NOW TWICE A WEEK!

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER NINETEEN 355

FRIDAY, MARCH 8, 1974

Complete Comments

FIFTEEN CENTS

Democrats Cover For Nixon— PUBLISH THE SECRET REPORT!



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Launch \$100,000 Daily Bulletin Fund Drive

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could be done.

These funds come from the working class, permitting the development of the Bulletin as a workers paper. In the next period, as the working class moves forward here in a massive way, this will mean we can bring from out of this movement the resources so that we can build the leadership necessary for its success—the establishment of socialism in America and internationally.

We now enter the most critical stage of our fund work. With this issue we launch our \$100,000 Tenth Anniversary Daily Bulletin Fund. We plan to raise \$50,000 of this total between now and June 1. This money will help us lay the basis for the daily **Bulletin** in 1975.

All branches must now take forward the lessons of the January and February drives. This must be combined with special large-scale fund raising activities and the largest possible pledges from Workers League members, Young Socialists and supporters. Most important will be the beginning—achieving \$16,600 by April 1. We must begin this fight with strength, receiving at least \$4000 by next week.

We urge all our readers to turn to page 5 for a special article on our 10 year struggle to build the Bulletin.

10 Years Of The Bulletin— See Page 5

BY THE EDITOR

Nixon's Wednesday night press conference was a repeat performance of his arrogant defiance of any attempt to impeach him or to force him to resign.

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STOP PRESS

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The strike was called by the UAW leadership after no progress was made in negotiations on thousands of local grievances at both plants.

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The American working class has already made its judgment. Nixon is guilty and he must be forced out now. The labor leaders must unite the working class in nationwide action to

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He denied that he had authorized a payment the same day of the Haldeman meeting for \$75,000 to buy the silence of Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt.

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While Nixon declared there would be no recession, auto plants extended their shutdowns and permanent layoffs increased throughout the country.

While Nixon declared that food and fuel prices would be in check (Continued On Page 12)

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Behind the Smokescreen Of The Impeachment

The impeachment inquiry of the House Judiciary Committee is being turned into as monstrous a coverup as the original Watergate coverup itself.

A secret report prepared by the office of Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski which contains all the details of Nixon's guilt, is known only to a handful of people.

This week, the Democrats and Republicans continued to stall on subpoenaining evidence from Nixon and made it clear they want at all costs to avoid a

confrontation. In fact, the impeachment inquiry is now being used to drag out endless hearings and legal wrangles that could last a year or more.

The Democrats and Republicans stand with Nixon in a conspiracy to keep the truth from the

American workers and to cover Nixon's crimes. The paralysis and desperation of Nixon is only matched by the spineless quavering of the Senators and Congressmen who fear the masses of workers in this country who want to throw Nixon out.

The impeachment inquiry has become a smokescreen to create illusions that Congress will act against Nixon, while in reality he is allowed to stay in power.

On the basic issues, the Democrats and Republicans stand with Nixon. They agree that the working class must pay for the economic crisis of capitalism through massive layoffs, more unemployment, intensified productivity, and higher prices.

The real issue facing millions of workers is not impeachment, but how to defeat the conspiracy of the government to destroy living standards and basic trade union and democratic rights.

Every day that these farcical hearings are dragged out. Nixon gains valuable time to proceed with his policy of recession, mass unemployment, and unlimited inflation, particularly of food prices.

The political crisis is all the sharper for the ruling class because at the same time they face the worst economic crisis in history.

The devaluation of the dollar and the severing of the dollar from gold has meant that the dollar can no longer provide a stable international means of exchange in trade and investment.

This is reflected in the constant rise in the price of gold which further; destroys any confidence in the dollar and has already led to a breakdown in basic production.

The capitalists can only "solve" this crisis and restore real value to the dollar by intensifying exploitation and reducing the living standards of the working

This is why a section of capitalists, led by powerful financial and banking interests around Nelson Rockefeller publicly call for Nixon's resignation. They want to replace Nixon with a "strong" authoritarian regime.

Their policies would mean a drastic rise in unemployment, greater industrial closures and continued inflation. They would move immediately to bring in new laws against wages and against the right to strike.

The hesitance of the politicians on whether or not to impeach Nixon comes from their concern with the need to replace Nixon with this kind of government.

The capitalists know they will never impose such conditions peacefully. Millions of workers in this country will fight back against any attack on their hard won gains and rights.

Behind the impeachment moves, behind the facade of elections the capitalist class is constantly preparing its troops, encouraging right-wing movements for a violent confrontation.

The AFL-CIO leadership, by leaving the issue of Nixon's ouster in the hands of Congress, is committing a dangerous betrayal.

Nixon is weak and isolated. He is allowed to remain in power only through the cooperation of the labor leaders with the Democrats.

While Nixon is weak, the working class must become conscious of its tremendous power. This power can only be used to defeat Nixon, independently of Congress, in the organization of an independent political party.

The conspiracy of silence in Congress is nothing new. When the Constitution was founded, the industrialists and landowners who controlled all the wealth in America conspired to keep the workers and small farmers out of power. All democratic rights workers have today were only won through tremendous struggle.

The defense of these rights today means that for the first time in its history, the labor movement must form a labor party. Nixon will only be forced out in the struggle to compel the labor leaders to mobilize millions to demand Nixon resign. In the course of this fight, an alternative revolutionary leadership must be built in the unions to carry out the fight for a labor party based on a socialist program.

Loan Splits Italian Coalition

BY DAVID NORTH

Italy's thirty-sixth government in 30 years collapsed this weekend as partners in the center-left coalition that has ruled for the last eight months clashed over the terms of a loan offered by the International Monetary

The immediate cause of the fall of Premier Mariano Rumor's government was the resignation of Treasury Minister Ugo La Malfa of the rightwing Republican Party after leaders of the Socialist Party refused to accept the terms of the \$1.2 billion loan granted by the IMF to stabilize the lira. The lira has lost 2.5 percent of its value over the last three weeks.

In offering the loan, IMF bankers outlined a program of massive attacks on the living standards of Italian workers which the principal bourgeois parties readily accepted.

The IMF demanded a vast reduction in public spending, a



Italian workers marching against inflation.

sharp cut in the money supply, and a deliberate lowering of the volume of food imports in order to slash the enormous balance of payments deficit.

These proposals, which are designed to crash the economy, demonstrate that the world bankers and Italian capitalists have decided that the country's economy cannot be salvaged except through the destruction of the living standards of the Italian working class

Upon rejecting the IMF terms, Socialist Party leader Vittorelli declared:

"We did not want this crisis, but we cannot pay the price required to avert it. The loan that has been negotiated will place a heavy burden on the

Italian economy, if we adhere to the conditions that go with it, which will force us to undertake a stringent deflation.'

The Socialist Party, together with the Stalinist Communist Party, seek to mislead workers about the extent of the economic crisis by declaring that the capitalists can be pressured into undertaking, in the words of one CP leader, "economic and social development based on reforms."

COALITION

The entire fabric of traditional coalition politics is disintegrating in Italy beneath the impact of the crisis. Any coalition government formed at this stage can only serve as a thin cover for the increasingly blatant preparations of the military, police and fascists for a coup d'etat on the model of

Just as virtually all the bourgeois parties, particularly the Christian Democrats, are discredited by an unprecedented scandal which links major oil companies and the highest ministers to bribery and other crimes, the Communist Party presses ahead with plans to enter a coalition with the Christian Democrats.

The CP opposed any action by the working class to bring down the Rumor government and are deeply distressed by its collapse. The Stalinists stated explicitly that the general strike called last February 27 was not aimed at overthrowing the government.

They extend one arm to the Christian Democrats and the other to the bastion of Italian and world reaction, the Roman Catholic Church.

CP leader Enrico Berlinguer boasts that his party seeks a "historic compromise" with the Vatican, and supports the negotiations between Bologna party leader Guido Fanti and Cardinal Poma and Monsigneur Amici.

The 13 million workers who participated in the general strike demonstrated the tremendous fighting capacity of the Italian working class. A series of wildcats throughout the country reflects a sharp movement against the bankrupt leadership of the Stalinists.

It is necessary to construct a Marxist leadership in the working class through a struggle to decisively expose the Stalinists by demanding that they fight to take the power, break off all negotiations with the bourgeois parties, and carry out socialist policies.

Peron Rightists Patrol Cordoba

BY A **CORRESPONDENT**

Argentine President Juan Peron moved on coup. Tuesday to give his complete backing to the right-wing police coup which toppled the elected governor of the industrial city of Cordoba last week.

The Peron dominated senate voted overwhelmingly to back Peron's plans to install a federal official in the province to replace the ousted governor, Ricardo Obregon Cano.

Peron dreads the power of the

massive Argentine labor movement. Already, left-wing Peronists and ERP guerrillas have taken up guns against the police

Last Wednesday, rebel police took over the city, arrested the governor, deputy governor, and more than 100 trade unionists and other officials.

Right-wing Peronist labor officials immediately supported the police action and the national Minister of Labor Ricardo Otero, was dispatched to the city to be on hand for a rump election that installed a right winger as head of the provincial labor federation.

Fighting has been reported throughout the city. Snipers were standing off police from rooftops and automatic rifle,

submachine gun, and shotgun fire has been reported.

Bomb blasts and gunfire continued on Monday with at least 7 dead and 20 wounded.

Armed fascists wearing armbands fought alongside the police patrolling the streets and terrorizing pedestrians and merchants who did not close their shops in support of the coup.

Governor Cano, who was released by police on Friday, is reported to be hiding in the hills along with a number of left-wing unionists who fled the city when the arrests began.

Cordoba is an industrial city which is the heart of the Argentine automobile industry and a center of working class militancy.

Peron was brought back to Argentina and installed in power by the military which was unable to deal with the Argentine labor movement, the most powerful in Latin America.

There is no doubt that the Cordoba coup was backed from the beginning by Peron who is now preparing a massive purge of the left and the trade unions.

Ethiopian Trade Unions Call General Strib

BY A REPORTER

The Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions has announced that it will go ahead with its plans to stage a general strike at the end of this week.

They have submitted a 16 point list of demands to the government which includes a 100 percent wage increase and the right to organize unions.

In a frantic effort to buy time for his tottering regime, Emperor Haile Selassie stated that he will allow a constitutional convention to be held for the purpose of creating a new elected democratic government. At present, Ethiopia is ruled as an absolute feudal monarchy.

Selassie recently received notice from military units that

"if our demands are not fully satisfied, then we shall take action." Last week, the army and navy mutinied over demands for higher pay.

On March 4, the police opened fire on workers and students in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital.

On March 1, sections of the army and navy that had taken over the city of Asmara, as well as banks, government buildings, and the airport, forced Selassie to dismiss his whole cabinet, and appoint a new Prime Minister. The mutineers won a wage increase for soldiers from \$41 to \$56 a month.

However, the list of demands submitted to Selassie by the soldiers also included demands for land reform, liberalized labor legislation, the release of all political prisoners, and the creation of political parties.

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Ethiopian students demonstrate in Addis Ababa. See story, page 2.

Simon OK's Gas Hike To 70 Cents A Gallon

BY A REPORTER

A wave of price increases are jacking up the cost at pumps across the country by as much as 15 cents a gallon.

The largest oil producers are determined to use their stranglehold over world oil supplies to establish the highest possible price for gas. Federal Energy Office administrator William E. Simon openly admits that minimum prices of at least 70 cents a gallon are on the way.

On Sunday, Atlantic Richfield and Phillips Petroleum announced increases of five and seven cents respectively to distributors.

These announcements follow price hikes by Standard, Getty, and Texaco.

At the same time, gasoline imports are soaring and a number of independent marketers report that they are importing fuel from Rotterdam and Italy because they have been unable to purchase from the majors in the US.

Prices are about 15 cents a vallon higher for the imported fuel and independent stations are now selling gas for as much as 70 cents a gallon.

EUROPE

Since the eight largest oil companies provide the majority of gasoline that reaches Europe, it is clear that they are prepared to sell it to the independents for higher prices abroad, while maintaining their grip on domestic supplies.

The petroleum majors have actually cut their imports of foreign gasoline, claiming that Federal Energy Office requirements force them to share it with their competitors.

On Long Island, Northville Industries Corporation, the largest independent wholesale distributor has brought in 14 million gallons which are being sold by Long Island independents at prices 15 cents above well-known brands.

