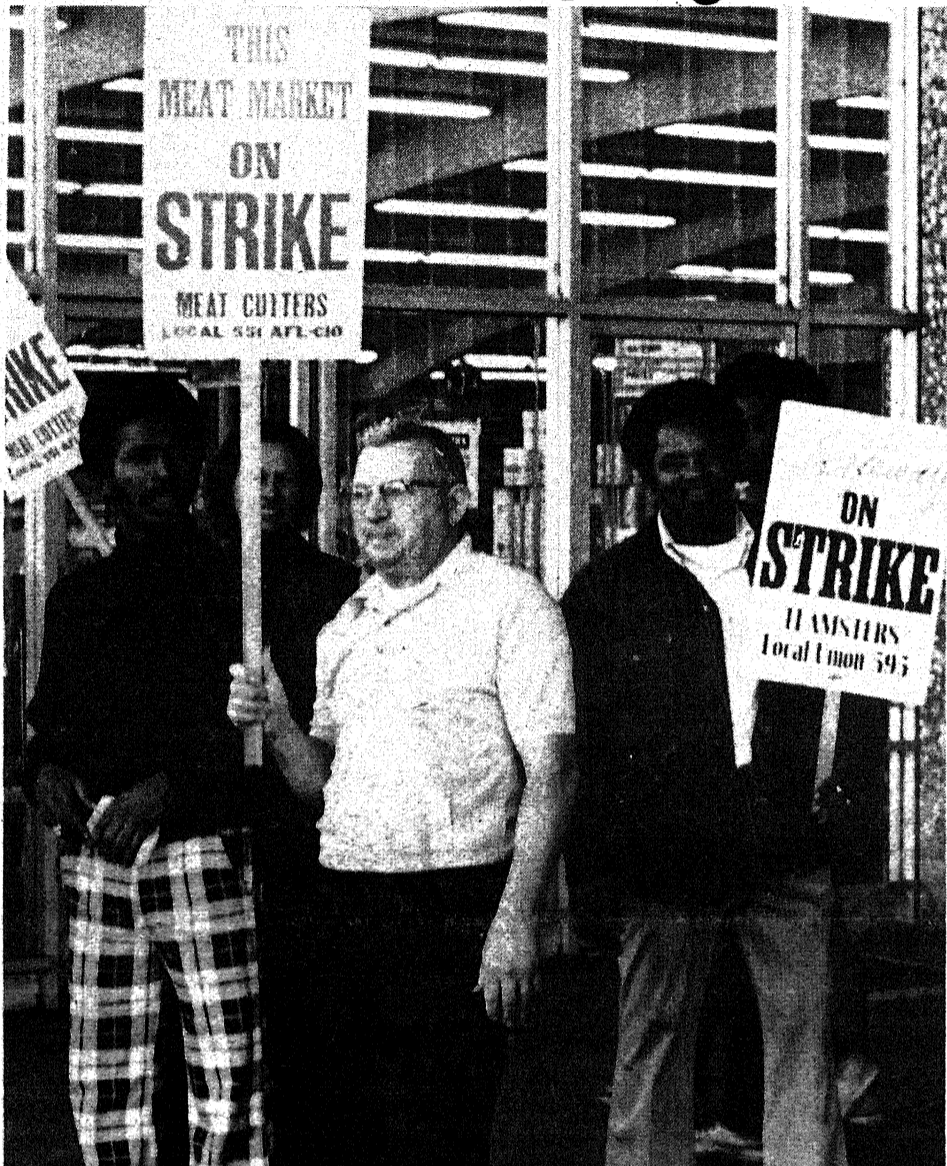


FI

NYU Libraries - Tamiment Library  
70 Washington Square So.  
Bobst Library - 7th floor  
New York NY 10012

## Union Leaders, Big Business, Groom Labor

# IS FORD THE NEXT PRESIDENT?



After being locked out, Teamsters, meat cutters, operating engineers and machinists from Los Angeles joined in strike action against the Food Employers Council. Retail clerks and bakers are honoring the lines. See page 11.

## 5000 Workers Shut Down California Kaiser Hospitals

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND—Workers in the second day of a strike at Kaiser Hospital were attacked and arrested by police here.

Four pickets were arrested after police tried to escort a scab linen truck through picket lines.

Over 5000 workers are on strike at 14 of Kaiser Permanent Foundation's northern California hospitals and clinics.

One of the pickets at the Oakland hospital, an eyewitness to the police attacks, described the scene to the Bulletin. "The

pickets were just walking back and forth like they are now, and then the linen truck came up and told them to stop and they just kept walking.

"Then they arrested one lady, and this other man asked them why they did not give her her rights, and why they were arresting her, and they just threw him on the ground and arrested him for resisting arrest and for assault and battery."

Shop steward Mary Joseph told the Bulletin: "What I want put in the paper is that the police are really coming down hard on us. Their whole attitude is really ugly.

"They were trying to provoke an ugly situation. Wouldn't you knock a guy flat if he just came up and grabbed you like that?"

Already the courts have slapped an injunction on Local 250 Hospital Workers Union, limiting pickets at the Oakland Kaiser Hospital to five at each of the main entrances and to three at all other entrances.

Negotiations at Kaiser have been broken off since the strike began on Friday and no moves have been made to reopen them.

### RETIREMENT

The offer included no retirement plan and was to extend over a two year contract. This falls far short of the union's demand for a one year contract with a package totalling ten percent.

BY DAVID NORTH

With the speedy confirmation and swearing in of Gerald Ford, the bankers and industrialists have taken a big step toward removing the totally discredited Nixon administration and replacing it with a regime strong enough to proceed with brutal attacks on American workers.

"Ninety days," declared one leading Republican congressman. "Gerry Ford will be president in 90 days."

Republican Senator Jacob Javits stated that "suggestions of a call on the president to resign are near."

Nixon's decision to release his tax returns, after refusing to do so for months, is an act of desperation. He is now forced to admit that he may owe as much as \$267,000 in unpaid taxes.

The Internal Revenue Service and the press is going over his latest report with a fine-tooth comb, trying to find out how Nixon managed to treble his fortune over the last four years. His report shows that Nixon has paid less taxes than the average skilled auto worker.

### RESIGNATION

The New York Times and two major Chicago newspapers have renewed their call for Nixon's resignation. Wall Street responded to Ford's confirmation by leaping 50 points after six weeks of disastrous losses.

The labor movement must now be mobilized to break up the attempt by big business to resolve its political crisis by demanding the resignation of the entire government—Nixon and Ford—and by convening a Congress of Labor to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies as the alternative to it.

Workers must fight for this policy in direct opposition to the entire labor bureaucracy which is supporting the efforts of the ruling class to find a way out of its political crisis.

Having opposed any political action by

the ranks to force Nixon out independent of the Republicans and Democrats, the labor bureaucracy is either advocating the accession of Ford to the presidency or is remaining silent on the question.

Leading this drive into the Ford camp is the so-called progressive wing of the trade union bureaucracy.

•United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock stated last week that he hopes "the Republican Party and powerful figures in industry and finance" would replace Nixon with Ford. "I supported the nomination of Gerald Ford," declared Woodcock, "and I hope something can be worked out to the nation's good with him."

•Farm workers President Cesar Chavez said at the United Mine Workers Convention that Ford would be an improvement over Nixon. "He may not be that good politically," Chavez told the Bulletin, "but at least he hasn't committed the crimes Nixon has."

•AFL-CIO President George Meany has made no mention of Ford in recent weeks, and his spokesman has already stated that the AFL-CIO will not oppose the elevation of Ford.

The leaders of the trade union movement are rallying behind Gerald Ford, a right-wing Republican who has no disagreements with Nixon's attacks on the working class. He is, if anything, even more reactionary than Nixon.

### CONSERVATIVE

The Economist, a right-wing British newsmagazine, recently wrote: "Mr. Ford looks as if he might be the most conservative American president since

(Continued On Page 12)

### Building The Bulletin

This past week was the first week of the December subscription drive for a grand total of 5000 subs: 4000 from the branches and 1000 from the Pittsburgh trailblazers.

The branches sold 963 subs this week, so we are off to a great start. Minneapolis sold 110; Queens, 92; and Washington, 90. We must aim for another 1000 this coming week.

Many branches are doing excellent sales of the paper as well. Dayton, for example, sold 50 Bulletin's at an unemployment center one morning.

The Pittsburgh trailblazers have just finished their drive. A full report will appear next week.

In The Weekend  
Edition:

•Part Two of "Radicalism and the Birth of the American Working Class" by Nancy Fields: "The Civil War and the Founding of the National Labor Union."

## The Truck Drivers Wildcat And The Political Fight Against Nixon

The blockade by thousands of truck drivers throughout the country in defiance of the government's energy measures is a direct political challenge to Nixon.

The truck drivers were speaking for every worker in this country when they declared they would not allow Nixon to slash their wages and push the cost of the crisis on their backs.

While Nixon used delaying tactics and made empty promises to pacify the drivers, his real intentions were seen on the highways where the National Guard and state troopers mobilized and attacked the drivers with clubs and tear gas.

Aided by a news blackout of what was really happening, Pennsylvania State Troopers brutally beat many

drivers and there are reports that one may have died. Every struggle to defend wages and living standards today is met with an organized campaign of violence, mass jailings, and court injunctions.

Fitzsimmons is in complete complicity with this. He repudiated the strike, and met with Labor Secretary Brennan in Washington the same day and urged a joint labor-management conference. Fitzsimmons literally crawled on his knees to Nixon to beg for a few meager concessions.

Teamster secretary-treasurer of Local 710, William

Joyce declared: "We'll not join them. They are subject to arrest and they should be arrested."

Despite the power the truckers demonstrated in pulling their rigs across the roads, this action did not win any of their demands.

The struggle against Nixon's speed limit and the increase in fuel prices is a struggle against the government itself and a strike, no matter how militant and determined cannot defeat the government.

In the 1930s the drivers were forced into virtual civil war against the government in the struggle to organize the CIO and the Teamsters union.

In Minneapolis in 1934, the state mobilized whole armies of police and hired gunmen to break the picket lines. After a two day running battle, called the Battle of Deputies Run, police were beaten and forced to retreat.

In a second strike, martial law was declared and troops were called in to handle the trucks. After a bitter battle in which two drivers were killed and 55 wounded, the strikers' main demands were won.

It was through struggles like this that workers in this country developed a strong conviction that militancy and reliance on their own strength can force the employers to give in.

But this is not the 1930s. The defense of the very rights won in the past cannot be defended with the same methods. The economic crisis has reached such an explosive stage that the most minimal demands for improvements in wages and conditions threatens the entire capitalist system.

This is why the government reacts with such frenzy and brutality to the truckers strike. This time they will not give in.

The limitations of the wildcat actions were expressed sharply in the contradiction between the spontaneous and militant action the drivers took and their statement that Nixon should meet with them and agree to their demands. This contradiction has marked every major labor battle in the history of this country.

The Teamsters leadership of Frank Fitzsimmons played a major role in getting Nixon elected and since then has stood with him in holding down wages and preventing strikes. Fitzsimmons is one of Nixon's most faithful agents within the trade unions.

Teamsters must confront that their demands cannot be won without the removal of Nixon and that this struggle is the fight of the whole working class.

The powerful unions like the Teamsters and the United Auto Workers have the power to unite the labor movement and can take the lead in fighting for a labor party. It is in this struggle that those traitors like Fitzsimmons who defend the employers will be driven out.

Truck drivers have only passed through the first stage of what is developing into a war between Nixon and the working people. Today workers must arm themselves with the one weapon they lacked in the past; a political party of labor that will throw the Democrats and Republicans out of power.

This must be the call of the two day national strike called by truckers for December 13 and 14.

**What  
We  
Think**

## Tories Plan Ulster Terror For Miners

BY MITCH PATTERSON

The commander of the brutal, military operations in Northern Ireland, the man responsible for the intervention of the armed forces against Irish workers, William Whitelaw, has been brought into the Tory government in England to spearhead their offensive against the trade union movement.

The Tories have made every preparation possible for an all-out confrontation with the British working class: state of emergency powers, riot control police detachments, and a secret "Department for the Maintenance of Supplies" in case of broad strike action, as well as antistrike legislation, fines, and jailings through the courts.

Going hand in hand with these preparations, the Tories are attempting to intimidate the trade unions leaders into capitulating to the government's onslaught on the working class.

The recent announcement that the London stock prices have taken one of the steepest declines ever is further vindication of the absolute insolubility of the crisis of British capitalism. This is what is forcing Prime Minister Heath to prepare for civil war.

Led by the miners, millions of trade unionists in Britain have no intention of allowing their democratic rights to be destroyed. Throughout the history of Britain, the mine workers' union has been in the forefront of the struggle for decent working conditions and decent wages.

