

# Bulletin

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

NOW  
TWICE A  
WEEK!

HC-COVER  
MAR. 19, 1974  
INSTITUTION

VOLUME TEN NUMBER TWENTY 356

TUESDAY, MARCH 12, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

# SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE



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**BY THE EDITORS**  
**SAN FRANCISCO,**  
March 11—The strike of city workers with the support of the teachers and MUNI drivers has shut down this city in a virtual general strike.

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This morning, pickets forced the Bay Area Rapid Transit System (BART) to shut down, the only transportation left in the city. BART workers are members of the same union as city workers, the Service Employees International Union.

This strike, the most powerful since the 1934 general strike, explodes at the same time as the Lordstown auto workers are on strike in Ohio and 26,000 miners in West Virginia are out against Nixon's energy policies.

In the middle of this strike wave, the Workers League and Young Socialists are building a march in San Francisco on March 16 that will take forward this strike movement in the only way possible—through a political struggle against Nixon and the government.

Our marches will raise the demand that the unions unite the strength of the working class in a campaign for a general strike to

force Nixon out and to build a labor party against both the Democrats and Republicans. The San Francisco march will take place as workers and youth are assembling in Washington and Chicago as part of a nationwide campaign to construct the revolutionary leadership within the unions to carry this out.

These strikes are an open political challenge to the Nixon government and its wage control policies. The San Francisco city workers are demonstrating the power that the entire labor movement can now bring forward against Nixon.

The upsurge of these strikes exposes Nixon's great weakness before the masses of people. Never has the working class had a greater opportunity to throw this rotten government out.

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(Continued On Page 12)

## Workers League Launches Election Campaign

**See Page 5**  
**Helen Halyard To Run In  
12th Congressional District  
(Bedford-Stuyvesant)**



## ALL OUT MARCH 16! MARCH ON WASHINGTON

### FORCE NIXON OUT!

**Jobs Now!  
Build A Labor Party!**

Assemble: Malcolm X Park  
Rally: Lafayette Square

#### Chicago

Assemble: Sherman Park  
(Garfield & Loomis)  
Rally: Ogden Park

#### San Francisco

Assemble: Dolores Park  
Rally: Union Square





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## Meany Offers His Services

Nixon is able to remain in power, defying any attempt to investigate or impeach him, only because of the refusal of the AFL-CIO leadership of George Meany to mobilize the labor movement to force him out.

Despite the indictment of all his former aides, Nixon refuses to resign but instead continues a deliberate course of slashing living standards with massive inflation and unemployment.

While Nixon is totally isolated and millions of workers want to throw him out, George Meany refuses to rally the independent power of the trade unions against him.

### What We Think

It is only through the collaboration of Meany with the Democrats that Nixon has been able to stay in office.

By testifying at the House Banking Subcommittee hearings last

week on the future of wage and price controls, Meany was in reality accepting the legitimacy of the Nixon government.

While Meany declared that any extension of Nixon's Economic Stabilization Act would maintain controls only over wages, he told the committee that wage increases would not be allowed to "break loose."

Meany is offering the services of the AFL-CIO to police wage demands for the government and voluntarily restrict large increases while prices have doubled and even tripled. Meany is giving credibility to the lie that wages are responsible for the inflation.

Meany maintains an open alliance with the Demo-

crats who refuse to impeach Nixon and now openly advocate that wage controls be extended after April 30.

The Democrats know that Nixon's price control program is a deliberate fraud. Their call for controls is a blanket endorsement of control over one thing only—wages. They want to grant Nixon flexible powers to intervene and prevent major wage demands.

It is a common fear of the working class and its determination to fight that binds the Democrats, Nixon, and Meany together.

The Democrats hesitate to expose and impeach Nixon because they fear it will encourage millions of workers to launch a wage offensive throughout the country. For the working class, the destruction of real income created by the enormous inflation, and the growing specter of permanent unemployment are the real issues.

Meany's call for a free market economy, while making no mention of price controls, would place working people at the mercy of the anarchy and chaos now raging within the capitalist system.

Inflation cannot be halted within the capitalist system, whether there are controls or not. It has reached the point today where the rate of inflation is totally independent of the wishes of the capitalist class.