The strategy of the majors emerges very clearly. They are raking in huge profits selling gasoline at higher prices abroad. They are now able to undersell the independents here in order to squeeze them out of business.

At each stage, the shortages have enabled them to drive up prices even more. The higher prices now being charged by the independents are paving the way for new increases by the majors as they drive their competitors

PRICES

The largest oil companies intend to make prices of well over 70 cents a gallon the norm. Even the lifting of the oil embargo will do nothing to lower prices as the rapidly depreciating dollar guarantees that the oil producing states will still limit production and keep prices

Exxon, Texaco, Gulf, California Standard, Indiana Standard, Shell, and Atlantic Richfield already control 65 percent of East and Gulf Coast refineries. They work as a virtual partnership sharing refineries, pipelines, and other facilities.

They deliberately keep crude oil prices at a maximum, recording low refinery profits on their books and placing the independent refiners in an impossible squeeze through the soaring crude prices.

In addition, these majors are now reorganizing the market by withdrawing from areas in which sales are below average and selling their unprofitable operations to the majors who

CLOSED

Thousands of gas stations are being closed or sold in this way to maximize profits. Millions of workers are being held up for ransom, forced to endure long lines and layoffs so that these plans can be carried out.

Only the nationalization of the entire industry under workers control can provide for a rational allocation of energy resources. A labor party pledged to socialist policies must be built to do this.

Oil Prices Create Chaos In Europe

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The vast sums of money that have been flowing out of the oil importing industrial nations to the oil producers are threatening to create a crisis in the monetary markets and a wave of speculation in gold and commodities that will dwarf what has taken place so far.

The quadrupled price of oil since last year is now estimated to have a potential cost to the industrial countries of \$50 billion in import

Many European countries are simply unable to pay for the massive increase in imports required. The recent \$1.5 billion loan by France on the Eurodollar market was to obtain funds for these imports.

The government of Italy, which faces a \$7 billion balance of payments deficit largely because of these payments has just resigned because of the stringent terms required by the **International Monetary Fund for** a \$1.2 billion loan.

DEFICIT

England, which faces a similar deficit, is looking to borrow nearly \$7 billion in the international markets.

But as the recent gold rush which has bid gold prices to over \$170 an ounce followed by continued skyrocketing prices for commodities reveals, the purchasing power of paper money is undergoing a worldwide

Normally, money paid out to the oil producers would be deposited in European banks where it would be lent out for business investment.

But today, with the flight from paper money assuming panic proportions, the recent collapse of the Italian government and the Heath government in England will intensify the rush to dump paper money for gold or commodities.

Under these conditions, the vast sums now in the hands of the oil producers will be used to buy up hoards of commodities and gold in the hopes of retaining some real value.

The New York Times reported on Monday that private discussion among European financial experts is that the chaos on the exchange markets will force a shutdown to preserve order.

COLLAPSE

The collapse of paper money as a store of value now threatens the breakdown of world trade and production. Under these conditions, the oil producers will be even more reluctant to lend funds in order to be paid back in increasingly depreciating paper.

David Rockefeller has admitted that he is worried about a "credit worthiness" problem and Chauncey Smith, vice-chairman of the First National Bank of Chicago states that his bank has already "flashed a caution light" about lending to two countries he did not name, but which could very well be Italy and England.

The new rush to gold that is now being prepared means that the inflation has only just begun. The price increases that will be promoted by the escalating rates for gold and commodities mean devastating attacks on the standards of living of millions of

The movement of the British workers has already forced out the Tory government. Such struggles are on the agenda throughout the world. The decisive task is the construction of the revolutionary party to lead the fight for power.

Spanish Students **Protest Execution**

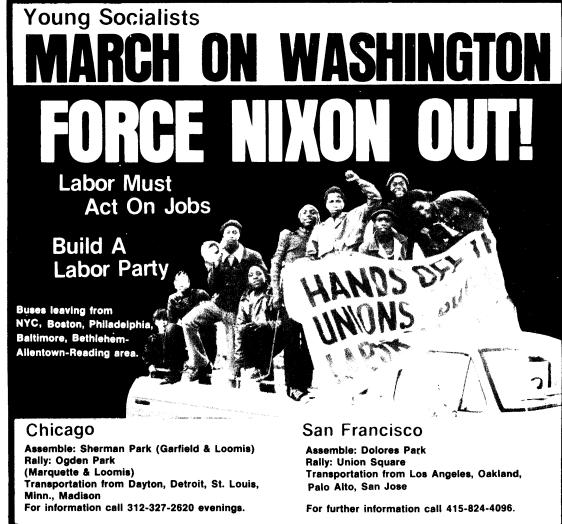
BY A CORRESPONDENT

Pitched battles broke out between students and special riot police in both Madrid and Barcelona, Spain on March 4. Thousands of students took part in demonstrations to protest the savage murder by General Franco of Salvador Puig Antich who was a member of the Iberian Liberation Movement.

The students had organized a strike and were assembling in the various departments on the campuses for a meeting. Franco's special police marched

onto the campuses, many of them on horseback and all armed to the teeth, and attempted to break up the meeting.

The political assassination of Antich takes place at a time when the cost of living is destroying the living standard of millions of Spanish workers. The students' fight to avenge Antich's death is a foreshadowing of the tremendous movement of the working class against the hated Franco dicta-



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PSTA Stabs **Baltimore Teachers**

BY LARRY SYMONS BALTIMORE, Md.—

The city's striking teachers returned to work after a surprise betrayal by their leadership.

At a mass strike meeting on Monday March 4, called by the Public School Teachers Association, teachers had voted by a narrow margin to reject the contract recommended by PSTA leaders.

Five hours after the meeting, PSTA President Karl Boone announced that the teachers should return to work on Tuesday. A teacher told the Bulletin: "Now I know what it means to be sold

The rival Baltimore Teachers Union which had recommended rejection of the contract, said it had to comply with the PSTA's decision.

The month long strike was over 80 percent solid

Teachers yelled "sellout" and "vou called us down here for ' when they realized that the contract was essentially the same as the one they rejected two weeks ago.

Boone claimed after the meeting that teachers not present at the meeting approved

Typographers Strike Ahead

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK-International Typographical Union No. 6 has notified The New York Times and the Daily News that it has terminated a temporary agreement made last October that barred the union from striking and other actions interfering with production.

ITU No. 6 President Bertram Powers issued a telegram Sunday in which he warned that within seven days "we will be free to take appropriate action to secure a wage increase, including any job action we think necessary.

Powers said that a strike is possible.

The union has rejected an offer of 5.5 percent in wages put forward by the Times in accordance with Nixon's pay

Powers pointed out that ITU members have received no wage increase in two years and "we want one as quickly as possible.'

Upon rejecting the 5.5 percent offer, he said that the ITU "will be seeking considerably more than that.'

Another major issue in the negotiations which are currently underway is that of automation. The Times has been installing new equipment on the eleventh floor that threatened the jobs of typographers.

ITU ranks must demand that Powers call a strike to defend jobs and break through the 5.5 percent limit.

going back to work and that the majority of those present reiected the contract "because of the calculated effort of the BTU leadership to bring about disunity among the teachers.'

This is a rotten cover for Boone's betrayal of the strike. Most teachers worked on Tuesday because of the refusal of the leadership to lead the

The new contract contains a three percent raise this year and six percent next year, only onehalf percent more than the city offered in February.

One contract provision says that the teachers pay hike will increase beyond six percent if other city workers get more than

One high school teacher told the Bulletin: "They will try to use that part of the contract as a bludgeon against other city



4000 At Model Cities Rally

BY MITCH PATTERSON

NEW YORK, Mar.5-Over 4000 Model Cities workers attended a mass demonstration in front of City Hall today to protest the shutting down of all programs in the state scheduled for March 30.

The workers employed by Model Cities come largely from

the communities of Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, and the South Bronx. They will all be thrown on to the unemployment lines at the end of this month.

The demonstrators marched around City Hall shouting "if Model Cities goes, Mayor Beame must go!'

Rozell Carruthers, working in the Fire Safety Education divi-

Bronx told the Bulletin that the federal funds for the program were not scheduled to be cut until June 31.

BEAME

He said: "Mayor Beame decided to throw us out of our jobs on March 30 instead. He could extend the program if he wanted to. I wish he would come out here right now; we have a lot to talk about.'

21-year-old Al Lewis said: "Where do they expect us to go after we lose this job. I will either try to get welfare or I will just go back into the streets where I came from. How do they expect us to stay away from crime if every time I get a job they take it away.

"If Nixon is involved in Watergate, then I will bet that he is involved in stealing the money that we need to keep Model Cities

Mitchell-Stans Trial Exposes Link To Vesco

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, NY-The evidence against former Attorney General John Mitchell and Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans began pouring out on Tuesday with a government witness directly linking Mitchell to financier Robert Vesco.

Both Mitchell and Stans are standing trial in New York City Federal Court charged with conspiracy and perjury. The defendants are charged with conspiring to halt a Securities and Exchange Commission investigation into the operations of financier Robert Vesco in return for a \$200,000 Vesco contribution to the Nixon reelection campaign.

In addition, the government intends to prove that they covered up the scheme and perjured themselves under oath when questioned about it.

Mitchell has also been indicted by the Watergate Grand Jury on charges of conspiracy, obstruction of justice, and four counts of making false statements to the

Vesco is presently a fugitive who spends his time shuttling between Costa Rica and the Bahamas where he has invested millions looted from the Investors Overseas Services, a mutual fund which collapsed several years ago.

CHEAPER

On Friday, Prosecutor James Rayhill told the jury that Vesco when asked why he had contributed \$200,000 to the Nixon campaign, had replied: "It's cheaper than paying the

He outlined the intervention of Harry L. Sears, former Republican leader of the New Jersey State Senate, who was on the Vesco payroll and convinced Mitchell to attempt to call off the SEC.

Sears turned over the \$200,000

payoff to Stans three days after a new campaign law requiring disclosure on contributions came into effect. Stans turned it in as money that had come in before the deadline from an unknown

Sears presented a devastating case against Mitchell on the witness stand. He testified to introducing Vesco to Mitchell at a New Jersey political dinner in March 1971 and of sending Mitchell a "Dear John" letter, making him aware of Vesco's

In addition, he stated that he met with Mitchell in July, 1971, to ask him to intervene with the

Sears admitted that he had gone on the Vesco payroll well aware that he was expected to help out at the Justice Department.

When Vesco was held in a Swiss jail on charges of looting the IOS. Mitchell contacted the Swiss Attorney General in November, 1971, and Vesco was released on \$125,000 bail.

LOG

Mitchell's office log confirms Sears' testimony about the July Justice Department meeting.

The desperation of Mitchell and Stans is reflected in the case presented by their lawyers which stress that both are hard working men who worked themselves up from the bottom and used their wealth to serve the country.

Mitchell's lawyer told the jury that \$200,000 was only one-third of one percent of the money raised for Nixon, the equivalent of 33 cents out of a hundred "So we ask dollars. you...whether in essence John Mitchell would sell his life for 33 cents."

Stans' lawyer repeatedly referred to him as a 66-year-old man who had been worried to the point of distraction by the illness of his wife.

Donald and Edward are expected to be called as witnesses in the case.

As the evidence unfolds, Mitchell will regret the words he once used to describe the Nixon administration: "Watch what we do, not what we say."

Woodcock In NY-**Begging For Attention**

BY A REPORTER NEW YORK, NY---

"This year will be one of the worst years of unemployment since World War Two,'' declared United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock at the recent National Conference of Public Service Employment held here.

"The Nixon administration forecast of 5.5 percent to 6 percent joblessness is much too optimistic. We are the only industrialized country in the non-Communist world which deliberately has a policy of not full employment."

Further, he stated: "We must put together an 'attention demanding group' of 100 private citizens to pound away at the Congress and the public asking over and over again why this nation with the greatest economic strength, greatest wealth, and the greatest power in the world should have the highest unemployment rate as well."

Leonard Woodcock, the president of one of the strongest unions in the world, stands before the over one-quarter million auto workers already on Both of Nixon's brothers the unemployment lines and

states that he has virtually no program to fight unemplovment, but to accept it.