### MINERS

Once again, the miners have brought the rest of the labor movement forward; this time under conditions where there can be no compromises.

Either the Tories will defeat the miners and move toward dic-

tatorial rule, or the miners will use their strength to force a general election for the ousting of the Tories and the establishing of a workers government.

On December 3, 3000 miners from South Wales met to discuss the strategy on how to pro-

George asked Smillie point blank: "Are you ready to take over?" Smillie pulled back.

Today, the Tories are provoking the working class into the same situation. They are challenging the workers to a political showdown knowing that the

## Danish Reformists Lose

Danish Premier Anker Jorgensen of the Social Democratic Party handed in his resignation December 6 after his party suffered heavy losses in the nation's parliamentary election.

The Social Democrats strength fell from 70 seats to 46. All the other parties who have been in the government, the Conservatives, the Liberals, and the Radical Party also lost votes.

The newly formed Progress Party headed by a wealthy lawyer, Mogens Gilstap won 28 seats, which makes it likely he will be the new Prime Minister.

But the election results gave no party a large majority and do not resolve the parliamentary crisis that erupted last November.

The collapse of the Social Democrats shows the disgust of the workers with the inability of any of the reform parties to deal with the economic crisis. Under the Social Democrats, inflation has soared and direct taxes now amount to almost 55 percent of a workers' income.

ceed against the Tories' Phase Three pay laws.

There was a standing ovation and chants demanding "Heath out" when it was announced that they would continue the ban on all overtime.

National Union of Mine Workers president Joe Gormley refuses to fight. He knows that the question of power is posed in this struggle.

In 1919, although under different economic conditions, a similar situation arose. Robert Smillie, then president of the miners union, was called into a meeting with Prime Minister Lloyd George.

labor leaders will refuse to take up the challenge.

When the Tories feel they have the leadership in the palm of their hands, they will move with ruthless repression and violence against the miners and other sections of workers.

The miners in Britain can only win their fight by rallying the labor movement in political and industrial action to force Heath out and prepare for the taking of power.

There are important lessons for American workers in the struggles that British workers are facing. Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers, and others who will not fight the wage board or the layoffs, are paving the way for the destruction of workers rights.

Here as in Britain a new revolutionary leadership that is prepared to fight all the way must be organized in the unions. This is the task of the Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain that was founded November 4.



French workers demonstrate with caricature of Pompidou.

## General Strike In France Over Inflation

BY MELODY FARROW

Thousands of French workers staged a 24 hour general strike December 6 against the inflation and unemployment policies of the Pompidou government.

The one day protest was called by the major trade union federations, the CGT controlled by the Communist Party, the CFDT, and the National Education Association.

Small farmers from the countryside also joined the strike to protest against the fall in prices for beef and wine.

Inflation is rising at more than 10 percent a year and cutbacks in production are to take place in auto, textile, and the petrochemical industries.

On the eve of the demonstration, the government announced drastic curbs on bank credit and a restriction in public spending. These measures will immediately create a huge increase in unemployment.

French economists are predicting a drop in industrial growth of 50 percent. In one month alone, auto sales fell 20 percent. Big layoffs are expected in the Citroen and Peugeot plants.

A one day protest strike is completely inadequate to deal

with the attacks that are facing French workers.

Once again, the Stalinists of the CGT use partial defensive actions to avoid mobilizing the entire working class to force Pompidou to resign.

CGT leaders stressed that the December 6 action "does not have as its objective to win victory for the program of the UFT" and insisted the demands were only "economic" in character.

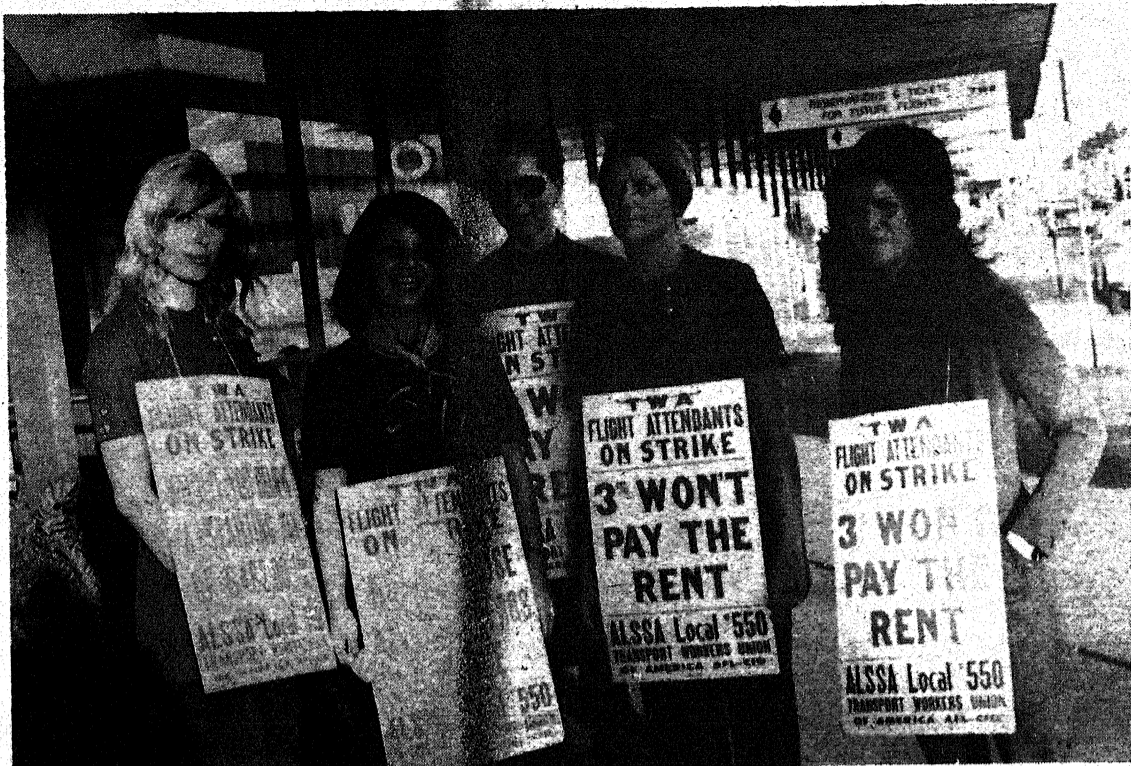
The Pompidou government deliberately denounced the strike as "political" in order to whip up the middle classes against it and to intimidate the unions leaders who retreat the more the political fight is posed.

But the one day strike shows that the French workers are determined to fight.

It has just been announced that General Bigeard, present deputy to the military governor of Paris will be nominated to a "very important post" in the near future.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John; Labor Editor: David North  
Art Director: Jeannie Cooper

THE BULLETIN, Twice-weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Seventh Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published twice-weekly except the last week of December and the last week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$6.00, 6 months: \$3.00, 2 months: \$1.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.



West Coast TWA stewardesses in second month of strike as TWA announces more layoffs.

# Pittsburgh Drivers Vow To Stay Out

**PITTSBURGH**—Over 1000 bus drivers and trolley men were joined by their families in a massive demonstration at the county courthouse here Friday, in support of their five day wildcat strike.

The workers and their families completely encircled the courthouse in below freezing temperatures in a show of strength and solidarity unequalled since the 1959 steel strike.

Demonstrators told the Bulletin: "The major issue is the cost of living clause.

"The split shifts are no joke for the drivers, but we are not going back until we get the 12 cents extra. They can shove the 3 cents they offered us last night."

Another demonstrating bus driver summed up the confidence of the whole rally: "They cannot just jail us, not in Pittsburgh."

The unionists, members of Division 85 of the Amalgamated Transit Union, unanimously rejected a court order to return to work at a tumultuous meeting last night for the third consecutive time.

They have been on strike since Monday in support of demands

for a 9.5 percent wage increase and abolition of the split shift working conditions against the Port Authority.

Overwhelmingly support for the strikers has come from the thousands of steel workers, Teamsters, and firemen as well as housewives and youth throughout Pittsburgh.

A high school student said: "The bus drivers have got to fight for their rights like all of us."

The workers have faced the full attacks of the government throughout this struggle. Judge Richard C. Wentley has already issued more than 300 criminal contempt citations against individual unionists who refused to return to work yesterday.

Eight summonses were served on Thursday after a team of sheriff's deputies were mobilized. The unionists will face jail sentences if they do not report to court on Monday.

The courts have robbed the union officials of their Fifth Amendment rights, of refusing to postpone civil contempt hearings until after the criminal contempt investigation.

The civil contempt charges include a \$7500 fine per day against the union.

As a result of the bus strike, sales in downtown Pittsburgh have dropped by 70 percent. Already, the Businessmen's Association is planning a strategy to defeat the strike.

The intentions of the bosses were shown by District Attorney Duggan when a bystander commented that it would require the civic arena to jail all the strikers. Duggan replied, "Well, it is only a block and a half away."

The dangers facing the striking bus drivers have been clearly revealed by the court action and the use of jail threats. The whole Pittsburgh labor movement must be mobilized in their support.

The defense of democratic rights today such as the right to strike requires the immediate calling of a Congress of Labor and the construction of a labor party.

# Stewardesses Hit Pan Am, American

BY DAVID NORTH

**NEW YORK, Dec. 7**—Striking Trans World Airlines stewardesses extended their picket lines yesterday and forced the cancellation of most flights by Pan American and American Airlines out of the two major airports here, Kennedy International and La Guardia.

Pickets were set up outside Pan American and American at 6:30 am and were not taken down until late in the afternoon, following the issuing of a temporary court injunction by Federal Judge Kevin Duffy.

The stewardesses decided to hit the two airlines because they have been the major contributors to TWA under the terms of a 15-year-old union-busting "mutual aid" pact.

Since the strike began one month ago, TWA has been guaranteed payment of \$57 million from the airlines which belong to the pact. TWA is still eligible for payments totaling \$9.8 million per week for the duration of the strike.

"The reason for this action was to call attention to the pact which is being used to destroy our strike," said Dana Boyle, a

stewardess and representative of the Airline Stewards and Stewardesses Association Local 550.

Pilots, machinists, and dispatchers were among those who honored the picket lines outside the Pan Am and American terminals.

Members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) held a meeting at La Guardia

and then demonstrated in support of the stewardesses for about two hours.

The airline is insisting that the stewardesses accept no more than a two percent wage increase, the breakup of the closed shop, and the hiring of nonunion foreign nationals at lower pay rates, which would mean the destruction of hundreds of jobs.

# Panic Deepens On Markets

Panic on the international stock exchanges and uncontrollable inflation now dominate the situation as world capitalism heads violently toward recession.

All indicators point toward a catastrophic slump. A recent report issued by the Common Market predicts the deepest recession in 25 years.

The impact of a continued Arab oil boycott on the economies of Western Europe, Japan and the US is so devastating that most economists are not even including it in their calculations.

The boycott, combined with tight money policies, and record interest rates in all the advanced countries insures a major downturn in production.

A Journal of Commerce report indicates that despite all official government optimism, a secret Commerce Department forecast projects unemployment from 8 to 14 percent for 1974.

These prospects have already resulted in the greatest stock exchange panic since the 1929 crash.

In the last six weeks, stocks on Wall Street have dropped by 198 points, wiping out over \$120 billion in share values. The rate of the decline has been even faster than that of September 1929.

These declines have been paralleled by worldwide collapse of share values. As of November

28, stock values on the German, Swiss Dutch, British, Japanese, and Italian exchanges have plummeted by over 25 percent.

At the same time, inflation is raging out of control destroying the living standards of millions of workers.

In the US wholesale prices are up a staggering 17.5 percent over last year. The latest figures for November indicate a 21.6 percent annual rate with fuel leading the way, with a 232 percent annual rate of increase.

Fruit, milk, and eggs are rising, and according to The New York Times, a whole new ad-

vance in food prices is being prepared.

Italy, France, England, and Japan are expected to have consumer prices rising at double figure rates in the coming period.

Inflation and unemployment are weapons in the hands of the largest banks and industries to destroy the conditions of the working class.

Greece and Chile are warnings. In these countries, inflation was used to panic the middle class and prepare the way for right-wing dictatorship. The same conditions are now maturing in every country.

# Mideast War Talks

Amid mounting tension on the Suez Canal front, Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan arrived Friday in Washington, DC, for emergency talks with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Dayan's sudden and unexpected arrival, only 24 hours before Kissinger is to depart for the Middle East, is a sign that the US-backed Zionist regime is making its final preparations for a renewal of the war.

The Nixon-Zionist conspiracy to renew the war is being assisted by the Soviet Stalinists who are supplying oil to the United States in flagrant violation of the Arab oil embargo.