When Nixon made the decision to remove the gold backing from the dollar in 1971, the billions of paper dollars in circulation with which capitalist expansion has been financed were transformed into worthless paper.

Without a stable exchange rate between dollars and gold, basic production and trade cannot be maintained.

If wage increases create inflation, how do the well-salaried politicians explain that prices have risen at

three times the rate of the meager wage increases awarded to workers?

The strike of West Virginia miners, the strike in the Lordstown General Motors plant, and the San Francisco city strike show that working people will not accept these conditions. These strikes are just the beginning of an explosion of wage struggles in every industry.

None of these struggles will win anything unless they are directed towards building the unity of the working class for a political campaign to force Nixon out.

Every worker must face the fact that no gains can be made until this government is thrown out. On the contrary, every basic right and gain will be driven down.

A new leadership must be built now within the unions to prepare for this struggle that will fight to break the stranglehold of the Meany bureaucracy and will lead the fight for a labor party as the only alternative to Nixon.

The construction of a labor party against both the Democrats and Republicans is the most pressing task facing the working class. In the fight for a labor party based on socialist policies of nationalization of industry under workers control a revolutionary leadership will be built.

The Young Socialists and the Workers League will be marching in Washington, Chicago, and San Francisco on March 16 against Nixon to take forward this campaign. Our demonstration will not only express the hatred of millions of people for this government but will bring our campaign to workers in every city in order to build the revolutionary party. We urge all workers and youth to join us in this fight.

## New Fighting Breaks Out On Syrian Front

BY A REPORTER

Fighting on the Golan Heights between Syrian and Israeli military forces exploded again on March 9 as Syrian howitzers bombarded Israeli positions, destroying a bulldozer and another vehicle. Syrian forces have launched a new effort to regain all territory on the Golan Heights taken by Israel in 1967.

The recent visit by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to the Middle East resolved absolutely nothing in the disengagement of Syrian and Israeli troops along the Golan Heights or the lifting of the Arab oil embargo.

Efforts by Egypt's President Anwar Sadat, who has now renewed full diplomatic relations with the US for the first time since 1967, and leaders of Saudi Arabia have failed to pressure the Syrian government into agreeing to a disengagement.

In response to a report which revealed that Syrian military forces were re-positioning on the Golan Heights for renewed fighting, Golda Meir frantically patched together a new Cabinet in Israel. Just a few days earlier, Meir had announced that she would not serve in the next government.

Meir's Labor Party came through last December's election without a majority in Parliament. Since that time, she has been attempting to form a coalition that could sustain a majority. The National Religious Party, traditionally a part of the "labor coalition," refused

to join, and Defense Minister Moshe Dayan resigned, stating that he wanted either the right-wing Likud Party to join the coalition, or new elections to be held.

The Likud recently stated that the west bank of the Jordan River and the whole Gaza strip belongs to Israel. Dayan has swung completely over to this party, which wants to continue the annexationist policies of the Zionists.

Kissinger's efforts in the Middle East are to try to arrange a partial compromise that would leave the Zionists in control of the areas they captured in 1967, and buy time for Israel to prepare an offensive against the Arab workers and peasants.

## Guatemala Vote Rigged

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The powerful National Confederation of Workers in Guatemala has threatened to call a general strike to protest a massive election fraud perpetrated by the government to prevent the opposition candidate from becoming president.

The National Opposition, led by the Christian Democrats, has charged that the government of President Carlos Arana Osorio together with powerful business interests and the CIA suppressed voter returns which showed the opposition winning.

According to the official



Ethiopian police ready to move against students and striking unions.

## Ethiopian Unions Strike

BY A CORRESPONDENT  
About 100,000 workers responded to the call of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions

for the first general strike in the history of the country.

Addis Ababa was paralyzed as virtually every worker remained home

Thursday in support of demands for a \$1.50 per day minimum wage, the right to strike, pension plans, social security and protection against rises in the cost of living.

Students demonstrated against Emperor Haile Selassie and attempted to link up with workers assembled in Piazza Square, a main gathering place in Addis Ababa. "Soil to the tiller" was among the slogans inscribed on the banners carried by the students.

### COLLAPSE

The regime of Haile Selassie, which had been entrenched for a half-century, is on the verge of collapse. The trade unions have rejected the offer of the new Prime Minister, Lij Endalkachew Makonnen, to consider workers demands within six months.