BANKRUPT

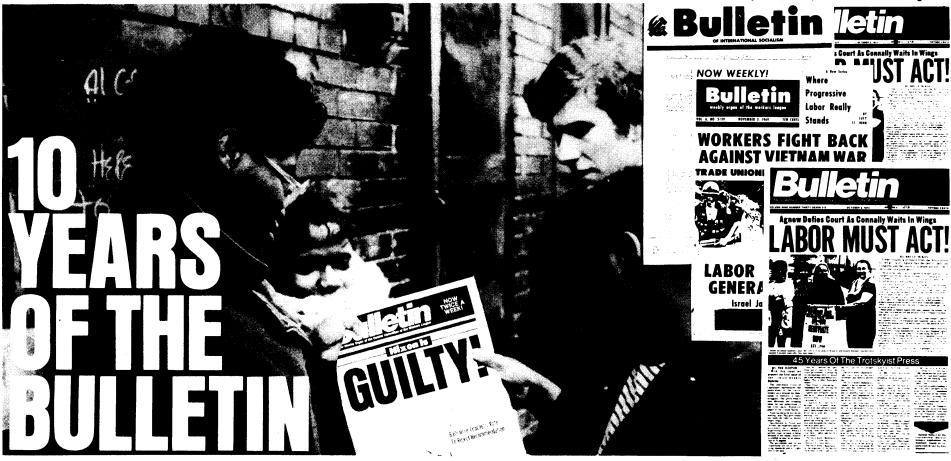
He can only offer the bankrupt policy of continuing to pressure and beg the Congress for a few jobs. Under his direction, the UAW has sent out to all union locals an "unemployment emergency kit" which explains unemployment benefits and how to obtain food stamps.

As Woodcock refuses to fight, conditions in the auto industry have continued to deteriorate. The sales of foreign and domestic cars total a 26 percent drop during the month of February.

NATIONALIZATION

In a press conference held last month, Woodcock was asked if he would call for the nationalization of the oil industry as a way to supply jobs. He responded: "No, absolutely not. We would be as mistrustful of a huge public bureaucracy as we are mistrustful of the private bureaucracy. We want public corporation involvement as we have described on a competitive basis.'

Instead of using the strength of the UAW to build a political weapon, a labor party, that would force Nixon out and nationalize all industry under workers control, Woodcock wants the capitalist system to work better "on a competitive basis."



BY MELODY FARROW

With this issue of the Bulletin, we are launching a special fund drive of \$100,000 that will lay the financial basis for the publication of the Bulletin as a daily paper in 1975.

This September, the Bulletin will mark its tenth anniversary of publication. Since the launching of the Bulletin as a mimeographed newsletter in 1964, we have continuously fought to prepare for a daily newspaper and to build the revolutionary party around a fight to expand and develop the press.

The daily Bulletin will be the first daily Trotskyist paper in the history of the United States and will carry forward the original traditions of the Daily Worker which was established by the American Communist Party in 1924.

It will follow in the traditions of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky who saw the party press as the essential weapon to bring the program and campaigns of the revolutionary party into the life of the working class.

The Bulletin was founded in 1964 in order to prepare for the period we are now in, a period of revolutionary struggle internationally when the construction of revolutionary parties to lead a fight for power is the immediate and concrete task before us.

The Bulletin from its origins has fought to maintain the basic principles developed by Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky, in a bitter struggle against the degeneration of the Socialist Workers

The Bulletin's founding document, "The Crisis of American Socialism," stated: "The new world conditions provide both an objective situation within which a new working class vanguard can be built, as well as bring forcibly forward the deep necessity of creating such a vanguard.

"The impressionists and revisionists are bypassed by events. They are the product of the sick past of the socialist movement of the 1950s. The task of building a new movement demands that their ideas be totally expur-

gated from the movement of the future."

The Bulletin fought at all times for the principle of internationalism. Our movement, although barred from international affiliations by the Voorhis Act, has always affirmed its political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Our perspectives have continuously been developed with an understanding of the international character of the crisis of capitalism and how this was expressed in each particular period.

We based our movement on Trotsky's principled struggle against Stalinism and for the construction of a revolutionary combat party to lead the working class to power, as Lenin's Bolshevik Party did in 1917 in the Soviet Union.

We rejected the revisionist "theories" of Michel Pablo within the international movement that independent revolutionary parties were not needed for the vorking class to come to power.

The founding members of the Workers League were expelled from the Socialist Workers Party simply for demanding a discussion of these basic principles in relation to the events in Cevlon

In Ceylon, the leadership of the Ceylonese Trotskyist party, the LSSP, voted to join a coalition with the capitalist parties after being encouraged in this direction by Pablo and Ernest Mandel, leaders of the international movement, and by SWP leader Joseph Hansen. The SWP to this day refuses to make an accounting for this historic betrayal.

The revisionists abandoned the dialectical method and a scientific understanding of how the capitalist crisis was developing and substituted surface impressions. They responded to the "boom" prosperity of the early and middle 1960s by declaring that a new era of stability, of "neo-capitalism" was beginning.

The Bulletin based its perspectives at all times on the understanding that this "boom," because it was only made possible through inflation, would only deepen the contradictions within capitalism and would create conditions for a new explosion of the crisis.

Thus, from the beginning, the

Bulletin fought to carry forward the fight for a labor party, for the need for workers to have their own independent political party.

This was the central strategy for the construction of the revolutionary party that Trotsky had urged the SWP to fight for and which they dropped.

The period from 1964 to 1967 was a period of a sharp upsurge in the civil rights movement in the South.

The Bulletin, while campaigning to defend these struggles, was the only paper which stressed the need to link the fight for civil rights to a political struggle by the whole working class against the Democrats and Republicans.

Unlike the revisionists, we did not tail end and adapt to the nationalists and pacifists in the civil rights movement, but we opposed every attempt to use nationalism to divide workers or to limit the struggle to a liberal protest for some token reforms.

We consistently supported the election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party despite our disagreements in order to bring the fight for a labor party to as many workers as possible.

In April of 1966, at the Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International, we broke once and for all with the group called Spartacist which also had been expelled from the SWP.

The decision of Spartacist leader James Robertson to walk out of that conference expressed the contempt and arrogance of the middle class radical movement for building a movement based on internationalism and Marxist principles.

After this conference, we began a serious struggle to build a movement rooted in the working class, that would break with all the centrist petty bourgeois forces that dominate the American radical movement.

In September 1966, the Bulletin was transformed from a mimeographed paper to a four page printed paper. At the First National Conference, we pledged to expand it to eight pages by September 1967.

At the same time, we began a circulation drive and a special national tour to construct new branches of the Workers League. We fought continuously to expand our coverage and intervention in the trade union move-

ment.

At our Third National Conference in November 1968, we planned the expansion of the Bulletin to 12 pages and the tripling of its circulation. The National Executive Committee voted in April 1968 to launch the weekly Bulletin in the fall of 1969.

When Nixon was elected to his first term of office in 1968, we warned that his administration would open up a period of new attacks on workers living conditions.

Before the 1972 elections, the Bulletin was the only newspaper which published the truth about the secret campaign contributions to Nixon.

We warned that the 1972 election was no ordinary election, but would be the beginning of an attempt by Nixon to violate and destory democratic rights under conditions of a sharpening economic situation.

The Bulletin led a campaign against the presidential bid of George Wallace calling on the trade unions to mobilize against him and warning of the dangers of racist and right-wing movements encouraged by Nixon himself to split the working class.

During the election campaign, we intensified our fight for the labor party by printing, first in the Bulletin and then as a pamphlet, "The Case for a Labor Party," which spelled out the socialist policies and program necessary to defend the working class.

The weekly Bulletin led the way in developing our fight against growing unemployment, especially among youth and which led to the founding conference of the Young Socialists in December 1971.

Nixon's decision to end the convertibility of the dollar into gold, to freeze wages, marked a new stage in the capitalist crisis and in the fight to develop the Bulletin and the Workers League.

The August 1971 decisions were the end of any attempts to patch up the crisis. The severing of gold from the dollar has led to the wild inflation, a basic collapse of production, and permanent unemployment that we are seeing now.

It opened up a period in which the capitalists in every country would be forced to directly confront the working class headon and attempt to smash the trade unions and living standards.

But in every country, the capitalists face a powerful and organized working class. We see this in Britain where the working class has thrown out the Tories and where the new Labour government must deal with a nationwide miners strike, and in the massive strike waves in Italy, Germany, France, and Japan, where governments are divided and on the brink of collapse.

We have entered a new period in which conditions for socialist revolution are rapidly developing and place upon us the responsibility to build the Workers League as a mass revolutionary party within the working class.

PRINCIPLES

The principles which the Bulletin has defended since 1964 will now live in the struggle to build this party and prepare to lead the working class to power.

When Trotsky founded the Fourth International, he declared that the major crisis facing the working class was the crisis of leadership.

It is the International Committee of the Fourth International which can resolve this crisis in practice by building alternative revolutionary leadership in the unions to rally and unite workers around a program for political power.

To prepare for this, we need the daily **Bulletin**. It is only through the **Bulletin** that we can build this movement and expand it across the country.

In the past, we have been able to fulfill all our goals because of the support from our readers, from trade unionists, and youth.

We now ask all our supporters to make a special effort to help us to take the most important step yet, the launching of the daily.

This is the paper of every worker, youth and housewife who wants to defend basic rights and wants to fight to throw this government out.

Our Daily Fund Drive begins this month and will raise \$50,000 by June 1, 1974. The second \$50,000 will be raised between September 1 and December 1.

We call on all our readers to contribute generously to this drive, to help us meet this goal, and to not only subscribe to the Bulletin, but take the step of joining the Workers League.

\$100,000 Fund Drive To Launch Daily Bulletin



In the period following Haymarket, the trade union group around the New York paper Volkszeitung took over leadership of the Socialist Labor Party, predecessor to the Socialist Party. This group was also quite conservative, and while in the past it had blocked with the social revolutionaries factionally against the old leadership, it was certainly not connected with them in spirit. Their main orientation was to capture control of the AFL.

In the course of this work, they did achieve certain successes. They gained control of the New York City Central Labor Council. They then admitted the SLP as a member of the Council. Gompers promptly lifted the charter of the Central Labor Council on the grounds that the SLP was not a trade union and thus could not be a member of the council. It was this position, which F.A. Sorge supported, which Gompers appealed to Engels. Engels felt that Gompers' had a point and that the tactic reflected the factional blindness of the new leading circle of the SLP. However, he refused to intervene for the SLP at least formally adhered to Marxism and Gompers was an open opportunist and sworn enemy of Marxism.

Soon after this dispute, Daniel DeLeon joined the SLP and quickly rose in its leadership. He converted the current leadership of the party, Lucien Sanial, Hugo Vogt, and Henry Kuhn to his views and to administrators for him within the SLP.

He "resolved" the old dispute between the political wing and the trade union wing by insisting that what was needed was a political party and industrial unions closely aligned to the political party.

It would prove to be one thing to resolve the relation of the Marxist party to the trade unions in doctrine and quite another in real life. After all, the central problem of the American working class then as well as now lies precisely around this question. Then it was even more sharply posed because there did not exist a mass industrial union movement. What DeLeon's position actually amounted to, after an unsuccessful fishing operation in the Knights of Labor, was an abandonment of a struggle in the trade unions in favor of the construction of a doctrinaire sect.

The form this took was the establishment of a trade union body openly dominated by the SLP and competing with the AFL. This body evolved into nothing more than an organization of SLP members.

DeLeon's capturing of the leadership of the SLP led to the revolt of the bulk of the supporters of the trade union position within the party. In this process, actually, the bulk of the members of the SLP bolted. Out of this split, the main forces of the new Socialist Party were to come. Therefore, an important question that must be raised in order to understand the nature of the Socialist Party to be is what was the nature of this opposition.

This opposition did not emerge all at once. Three distinct groups in different parts of the country first broke away. There was Victor Berger's group in Milwaukee. It was based primarily on the German speaking section of the city with some following in the English speaking and Polish









sections. It was deeply entrenched in the AFL and would soon control both the AFL of Milwaukee and of the state. At the same time, it was in the process of building a political machine which would dominate the city for many years. Then there was the Jewish Daily Forward group in New York which was deeply involved in trade union work in the garment trades and had considerable strength in the Lower East Side. And finally, there was James Carey's political machine in Haverhill, Mass. which was also trade union based, but which produced the first socialist mayor in any city of signi-

These three groups combined with Eugene V. Debs, the remnants of his American Railway Union, and a group of utopians to launch a new party called the Social Democracy.