This act of Stalinist scabbing occurred last week in Hamburg, where the tanker Balvy transferred 18,000 tons of light fuel oil to a US tanker, the Golden Gate.

The Arabs imposed the oil boycott in order to force the Zionists to withdraw to the 1967 borders. Brezhnev now stabs the Arabs in the back as the likelihood of a new war increases.

**EAST COAST YOUNG SOCIALIST**

**1ST REGIONAL CONFERENCE**

**Dance 8PM**

Featuring **RARE EXPERIENCE**

12PM DEC. 15  
Columbia University  
Horace Mann Auditorium  
116th & Broadway  
NYC

**Conference & Dance \$2.00**

For further information call 924-0852



# Docker Shot At Union Hall

BALTIMORE—Longshoreman Jo-Jo Baginsky was shot in an explosive meeting of International Longshoremen's Association Local 333.

The shooting occurred when angry ranks rushed the union leaders who were attempting to block a new by-law which would remove Co-President Willis N. Schonowski. The clause states that anyone convicted of felonies such as bribery, embezzlement, or extortion cannot hold office.

Since Schonowski was convicted last year of taking pay-offs from a warehouse operator who used nonunion labor, he would be thrown out if the by-laws are implemented.

Teddy Gleason, ILA president, has used this incident to undemocratically place the union under International trusteeship. This means that he and the International cronies will be running the local.

The meeting last night had been called in order to pass by-laws and nominate officers for the newly integrated Local 333. Schonowski and Gleason had previously supported the existence of separate black and

white locals, Locals 858 and 829. The courts ruled last spring that the two have to unify to end discrimination.

Two weeks ago, ILA ranks passed the new clause, but Gleason intervened to stop its implementation because it was "not consistent with the International constitution and its by-laws."

The real reason behind Gleason's intervention is his collaboration with the companies in cutting jobs and bringing in non-union labor.

While it is clear that the conviction of Schonowski was a part of the government's attack on the ILA, it is also clear that Schonowski is up to his neck in corruption as well.

Schonowski's conviction stems from his taking a bribe to let nonunion men work a union warehouse in violation of the contract. Other violations have gone on as well.

Bulletin reporters have found, first-hand, containers being stuffed and unstuffed by non-union men paid \$1.75 an hour in

violation of the 50 mile radius clause of the contract.

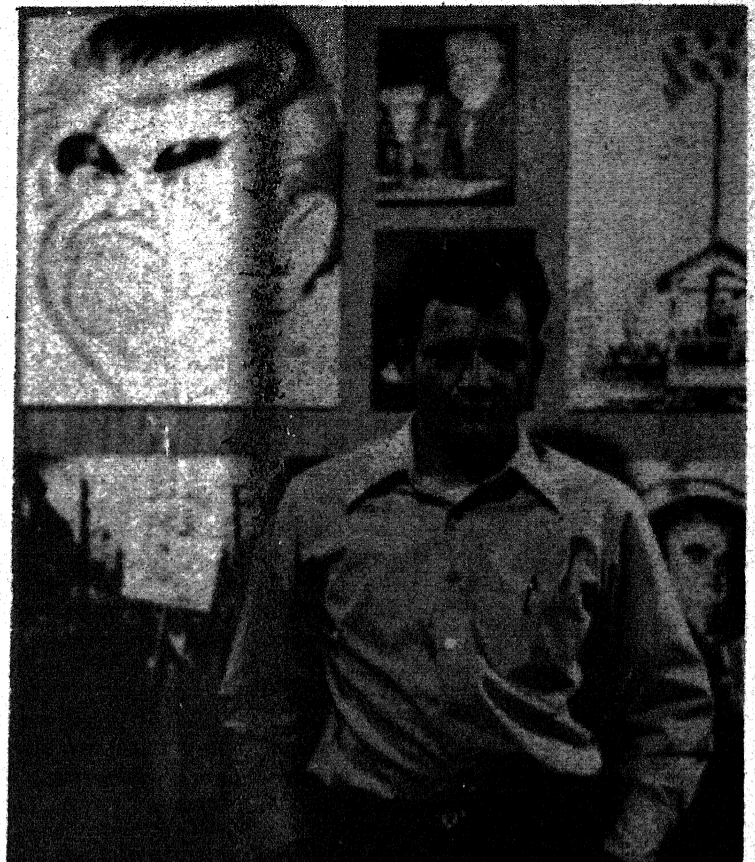
As one longshoreman stated: "The new ships have cut thousands of jobs and the union has collaborated with this completely. We used to have three or four ships come in and we would have a week's work.

"A new super container ship will now come in for one day and one man can operate a crane which will pick up container barges with the help of almost no men at all."

An opposition is now growing to throw out this leadership and defend jobs. This opposition must now demand that the international trusteeship be immediately ended.

The ILA must implement the by-laws voted by the ranks two weeks ago, including the bribery and felony clause.

Nomination and election of new officers must proceed immediately. These officers must be committed to strike action of all longshoremen in the port of Baltimore and nationwide against the cutbacks in jobs on the Baltimore waterfront.



George Viers, president of UMW Local 6869 discusses the need for a labor party with the Bulletin. See our exclusive interview below.

## Oil Crisis Dooms Plastic Industry

BY KATHY BROWN

LEOMINSTER, Mass.—The plastics industry in this town has begun to feel the effects of the shortages in the petrochemical industry as a result of the energy crisis.

Production of plastics depends on the continued supply of a special chemical powder. The reserves of this powder are already running low which has resulted in the closing down of several smaller manufacturing plants in Leominster.

Uniproducts has already laid off 40 workers and will be closing down soon.

Tucker Manufacturing Company owned by the Hamilton Cosco Corporation is one of the larger plants in the area, employing more than 150 people.

Layoffs have already begun among the office personnel there. Workers have been switched from one department to another and forced to take a pay cut of almost one dollar to cover over the downturn in

production.

One worker interviewed by the Bulletin said that the floor used to be crowded, but now only three or four men are left, the remainder having been transferred to the shipping department.

All overtime has been cut. Whereas some workers used to be able to put in 80 hours, they are lucky to get in 40 at this point.

Some of the plants in the area have already gone on four day weeks and talk has it that Tucker may be facing even shorter work weeks of two or three days.

A Teamster told the Bulletin that the supply of powder should last until February at this slow production rate. Suppliers of the powder have been finding higher profit rates by resale of the powder to foreign industry, especially Japan.

Over 80 percent of Leominster is employed in the plastics industry. With the continuing shortages in the petrochemical industry, the town faces a prospect of massive unemployment in the coming months.

## City Arrests Vizzini To Rob Firemen Of Strike Weapon

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK—President of the Uniformed Firefighters Association Richard Vizzini and two other union officials were arrested December 6 on indictments of eight counts of attempted coercion, reckless endangerment, obstruction of governmental administration, and conspiracy.



UFA President Richard Vizzini

and putting more men on to the fire crews so that fires can be fought more effectively, the city cuts wages, lays men off, and now begins an all-out campaign

to bust the UFA.

While Agnew and Nixon's friends in the government can extort, bribe, lie, and steal and walk away free, the worker who uses strike action to defend his wages is treated like a criminal.

The attack on Vizzini is an attack on every trade union. Every trade unionist must present resolutions in his local in defense of Vizzini and the firemen.

The New York labor movement must take concrete action to begin a campaign to free him and for dropping all fines and charges against the UFA.

Sentencing for the case will take place on January 14.

If Vizzini is convicted on all counts, the sentence could be seven years in prison with a one million dollar fine to the union, as well as the withholding of the unions' right to a dues checkoff for two years.

This attempt to destroy the firemen's union stems from the five and one-half hour strike of the UFA on November 6.

Shortly after the strike, Vizzini revealed to the press that he had lied when he stated that the men had voted overwhelmingly for a strike and said:

"If I revealed the vote was negative, our position in the negotiations would have been compromised."

WAGE

The city is moving full steam ahead to try and destroy the firemen's ability to fight for decent wages and better working conditions. The city wants to set a precedent for outlawing all strikes by city or state employees.

Instead of enforcing fire regulations in old, decrepit buildings

## 'The Coal Miners Should Bring It Down'

BY DAVID NORTH

PITTSBURGH—Delegates at the Miners Convention expressed concern this week that the new political action group being set up by the Miller leadership, known as COMPAC, is nothing more than a vehicle for closer ties between the United Mine Workers and the Democratic Party.

Modeled on COPE, the political arm of the AFL-CIO, the political action committee sponsored by Miller is led primarily by those in the UMW leadership who are staunch supporters of the Democratic Party and also prepared to do business with the Republicans.

They are, of course, bitterly opposed to the establishment of a labor party.

The chief organizational director of COMPAC, Bob Nelson, is currently a Democratic Party state senator in West Virginia. From 1964 to 1974, he served as a Democratic legislator.

However, Leighton Farley, a

delegate from District 29, said that he feared that COMPAC would be swamped by Democratic Party politicians like the Labor Non-Partisan League in the late 1930s.

"I was a strong supporter of the Labor Non-Partisan League back in the 1930s. Eventually, I could see that the politicians were running it instead of the rank and file members of the UMW so I resigned.

"The Democratic Party was controlling it completely. The chairman of the Democratic Party was controlling the decision on what candidates for office were nominated."

While Miller plans to use COMPAC as a pressure group on both the Democrats and Republicans, the interest shown by miners in the new organization expressed the belief of many rank and file delegates that the issues facing the UMW require a political solution and independent action by miners.

"It might not be a bad idea to have a labor party," George

Viers, president of Local 6869 told this reporter. "Basically, you got the two party system and you have men on both sides who are firmly antilabor.

"I do not like Nixon and I am a registered Democrat. But I have seen that the Democrats have done nothing.

"In the past couple of months, I have been to court seven times. We have been hit with injunctions. Most of the times, the judge was a Democrat.

"Right now, all the coal companies are threatening us. In my opinion, this government is using all these injunctions in order to interfere with our Constitutional rights. It is just demanding that we work.

"I think that the coal miners should make it publicly known that they are not for the administration and do everything to bring it down.

"I think it would be right to get massive labor action of all the unions. The only weapon we have is the strike. That is how we get our point across. As long as you

do things legally, with grievances and things like that, nothing happens.

"It wouldn't hurt if the whole rank and file as a body came out for one day to start with, just to show their feelings.

"Plain protesting is just like a soft drink. I do not think it is adequate for this situation. Miller has said that Nixon should be impeached.

"In my local, Nixon is really hated. There is always verbal talk about it. Anything he does, the men criticize. When he is on television, they criticize what he says and the way he looks. It is just 100 percent criticism.

"But I do not think there would be that great a difference if Mc-Govern would be president."

Viers, who is 26 years old, was elected president of his local five years ago. He said that the upcoming contract fight would be very bitter.

"Miners as a whole feel like they have been sold out. Other union men have better conditions. That is why I think there will be a very long strike."



# Commodities—Heading For Recession

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

World-wide inflation has been reflected in the enormous rise in the price of commodities. Whether they are food commodities like wheat or industrial commodities like tin, money values have rocketed and sometime doubled in less than 12 months.

In July *The Economist* reported that its commodity index, which it has published since 1834, had increased by three quarters in one year after remaining stable for two decades.

Since then prices have continued to rise despite almost weekly predictions that a peak had been reached. The past month on the London Metal Exchange, for example, has seen some of the most rapid price rises in copper, tin, lead and zinc in living memory.

Zinc has increased from \$1156 to \$1774 a ton over the last month and this compares with the price of \$384 in November last year.

## Higher Cost Passed On

Such rises as these, and not wages, have been the factor behind the inflation which has hit the working class since the Tory government introduced its pay laws last November. Industries which buy the dearer commodities pass higher costs on down the line until the buyer in the shop or salesroom foots the bill. The Tory Price Commission always allows increases in material costs to be reflected in higher prices.

But there are now signs that the process may swing violently into reverse. The fears of recession, particularly in the United States, caused by the drastic reduction in oil supplies through the Middle East embargo are causing extreme nervousness among commodity dealers.

One commodity expert told the *Workers Press*: "If I was holding now I would sell. The effects of recession in America would be quite catastrophic. This is what the market is talking about. People are not worrying so much about British recession—that does not have

half the effect on a world scale as a down-turn in America would. The oil situation is really critical. It cannot be overestimated."

The commodity dealers reason this way—a cut-back in industrial production because of oil shortages would immediately mean unemployment, less spending and a cycle of recession. This would inevitably hit the sales of all commodities to industry almost immediately, and therefore the long-term price trend must be down.

But this will not benefit the working class and the housewives. On the contrary the fall in commodity prices will have a more catastrophic effect, as did

In other words the dealers concentrate in their hands the supply of wheat from the farmers to the companies who want to buy the wheat.