Selassie's decision to call a constitutional conference has received virtually no support from any section of the population because it is viewed as a desperate but fraudulent gesture to end the rebellion and hang onto power.

The 81-year-old emperor, who calls himself the "Lion of Judah," has revealed his intentions to carry out mass repression at the first opportunity by announcing that the wage increases granted to police will necessitate an austerity budget.

results, the government's candidate to succeed Arana as president, General Kjell Eugenio Laugerud Garcia, received 41.2 percent of the votes and the opposition's candidate, General Efrain Rios Montt, received 35.7 percent.

However, the government had withheld the vote count for several days because it actually showed the opposition with an eight percent lead.

Mass meetings have been held throughout Guatemala, and electrical workers have taken the lead in demanding direct action by the trade unions.

Militant university students have appealed to General Montt for arms to fight the government, but the Christian Democrats fear the powerful mass movement that has come forward against the regime.

Montt and the Christian Democrats want to come to power through the intervention of the military. They are afraid that an insurrection against the government will develop which they

would not be able to control.

While the Christian Democrats urge "peaceful resistance," fighting has already broken out in Guatemala City. The government has arrested 60 people and shut down three radio stations.

It is reported that the government was on the verge of conceding defeat earlier this week when 3000 armed peasants marched on City Hall. But large US-dominated business interests insisted that the government defy the election results.

Victor Manuel Monterroso Granados, the opposition mayor of the provincial capital of Cuilapa, was murdered. Three medical students sent to supervise the voting in Zacapa were found dead on a highway.

The United States has refused to tolerate a democratic election in this Central American country since it established a dictatorship in 1954 by organizing a military coup against the Arbenz regime which had attempted to nationalize the holdings of several US corporations.

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Kissinger, left, with French Foreign Minister Jobert at recent oil talks.

# Nixon Lies On Price Surge

BY A REPORTER

Prices continued to skyrocket in February as wholesale prices rose at an annual rate of 14.4 percent.

This statistic was released by the Labor Department only hours after Richard Nixon told a press conference that inflation is being brought under control.

He undoubtedly already had the figures which show farm products rising in February at an 8.4 percent annual rate when he declared:

"As far as food is concerned, if the Department of Agriculture's reports are accurate and if the weather holds up properly, we will have a record food crop, particularly a record wheat crop, and that will tend to bring the price upsurge under control."

Nixon's lie has been exposed by the fact that all 15 major product categories in the index rose last month. The sharpest increases were registered in industrial materials like rubber, chemicals, textiles, paper and metals.

Industrial commodities rose at an annual rate of 15.6 percent.

## CORN

The price increases for raw materials over the past year have been phenomenal. One year ago, a bushel of corn cost \$1.59. It now costs \$3.21. A bushel of wheat cost \$2.57 a year ago. It now costs \$5.79.

A ton of steel scrap cost an average of \$47.50 twelve months ago. It now goes for \$120.00 per ton.

Claims by government economists that the rate of inflation will decline later this year is no-

thing but deceitful propaganda that has no basis in fact.

The driving force of inflation is the breakdown of the international monetary system, expressed most sharply in the rise of the price of gold to \$150 per ounce, which is destroying the dollar as a yardstick of value.

## DIMINISH

The continuing inflation of paper money and credit, used by the government in a desperate effort to head off an industrial collapse, serves only to further

diminish the value of paper currency.

Nixon knows that inflation will not be brought under control but will instead continue at a rate unprecedented in American history. He intends to use this inflation to drive down the living standards of the working class.

These attacks must be answered by mobilizing the full strength of the working class in a campaign to force Nixon from office and construct a labor party as the alternative to his hated government.

## A Guilty Nixon Defies The House

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

Richard Nixon's defiance of Congress was brought to a new stage on Thursday when the President moved to directly limit the impeachment inquiry of the House Judiciary Committee.

Nixon's defense lawyers have informed the House that they have no intention of turning over any documents or tapes not already given to Special Prosecutor Jaworski.

According to Nixon, this material is sufficient and will enable the committee to conclude that "no grounds for impeachment exist."

Nixon has thus ruled out any cooperation on information concerning such matters as ITT, the secret 1969 Cambodian bombings, or the President's income tax returns.