Quite separate from this development, there emerged a new opposition within the SLP headed by Morris Hillquit. He was supported by the remaining trade union forces in New York, Max Hayes in Cleveland, and many others.

This group, which may have even held the majority within the SLP, set up a rival SLP whose convention was held in Rochester, New York. It was known as the Rochester SLP. After considerable factionalism and acrimony, these two groups finally merged in Indianapolis in 1901 forming the Socialist

There are two important aspects of this process which must be noted. First is that these trade union forces from the old SLP were the major ingredient in the new party. These forces were not substantially different in many respects from Gompers. They disagreed on the question of socialism. But they were enmeshed in a trade union existence primarily among the more skilled workers. Many of the leaders of this force-its members were ordinary workers making up the bulk of the working class forces of the new party-were trade union officers and officials. They controlled trade union locals and even internationals, local labor councils, union papers, and the like. They administered the day-to-day functioning of these unions. They wished only to utilize this labor base to develop a socialist political machine to run and even capture elec-

They were as distant as was Gompers from the mass of American workers, immigrant and native, who slaved under brutal conditions across the country. The Hillquits, Bergers, and Max Hayes were no Albert Parsons, August Spies, and not even Big Bill Haywoods or Eugene V. Debs.

Clearly, they were not unlike their cousins in the German Social Democratic

The split in the SLP was thus a split primarily of right-wing, reform-oriented trade union operators from a doctrinaire centrist party. It was very different from the split led by Parsons, for all its confusion, a decade earlier. This layer was to continue these policies and deepen its positions within the Socialist Party as time passed. The right wing of the SP thus predated even the formal establishment of that party. It reflected trends existent in the international workers movement as well as feeding upon social forces-the skilled trades unions—very much a part of American life. The second aspect of this process is also

Socialist Party, it had its own internal A whole section of this party were firm believers in colonization. Their aim was to set up utopian communist communities in

quite important. As the Social Democracy

group evolved in the direction of unity with

the Rochester SLP which would create the

some Western state. In time, these communities would be numerous enough to seize control of the state government. Then they would establish socialism in one state. This would prove to other Americans that socialism works and other states would capitulate, etc.

This was really a final throwback to the old middle class radicalism the First Internationalists had broken from in 1871. There could be no further development towards a socialist party unless a complete break was made with these forces.

and the rest of the world. But this is necessarv to understand its fantastic growth in one period as well as what broke it up in the

The United States from its origins to well after the Civil War was a predominantly agricultural country. It exported agricultural products to industrial Europe. The wealth thus obtained created a home market for its industry. It was this characteristic of the American economy which gave the country its appearance of autarchy, of having a self-sufficient economy. This in turn contributed to the provincial thinking of Americans, an important constituent of its pragmatic outlook.

Great changes in America took place in the quarter century following the Civil War, changes which came sharply to a head in the period from 1896 to 1917—the period of the birth and development of the American

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Debs at first was sympathetic to them, but he was forced to come to this conclusion. In the course of this bitter struggle, the colonizer group launched attacks on Marxism as an alien European idea. "We are Americans," they proclaimed, "and we shall adopt methods consonant with American habits of thought and of action, and with the genius of American institutions."

preach no class war," they claimed.

The American socialist movement took its powerful step forward in the formation of the Socialist Party precisely by basing itself on the long struggle for Marxism, largely championed by German Americans, since the 1860s.

Just as when it took its first step under the auspices of Marx, Engels, and the First International, now that it took this decisive second step, it had to confront and break with middle class radicalism, to stand upon the international ground of Marxism.

All the various books written on the Socialist Party share one common feature. None of them attempt to assess the development of that party in a materialist way. They do not place its development in the context of the great changes taking place at the time in the United States and in the relationship between the United States

Socialist Party. In this period America went through a tremendous industrial development. Particularly starting in the 1890s, this produced great monopolies with a stranglehold on every aspect of the American economy. All the power families of today, like Rockefeller, Mellon, and Carnegie have their origins in this period.

Accompanying the development of monopolies, the industrial giants, themselves now dominated by great banking houses, reached out into the world for markets, places for investment and sources for raw materials. By 1900, manufactured goods predominated over agricultural goods in American exports, and American financial investments permeated Latin America and reached other areas. America for the first time launched imperialist adventures not determined by the needs of an agricultural society as was the case with the Mexican-American War. The Spanish-American War marked this turning point.

Needless to say, this brought about fantastic changes within the country. Masses of farmers were driven off the land and millions of those who remained on the land were reduced to tenant farming and share-

This occurred at the same time as the

1896. By the Popu dated fo support and ecor a bit be





Fur workers





Lawrence, Mass, strike





final closing of the frontier. Farming still accounted for more than 50 percent of the population, as compared to less than 10 percent today, but the weight of the farmer in the country was greatly reduced and his condition the most miserable in a bleak history.

The situation of the working class was even worse. Large industrial cities had been constructed, made up primarily of immigrant workers living in the worst conditions. The conditions facing the miners of the East and West, the lumberjacks, the migratory workers, and seamen were even worse.

The American working class, unlike the European, was largely unorganized, divided by language, without a political party of its own, preyed upon by completely corrupt politicians, facing fantastic brutality every time an attempt was made to fight back



Bullman etrik

important were the changes in the country which placed the center of political gravity in the cities and forced farmers to look to the working class for a lead in their struggles.

To say, as some authors do, that the Socialist Party simply captured the agrarian radical vote for a period only to lose it later is to miss the whole point. Agrarian radicalism never again emerged as a national tendency after the demise of the Populists.

The Socialist Party not only won the support of a section of farmers, particularly tenant farmers, but it held this support against the demagogy of both Wilson and Teddy Roosevelt in the 1912 and the 1916 elections.

The turn of a section of poor farmers to the working class movement was a recognition on the part of these farmers of the with troops and Debs himself was jailed.

Debs says that it was in Woodstock Jail that he decided to become a socialist. There he read some of the Marxist classics and popular pamphlets written by Karl Kautsky. Victor Berger visited Debs in jail and left him Marx's Das Capital.

Whether or not Debs became a socialist at that moment—it was a gradual process of thought over several years including when he was an active Populist—there is no doubt that the breakup of the ARU was the final straw and that from that moment on he fought for socialism with his every breath to his death.

The evolution of Debs was typical, not atypical. He had been a former Democratic member of the Indiana Assembly, a strong supporter of populism, and then of Bryan in 1896, after his conversion to socialism.

He was a native American of foreign born parents. He was of the Middle West. He was a trade union fighter.

Debs's road was not only the road followed by hundreds of thousands of workers of his day, but will be followed by millions of American workers in the coming period. He fought as long and as far as he could within the limits of trade union thinking.

But the trade unions were an inadequate weapon against the powerful trusts and the state they controlled.

He was forced to go beyond the limits of trade union consciousness to defend the working class of his day. He turned to socialism

Socialism did not come to him spontaneously out of American conditions. The recognition of the limits of trade unionism came this way. He had to turn to the already existent socialist movement of his day, a product of the much maligned German-American, Jewish, and other immigrants.

Socialism was brought to Debs from the "outside," as Lenin explained it. From that day forward, Debs fought to realize socialism in the very course of the struggles of masses of his fellow workers.

Debs's road was followed by that other giant of the American workers struggle of that period, Big Bill Haywood. Haywood also started out as a worker fighting to build

His bitter experiences under the virtual civil war conditions which prevailed in the mining towns of the West convinced him of the limits of trade unionism. He also turned to socialism and fought all his life for socialism and for industrial unionism.

There was very little difference between Debs and Haywood. Debs took more to public speaking and became a tremendously powerful revolutionary politician, while Haywood continued in the field of union organizing in which both he and Debs

At times they had differences on tactics, but both were very much the products of their period. They expressed a whole movement of the American working class, immigrant and native born, which joined or supported the American Socialist Party.

Both Debs and Haywood were products of the civil war relations between classes which prevailed in that period, itself an expression of the rise of monopoly capital. The Rockefellers stood behind the mining bosses in the hollows of West Virginia and the mountain valleys of Colorado, not just local businessmen. The power of the capitalist state as well as the private armies of the corporations came, bayonets in hand, against the working class.

Eugene V. Debs responded to this

situation in the spirit of the German-American social revolutionaries of 1884 who organized gun clubs. He wrote in 1914:
"The time has come for the United Mine

Workers and the Western Federation of Miners to levy a special monthly assessment to create a Gunman Defense Fund.
"This fund should be sufficient to provide

each member with the latest high-power rifle, the same as used by the corporation gunmen, and 500 rounds of cartridges.

"In addition to this, every district should purchase and equip and man enough Gatling and machine guns to match the equipment of Rockefeller's private army of assassins.

"This suggestion is made advisedly and I hold myself responsible for every word of it.

"If the corporations have the right to recruit and maintain private armies of thieves, thugs, and exconvicts to murder striking workingmen, sack their homes, insult their wives, and roast their babies, then labor unions not only have the right, but it is their solemn duty, to arm themselves to resist these lawless attacks and defend their homes and loved ones...

"Rockefeller's gunmen are simply murderers at large, and you have the same right to kill them when they attack you that you have to kill the burglar who breaks into your house at midnight or the highwayman who holds you up at the point of his pistol.

"Rockefeller's hired assassins have no lawful right that you miners are bound to respect. They are professional man-killers, the lowest and vilest on earth.

"They hire out to break your strike, shoot up your home and kill you, and you should have no more compunction in killing them than if they were so many mad dogs or rattlesnakes that menaced your homes and your community."

Eugene V. Debs, like William D. Haywood, was a revolutionary. He was a man of little theoretical education. He made many mistakes. He was unclear most of the time. But he represented a revolutionary tendency, the most powerful revolutionary tendency to appear within the American working class since its origins.

Masses of American workers answered the rise of monopoly capital by turning to revolution. This is the meaning of the wide support Debs received. This is the source of the bulk of the votes Debs received in elections, whether they came from immigrant Jews in the Lower East Side, Germans in Milwaukee, miners in Colorado, or tenant farmers in Oklahoma.

This is why it would be a great mistake to underestimate the revolutionary tendency within the Socialist Party. Why is it that the reform element within the party could never replace Debs as president candidate? Why did they on so many occasions, as we shall see, speak left in words, only to preserve their reform practice?

This can only be explained by the fact that the overwhelming desire of the Socialist Party membership and supporters, even in reform dominated circles like Milwaukee, New York, and Cleveland, was for socialist revolution.

TO BE CONTINUED



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Eugene V. Debs And The Birth Of The Socialist Party by Tim Wohlforth

This series is a reply to **The Decline Of Socialism in America, 1912-1925,** a book by James Weinstein, **Monthly Review Press,** New York

against these conditions.

The American Socialist Party was very much a product of this particular period—the end of American "exceptionalism" and the beginning of America's quick ascendency to world imperialist master. It represented a sharp break with what had come before, but was unable to master what lie ahead.

It is important in this respect to understand the Populist Movement. The Populists were not just another radical agrarian movement. They represented a desperate and futile struggle of farmers who were being wiped out by the tremendous economic changes taking place in the country. The Populists derived their most powerful support from the tenant farmer and sharecropper. For example, Tom Watson brought together Black and white farmers in the South.

The tremendous economic changes in the country led to the complete collapse of the Populists before the Democratic Party in 1896. By supporting Bryan in that election, the Populist movement was virtually liquidated following the election. While this support to Bryan contributed to the demise, and economic conditions changed to create a bit better situation on the farms, more

central role the working class would play in the future of America. It also removed another "peculiarity" from the American scene. "European" Marxism not only explained the evolution of the American farmer, but masses of American farmers sought to become Marxists.

The evolution of Eugene V. Debs is most important to an understanding of the Socialist Party. Debs began as a trade unionist seeking to confront the problems of the American working class within a trade union framework. At the age of 15, he went to work on the railways. At a somewhat later date, he fought to organize the Brotherhood of Railway Firemen. Then he abandoned craft unionism as futile and led the building of the first industrial union on the railroads, the American Railway Union.