It is the same for most other commodities—oats, coffee, cocoa, metals, wool, cotton and many others.

Sometimes the commodity "misses" the market and goes direct from mine or farm to producers. But the price must still follow the "free" market price fixed by the dealers' activities. If it fell too far behind, the farmers or miners would start selling on the "free" market and the producers independent of the market would be forced to up their buying price or lose their

up prices by buying supplies and "starving" the buyers in the hope and expectation that prices will go on rising.

The cause of the chaos has been the crisis in the currency exchange markets of the world.

As *The Economist* commented in a recent survey: "The price boom (in commodities) was fed by speculation which spread from stock markets and foreign exchange markets to commodities, fed by a super-abundance of dollars."

The wave of speculation against commodities received its powerful impulse from the breakdown in the international monetary system.

This came after America took

value in the form of the labor power needed to mine and produce it).

The enormous purchases of commodity as a hedge against further falls in the value of money sent commodity prices rocketing.

Now the reverse process could begin. At the first signs of recession and a drop in demand for basic materials, the hoarders could begin to unload their stocks in the expectation that the price will fall. Such activity will indeed make the market fall since dealers will mark down prices accordingly.

The end result would be a huge cut-back in commodity production and a world recession.



President Nixon in San Clemente with his economic council. Above: Exxon refinery at Baytown, Texas is being expanded to boost production of gasoline and other products by 13 million gallons a day.

## Production For Profit

Such developments are the reflection of the deep crisis within the capitalist system.

Production is never for use, but for profit. The use of a good and the need for the good by a human being, therefore, is continually in conflict with its use to the capitalist who produces it. The capitalist does not want the good for itself, but merely to enjoy the profit resulting from its sale.

Therefore, when recession strikes, production is cut dramatically, despite the fact workers are crying out for food, clothes, fuel and all the other goods produced by the system.

At the level of the commodity markets such contradictions are magnified one thousand fold.

The smallest recession can result in panic selling because the speculators are afraid of losing millions—the crisis is reflected in the sharpest forms and the disruption at this level rebounds back down the system to the producer level, causing the physical destruction of capital.

Inflation and recession, therefore, are two inevitable symptoms of the capitalist system which is incapable of advancing production for the benefit of mankind without falling into insoluble crisis and contradictions.

The only answer is the struggle for the nationalization of all resources and the planning of production.

In Britain this means building the Workers Revolutionary Party as the instrument of the working class for a social revolution and the construction of the socialist system.

the rapid rise in prices.

This is because of the nature of the commodity markets and the chain reaction of speculation created in these markets when production rises or falls.

Commodity markets are an essential part of capitalist production and distribution. The middle man—called the dealer, broker, speculator, etc.—is king. Take wheat. Farmers will contract to sell a certain tonnage to a merchant at a certain price several months before the harvest.

The merchant, however, is concerned over the future price of wheat when the crop comes to be harvested—will it be higher or lower than the contracted price?

His solution is to take his contract to buy wheat to a specialized market made up of dealers who gather in certain historic centers.

These dealers will buy his contract in the hope that when the time to take delivery of the wheat and sell it comes the price will be higher.

sources of supply.

The big markets of the world have physical locations; Chicago has the world's largest grain market, London its Metal Exchange in the City of London and Melbourne its wool market.

Dealers like to argue that they are the consumers' friend since they iron out shortages and prevent glut. This may work in times of relative stability, but not in times of capitalist crisis—then the disruption of the capitalist system finds its sharpest reflection in the commodity markets.

The recent and rapid inflation is an example.

Certain commodities have been in short supply because of natural factors such as harvest failures and so on. But such causes do not explain the steep and co-ordinated rise in all world commodities.

Shortages are magnified enormously by a speculative wave that spilled over from one commodity market to another. Once price rises begin they become self-feeding, each dealer bidding

the dollar off the gold standard in August 1971 and went back on its promise to pay a fixed sum of gold for the billions of dollars it had exported to Europe in the form of debts on the US balance of payments.

All other currencies were tied in a fairly fixed relationship to the dollar (and through the dollar to gold). So the end of the gold system, plus the repeated failure to reach a new agreement, sent shock waves through the currency markets that eventually broke all semblance of capitalist monetary co-operation.

Paper money holders (and the people who held credits created on the basis of dollar lendings on the so-called Euro-dollar market) were extremely uncertain about the future value of these holdings.

One answer was to buy commodities in the hope that they would provide some stable form of value—paper money has a purely fictitious value when backed by gold (itself a commodity and a depository of great

# Origins of the American Labor Movement

"For America after all is the ideal of all bourgeoisie: a country rich, vast, expanding; with purely bourgeois institutions unaltered by feudal remnants of monarchical traditions, and without a permanent and hereditary proletariat.

"Here everyone could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading, with his own means for his own account.

"And because there were not, as yet, classes with opposing interests, our-and-our bourgeoisie thought that America stood above class antagonisms and struggles," wrote Engels in describing the early development of the United States.

It was in this situation of an expanding country, rich in natural resources, dominated by a divided social system of the commercial classes and small farmers of the North and the slave owners of the South, that the American labor movement began its development.

During the colonial period, prior to the American Revolution, the working class was a weak, relatively small force composed primarily of skilled craftsmen and artisans.

In an economy still based upon agriculture and handicraft industries, the small group of workers played no independent role, but rather, their interests were directly bound up with the dominant classes of the Northeast.

In the period of the Revolution, workers joined with farmers and sections of the planter-merchant aristocracy in a common effort to free the colonies from the imperialist control of Britain and to "democratize" American political, economic, and social institutions.

While collaborating with the conservative merchants and planters who controlled politics in the colonial period, it was, nevertheless, the mechanics and workingmen of the larger Eastern towns who actually led the fight against Britain.

They formed revolutionary bodies, the Sons of Liberty, made up of artisans, shopkeepers, mechanics, day laborers, carpenters, joiners, printers, shipwrights, and blacksmiths. These groups, although made up almost exclusively of the developing working class, were dominated, as the workers movement was to be throughout its history, by the middle class.

Thus, the Sons of Liberty groups were run by prosperous lawyers such as Samuel Adams of Boston and planters like Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina.

In spite of this dominance, it was the militant fervor of the workers that led to the growth of a mass movement against the repressive measures of the British ministry.

The actions of the Sons of Liberty secured the repeal of the Stamp Act, made the boycott of English tea effective, and made possible the enforcement of the nonimportation agreements.

The Sons of Liberty were, in effect, the backbone of the revolutionary forces and their development marked the first sign of working class solidarity, not simply on a national level, but also internationally, as Sons of Liberty groups were formed in England and Ireland among workers to assist the fight of their American brothers.

In fact, July 4 was celebrated as a workingman's holiday for decades following the Revolution, much as May Day later was to become.

The American Revolution signaled the growth of the working class because it destroyed the system of indentured servitude which had dominated the colonial economy in the North. At the same time, it freed the economy for the rapid, tumultuous expansion of capitalism.

However, between 1787 and 1800, the vast majority of the population was still isolated farmers. Thus, the workers movement remained small, based primarily on the skilled artisans, although there were periodic strike waves that centered in the larger Eastern cities of Philadelphia and New York among shoemakers.

The early development of the American working class took place against the background of a developing capitalist economy. At the time of the early movements of workers, the economy was based on agriculture and the majority of the population were small farmers.

Capitalism, at this time, was based almost entirely on the export of these agricultural products to England. Manufacturing was actually subordinate to the development of agriculture. An enormous expansion of trade occurred in this period and a powerful commercial class grew up in the North. This Northern commercial class, together with the Southern slave owners, controlled the country.

It was between 1806 and 1816 that industrial development really began. During this decade, cotton and woolen factories, flour mills, iron forges, shoe shops, carpet, cotton weaving, and paper mills sprang up throughout the East.

Immense amounts of capital was poured into industry. In the textile mills alone, 50 million dollars was invested in one year. With the expansion of the transportation system, the factory system began to develop, centered first in the textile industry.

However, by the mid 1800s, with the growth of the factory system, the capitalist class began to consolidate its power and monopolies grew up. The small business enterprises began to be swallowed up and the small capitalists were ruined.

From 1816 to 1826, the working class actually was formed as a class as the development of the productive forces of capitalism required the construction of a large-scale factory system. It was this change in the productive forces that brought workers together in an organized manner and set the stage for a rapid development of the class struggle in the 1820s.

## Early Struggle For Political Power

The very inception of the struggle between workers and their employers on a large scale took the form of a struggle for political power by the working class as the only means to effectively change the wretched economic and social conditions which it confronted in the late 1820s.

While workers had now won the right to vote, that "privilege" meant nothing in the face of a political system dominated by the "aristocracy of the nation."

Following an unsuccessful strike by members of the building trades in Philadelphia, which brought together workers from more than a single craft, a movement to unite the entire working class of the area culminated in the founding of the first citywide labor organization in America: the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations.

While its leaders did not conceive of themselves primarily as wage workers fighting their employers, but rather as "members of the productive and mechanical classes whose goal was to promote the prosperity and welfare of the community," the objective conditions of the times led them to almost immediately form their own labor party as the only way the "interests of the working classes" could be insured.

They declared at their founding convention of the labor party in May of 1828 that: "The Mechanics and Working Men of the City and County of Philadelphia are determined to take the management of their own interests, as a class, into their own immediate keeping."

Their action set off the spark among workers for their political independence and, within a year, labor parties were organized in 16 states throughout New England and as far west as Ohio. Over 61 local parties were established between 1828 and 1834 in the major cities throughout the industrialized areas.

In its first electoral experience, the Philadelphia labor party waged a successful campaign. Despite threats of economic reprisal from the employers—a very real danger since there was no secret ballot at the time—thousands of workers rallied to elect enough of their own candidates to hold the political balance of power in the city.

As the party's paper, the Mechanics Free Press, noted at the time: "The balance of power has at length got into the hands of the



Hundreds of women shoemakers in Lynn, Mass. demonstrated through strikes that "American ladies will not be slaves."

# Radicalism And The Birth Of The American Working Class

## Part I Early American Workingmen's Parties by Nancy Fields

working people, where it properly belongs, and it will be used, in the future, for the general weal!"

Leading the fight for the creation of labor parties were the independent workers' presses which grew up overnight. The first of these was the *Journemen Mechanics' Advocate* of Philadelphia which led the fight to establish the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations.

Thus, from the very beginning of the fight for political power, the centrality of a worker's paper as the major weapon in this struggle was recognized throughout the country. In a few months, more than 68 papers were founded. The meaning of their formation was correctly pointed to by the *Newark Village Chronicle* which wrote:

"From Maine to Georgia, within a few months past, we discern the symptoms of revolution, which will be second to none save that of '76."

It was through the workers' papers that the platform of the Workingmen's Parties, the "Working Men's Measures," was carried into the sweatshops and popularized.

The "Working Men's Measures" centered, not on economic demands alone, but rather on demands designed to improve the conditions of life of workers: better housing, medical care and, above all, free public education.

Their platform also included planks which began to challenge the capitalist system itself, such as the abolition of chartered monopolies, which the Philadelphia party held "make a few wealthy to the disadvantage of and misery of the mass of people."

While the fight for immediate social reforms eventually dominated and led to the dissolution of the labor parties, the beginning movement for labor's independence was seen in class terms as the necessary step in insuring the working class' victory against the ruthless attacks of the employers. Thus, Frances Wright—one of the first leaders of the New York Workingmen's Party—declared:

"What distinguishes the present from every other struggle in which the human race has been engaged is that the present is, evidently, openly and acknowledgedly, a war of class...it is the ridden people of the earth who are struggling to throw from their backs the 'booted and spurred' riders whose legitimate title to starve as well as work them to death will no longer pass current; it is labour rising up against idleness, industry against money; justice against law and privilege."

In their initial stage, the labor parties fought to have their organizations made up solely of workers free from any ties to professional politicians. The first conventions of the Workingmen's Parties called for nominations of only "those men who are engaged in productive pursuits."

One convention held that "however patriotic a man may appear to be, it is evident that none can so completely understand our interests, and that none will be so vigilant in protecting them as those, who in promoting the public welfare, most effectively secure their own."

During the first year of their existence, the Workingmen's Parties received tremendous support. In the face of the growing movement, the employers reacted with enormous fear and unleashed a vicious campaign of slanders against the labor candidates.

The capitalist press led the assault through a red-baiting smear campaign. In what was typical of the editorials of the day, the *New York Commercial Advertiser* stated: "Last to society, to earth and heaven, godless and hopeless, clothed and fed by stealing and blasphemy...such are the apostles who are trying to induce a number of able-bodied men in this city to follow their course."