In addition to the Watergate coverup, the House inquiry includes investigation of illegal domestic surveillance, espionage and sabotage in the 1972 elections, Nixon's personal finances, use of government agencies for political purposes, and misuse of presidential power.

Representative Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, recently stated that when his investigation of Nixon's tax evasions is made public he expects the information to be so damaging that Nixon will be forced to resign.

Special Prosecutor Jaworski has already been denied access to a great deal of White House information relating to suspected criminal activity of former White House officials, and Nixon has made it clear that this information will not be available to the House inquiry either.

In the most devastating exposure to date, Nixon publicly admitted at his last press conference that he knew of Watergate "hush money" paid to keep defendants quiet as far back as March 21, 1973. Knowledge of a felony and concealment of it is punishable by three years in jail and a fine of \$500.

Seven former administration officials including John Mitchell, H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, and Charles Colson are now under indictment for the Watergate break-in. Seven more indictments were issued last Fri-

day to Ehrlichman, Colson and four others for the break-in at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's former psychiatrist.

The Democrats and Republicans are hoping that Nixon can be pressured to resign so that Vice President Gerald Ford can assume office and squelch the airing of all this explosive information. A big drive for Ford is underway in the Republican Party, which faces extermination at the polls under a Nixon presidency.

The trade union leadership remains paralyzed, refusing to drive Nixon out while supporting the big business movement for Ford.

Nixon's replacement by labor hater Ford is no alternative for the working class.

The trade unions must immediately call a Congress of Labor pledged to force new elections and build a labor party to replace the two capitalist parties with a government pledged to socialist policies.

## 26,000 Miners Stay Out

BY DAVID NORTH WELCH, W. Va., Mar. 11—

Close to 26,000 coal miners remained on strike this morning after voting by an overwhelming majority in meetings throughout the state to reject "back to work" orders issued by United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller.

The weekend meetings took place on the heels of Friday's march by 200 miners on the Capitol of Charleston, demanding the immediate scrapping of all restrictions on the sale of fuel.

Roving pickets persuaded United Mine Workers members in Logan County to reverse an earlier decision to return to work.

Steel companies have announced that they will have to shut down mills within several days because the coal miners strike, now in its third week, has caused a shortage of coke.

At a mass meeting in Madison, Boone County, UMW President Arnold Miller was repudiated by miners, who voted down his proposal to return to work.

He told the miners that the strike cannot win and that the

International does not support it. If the strike continues, he told the miners, "we will find ourselves in a court of law and we can't win in a court of law."

However, miners throughout the state are defying Miller. At the Charleston rally in Coonskin Park, UMW members held the leadership responsible for those mines that are still working and declared that they will take action to close them.

"By next week at this time," declared one speaker at the rally who identified himself as 'Charley Coalminer,' "we should have the whole state down, and if we run into any trouble we'll just have to use force."

Service stations in Welch County have been closed down by miners as they intensified their efforts to force Governor Arch Moore to rescind his order limiting the purchase of gasoline to those with less than a quarter of a tank.

Miners have also rejected Moore's so-called compromise which would grant them exemptions after filling out all sorts of papers proving that they drive more than 250 miles per week to work.

"If Governor Moore doesn't get rid of that damn fuel gizmo completely, then we'll stay out," disabled miner Abe Sizemore told the Bulletin.

Scores of police are patrolling McDowell County in order to

intimidate the miners, and Governor Moore is reportedly considering calling up the National Guard.

Miner George Viers in Mullens said that the workers were resolved to stay out of the mines until the restrictions are lifted.

He reported that his local had received a telegram from Miller urging the miners to return to work.

"No one paid much attention to it," said Viers.

This wildcat expresses the explosive movement of all workers against Nixon and the determination to fight all his attacks.

Miller refuses to support the miners in this critical struggle precisely because it is an open challenge to the government.

Miners are in a commanding position to rally the entire working class against Nixon. Every local must demand that Miller immediately back the West Virginia miners by calling a nationwide coal miners strike.

The UMW must link such a strike to all the struggles of the working class against layoffs, inflation and union-busting by calling on the AFL-CIO and UAW to launch strike action to force Nixon's resignation and new elections and to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies as the alternative to this government.