This battle brought Debs to national fame. He led the famous Pullman strike. The strike was extremely effective, with the Pullman workers receiving the support of all railroad workers, who detched any Pullman cars from their trains or refused to run the trains.

But the Pullman strike was completely broken and the American Railway Union smashed when the government intervened



Fraina

Russian Revolution, 1917.



Ree



Palmer Raids



Foster with Mother Jones



In the period following Haymarket, the trade union group around the New York paper Volkszeitung took over leadership of the Socialist Labor Party, predecessor to the Socialist Party. This group was also quite conservative, and while in the past it had blocked with the social revolutionaries factionally against the old leadership, it was certainly not connected with them in spirit. Their main orientation was to capture control of the AFL.

In the course of this work, they did achieve certain successes. They gained control of the New York City Central Labor Council. They then admitted the SLP as a member of the Council. Gompers promptly lifted the charter of the Central Labor Council on the grounds that the SLP was not a trade union and thus could not be a member of the council. It was this position, which F.A. Sorge supported, which Gompers appealed to Engels. Engels felt that Gompers had a point and that the tactic reflected the factional blindness of the new leading circle of the SLP. However, he refused to intervene for the SLP at least formally adhered to Marxism and Gompers was an open opportunist and sworn enemy of Marxism.

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This opposition did not emerge all at once. Three distinct groups in different parts of the country first broke away. There was Victor Berger's group in Milwaukee. It was based primarily on the German speaking section of the city with some following in the English speaking and Polish





sections. It was deeply entrenched in the AFL and would soon control both the AFL of Milwaukee and of the state. At the same time, it was in the process of building a political machine which would dominate the city for many years. Then there was the Jewish Daily Forward group in New York which was deeply involved in trade union work in the garment trades and had considerable strength in the Lower East Side. And finally, there was James Carey's political machine in Haverhill, Mass. which was also trade union based, but which produced the first socialist mayor in any city of signi-

These three groups combined with Eugene V. Debs, the remnants of his American Railway Union, and a group of utopians to launch a new party called the Social

Quite separate from this development. there emerged a new opposition within the SLP headed by Morris Hillquit. He was supported by the remaining trade union forces n New York, Max Hayes in Cleveland, and many others.

This group, which may have even held the majority within the SLP, set up a rival SLP whose convention was held in Rochester, New York. It was known as the Rochester SLP. After considerable factionalism and acrimony, these two groups finally merged in Indianapolis in 1901 forming the Socialist

There are two important aspects of this process which must be noted. First is that these trade union forces from the old SLP were the major ingredient in the new party. These forces were not substantially different in many respects from Gompers. They disagreed on the question of socialism. But they were enmeshed in a trade union existence primarily among the more skilled workers. Many of the leaders of this force-its members were ordinary workers making up the bulk of the working class forces of the new party—were trade union officers and officials. They controlled trade union locals and even internationals, local labor councils, union papers, and the like. They administered the day-to-day functioning of these unions. They wished only to utilize this labor base to develop a socialist political machine to run and even capture elec-

They were as distant as was Gompers from the mass of American workers, immigrant and native, who slaved under brutal conditions across the country. The Hillquits, Bergers, and Max Hayes were no Albert Parsons, August Spies, and not even Big Bill Haywoods or Eugene V. Debs.

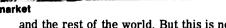
Clearly, they were not unlike their cousins in the German Social Democratic

The split in the SLP was thus a split primarily of right-wing, reform-oriented trade union operators from a doctrinaire centrist party. It was very different from the split led by Parsons, for all its confusion, a decade earlier. This layer was to continue these policies and deepen its positions within the Socialist Party as time passed. The right wing of the SP thus predated even the formal establishment of that party. It reflected trends existent in the international workers movement as well as feeding upon unions—very much a part of American life. The second aspect of this process is also









quite important. As the Social Democracy group evolved in the direction of unity with the Rochester SLP which would create the Socialist Party, it had its own internal struggle.

A whole section of this party were firm believers in colonization. Their aim was to set up utopian communist communities in some Western state. In time, these communities would be numerous enough to seize control of the state government. Then they would establish socialism in one state. This would prove to other Americans that socialism works and other states would capitulate, etc.

This was really a final throwback to the old middle class radicalism the First Internationalists had broken from in 1871. There could be no further development towards a socialist party unless a complete break was made with these forces.

and the rest of the world. But this is necessary to understand its fantastic growth in one period as well as what broke it up in the

The United States from its origins to well after the Civil War was a predominantly agricultural country. It exported agricultural products to industrial Europe. The wealth thus obtained created a home market for its industry. It was this characteristic of the American economy which gave the country its appearance of autarchy, of having a self-sufficient economy. This in turn contributed to the provincial thinking of Americans, an important constituent of its pragmatic outlook.

Great changes in America took place in the quarter century following the Civil War. changes which came sharply to a head in the period from 1896 to 1917—the period of the birth and development of the American final closing of the frontier. Farming still accounted for more than 50 percent of the population, as compared to less than 10 percent today, but the weight of the farmer in the country was greatly reduced and his condition the most miserable in a bleak history.

The situation of the working class was even worse. Large industrial cities had been constructed, made up primarily of immigrant workers living in the worst conditions. The conditions facing the miners of the East and West, the lumberjacks, the migratory workers, and seamen were even

The American working class, unlike the European, was largely unorganized, divided by language, without a political party of its own, preyed upon by completely corrupt politicians, facing fantastic brutality every time an attempt was made to fight back

important were the changes in the country which placed the center of political gravity in the cities and forced farmers to look to the working class for a lead in their struggles. To say, as some authors do, that the

Socialist Party simply captured the agrarian radical vote for a period only to lose it later is to miss the whole point. Agrarian radicalism never again emerged as a national tendency after the demise of the Populists.

The Socialist Party not only won the support of a section of farmers, particularly tenant farmers, but it held this support against the demagogy of both Wilson and Teddy Roosevelt in the 1912 and the 1916 elections.

The turn of a section of poor farmers to the working class movement was a recognition on the part of these farmers of the

central role the working class would play in

the future of America. It also removed

another "peculiarity" from the American

scene. "European" Marxism not only

explained the evolution of the American

farmer, but masses of American farmers

The evolution of Eugene V. Debs is most

important to an understanding of the

Socialist Party. Debs began as a trade

unionist seeking to confront the problems of

the American working class within a trade

union framework. At the age of 15, he went

to work on the railways. At a somewhat

later date, he fought to organize the

Brotherhood of Railway Firemen. Then he

abandoned craft unionism as futile and led

the building of the first industrial union on

the railroads, the American Railway Union.

sought to become Marxists.

with troops and Debs himself was jailed. Debs says that it was in Woodstock Jail

that he decided to become a socialist. There he read some of the Marxist classics and popular pamphlets written by Karl Kautsky. Victor Berger visited Debs in jail and left him Marx's Das Capital. Whether or not Debs became a socialist at

that moment-it was a gradual process of thought over several years including when he was an active Populist—there is no doubt that the breakup of the ARU was the final straw and that from that moment on he fought for socialism with his every breath to

The evolution of Debs was typical, not atypical. He had been a former Democratic member of the Indiana Assembly, a strong supporter of populism, and then of Bryan in 1896, after his conversion to socialism.

He was a native American of foreign born parents. He was of the Middle West. He was a trade union fighter.

Debs's road was not only the road followed by hundreds of thousands of workers of his day, but will be followed by millions of American workers in the coming period. He fought as long and as far as he could within the limits of trade union thinking.

But the trade unions were an inadequate weapon against the powerful trusts and the state they controlled.

He was forced to go beyond the limits of trade union consciousness to defend the working class of his day. He turned to

Socialism did not come to him spontaneously out of American conditions. The recognition of the limits of trade unionism came this way. He had to turn to the already existent socialist movement of his day, a product of the much maligned German-American, Jewish, and other immigrants.

Socialism was brought to Debs from the 'outside," as Lenin explained it. From that day forward, Debs fought to realize socialism in the very course of the struggles of masses of his fellow workers.

Debs's road was followed by that other giant of the American workers struggle of that period, Big Bill Haywood. Haywood also started out as a worker fighting to build

His bitter experiences under the virtual civil war conditions which prevailed in the mining towns of the West convinced him of the limits of trade unionism. He also turned to socialism and fought all his life for socialism and for industrial unionism.

There was very little difference between Debs and Haywood. Debs took more to public speaking and became a tremendously powerful revolutionary politician, while Haywood continued in the field of union organizing in which both he and Debs

At times they had differences on tactics. but both were very much the products of their period. They expressed a whole movement of the American working class, immigrant and native born, which joined or supported the American Socialist Party.

Both Debs and Haywood were products of the civil war relations between classes which prevailed in that period, itself an exression of the rise of monopoly capital. The Rockefellers stood behind the mining bosses in the hollows of West Virginia and the mountain valleys of Colorado, not just local

businessmen. The power of the capitalist state as well as the private armies of the corporations came, bayonets in hand,

against the working class. Eugene V. Debs responded to this situation in the spirit of the German-American social revolutionaries of 1884 who organized gun clubs. He wrote in 1914:

"The time has come for the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners to levy a special monthly assessment to create a Gunman Defense Fund.

"This fund should be sufficient to provide each member with the latest high-power rifle, the same as used by the corporation

gunmen, and 500 rounds of cartridges. "In addition to this, every district should purchase and equip and man enough Gatling and machine guns to match the equipment of Rockefeller's private army of assassins.

"This suggestion is made advisedly and I hold myself responsible for every word of it.

"If the corporations have the right to recruit and maintain private armies of thieves, thugs, and exconvicts to murder striking workingmen, sack their homes, insult their wives, and roast their babies, then labor unions not only have the right, but it is their solemn duty, to arm themselves to resist these lawless attacks and defend their homes and loved ones...

"Rockefeller's gunmen are simply murderers at large, and you have the same right to kill them when they attack you that you have to kill the burglar who breaks into your house at midnight or the highwayman who holds you up at the point of his pistol.

"Rockefeller's hired assassins have no lawful right that you miners are bound to respect. They are professional man-killers. the lowest and vilest on earth.

"They hire out to break your strike, shoot up your home and kill you, and you should have no more compunction in killing them than if they were so many mad dogs or rattlesnakes that menaced your homes and your community.

Eugene V. Debs, like William D. Haywood, was a revolutionary. He was a man of little theoretical education. He made many mistakes. He was unclear most of the time. But he represented a revolutionary tendency, the most powerful revolutionary tendency to appear within the American working class since its origins.

Masses of American workers answered the rise of monopoly capital by turning to revolution. This is the meaning of the wide support Debs received. This is the source of the bulk of the votes Debs received in elections, whether they came from immigrant Jews in the Lower East Side, Germans in Milwaukee, miners in Colorado, or tenant farmers in Oklahoma.

This is why it would be a great mistake to underestimate the revolutionary tendency within the Socialist Party. Why is it that the reform element within the party could never replace Debs as president candidate? Why did they on so many occasions, as we shall see, speak left in words, only to preserve their reform practice?

This can only be explained by the fact that the overwhelming desire of the Socialist Party membership and supporters, even in reform dominated circles like Milwaukee, New York, and Cleveland, was for socialist revolution.

TO BE CONTINUED



Eugene V. Debs And The Birth Of The Socialist Party by Tim Wohlforth

This series is a reply to The Decline Of Socialism in America, 1912-1925, a book by James Weinstein, Monthly Review Press, New



sion. In the course of this bitter struggle, the colonizer group launched attacks on Marxism as an alien European idea. "We are Americans," they proclaimed, "and we shall adopt methods consonant with American habits of thought and of action, and with the genius of American institutions." "We preach no class war," they claimed.

The American socialist movement took its powerful step forward in the formation of the Socialist Party precisely by basing itself on the long struggle for Marxism, largely championed by German Americans, since the 1860s.

Just as when it took its first step under the auspices of Marx, Engels, and the First International, now that it took this decisive second step, it had to confront and break with international ground of Marxism.

All the various books written on the Socialist Party share one common feature. None of them attempt to assess the development of that party in a materialist way. They do not place its development in social forces—the skilled trades the context of the great changes taking place at the time in the United States and in the relationship between the United States

ment. Particularly starting in the 1890s, this produced great monopolies with a stranglehold on every aspect of the American economy. All the power families of today, like Rockefeller, Mellon, and Carnegie have their origins in this period.