The labor press became the most effective weapon in the fight against this capitalist propaganda. Heading this battle was the *New York Working Men's Advocate*, whose circulation extended throughout New York State and into New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Through the campaign it waged in 1829, the *New York Working Men's Party* won an impressive victory. Following the election, the *Advocate* rejoiced that:

"The result has proved, beyond our most sanguine expectations, favorable to our cause...the cause of the people...we have done more than could reasonably have been expected at this election. If the Working Men's ticket had been nominated a week sooner, there is very little doubt that it would have succeeded."

In spite of their rapid development and

tremendous support, the Workingmen's Parties began to dissolve and be absorbed into the Democratic Party almost as quickly as they had arisen.

It is in the experience of the New York Workingmen's Party that a sharp understanding of the reasons for the turn away from independent political action, the death of the workers' parties, and the subsequent growth of "pure and simple" trade union militancy is revealed.

The developments within the New York movement laid the basis for the two tendencies which have dominated the history of the American working class up until now: that is, its submergence politically into the radical, protest, reformism movements of the middle class and its sole reliance on trade union militancy as the only means to fight the capitalists.

## The New York Workingmen's Party

The New York Party began in a movement to prevent the lengthening of the 10 hour day, which workers had recently won.

At its founding convention, however, its platform went far beyond this immediate fight. Thomas Skidmore, the leading figure in the party, was the drafter of the party's resolutions and it was in these resolutions that the basis for the domination of the movement by utopian radicalism was laid.

Skidmore was a leading exponent of the agrarian radicalism of the day. He held that the election of labor candidates would not solve the problems of the working class but that what was necessary was a revolutionary transformation of existing property

**Working Man's Advocate.**  
**NEW YORK:**  
**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1829.**

**WORKING MEN'S TICKET.**  
 ASSEMBLY.  
**ALEXANDER MING, Sculptor, Printer.**  
**FREDERICK FRIEND, Brass Founder.**  
**THOMAS SKIDMORE, Machinist.**  
**CORNELIUS C. BLATCHLEY, Physician.**  
**ROBERT M. KERRISON, Whitesmith.**  
**ALDEN POTTER, Mechanist.**  
**AMOS WILLIAMSON, Carpenter.**  
**EBENEZER WHITING, Cooper.**  
**SIMON CLANNON, Printer.**  
**EBENEZER FORD, Carpenter.**  
**FRANCIS MOTT, Grocer.**  
 SENATE.  
 n. of Suffolk.

The Working Man's Advocate, edited by the Evans brothers, was probably the first labor publication printed in the US. Right, Francis Wright.

pragmatism, that is, a hostility to theory. The dominant thinking of the country held that all that had to be done was to apply what was already developed, what worked.

It was this anti-theoretical, pragmatic outlook that dominated the early development of the working class and contributed to the political backwardness of workers. It was because of this that utopian schemes of the middle class were able to grip the development of the Workingmen's Parties.

These utopians, which included the leaders of the New York Workingmen's Party, Skidmore, Frances Wright and Robert Dale Owen, sought to create some kind of world separated from the conflict within capitalism itself and recreate an ideal society.

This was true not only of Skidmore but of the other two major leaders: Frances Wright and Robert Dale Owen.

The fight led by printer George Henry Evans, the editor of the *Advocate*, to root the movement in the working class and turn it toward the economic demands of workers was lost to Wright and Owen.

Evans held that: "The Working Men's movement cannot in political affairs act with those who are following occupations that add nothing to the necessities, comforts, or conveniences of life, nor with those who have never followed a useful occupation for a livelihood."

Both Owen and Wright came out of Utopian communities. Owen from his father's New Harmony and Wright from her own Nashoba, into the city, filled with "dogooder" fanaticism to "help" the working class.

Along with Owen and Wright, Skidmore also held that the economic demands of the party were secondary to utopian schemes for the transformation of society. Immediately following the first electoral campaign, Skidmore split the party to form



the Poor Man's Party dedicated to his radical agrarian plans for equal division of property.

With Owen and Wright in control, the party was turned completely to the fight for a national free education. Wright held that this system should be conducted "under the guardianship of the State at the expense of the State; and for the honor, the happiness; the salvation of the State."

Their plan of state guardianship called for having the children taken from their parents at an early age and placed in state boarding schools until they reached maturity. Parents would be allowed to visit their children, but would not be permitted to interfere with their education.

This program, along with Wright's radical feminism, led to a growing movement of workers away from the party, because not only were they opposed to the prospect of breaking up their homes, but they saw in such a program a clear turn away from any policies concerning the economic fight against their employers.

At the same time, the state guardianship issue was seized upon by a group of professional politicians—the Cook-Guyon faction—who saw the development as an opportunity for them to take over the party and bring it back under capitalist control. The faction fight led to a split in the party: a split which was to mark its collapse as an independent force.

The workers who still remained in the party fought to reunite the movement for the coming election. One worker,

understanding very clearly what a takeover by the professional politicians would mean, wrote:

"I fear that unless the true friends of the party come forth and show their devotion to the common cause, Tammany and Regency will triumph over us. Will the Working Men of this city continue to waste their strength in intestine contentions and nightly brawls, when a higher point is before them?"

"When we have an enemy powerful and cunning, shall we, instead of marching unitedly to the attack, permit ourselves to be divided into two hostile parties? God forbid. Let us stop. Let us put away the bone of contention and turn our efforts to the great political objects of the party."

## The Submergence of the Labor Parties Into Jacksonian Democracy

His fear was borne out within weeks and the 1830s campaign of the Workingmen's Party was dominated by Tammany Hall. By 1832, the last remnants of the party disappeared, and with it went any independent political action by the working class.

What occurred in New York occurred throughout the country. The working class movement was turned back into the Democratic Party through support to Andrew Jackson in 1832. Jackson rallied the support of workers and farmers through his antibank stand.

In vetoing the bill to recharter the Bank of the United States, it was held that Jackson had struck at the heart of capitalist monopoly and thus, represented the interests of the workers and farmers.

While giving Jackson support in the elections, the vast majority of workers actually turned completely away from political action in the 1830s: a turn which was to last until the end of the Civil War when the fight for the political independence of the working class would once again emerge.

For the next 30 years, the fight of workers was directed solely in the construction of their own unions, for it was only in the development of the trade unions that the working class could establish its independence from the middle class. Expressing this view sharply, *The National Laborer*, a Philadelphia workers' press declared that: "The trades unions will never be political because its members have learned from experience that the introduction of politics into their societies has thwarted every effort to ameliorate their conditions."

Thus, workers turned away from political action almost as soon as they began it. The reasons for this turn were threefold and intertwined: the dominance of middle class radicalism which took hold of the Workingmen's Parties and turned them toward utopian schemes; the turn away from any economic fight in defense of workers' interests by these parties; and, above all, the economic conditions themselves. The labor parties had emerged in a period of the rapid expansion of capitalism: an expansion which still allowed for significant gains to be made by workers.

At the same time, the country was still open to development, and the line of the frontier as a place where once could make it and be one's own boss still dominated the thinking of the masses.

A workers' party could not really grab hold in a period when its dominant membership, the skilled craftsman, could still set up their own shops and become employers.

What was required for the reemergence of the independence of the working class was the further development of capitalism, that is, the closing of the frontier, the decline of agriculture, and the growth of monopoly.

Above all, what would become clear throughout the history of the struggle of American workers for their political independence, was that what would be required would be a sharp break with middle class radicalism: the pragmatic radicalism which was to continue to tie workers to capitalist politics in each new stage of the emergence of the working class as an independent force.

TO BE CONTINUED

# LABOR TODAY

## CP Backs The Woodcock Sellout

The Big Three auto contracts negotiated by the United Auto Workers leadership represent the greatest sellout in the history of the union.

The Communist Party played a critical role at each stage of the negotiations in covering for Woodcock and preventing the development of a movement for a national strike.

As early as last June, the CP made it clear what it intended to do. According to the CP journal **Political Affairs**, the workers were to be organized to fight the auto companies, not Woodcock. In other words, all the fire was to be directed away from Woodcock.

This in fact is precisely what was done. Throughout the entire contract struggle, the CP issues not one call to replace Woodcock, and despite certain reservations and criticisms, endorsed the contract.

The heart of Woodcock's policy was summed up when he refused to strike GM.

Woodcock stated: "We do not want to give GM the 'class struggle' issue of a national strike at this time that would bankrupt the union and strike the economy—we are responsible people."

In other words, Woodcock was fully aware that a strike meant an all-out confrontation and was determined not to permit it. On this, the CP was fully in accord.

On November 1, when the Ford settlement was announced, the **Daily World**, claiming the issue was grievances, could only bleat: "The haste on the national contract weakens the rank and file fight for better working conditions."

When Ford's skilled workers turned the pact down flat and the giant River Rouge local returned a massive rejection, the **Ford Worker**, CP shop paper, called not for a strike, but only that the negotiators be sent back to bargain for more.

On November 15, they derailed the movement for a national Ford strike by proclaiming: "No matter what national terms are reached, scores of strikes are predicted on local plant demands." When Woodcock proclaimed that he had no intention of taking on GM and would rely on the completely discredited ministrike, he had the full support of the CP.

On November 16, the **Daily World** enthusiastically reported: "Workers at the GM conference were all for ministrikes over local demands."

CP policy was not to overturn the Ford and Chrysler betrayals, but to pressure GM to go along with the same pact. Thus the **Dodge Worker**, organ of the Chrysler section of the CP, called on the ranks to "enforce and implement the union contract."

On November 17, the **Daily World** spelled it out as follows: "If one day and two day ministrikes on local demands are carried out in critical GM plants, a gut blow can be struck at GM's antiunion attack."

When GM finally settled after its own negotiator called the talks "the most statesmanlike ever," the **Daily World** attributed this to the "ministrike threat."

As for the fraudulent local strike issue, the impact of the national betrayal has been to turn workers away from even showing up to vote.

Thus at Tarrytown, only 300 out of 3300 attended the meeting and Bill Scott, a supporter of the Stalinist Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy group, urged "critical acceptance" of the national contract with a "no" vote on the local contract as a protest.

The heart of Communist Party policy has been to prevent a national strike which would have threatened the Nixon government and immediately raised the question of bringing it down.

Instead, they have acted to isolate workers into militant local plant struggles on grievances, demoralize them, and urge acceptance of the national pact.

The reactionary role of Stalinism in the unions is an expression of its subservience to the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy which opposes the revolutionary mobilization of the working class.

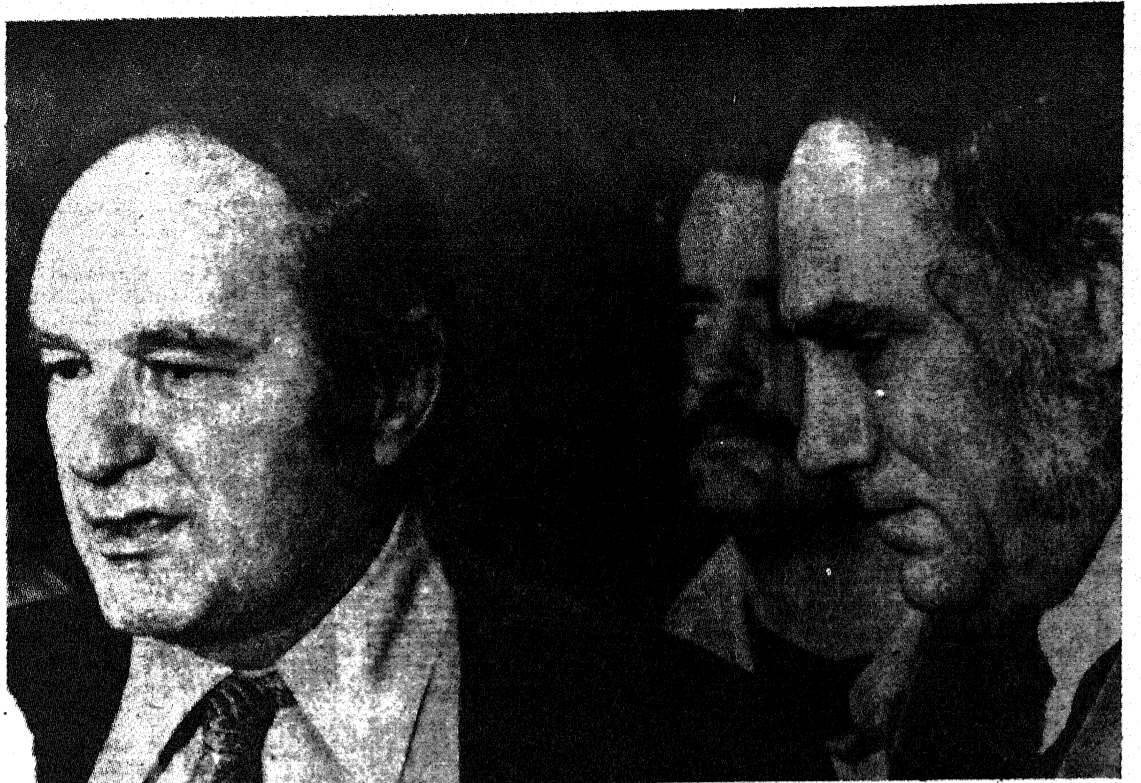
The policies of "peaceful coexistence" and detente with Nixon pursued by the Kremlin bureaucracy require that the independence of the American working class be subordinated to a policy of pressure on the government.

Thus in defense of the detente, the CP acted openly and consciously to prop up Woodcock and prevent a strike movement that could have brought down Nixon.

Stalinism can only be understood and fought by the Trotskyist movement which has struggled continuously for Leninism since the 1920s against the counterrevolutionary policies of the Soviet bureaucracy.

This is why it is only the Workers League and its industrial supporters in the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party that fight today for a national strike in auto against Woodcock and his Stalinist supporters, and it is only the TUALP that fights for a political policy to bring down the Nixon government through the construction of a labor party.

—by jeff sebastian—



Dave Dellinger and William Kunstler just after the rulings. John Froines is in background.

## Ford Lays Off 3400 In Chicago Shutdown

CHICAGO—All production was halted Tuesday at the Torrence Ave. Ford assembly plant here, when the reserve supply of engines ran out.

The engines for the Ford galaxies and LTD's assembled here are manufactured in Canada, where Ford plants had been closed by a strike. At 10 am, 3400 workers were notified of the indefinite layoffs and the

lines were stopped.

About 100 men are left in the plant, working on maintenance and on the test runs of the new Torino assembly line which is due to be completed in mid-January.

The Chicago Heights stamping

plant nearby is one of four nationwide which has had production drastically curtailed.

It also has been announced that the Torrence plant will be closed December 21 to January 14 in order to complete the changeover to Torino production. Workers will be denied their holiday pay if the plant is not reopened prior to December 21.

A member of Local 551 who is working on the changeover told the **Bulletin**: "To me, this is getting, well, you could not print what I have to say."

"They gave us that little raise, then they paid us our cost of living in a lump sum. In one check, so Uncle Sam could get his."

"It left us about a nickle. Then the union dues went up a little, so Woodcock can get his. Now we get ours—we are not working!"

"They just hired 30 or 40 people in the last two weeks. A guy on my line got laid off, and he did not even get his first paycheck."

## St. Paul Ranks Blame Woodcock

BY J. NELSON

ST. PAUL—Ford's assembly plant here laid off 2300 workers yesterday in a shutdown that will last at least two weeks.

Many workers believe that the shutdown, caused by the shortage of motors due to the nationwide strike against Ford's of Canada, is the beginning of large-scale permanent layoffs to come soon after the first of the year.

Lee Newton, a worker at Ford's for two years, told the **Bulletin** that Ford's may be planning to shut down the plant for three months to retool for the production of smaller cars. The company may also be planning to cut car production altogether and only keep the small truck line which would bump off 1300 men permanently.

The present shutdown is blamed on the Canadian strike, but Newton told the **Bulletin**: "We just do not get the right kind of information over here. First, they say that we have enough engines for the next week and then the next morning the foreman tells us that we are out of engines and we get laid off."

"They told us that this lay off will only last two weeks, but I bet we do not get back until after the first of the year, if we are lucky."

In the face of widespread shutdowns, the Woodcock leadership has refused to mobilize auto workers against the layoffs.

Newton said: "I wish they would get that bum Woodcock out of there. When the strike deadline came here at Ford's, we were ready to walk out."

"Then at fifteen minutes to nine o'clock, our committeemen came in and told us that Woodcock settled. They said that

they did not know what the settlement was, but that we should go back to work."

"The foremen had organized goon squads to take attendance and to fire any man who walked out. So we went back to work."

"I voted no on the contract. They said we voted it in. But who counts the ballots?"

## Chicago 7 Convicted For 1969 Charges

BY C. BLAKE

CHICAGO—Ending a four and one-half week bench trial, Judge Edward T. Gignoux has found three of the Chicago 7 and their attorney William Kunstler guilty of a total of 13 counts of contempt of court.

Originally, 159 citations were handed down in 1970 by Judge Julius Hoffman at the end of the four month "conspiracy" trial which followed the brutal attack on antiwar demonstrations during the Democratic Convention in 1968.

In a decision on December 6, Judge Gignoux decided no sentences would be imposed and cited Hoffman's open bias of the defense and outbursts in court as the reason.

Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin each were convicted for their declaration that the courtroom was like "something in Nazi Germany."

GUERRILLA

They were also convicted for what they called a "guerrilla

theatre protest" in which they wore judicial robes into court, an act Gignoux called "subversive of respect."

COUNTS

Dave Dellinger was the hardest hit, with 7 counts upheld.

Gignoux says he based this decision on the fact that a defendant who is represented by counsel has no right to "interject himself" into the proceedings.

Attorney William Kunstler, who could now face disbarment proceedings in every state, was convicted for calling Hoffman "biased" and the trial a "legal lynching" because he demanded that the Reverend Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference be allowed to testify after being told not to by Hoffman.

Kunstler later said that they will all appeal, but said of his conviction: "I may not be the greatest lawyer, but I am the most privileged. I am being punished for what I believe in."

midwest news

# Cadillac Men Denounce Woodcock

BY KEN WESTON  
DETROIT, Dec. 9—Auto workers at the GM Cadillac plant denounced UAW President Leonard Woodcock at a meeting called today to ratify the new contract.

The meeting was held against the background of mounting unemployment which, according to one state official, will result in the lay-off of at least 12 percent of workers in Michigan.

S. Martin Taylor, director of the Michigan Employment and Security Commission, stated this week that unemployment in the state will reach the half million mark in 1974.

While Woodcock states that nothing can be done to stop the layoffs, Cadillac workers demanded action as they entered the Local 222 ratification meeting.

"What little we did get in 1970, Nixon came around and took," Chester Gordon, a Cadillac worker with nine years seniority, told the Bulletin. "The three months cost of living check we didn't even get. I will never forget that. One thing I don't like

## Ohio Guard Attacks Truckers

BY A REPORTER  
HEBRON, Ohio—Truckers here and elsewhere in the state were forced to end a two day blitz blockade of main transportation arteries as the Ohio National Guard was called in to tow away trucks blocking turnpikes and roadways.

The truckers were protesting the enforced 50 mile an hour speed limit and overpriced diesel fuel. The blockades began early Wednesday when truckers stopped their rigs in all lanes and only moved when threatened with arrests.

They began setting up blockades again when the law enforcement agencies left. On late Wednesday and Thursday, the truckers refused to move at all and Governor John Gilligan mobilized the National Guard to tow-truck the drivers who refused to move.

Organizers of the blockade were urging over citizens-band radios that the drivers separate trucks and trailers, damage breaks and starters, and otherwise keep the National Guard from moving the trucks until speed limits were raised to 60 miles an hour, fuel prices were lowered, and the highway patrol stopped harassment of truckers.

On Thursday, highway patrol cars throughout the state were sending all available manpower to the blockade spot in an effort to intimidate organizers and drivers.

is Nixon coming in and stepping on the working man's toes. That's getting towards dictatorship."

Unpublicized layoffs are proceeding in almost every plant. Plants which have not publicly announced layoffs are now laying off probationary employees in preparation for layoffs of workers who have built up seniority.

At Chrysler's huge Dodge Main plant, workers with five years seniority are expected to lose their jobs in January.

Overtime is being cut in virtually every plant.

In Detroit, the auto capital of the world, layoffs in the auto plants is now a vital question for every worker. George Harris, a repairman at Chrysler's Eldon Gear and Axle plant, said: "We have to expose all these guys like Woodcock. At my plant, they have cut 50 workers on one line down to 11 in two years with automation. They are going to make two lines into one line this year. I think Nixon is really behind all this business."

Deborah Martin, a young worker at the Metal Finishing shop in Detroit told the Bulletin: "This dude Woodcock really hits close to home, because if they layoff at the auto plants then there goes my job. I haven't built up any seniority so I will be the first to go. I'm not in the UAW, but Woodcock is putting me out of a job."

The campaign of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party to construct a new leadership in the UAW which will fight the government's attacks on the labor movement through the construction of a labor party must be taken up.

## Pine Bend Firm Closing

PINE BEND, Mn.—The Ruan Trucking Company here has announced that its Pine Bend terminal will close on December 15, putting 80 truckers, shop, and office workers out of work.

The company, which ships oil, says that the closure has nothing to do with the oil shortage.

"The company claims that it is because it had lost \$200,000 at both the Pine Bend and County Road C terminals in St. Paul.

"They have been talking about closing it for so long that no one was really thinking about it," one shop worker told the Bulletin.

The terminal will not release any information and tried to keep Bulletin reporters from talking to the workers because five minutes would "cut into their hourly wage."

"You can tell the Bulletin that this is the lousiest company you could ever work for," one worker said.

Ruan is now looking into leasing as a way of profiting from their oil shipping rights.



Carpenters from five Bay Area counties picket courthouse as wildcat of 4000 continues to gain support. See our report, page 10.

## Layoffs Hit 1000 In Dayton Area

BY JOHN WERNER  
DAYTON, Ohio—Unemployment has upsurged within the last few weeks with at least 1000 already laid off in auto and auto-related plants alone.

Delco-Morain has laid off 340 workers and another 120 will be laid off next week. Chrysler Airtemp has laid off 370 workers within the last week. Delco-Products, where layoffs have already begun, announced the layoff of 700 by the end of the year.

The Inland Division of General Motors, which has had continuous layoffs, plans a complete shutdown of the entire plant for the last two weeks of December.

In the face of these layoffs, the labor leadership in Dayton is completely paralyzed with no program to fight these layoffs.

Wesley Wells, president of Local 775 IUE, said he was "concerned" and foresees a recession in 1974.

At the same time, he stated:

## 1250 To Be Axed At Westinghouse

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—Westinghouse Electric Corporation, one of the largest companies in Jefferson City, is threatening to shut down completely this weekend throwing more than 1250 persons onto the unemployment lines.

The company makes transformers and requires natural gas to operate the manufacturing plant. The Missouri Power and Light Company which supplies the company with natural gas has curtailed the supply to the corporation for the next 28 days and maybe even longer.

Westinghouse Electric has attempted to switch to propane fuel to operate the plant, but has

"I have got no idea with this energy crisis, I do not think anybody knows. But I do think it is going to get worse before it gets better."

### SERIOUS

Elmo Parrish, president of Local 696 of the United Auto Workers, Delco-Morain, said: "By the first of the year, we should really know how serious the energy crisis will be. There is still a question in many people's minds over how serious the energy crisis is because of so much conflicting information."

Newly elected president of Local 775 IUE Delco Products Robert Livingston says: "We don't know how it (energy crisis) is going to affect us."

The defeated president, Robert Preston, who negotiated a 60 to 80 cents an hour wage cut for all workers hired after January 1, is still boasting that the wage cut will save jobs in Delco Products in Dayton while hundreds of layoffs have already started.

The president of United Rubber Workers Local 178 Inland Division of General Motors can only propose four day weeks, with four days pay, in place of the layoffs.

### YOUNG SOCIALIST REGIONAL CONFERENCES \$2 Conference & Dance

Speakers: Tim Wohlforth, Nat'l. Secretary, Workers League, and Adele Sinclair, Editor, Young Socialist

**MADISON**  
(Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, St. Paul)

SAT., JAN 26  
Univ. of Wisconsin YMCA  
306 North Brooks  
608-251-7622  
12:00 Noon

**CLEVELAND**  
(Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Dayton, Detroit)

SAT., FEB. 2  
Cleveland State University  
Euclid & 21 St.  
216-851-8822  
12:00 NOON



### PERSPECTIVES FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

**CLEVELAND**  
THURS. DEC. 13  
YWCA

3135 Euclid Ave.  
(at 32nd St.)  
Brown Room  
7:30 p.m.  
Dance following

**DETROIT**  
FRI. DEC. 14  
Veterans Memorial Building  
151 West Jefferson  
Room 814  
7:00 p.m.



Speaker:  
Tim Wohlforth,  
National Secretary,  
Workers League

Workers League-Young Socialists Class Series

### AN INTRODUCTION TO DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Lecturer:  
Tim Wohlforth,  
National Secretary,  
Workers League

- Being and Thought
- Man and Nature
- Dialectical Materialism as the Theory of Knowledge of Marxism
- The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class

EVERY WEDNESDAY  
135 W. 14th St.  
7th Floor  
7:30 p.m.