Accompanying the development of monopolies, the industrial giants, themselves now dominated by great banking houses. reached out into the world for markets. places for investment and sources for raw materials. By 1900, manufactured goods predominated over agricultural goods in American exports, and American financial investments permeated Latin America and reached other areas. America for the first time launched imperialist adventures not determined by the needs of an agricultural society as was the case with the Mexican-American War. The Spanish-American War marked this turning point.

Needless to say, this brought about fantastic changes within the country. Masses of farmers were driven off the land and millions of those who remained on the land were reduced to tenant farming and sharecropping

This occurred at the same time as the

against these conditions.

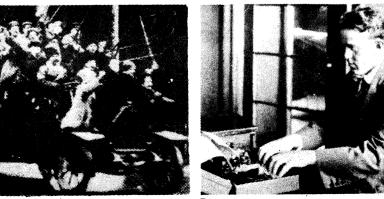
The American Socialist Party was very much a product of this particular period—the end of American "exceptionalism" and the beginning of America's quick ascendency to world imperialist master. It represented a sharp break with what had come before, but was unable to master what lie ahead.

It is important in this respect to understand the Populist Movement. The Populists were not just another radical agrarian movement. They represented a desperate and futile struggle of farmers who were being wiped out by the tremendous economic changes taking place in the country. The Populists derived their most powerful support from the tenant farmer and sharecropper. For example, Tom Watson brought together Black and white

The tremendous economic changes in the country led to the complete collapse of the strike was extremely effective, with the Populists before the Democratic Party in 1896. By supporting Bryan in that election, the Populist movement was virtually liquidated following the election. While this support to Bryan contributed to the demise, and economic conditions changed to create a bit better situation on the farms, more

This battle brought Debs to national fame He led the famous Pullman strike. The Pullman workers receiving the support of all railroad workers, who detched any Pullman cars from their trains or refused to run the trains.

But the Pullman strike was completely broken and the American Railway Union







Foster with Mother Jones

















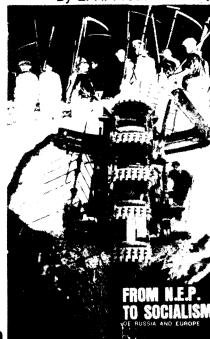
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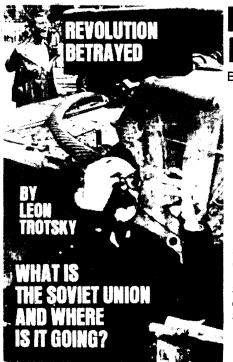
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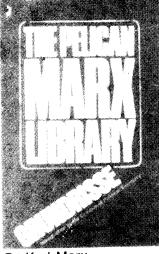
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Flinkote Workers Get Restraining Order



Security dog and trucks at Flinkote flooring plant.

BY L.A. MARTIN

CHILLICOTHE, Ohio—A restraining order has been issued, limiting pickets at the striking Flintkote flooring plant here to three men per entrance.

The order was prompted after the pickets attempted to protect their jobs, by not allowing company officials to remove equipment.

"The company started hauling out machinery as soon as the strike started," said Floyd Edler, president of Local 666, United Rubber Workers.

"We were following the rules of strikes, and not keeping people from entering. But some of the fellows blocked the way when the company started to take out all the machinery in the building."

Edler said the men were not violent, but were angry at the possibility of the plant's shutting down. "You can't blame them for that," he said.

The entire 108-man hourly work force walked out at the contract end deadline on February 19.

Edler told the Bulletin the prime concerns of Local 666 were maintaining the incentive plan, and obtaining a more adequate pension plan.

INCENTIVE

Flintkote has done away with a piece-work incentive plan, which amounts to as much as a 50 percent pay cut for some workers. Edler said the union has asked for a substantial pay increase, but the company

refused to talk about any of the monetary demands.

The pension plan now offered by Flintkote provides a pro-rated payment schedule, based on years worked, and old contracts covering past years. A 65-year old worker who retired with 13 years service, under the present plan, receives 42 dollars per month.

NOTHING

"Fellows who hired in lately don't have to worry so much about pensions, but men with 14 or 15 years, thinking of retiring, have nothing," said Edler.

The previous contract also provided a cost of living increase, based on the Cost of Living Index. Management has refused to continue this practice, beyond an eight cent cap.

COST OF LIVING

"In the last two years, the cost of living increase has amounted to a 31 cent increase in our hourly wages," said a worker. "The company figures the cost of living increase from before should be enough that they don't have to give us a raise. The cost of living goes up more than eight cents per hour in one month," he said.

"It's bad enough being on strike," another worker told the Bulletin, "but the company was taking equipment out, too."

BENEFITS

Workers will receive \$25 per week in strike benefits when the required time limit is up, but presently receive nothing. Many tried to obtain food stamps or aid from the Ross County Welfare Department, but were refused.

'They told us we'd just have to

starve to death," said a worker. He was told he was ineligible for food stamps because he owned a car.

"I worked to raise my children, and I feel I should have something now that my children are grown," another worker said. He too was denied assistance because of "luxury" items he owned.

"They told me I had too much money in the bank," said another. His savings, necessary because of the miniscule pension plan, has denied him assistance during the strike.

INSURANCE

The insurance plan offered by Flintkote, Blue Cross, is agreeable to most of the workers, but the company is trying to change the policy-type plan to a contract plan. This would deny workers some insurance benefits.

Negotiations began Thursday, but workers were doubtful of any settlement.

"I don't think anything will come of it; the people from the company don't have any power. All the real decisions are made in Rutherford, N.J."

Workers are worried about the effects of a long-term strike. "Before, during the previous strike, jobs were plentiful, but now it's not the same," said a worker.

Flintkote, aware of the unemployment situation in the Midwest, and especially in the conservative, southeastern Ohio area, is attempting to starve the workers back into the plant, at slave conditions.

"We have to stick together, and help each other," said one worker. "All working people have to get together."

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midwest news Miners Defy Miller Order To End Strike

BY DAVID NORTH McDOWELL COUN-TY, W. Va., Mar.6-Thousands of miners are continuing their strike against Nixon's energy policies, defying numerous back-to-work orders issued by United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller.

In the small town of Welch, where the first walkout began nearly two weeks ago, miners rejected Governor Arch Moore's "compromise" in his original fuel rationing plan in which the sale of gas was prohibited to customers with more than a quarter of a tank.

Miners declared that they were not satisfied with his offer to lift that restriction on miners travelling more than 250 miles per week. They charged that it was a gimmick designed to end the strike and repeated their demand for a total rescinding of the order.

The vicious tactics being employed by the government to force the men back was exposed Tuesday when miners were told that they would not be eligible for food stamps because their strike violates contract agreements and has not been authorized by the UMW International.

FOOD STAMPS

"We were pretty teed off when we heard that," miner Ayres Belcher told the Bulletin. "They just said that nobody will get food stamps.'

He said that West Virginia authorities were telling miners that they would have to obtain special stickers from the police just to obtain the exemption allowed by Moore.

Pickets have been set up outside the Maitland mine in Welch.

There is growing bitterness among the miners against the Miller bureaucracy which refuses to give either leadership or support to the strike.

Miller's treacherous role in this strike is the sharpest expression of the right-wing policies he is pursuing in relation to the struggle of miners throughout the country.

He has announced his support for the closing of 500 small coal mines on March 30 which will cost about 6000 unorganized miners in eastern Kentucky their jobs.

The government has suddently decided to enforce the provisions of the 1969 Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act as an excuse to shut the mines. Nixon and the coal operators have never shown the slightest interest in the lives of miners.

Of course, the government does not demand that the coal operators make the expenditures necessary to place the mines in working order.

Miller lines up with Nixon to support these shutdowns in order fight to unionize eastern Ken-

Miners are resisting this attempt to destroy their jobs. The government is preparing violence against the miners in order to enforce the shutdown.

Jack M. Day, head of the Interior Department's Mine Enforcement and Safety Administration, has asked the Justice Department to escort safety inspectors certifying the shutdowns with armed federal mar-

Miller's decision to drop the organizing campaign in eastern Kentucky is reflected in his handling of the eight-month-old Harlan strike of the Brookside and Bailey's Creek mines.

SUBSTITUTE

The \$100 per week payments to the striking miners is being used as a substitute for the mobilization of the full strength of the UMW behind the Harlan miners through a national strike aimed against the strike-breaking Nixon government.

The courts have once again imposed restrictions on picketing and 12 workers, including union organizer Houston Ellmore, must appear in court Monday to show cause why they should not be cited in contempt for violating the order.

Miners in McDowell County, who are familiar with the Harlan strike like most UMW members, accuse Miller of preparing a sell-out.

'I would call the \$100 a week nothing but hush money," said Welch miner Thurman Burke. "Miller's getting ready to let them down."

UMW members must demand that Miller act now in support of all miners fighting Nixon and the coal bosses by calling a Congress of Labor to force Nixon's resignation by uniting all workers in a labor party pledged to socialist policies.



West Virginia miners out on strike against Nixon's energy policies

Overdrive Calls May Shutdown

BY A REPORTER CHICAGO, I11.

—In a move openly calculated to head off another nationwide shutdown by independent truckers, members of some 27 truckers groups met here to launch the National Independent Truckers Unity Committee.

In its first statement, the NITUC called on truckers to ignore the May 13 strike date set by Michael Parkhurst in Overdrive magazine.

The NITUC is claiming to "give a unified voice" to the nation's 150,000 independent truckers. Among the organizations which are founding members are the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers, the Kentucky and Indiana Independent Truckers Association, the Council of Independent Truckers, the Aloo group from California, and the Owners and Drivers Club of

The conference was controlled throughout by the fiveman committee that negotiated the sellout deal with William Simon and ended the 12 day shutdown last month. William J. Hill, president of FASH, was elected temporary chairman. He centered the committee's discussion on an attack on Parkhurst, who had denounced the Washington agreement and Hill, who had led the negotiations.

Parkhurst a "Would-be dictator," and urged truckers to ignore the May 13 strike date set by him.

The policies of this leadership, far from uniting and strengthening the truckers, have already been rejected by most truckers as being completely in-

The bitter battles in the regional organizations were very much a part of the conference this weekend, which began with an extended credentials fight.

George Rynn, who was ousted as president of the Council of Independent Truckers for supporting Hill's settlement, was denied credentials, and then later seated as president of the Ohio Owners and Drivers Club. In spite of the split in the CIT, new president Charles Piazza did lead the group into the new organization.

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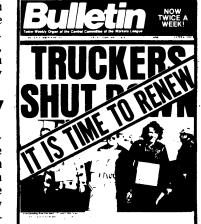
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Cops Told:

BY DOROTHY WRIGHT

DAYTON, Ohio —Black politicians, policemen, Black capitalists and nationalists are trying to whip up a law and order hysteria in the aftermath of the robbery-shooting of a former civil rights leader and the killing of a policeman in a shootout that took place after the robbery.

W.S. McIntosh, a store owner, who was preparing to open a gift shop in the downtown area, tried to stop fleeing robbers from an adjacent jewelry store when he was shot and killed. A posse of police carrying riot guns and detectives followed the sus-

pects into a working class housing project and conducted a shootout with the suspects, endangering the lives of neighbors and children.

Leading the law and order campaign is C.J. McLin, reactionary Black state representative and Democratic party whip for the Gilligan machine.

McLIN

McLin is a big business supporter, a large slum real estate operator and funeral home director, and had been bitterly opposed at one time by McIntosh. McLin declared after the shootings: "Some of the neigh-bors out there said they're coming in to gun people down. Well I'm just telling those neighbors, we need them to gun them down if they're lawbreakers ... no longer are we going to protect lawbreakers wherever they

At a public meeting McLin

brazenly called for "shakedowns" in the schools and in the factories, in addition to a gun control law. Black policemen who spoke at the meeting made it clear they intended to follow this lead and shoot down suspects.

Police Major Tyree Broomfield tried to blame the crime on the people themselves who came to the meeting to find out what they could do. He arrogantly declared: "We know who the hoodlums are in our community.

"We know who are the cutthroats and the rogues. Because each of us here has one in his family, and if you say you don't you're lying. And so I challenge you tonight, to get your rogue, get your cutthroat, and keep him home."