\$1.00 Trade Unionists  
50 Youth and Unemployed



# books

## Footnotes Against Trotsky Revisited

by Tim Wohlforth

Naomi Allen of the Pathfinder staff, in an article in *Intercontinental Press*, has taken exception to our attempt in this column to correct certain critical distortions of history which have found their way into the footnotes of the *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series. The footnotes refer primarily to Trotsky's assessment of James P. Cannon.

It seems we are "Talmudists" and "sniping at the Socialist Workers Party" because we protested attempts to snipe at Leon Trotsky in the very course of an important publishing project of his works.

It seems criticisms of Trotsky are permissible, but not of James P. Cannon. For our part, we believe historical materialism requires us to critically evaluate all past history. We do not object to criticisms of Leon Trotsky provided they are correct ones, but we do demand the right to also be critical of James P. Cannon!

"Wohlforth's thesis," Allen states, "is that the American Trotskyist movement was born with a congenital defect—its leadership, particularly James P. Cannon." No, that is not our position. Neither do we hold the opposed thesis, which seems to be Allen's, that the American Trotskyist movement was born with a perfect Marxist leadership, some sort of ready-made Marxists.

Our position is developed more fully in the book *The Struggle For Marxism in the United States* as well as the two pamphlets, *Towards a History of the Fourth International and In Defense of Trotskyism*.

The American Trotskyist movement developed in the United States out of an American radical tradition as well as being a part of the Communist movement in a period of its development as well as degeneration. Its leadership could only develop into a Marxist leadership through a negation of this past in the course of the work to construct the party. In particular, what was required was a sharp break with American pragmatism, understanding that the construction of the party was a theoretical task.

Within this framework, James P. Cannon made great contributions to the development not only of the American party, but of the Fourth International as well. This latter contribution was absolutely critical in 1953 when Cannon aided the formation of the International Committee of the Fourth International through a break with international Pabloism. It is on this basis that we have defended

Cannon.

But at the same time, Cannon never confronted the theoretical tasks required to construct a Marxist party. This tendency to refuse to see the construction of the party theoretically, struggling first of all to train its cadres as Marxists, does have its roots even in the period when Trotsky was alive.

From this viewpoint, we simply suggested that it was incorrect to footnote Trotsky's critical comments, from the 1932 to 1933 period on the leadership of the American movement, in such a way as to seek to blunt that criticism.

Naomi Allen's article, which refuses to admit to a single criticism of Cannon, adds further proof that this was precisely the intention of the Pathfinder staff.

In our article, we pointed out Trotsky's critical attitude towards the Cannon leadership, both in relation to B.J. Field and in the factional dispute with Max Shachtman. Allen states that we are somehow distorting things in stating that Trotsky "objected to Cannon's organizational methods regarding Field."

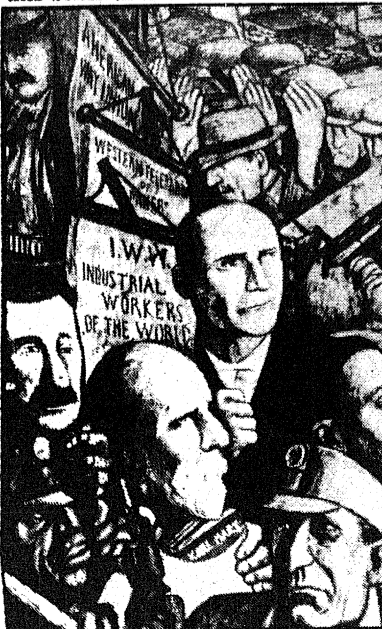
While it is true Trotsky wrote very diplomatically to the American leadership, not knowing that much of its internal life at that time and not wanting to unnecessarily interfere, he did urge reconsideration of the case of Field and he did propose that intellectuals like him be approached differently in the future.

He stated that in the case of people like Field: "...It would have been better from the very beginning to call upon the assistance of the international organization in order to neutralize such a comrade as far as the national organization is concerned and nevertheless to not lose him. This is not a complaint but rather a proposal for the future."

It is true that only because of Trotsky's intervention Field was readmitted to the party and played a certain role for a period. These events are, of course, fully known by the present leadership of the SWP, including members of Pathfinder's staff.

From this point of view, we considered it objectionable for Cannon, who after all was the man being criticized, to be quoted with the position that he was relieved that Trotsky had not acted in an organizational Cominternist manner. After all, the main point of the article was Trotsky's concern with Cannon's methods!

TO BE CONTINUED



### Essential Reading

**Struggle For Marxism in the United States**

The only existing history of American Trotskyism. \$2.45

**In Defense of Trotskyism: An Answer to Those Who Vilify Our History**

The struggle for Marxist principles against revisionism. .50

**Towards A History of the Fourth International**

Introductory history of Trotsky's fight to build the international movement, with particular attention to the SWP. .50

Order From:  
Labor Publications, Inc.  
135 W. 14 St. 7th Floor  
New York, N.Y. 10011



Teamsters Local 70 striking steel distributing companies in the East Bay; shown here at Zeigler Steel.

## SF Judge Bans Picketing

BY TED BAKER

SAN FRANCISCO—The entire labor movement must defend Teamster beer drivers Local 888 against the unprecedented attack on the exercise of basic democratic rights made by the federal district court.

Judge Zirpol, at the request of the National Labor Relations Board, has banned legal picketing at retail stores by Local 888, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and the Alameda County Central Labor Council.

As one striking driver told the *Bulletin*: "They started this whole thing from the beginning by following their trucks with armed guards.

"Whenever they stopped, they would provoke an incident so that someone waiting with a camera could get something to

use on us in court. This is a conspiracy to destroy the union, and it includes everyone from the Food Employers Council on up." Another picket told the *Bulletin*: "They are taking away our democratic rights, our American heritage. Without that we have nothing."

### INFORMATIONAL

The answer of the leadership of the Teamsters and of the Alameda County Central Labor Council to these attacks is to order the drivers to go back to ineffective informational picketing of the truck barns, now being

manned by scabs.

As one picket said: "What this injunction demands is a general strike, but that is the last thing Goldberger and that bunch want.

"We have been deceived and betrayed from the beginning, now they do not even let us know what is happening. We are the last ones to know."

In line with Teamster International President Fitzsimmons's support to Nixon, Goldberger, president of the Bay Area Council of Teamsters, told the *Bulletin*:

"We will live up to the word of the injunction. We will live up to what the judge has ordered. That is all I can tell you."

This outlawing of picketing must be answered by the Teamsters and the Alameda County Central Labor Council with massive demonstrations demanding the resignation of the Nixon government and the calling of new elections. All trucking in the Bay Area must immediately be shut down in defense of Local 888.

## More Carpenters Join SF Wildcat

BY TIM NELSON

SAN FRANCISCO—Almost all counties in Northern California have joined the Bay Area carpenters wildcat strike against the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee.

Daily, carpenters are walking off jobs from Eureka to Stockton, demanding full payment of a 65 cent wage raise due June 16.

"We must win this economic package," one carpenter declared at the Bay Area Counties District Council meeting last week.

"Next it will be the contract and then the union. We must take a stand and we must take it now."

Another said: "We have proved to ourselves we can fight, now we would like a little help from our leadership."

The union leadership has refused to sanction the strike.

William Sidell, general president of the International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, has moved to break the strike by issuing an order November 26 that no economic action be taken, threatening to place striking locals in receivership.

### SECRET

John Rebeiro, chairman of the 46 Northern California counties has supported Sidell by issuing a secret letter to the CISC pledging his full cooperation in forcing the men back if the CISC

will authorize 25 cents, leaving 40 cents in the courts.

Joe O'Sullivan, chairman of the five Bay Area counties also supports Sidell by saying he will sanction the strike "if the court rules in the right way."

Judge Burke who is handling the suit by the Associated General Contractors for a contempt citation and a \$50,000 a day fine, told a secret session of AGC and union lawyers on Monday that he will rule for the AGC Friday if there is no contrary ruling from the CISC, which meets Thursday.

A demonstration has been called for Friday, noon, in front of the Federal Building, where the hearing on the injunction will take place that afternoon.

The Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party is fighting to turn this protest into a real fight to win the full 65 cents.

The ranks must insist that the demonstration take up the following demands!

- No compromise—the full 65 cents.

- Immediate sanction by the District Council.

- Shut down all Northern California construction.

- Convene a Congress of Labor to force Nixon out and build a labor party.

## IT IS TIME TO RENEW

if the number 12 is after your name on the address label.

**ACT NOW AND YOU WILL NOT MISS A SINGLE ISSUE OF THE NEW TWICE-WEEKLY.**

twice-weekly  
**BULLETIN**

\$3.00 for 6 months

\$6.00 for 1 year

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

135 West 14 Street, 7th floor, New York, NY 10011

**west coast news**

# Nazis Start Recruiting In Bay Area

SAN FRANCISCO—The fascist nazi party has surfaced here.

In an extraordinary appearance, six nazis in full uniform, turned up at a San Francisco Board of Education meeting Tuesday night which was discussing desegregation of San Francisco's junior and senior high schools.

such a development. The nazis have never before held meetings, secret or otherwise in San Francisco, and certainly never leafleted or appeared at public meetings.

The message which the nazis bring is blatantly anticommunist, anti-Black, and anti-Jewish.

As an example: "Race mixing stinks, but not half as bad as the porno-Jews who promote it."

**DEPRAVED**

"The sick, depraved Jews who monopolize the motion picture industry can hardly wait to turn America into a mongrel cesspool...we will protect white people, by force if necessary, from threats of communism, Black power, and Jewish tyranny."

The nazis were greeted by shouts and threats from a largely Black audience at the Board of Education. One person said: "Next time, we will have the ovens in here."

The six men were wearing black combat boots and brown shirts with prominent swastika armbands.

The board of education refused to take immediate action to oust them from the meeting, just as the phone company, claiming a 1968 state supreme court decision protecting free speech has refused to turn off their phone message.

**GENOCIDE**

Allen Vincent was allowed to speak where he put forward the nazi filth that integration was a violation of "natural laws" and would inevitably result in the "genocide of both races."

The trade union movement cannot tolerate for a day the existence of the nazis organizing in San Francisco. These are the forces being brought forward by the crisis of capitalism, which will turn to dictatorship and tyranny, as it did in the 1930s. It must be demonstrated that unlike the 1930s, when union meetings were broken up by the nazis before Hitler came to power, that the working class will unite to drive out these scum.

The fight to force Nixon out and to build a labor party becomes all the more urgent with these developments.

The nazis announced themselves here early last month when they set up a recorded message on the phone number in their leader's apartment.

Allen Vincent, their unit leader, was interviewed by the San Francisco Chronicle. He indicated that this was part of a west coast recruiting effort to rebuild the ultraright-wing party which had fallen apart after the assassination of George Lincoln Rockwell in 1967.

He boasted a membership of 200 in San Francisco to the National Socialist White People's Party, which holds secret weekly meetings.

There can be no underestimating the dangers posed by

signed providing for only a 5.5 percent pay hike.

A Teamster picket at Ralph's Supermarket told the Bulletin: "I'm not for accepting the 5.5. Why should we when we have all this support. This interim agreement is not adequate for us."

## 150,000 To Be Laid Off By LA Council

BY

**CHRISTINE MATHEWS**

LOS ANGELES—As the LA City Council prepares phase three of its five point "Conservation and Curtailment" program, official sources estimate a minimum destruction of 150,000 jobs.

The entire program will save only 20 percent of the fuel needed.

The Department of water and power has announced that nearly half of the city's 1974 power supply has been cut off by the Mideast embargo and that present supplies will only last through February.

As the oil supply decreases, measures in the plan include: a fifty percent cut of residential use of energy, making "unnecessary" lighting, such as Christmas lights, illegal; rolling blackouts citywide for three hours at a time, a move unprecedented in the city's history.

The central proposal shows how far the city is prepared to go. It calls for limiting to fifty hours per week the operating time of all businesses. This would cut industrial energy in half.

**DISASTROUS**

Sigmund Arywitz, secretary of the Los Angeles AFL-CIO, told the Bulletin: "If this ordinance is passed in its present form, to limit the work week to 50 hours, it would be disastrous to the economy and effect hundreds of thousands of jobs. Instead of rolling blackouts, we would have rolling unemployment on a massive scale."

Residential electricity rates



Pacific Southwest Airlines employees picket in Los Angeles.

# Bakers Walk Off With Food Strikers

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—The strike against the California food industry is rapidly gaining support from throughout the labor movement.

The strike began December 2 against Safeway, Lucky's and Thrifty Mart. In Southern California, it was initiated by the Food and Drug Council, the umbrella organization for Teamsters, meat cutters, operating engineers, and machinists in the food industry.

On Wednesday, more than 1100 bakers walked off their jobs in support of the strike.

Members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters have struck five meat packing houses in Southern California and three in the East Bay in Northern California.

Union spokesmen claim 25 to 40 percent of the state's processed meat will be affected. Only 1200 head of cattle were slaughtered on the first day of the strike, compared to the usual 5200.

An estimated 50 to 60 percent of the Retail Clerks Unions in Southern California are honoring picket lines, according to union spokesman Fran O'Neil. Close to 100 percent of clerks are honoring the picket lines in Northern California.

Although many of the supermarkets in the LA area are being kept open by supervisory personnel and scabs, supplies of meat, dairy products, and baked goods are being rapidly depleted.

The major issue for the unions is an open end cost of living clause. Bob Sexton, an official from the meat cutters told the Bulletin: "We are not going back to a feudal America."

In a big retreat, union negotiators are accepting Nixon's pay guidelines. An interim agreement between the union and Arden Mayfair has been

## Rivera Ford Plant Closes

PICO RIVERA—The Ford motor company closed its plant here for an indefinite period. 2350 workers were laid off.

Company officials say the layoffs are due to a parts shortage because of the strike against Ford in Canada. However, officials admitted that the cutback in auto production was also a factor.

For the first time in history, four major unions have joined together in a strike against the Food Employers Council, representing all major food chains.

The Food Employers Council has locked out union members from 64 chains, both markets and warehouses throughout the state. Nearly 100,000 workers have been idled.

subscribe now to the twice-weekly!

# Bulletin

NEW RATES!  \$1.00 for 2 months  
 \$3.00 for 6 months  
 \$6.00 for 1 year

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIP .....

7th Floor, 135 W. 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011

## Young Socialist West Coast

SAN FRANCISCO  
 SATURDAY, JAN. 19  
 12 noon  
 MISSION YMCA  
 4080 MISSION  
 For information call  
 (415) 824-4096

LOS ANGELES:  
 SUNDAY, JAN. 20  
 12 noon  
 EMBASSY AUDITORIUM  
 839 SOUTH GRAND AVE.  
 LIVE BAND  
 Tickets \$2.00  
 For information call  
 (213) 678-3528

## Regional Conferences

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

# lucha obrera

—lucía rivera—



## Solidaridad Con Los Estudiantes Y Obreros Griegos ¡Abajo Con La Junta!

Como los burgueses liberales, los stalinistas han declarado que no tienen nada que ver con las acciones, pero que ellos "apoyan" a los estudiantes. Que es esto si no instrucciones del Partido Comunista de que sus miembros y simpatizantes no participen de la lucha, y un reconocimiento de la junta para que proceda sin ningún daño.

La clase obrera de Grecia, unida con los estudiantes y los campesinos, necesita sobre todo destituir su liderato stalinista y todas las ilusiones en los politiqueros democráticos que la cultivan. Al punto que las contradicciones sociales presentan la situación de doble poder en el futuro cercano, los stalinistas tratan de crear un Frente Popular.

Los stalinistas desean un Frente Popular como una última alternativa al fascismo como una forma de régimen burgués. Ellos tratan de crear las condiciones para ello colaborando con la junta para tratar de prevenir que la clase obrera obtenga su independencia política.

La primera tarea de la sección griega del Comité Internacional es la de reclutar y entrenar a los obreros griegos más avanzados. Solo un liderato revolucionario puede llevar a la clase obrera adelante en este periodo cuando la cuestión del poder es presentada, y prevenir derrotas.

Debemos empezar con el hecho de que la junta, luego de seis años y medio de poder, suprimiendo todos los derechos democráticos, condenando la vanguardia a la cárcel, tortura y exilio ha sido incapaz de destruir la capacidad de lucha de la clase obrera.

Los stalinistas han sido llamados para que pongan fin a este movimiento a través del Frente Popular. El trotskismo en Grecia debe armar a los trabajadores más avanzados políticamente con los instrumentos para derrotar esta traición.

Si los stalinistas protestan en contra de las represiones, es para darse ellos mismos credibilidad para su futura traición con el Frente Popular. La principal tarea de los trotskistas es exponer en práctica la completa bancarrota y las políticas de colaboración de clase del stalinismo demandando que ellos rompan completamente con la alianza de los políticos burgueses de Unión Central y otros politiqueros capitalistas y luchen por un gobierno de obreros y campesinos, con un programa de nacionalización de las industrias y los bancos bajo control obrero y que terminen con la inflación y el desempleo.

Como en los años 1944 al 1945 el stalinismo griego siguió la política de los intereses foráneos de la contrarrevolucionaria burocracia soviética quienes están determinados a sacrificar a la clase obrera griega en aras de la detente Europea y de la coexistencia pácifica con el imperialismo en los Balcanes.

En esto los stalinistas de Moscú tienen el apoyo de la burocracia Yugoslava y Albanesa quienes se han mantenido mudos frente a los sucesos de Grecia y continúan colaborando políticamente y diplomáticamente con la Junta.

La derrota de la junta daría un impulso poderoso a la lucha anti-burocrática de los obreros de Europa oriental y soviéticos y levantaría nuevamente la solidaridad y unidad de estos trabajadores a través de la demanda de una Federación Socialista de los Balcanes.

¡En cada país, acción industrial para detener cualquier equipo al régimen griego!

¡Demandemos que todos los prisioneros políticos sean liberados, todas las sentencias sean revocadas, y el fin inmediato de la ley marcial!

¡Las cortes especiales tienen que ser disueltas!

¡Demostraciones masivas en contra de la represión!

¡Abajo con la junta!

¡Por un gobierno de obreros y campesinos en Grecia!

¡Rompan con las traiciones de los stalinistas griegos—construyamos la sección griega del Comité Internacional!

¡En cada país construyamos un liderato revolucionario alternativo que sea capaz de llevar a la clase obrera al poder y saque del poder a "su propia burguesía." Esto proveerá un gran apoyo a la clase obrera griega!

¡Viva la Liga Obrera Internacional—sección griega del Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional!

Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional a 22 de Noviembre del 1973

# Indefinite Layoffs At St. Louis Ford

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Ford has laid off indefinitely 2600 workers here, members of United Auto Workers Local 325. Ford blamed the layoffs on a 10 day strike at a Canadian plant that supplies motors for the Mercuries made here.

One worker said: "The lack of engines is not the real reason that they laid off. They just want to close down and not build big cars."

"When they had this problem before they shipped engines in by helicopter."

Roffpiger, president of the local, told the press that he felt

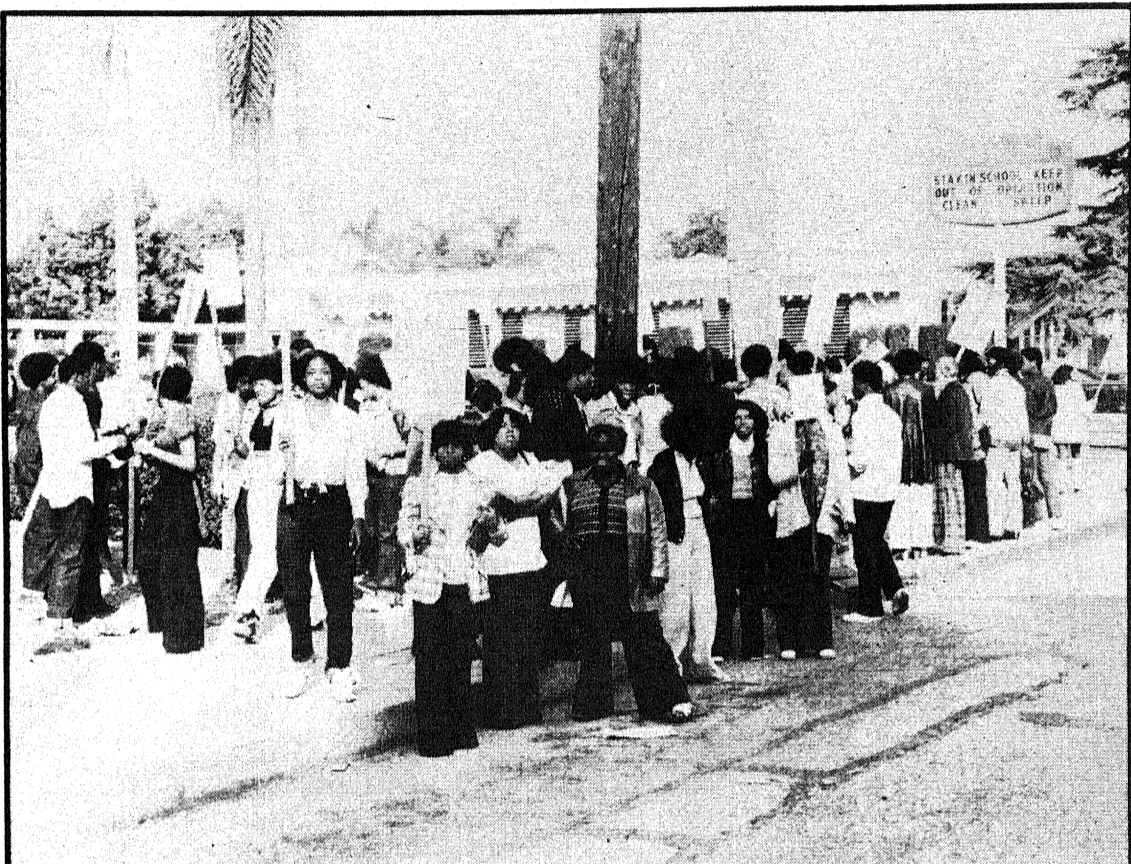
most workers liked having the time off and that they would be paid 80 percent of their regular pay. This is in fact a gross distortion as most of the workers will not get Supplementary Unemployment Benefits.

One worker estimated that if they did not go back to work this week, they would be off until

after Christmas.

The Ford plant in St. Louis is not the only plant to be hit by layoffs. General Motors laid off about 150 employees with less than 90 days seniority.

On December 17, 7600 of the GM workers will be laid off here as part of the nationwide cutbacks.



## Compton Teachers Defy Courts

LOS ANGELES—Striking Compton teachers say they will defy a court order and resume picketing on Monday. In a temporary restraining order, teachers are prohibited from striking.

The strike is in its tenth day. The suit against the teachers was filed by a right-wing organization called the Citizens Legal Defense Alliance, Inc. This organization has stated they will seek contempt rulings against teachers if they do not report to work.

## FORD . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Hoover in 1929-1933, and just might have the same economic consequences."

Ford's credentials as a replacement for Nixon have been established over the last 25 years as a bitter enemy of the labor movement. As a congressman from western Michigan, Ford has voted, according to the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE), 95 percent against the reforms endorsed by trade union organizations.

•Ford led the 1965 fight against

the repeal of the union-busting Taft-Hartley law.

•He has opposed every minimum wage bill.

•Ford was one of the main advocates of the 1971 bill which forced West Coast long-shoremen to end their strike.

•He has supported innumerable "compulsory arbitration" bills.

In once again calling for Nixon's resignation, The New York Times made very clear that Ford would follow the

current president's policies of wage controls, layoffs, inflation, and attacks on democratic rights.

Referring to Ford's "impeccable credentials as a Republican Party loyalist," the Times declared that "the duty of the GOP to resolve the nation's crisis of leadership becomes inescapable."

The working class now has the greatest opportunity to force both Nixon and Ford out and to construct the alternative to this administration. Ford has no support among the millions of working people who despise Nixon and who are determined to defend their jobs, living standards, and basic rights against the attacks of the government.

The fight for the calling of a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies must be carried forward throughout the labor movement and a new leadership constructed against the Meanys, Woodcocks, and Chavezes who stand with Ford and Nixon.

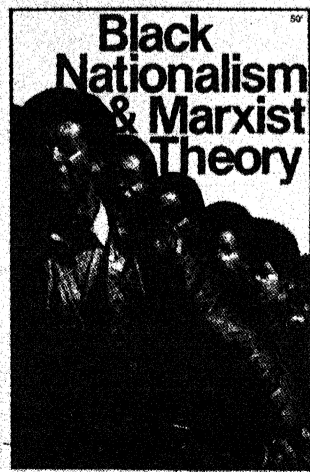
We urge all workers and youth to attend the regional conference of the Young Socialists in New York this Saturday and those being held in the coming weeks throughout the country in order to build this leadership.

## Just Out!

Black Nationalism & Marxist Theory by Tim Wohlforth.

Finally back in print, in its fourth edition, this pamphlet—based on Lenin's critique of nationalism—exposes the Black nationalist movement as a middle class tendency which seeks to keep the working class tied to the parties of capitalism. Today, as the capitalists move to attack all the gains of workers and it becomes urgent to unite the entire working class in its own political party, this pamphlet becomes critical in the fight against all tendencies which seek to divide the workers.

50¢



Labor Publications, Inc., 135 W. 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011