Nationalist leaders at the meeting, who refuse ' to take up a fight for jobs, could only impotently call for the people to vote themselves tax increases to fund rehabilitation programs and more police.

SWP And The Sears Strike

The Socialist Workers Party, which broke from the world Trotskyist movement in 1963, turning its back on Marxism in favor of middle class protest movements of the 1960s, now enters the labor movement through the bureaucracy in order to bring middle class protest politics into the working class.

Protest politics is a means of breaking the forward movement of the working class, diverting it from the struggle against the government and the capitalist class into pressuring the ruling class for reforms. Today, reforms are no longer possible and protest politics disarm the working class and pave the way for defeats.

Sections of the trade union bureaucracy, thrown up against the wall by the breakdown of the old relations of compromise with the employers and the state and under tremendous pressure from the ranks, turn to the methods of protest taken from the movements of the 1960s to cover their refusal to fight the capitalist class.

They turn to the SWP revisionists and the Stalinists, who give them a left cover, and these forces, in the name of Marxism, serve the bureaucracy willingly.

Nowhere has the SWP so openly come to the support of the bureaucracy than in the bitter six month strike by retail clerks against Sears in San Francisco.

The SWP has opened up the pages of **The Militant** to glorify the protests organized by Walter Johnson, president of striking Local 1100.

The trade union leadership in San Francisco has stood by for months and watched the Sears clerks being isolated as one union after another involved in the strike went back to work and crossed the clerks' pickets lines.

The first big blow was the settlement reached by the Teamster Warehousemen several months ago. The Teamster leadership forced the men back without any improvement in medical benefits, the main demand of the strike.

Sears had mobilized masses of police to harass and intimidate the Teamster strikers. Rather than call on the strength of the labor movement in the Bay Area to answer these attacks, the leadership caved in.

The reopening of the warehouses severely weakened the ability of the clerks to hurt Sears. Johnson made no moves to rally the Teamster ranks against this betrayal. He maintained ranks with his fellow bureaucrats.

Just recently, the machinists returned to work with the same sellout as the one accepted by the Teamsters. Johnson once again made no attempt to fight this betrayal.

The SWP has never put forward a policy of its own for the strike. It has simply followed Johnson. Not once has the SWP mentioned the question of a political struggle against the government and a labor party in connection with the strike. In fact, they have consciously kept politics completely out of the strike.

The SWP's support for Johnson is not an exception. The SWP uncritically supports Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers.

Miller has turned viciously against the miners striking for union recognition in Harlan County, Kentucky and the 21,000 miners in the coal belt around West Virginia who are wildcatting against the government's fuel policy.

In the same way, the SWP has joined with the Stalinists to boost Cesar Chavez's reactionary boycott, which was instituted by Chavez last summer after he called off the strike against the growers and Teamsters.

Chavez at that time attacked UFW members for their "violence" against the police and goon squads of the growers.

Today, the Sears workers have behind them a massive movement which is developing in the unions to smash the inflation and unemployment being unleashed by Nixon and the big corporations.

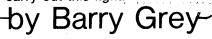
In San Francisco, the city workers have voted overwhelmingly to go on strike against liberal Democratic Mayor Alioto, who is arrogantly offering between 2 and 5.5 percent in wage increases.

The Sears workers must demand the Teamsters and machinists rejoin the strike and shut down all deliveries to the warehouses. Mass picketing must be organized, in defiance of court injunctions limiting picketing, to shut down the stores permanently.

Johnson must call for a citywide general strike, bringing together the city workers and Sears workers, to defend trade unionism in San Francisco.

This offensive must be taken forward politically, with the call for a Congress of Labor to launch general strike action nationally to force Nixon out and build a labor party to replace him.

Sears workers must join the Workers League and the TUALP to build the alternative revolutionary leadership to Johnson which will carry out this fight.





Sears workers supported by many San Francisco unions in a recent march.

Southgate GM Faces Two Week Closure

BY DENNIS BREHM SOUTHGATE—The General Motors plant here is shut down for another two weeks

again.

Last week, another 80 workers were laid off for an "indefinite" period. This brings the total number of layoffs to over 2000. Some of the recently laid off had as many as 10 years seniority.

Production will begin again for one week on March 18. The plant will be open only every other week until the middle of April when GM will shut it down until the end of August. At that time, the 1975 Vega Apollo will begin production at the plant.

At the recent union meeting of UAW Local 216, the leadership joined with GM in spreading the illusion that people with only one or two years seniority will be hired back.

A member of the local explained why this would not

happen, however: "They are putting in Univac welders. They are completely computerized and automatic.

"All it takes is one guy pushing buttons. It could cut the 100 men doing manual welding now down to a dozen.

FINISHERS

"They already said the 25 metal finishers will be eliminated altogether. These guys are lying to the workers that they will get their jobs back"

A report given on unemployment payments at the union meeting revealed that 150 to 200 workers had been disqualified from their unemployment insurance and Supplementary Unemployment Benefits.

The state is intimidating laid off workers by sending them for jobs which pay way under their previous wages. When they refuse to report to these jobs, they are disqualified by the unemployment office.

One worker whose friend was cut off from benefits said: "I won't take a job at \$2.50 an hour either. It's just another way Reagan and Nixon are cutting down our paychecks."

Miners Shut Down Sunshine Silver Mine

BY A REPORTER KELLOGG, Idaho— Miners have shut down the Sunshine Silver Mine near here in a wildcat strike over wages and safety.

The strike of 400 members of Local 5089 of the United Steel Workers of America was spearheaded by 100 contract miners (men who work on piece-rate) who walked out Monday morning, February 28.

In May, 1972, 91 miners were killed in a flash fire caused by company negligence. According to the strikers, the mine is still in violation of a federal order which allowed it to reopen after the fire.

SILVER

The Sunshine Mine is the largest silver mine in the United States. While silver prices have skyrocketed in just a year from \$1.75 an ounce to \$6.00 an ounce, and the company's profits are bloated, the pay of the miners has not even kept up with inflation

Only a year ago, the Sunshine Mine was shut down over wages and safety, after the company demanded a cut in piece-rate for contract miners. Among the demands was a cost of living escalator tied to the price of silver.

LEADERSHIP

The union leadership was forced to make the strike official last year after the workers unanimously rejected a compromise offer. Now the bureaucracy is refusing to sanction any strike at all.

FBI Hints Campaign To Question Youth

BY A REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The FBI is preparing to begin a dragnet against left-wing groups in connection with the SLA kidnapping of Patricia Hearst.

Press reports are spreading rumors that the FBI knows of Patricia Hearst's whereabouts, although the San Francisco office of the FBI denies this.

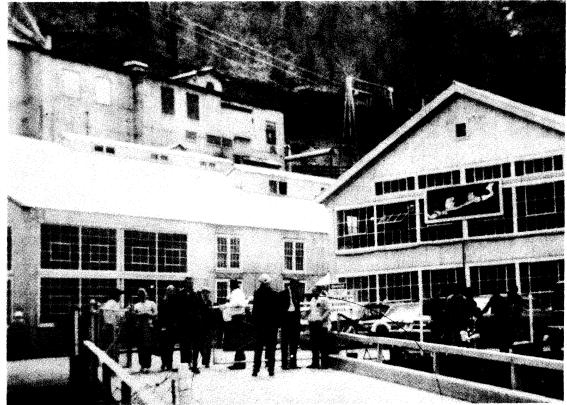
When asked if the FBI has formulated a "hard line" plan for the kidnap investigation, including picking up suspects for interrogation, John Kelly, assistant special agent in charge of the San Francisco office of the FBI, said: "We're still a little way away from any plans of that nature."

It has been two weeks since the SLA last communicated with Hearst. At that time, they threatened to break off all communications unless Hearst added four million dollars more to the free food program.

PLEDGED

Hearst pledged to add the money, provided his daughter was released unharmed.

Lawyers for Russell Little and Joseph Remiro, who are being held in San Quentin charged with the murder of Oakland School Superintendent Marcus Foster, have filed habeas corpus briefs charging that the alleged SLA members are being systematically mistreated by prison officials.



Sunshine Silver Mine in Kellog, Idaho, shut down by strike. See page 10.

Gas Diverted From LA

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—"It's bad. It wasn't this bad during World War Two and I went through that.

"We had rationing on every thing-sugar, salt, and so on. But it wasn't this way," said Sidney Scott, a cement mason from San Pedro, while waiting in line for gasoline.

'There are millions of gallons of fuel stored, so why should we have to go through this, when we are supposed to be the richest country in the world? A depression is on its way.'

Tens of thousands of car owners in this area were angered to learn this week that tankers containing fuel were diverted from the LA harbor because all the storage facilities here are full.

are open, the lines stretch for many blocks, forcing many to wait as long as three hours for a few dollars of gas.

In this city, where virtually no mass transit exists, lines begin forming as early as five in the morning, before the work day begins.

Shirley Patrick, a housewife said: "It's strange that this just came up from nowhere. If Nixon is impeached, it would take the rest of his term to get him out.

'Why not just remove him? I think the labor movement should do it. If they would nationalize the oil, that would solve the problems.

"Nixon is moving into a dictatorship. He's done nothing for the poor people.

WAGES

"The food prices go up, but he At the few gas stations that won't raise the wages. We know

that the US is supposed to be one of the richest countries, so why would we have to go to another country to get oil when we have more than enough here?

James Hays, a Los Angeles County supervisor told the Bulletin that the matter of the diverted oil tanks was being referred to the District Attorney's office because, "under emergency conditions the DA has the authority to investigate.'

Most Californians are unaware that they are living under a state of emergency which began when the California State Emergency Act was implemented in order to impose the odd-even gas plan which began last week.

The act gives Governor Ronald Reagan broad power to "conserve fuel" and requires no approval from the voters.

Cops Rally To Nazis At Board Of Ed Fight

BY ANN LORE

SAN FRANCISCO-Police defended the fascists of the Nazi Party when they showed up at the Board of Education meeting Tuesday night.

It was the last meeting on integration, so a decision could be made to implement a policy for next year.

The four members of the National Socialist White People's Party entered quietly, three men natural way to fly." one woman, all in uniform, by their special side entrance with the police having cleared a whole section of the audience for their protection. They were immediately greeted by the bourgeois press, who hovered over them like celebrities.

Within a few minutes, an older worker stood up and started shouting about the Nazis and then he and his wife ran out.

Mr. Koerpel spoke briefly to the press saying: "If they show up, we should leave. They have no right to speak.

"They represent genocide. They destroyed my family."

At 10 pm, Norm Vincent, representing the Nazis, was called to speak. While he was addressing the Board, three of whose members left the stage, a member of the Jewish Defense League jumped up shouting "never again" and grabbed Vincent and tried to drag him down.

Immediately, over 20 police

jumped on the JDL member. The tactical squad also charged in from the side doors where they were waiting in hiding for any opportunity to move. The JDL member was dragged out and arrested.

Even after this near riot. Vincent was allowed to finish speaking. He called integration "madness" and said that "segregation of the species is the

The board has repeatedly on four separate occasions used police and done everything possible to side with the Nazis and their racist propaganda, while they have violated every federal law and court order for integration of the schools.

Mr. Mitchell, who spoke early in the evening, said the female Nazi member worked for the San Francisco Police Department.

ELECTRICAL

After the explosion, Mike Schneider, who is vice-president of the Electrical Workers Union. spoke against the Nazis: "It is revolting to see these Nazis here." He did not, however, speak in his union capacity or say what should be done about it.

In its past history, the labor movement has rallied to smash the fascists whenever they put their swastikas in the open. The labor movement must prepare immediately to mobilize its

ranks whenever the Nazis appear again. They are traveling throughout the country now speaking to Governors on the energy crisis.

gration plan which the board is considering, President Hopp's compromise to all those who

The plan assigns children by race and puts almost the total burden of travel on minority youth. For the tenth grade, only Blacks and Chinese would be bused

Meanwhile, the final inte-"compromise solution," is a

oppose busing for integration.

est coastnews City Ranks **Demand SF General Strike**

FRANCIS-SAN CO-Over 2000 city workers in three overflowing meeting rooms voted 9 to 1 to reject the city's latest offer of a 2 to 5 percent wage increase.

Members of the Service Employees International Union, which represents four locals, Local 250 hospital workers, Local 66A janitorial workers, Local 535 social workers, and Local 400 clerks, came to the meeting to vote strike and were angered to find that the ballot read: "I reject the board of supervisors recommendation."

DISGUST

One worker expressed his disgust: "This is a carte blanche for the leaders to do what they want. We want a strike vote.'

The leadership monopolized the Monday night meeting, introducing one another and blaming the sellout in 1970 on the membership's poor attendance at meetings in order to cover their own role in pulling pickets down in order to make a deal with Mayor Alioto after a four day strike in 1970.

Members, restless to get the floor at their own meeting, began yelling out to Tim Toomey of hospital Local 250 who is cochairman of Labor for Alioto: "What about your support for Alioto? What have you got to say about that?"

The bureaucracy clearly was not prepared to offer any leadership for a strike against Alioto and the city. Only 2000 ballots were printed and many were unable to vote. No date or time was set then for a strike.

STOP

When ballots were passed out in an attempt to stop members from speaking, workers grabbed the microphone to discuss how the strike was to be won.

"I want the waterfront tied up, the Muni, all of transportation.

Another worker added: "When we go out this time, it's not going to be like 1970. This time, we're going to stay out until we get what we went out for.'

Additional workers who had lined up to speak were cut off by Toomey who called for a vote to begin balloting and cut off any further discussion.

SUPPORT

At a special closed meeting of 20 AFL-CIO unions and Teamsters, the San Francisco Central Labor Council pledged full support to the strike unless the board of supervisors enters serious negotiations to improve the wage package.

A meeting of the city workers strike committee Tuesday night voted to dispatch pickets to the docks, the airport, the schools, and the Muni barns. All of these unions have stated they will respect the city workers picket

The SEIU bureaucracy is still seeking a compromise with the city. Jerry Hipps, head of Local 400, was interviewed by a TV reporter and said they would accept 7.5 percent and a dental

John Crowley, head of the San Francisco Labor Council has asked Alioto to mediate.

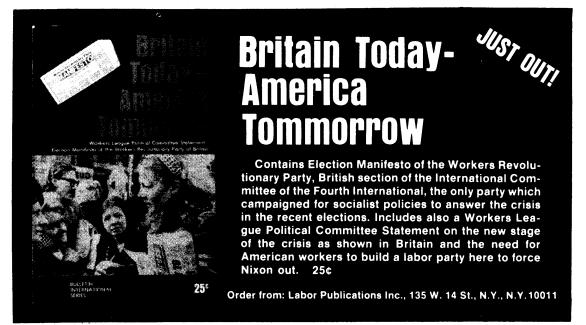
EVACUATE

Already the city has begun a witch-hunt in anticipation of a strike. News reports on radio told of plans to evacuate city hospitals in the event of a strike.

This strike must be the first step in a general strike to rally the entire labor movement to force Nixon out.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is organizing a new leadership in the SEIU around a program of total shutdown of the city: for the full \$80 a month across the board; no compromises; a dental plan; and no layoffs or cuts, which have been announced by the city.

A strategy to win this strike must begin with a complete renunciation of any support to Alioto and for a campaign to construct a labor party to defend the rights of the entire labor move-



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

·lucía rivera·

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BY DAVID NORTH

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But the real face of this government has been already revealed as it seeks to avoid repealing the wage controls, the state of emergency declared by the Tories, and all the anti-union laws imposed since 1970.

Wilson has no policies to meet the crisis other than further attacks on the living standards of workers. He is now depending upon a loan from the International Monetary Fund-the bulwark of world capitalism-to shore up the British pound which now faces collapse.

However, the IMF has made clear that it will grant this loan only if Wilson proves that he is prepared to carry out the policies outlined by Heath.

"This condition rules out any new nationalization plans so beloved by the Labour Party's left," declared one capitalist newspaper. "It also calls for budget and price and wage restraints. No one wants to lend to a spendthrift.'

These developments demonstrate that the general election held last week in Britain has not

resolved any of the fundamental class issues posed by the intensifying crisis of British and world capitalism.

While the election of Labour and the repudiation of the Tories expressed the tremendous power of the working class, the election was the product of an international crisis and was the democratic mask of the capitalists' preparation for civil war against the working class.

The election itself was a moment in a struggle of classes which is continuous. The electoral process shifts the ground and changes the relation of political forces under which revolutionary struggles must now

The most decisive task confronting the British working class is the construction of a revolutionary leadership as the alternative to the Wilson government through the struggle to unite workers around the fight for 'socialist policies. The new Labour government will be one of treachery and crisis. It fears above all the movement of the working class.

MAJORITY

At the same time, with no Parliamentary party having a majority to carry out its attacks on the working class, the capitalists now prepare to move through the ultra-right wing movement set up by Enoch Powell in the midst of the election. The fact that Powell broke with Heath during the election demonstrates that the capitalists decided before the vote that a dictatorial and fascist movement must be built to take on the working class.

The intervention of the

Workers Revolutionary Party in this campaign laid the basis for uniting millions of workers around the fight for socialist policies against the attacks planned by the Labour government, Tories, and big business.

At the same time, the nine candidates of the WRP who ran for selected seats spoke before thousands of workers explaining the enormous dangers posed by the economic and political crisis.

EMERGENCE

The Workers Revolutionary Party also warned that the emergence of Enoch Powell as the leading ultra-right force shows that the ruling class is now turning toward building a new movement to smash the working class. Powell did not support the Tories and voted Labour only to win over sections of backward workers to his demagogic policies while preparing to build an ultra-right movement independent of the Tories.

Powell sees the breakup of the two-party system and the confusion of broad sections of the middle class expressed in the vote for the Liberal Party.

"This isn't a swing to liberalism," declared WRP general secretary Gerry Healy at an election eve speech at a rally in support of candidate Vanessa Redgrave. "These are disoriented and enraged sections of the middle class. A vote for the Liberals today could well be a vote for the ultra-right Powellite movement tomorrow...

"The two-party system is breaking up. The conflict will be between the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Powellite movement. As the struggle unfolds, nobody will be able to occupy a middle-of-the-road position.

Revolutionary struggles will now unfold in Britain as workers must defend their living standards and basic rights against a treacherous reformist government working with the Tories, big business and the mili-

NIXON. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

by the middle of the year, he vetoed a bill to roll back oil prices and was supported by the Senate. He denounced a provision of the bill which would have given special benefits to workers laid off because of "energy related" problems.

Nixon has declared open solidarity not only with criminals like Haldeman and Ehrlichman, but with murderers such as Lieutenant Calley, the man who led the massacre of innocent Vietnamese villagers. Nixon has now pardoned Calley and allowed him his freedom.

If allowed to remain in office, unleashing an inflation without precedent in history. Food prices will triple in the next year, while workers will be forced to pay for Nixon's trade war against Europe and Japan through brutal speedup in the plants and unemployment.

Yesterday Judge Sirica proposed to the Committee lawyers that the impeachment inquiry be postponed until after the trials September 9. Doar and Nixon lawyer James St. Clair protested on the grounds that they are both united on the need to bring the matter to an end.

In this situation, why does the leadership of the AFL-CIO remain silent?

Will the trade union leadership allow the secret report on Nixon's involvement in the Watergate coverup to be buried behind the doors of the courts and Congress? Will they allow Nixon to move ahead with more unemployment and inflation?

Every worker must demand in his union that the AFL-CIO answer these indictments by demanding that mass rallies be organized in every city to demand the report be made public and that Nixon resign now.

The labor unions must mobilize millions of workers in a campaign to force Nixon out. This must begin with the calling of a Congress of Labor to prepare general strike action and construct a labor party as an alternative party to the Democrats and Republicans.

The immediate party must be to nationalize all basic industries, food corporations, and the oil monopolies under workers control to stop inflation and provide jobs for all.

AMERICA

American workers now enter into decisive political struggle against Nixon as a revolutionary situation unfolds in England. Similar conditions are being prepared in the US because events in England flow from the international crisis which is centered in this country.

We must prepare for these developments by building the Workers League and Young Socialists as rapidly as possible.

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These developments demonstrate that the general election held last week in Britain has not

resolved any of the fundamental class issues posed by the intensifying crisis of British and world capitalism.

While the election of Labour and the repudiation of the Tories expressed the tremendous power of the working class, the election was the product of an international crisis and was the democratic mask of the capitalists' preparation for civil war against the working class.

The election itself was a moment in a struggle of classes which is continuous. The electoral process shifts the ground and changes the relation of political forces under which revolutionary struggles must now occur.

The most decisive task confronting the British working class is the construction of a revolutionary leadership as the alternative to the Wilson government through the struggle to unite workers around the fight for socialist policies. The new Labour government will be one of treachery and crisis. It fears above all the movement of the working class.

MAJORITY

At the same time, with no Parliamentary party having a majority to carry out its attacks on the working class, the capitalists now prepare to move through the ultra-right wing movement set up by Enoch Powell in the midst of the election. The fact that Powell broke with Heath during the election demonstrates that the capitalists decided before the vote that a dictatorial and fascist movement must be built to take on the working class.

The intervention of the

Workers Revolutionary Party in this campaign laid the basis for uniting millions of workers around the fight for socialist policies against the attacks planned by the Labour government, Tories, and big business.

At the same time, the nine candidates of the WRP who ran for selected seats spoke before thousands of workers explaining the enormous dangers posed by the economic and political crisis.

EMERGENCE

The Workers Revolutionary Party also warned that the emergence of Enoch Powell as the leading ultra-right force shows that the ruling class is now turning toward building a new movement to smash the working class. Powell did not support the Tories and voted Labour only to win over sections of backward workers to his demagogic policies while preparing to build an ultra-right movement independent of the Tories

Powell sees the breakup of the two-party system and the confusion of broad sections of the middle class expressed in the vote for the Liberal Party.

"This isn't a swing to liberalism," declared WRP general secretary Gerry Healy at an election eve speech at a rally in support of candidate Vanessa Redgrave. "These are disoriented and enraged sections of the middle class. A vote for the Liberals today could well be a vote for the ultra-right Powellite movement tomorrow...

"The two-party system is breaking up. The conflict will be between the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Powellite movement. As the struggle unfolds, nobody will be able to occupy a middle-of-the-road position.

Revolutionary struggles will now unfold in Britain as workers must defend their living standards and basic rights against a treacherous reformist government working with the Tories, big business and the mili-

NIXON. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

by the middle of the year, he vetoed a bill to roll back oil prices and was supported by the Senate. He denounced a provision of the bill which would have given special benefits to workers laid off because of "energy related" problems.

Nixon has declared open solidarity not only with criminals like Haldeman and Ehrlichman, but with murderers such as Lieutenant Calley, the man who led the massacre of innocent Vietnamese villagers. Nixon has now pardoned Calley and allowed him his freedom.

If allowed to remain in office, Nixon has every intention of unleashing an inflation without precedent in history. Food prices will triple in the next year, while workers will be forced to pay for Nixon's trade war against Europe and Japan through brutal speedup in the plants and unemployment.

Yesterday Judge Sirica proposed to the Committee lawyers that the impeachment inquiry be postponed until after the trials September 9. Doar and Nixon lawyer James St. Clair protested on the grounds that they are both united on the need to bring the matter to an end.

In this situation, why does the leadership of the AFL-CIO remain silent?

Will the trade union leadership allow the secret report on Nixon's involvement in the Watergate coverup to be buried behind the doors of the courts and Congress? Will they allow Nixon to move ahead with more unemployment and inflation?

Every worker must demand in his union that the AFL-CIO answer these indictments by demanding that mass rallies be organized in every city to demand the report be made public and that Nixon resign now.

The labor unions must mobilize millions of workers in a campaign to force Nixon out. This must begin with the calling of a Congress of Labor to prepare general strike action and construct a labor party as an alternative party to the Democrats and Republicans.

The immediate task of this party must be to nationalize all basic industries, food corporations, and the oil monopolies under workers control to stop inflation and provide jobs for all.

AMERICA

American workers now enter into decisive political struggle against Nixon as a revolutionary situation unfolds in England. Similar conditions are being prepared in the US because events in England flow from the international crisis which is centered in this country.

We must prepare for these developments by building the Workers League and Young Socialists as rapidly as possible.

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