## Kissinger Threat Against Europe

BY MELODY FARROW

The decision of the nine countries in the European Common Market to open up a dialogue with the Arab nations has brought the divisions between Europe and the United States to the verge of an open break.

There is now discussion among Nixon administration officials that there will be no future cooperation between France and the US.

The latest attack of Kissinger on the French government reveals that the "unity" between Europe and the US at the recent oil talks in Washington is non-existent.

The US State Department de-

nounced the proposed Europe-Arab agreement, charging that the Common Market nations failed to consult with the US.

Nixon officials say that Kissinger has privately blamed France for splitting Europe away from the US and for sabotaging Nixon's new Atlantic Charter.

## RETALIATION

He is reportedly considering retaliation by withdrawing American defense forces from Europe and the Nixon administration is reviewing its entire relations with France.

Le Monde, the French daily, has openly accused Kissinger of lying by publicly stating in Brussels that the US has no veto over European policy, but in private complaining that the US has not been consulted.

Le Monde bitterly summed up Kissinger's arrogant position by saying, "Europe is not supposed to speak and act without the consent of Washington."

Scheel, West German Finance Minister, who at the Washington oil talks opposed France's rejection of cooperation with the US on the energy crisis, has backed up Jobert, French Foreign Minister, and declared: "Europe is unbreakable, she cannot be broken into pieces."

The competitive struggle over markets and trade is breaking up all the post-war relations between the capitalist countries, and dividing the major countries into warring blocks.

Nixon administration officials are now seeking to push through a trade bill that would give the US government "unambiguous" authority to retaliate against "illegal or unreasonable restraints" on exports of raw materials.

Nixon seeks the power to prevent foreign exports from entering the country, while at the same time he demands complete domination over foreign markets.

## EXPORT

Each nation desperately seeks to export its goods at the expense of other nations or face an economic collapse. Throughout Europe industrial production is stagnating and unemployment is climbing.

Behind the intensification of trade war, the United States is involved in a vast arms build-up in preparation for war not only in the Middle East but against the European nations.



# Jobs Axed As SS Hope Is Laid Up

BY TOM GORDON  
NEW YORK, March 12—National Maritime Union seamen laid off from the hospital ship SS Hope are being denied unemployment compensation by the District of Columbia, where the ship is registered.

The Hope is undergoing its thirty-year inspection and has been out of service since November.

The advanced age of the ship, coupled with the fuel crisis and a lack of funds coming in from corporations to support Project Hope, probably means that the ship will never sail again, meaning the loss of 93 NMU jobs.

Dozens of seamen have already demanded that the union get them unemployment benefits, according to NMU Director of Publications and Public Relations, Bernard Raskin.

Mr. Raskin told the Bulletin: "The essential problem is that the foundation has reported earnings for the voyage all in the final quarter of the year, and it requires more than one quarter of employment to qualify for unemployment benefits."

"The wages were actually for a period of more than one quarter and on that basis, the crew qualifies for unemployment benefits."

John Walsh, in charge of Maritime Operations at Project Hope, denies any knowledge of NMU members being refused unemployment benefits.

One ex-crewman stated: "I was working on the Hope since the ship came out. Now I can't get any unemployment benefits."

"The union lawyers are working on getting us the money, but I think in this kind of a situation—Nixon in office, the fuel crisis, and no jobs—you've got to be a revolutionary."

## FRAUD

Mr. Raskin's attempt to put the blame for this situation on the District of Columbia is a

## ITU Bans "Post" Overtime

BY A REPORTER  
WASHINGTON, DC—Negotiations between the Washington Publishers Association and Columbia Typographical Union Number 101 broke down last Friday as the publishers walked out of the bargaining session.

They refused to meet with the union negotiators on the grounds that work slowdowns remain in effect in The Washington Post and Washington Star News composing rooms.

Robert E. Peterson, executive secretary of Local 101, has repeatedly stated that there is no slowdown at either press. Printers have refused to work overtime by individual choice until a new contract is signed.

The inability of either newspaper to get out all its editions

total fraud. For years, the NMU bureaucracy has depended on unemployment compensation to support seamen between ships while they competed for the diminishing number of jobs available at the hiring halls.

The National Office regularly approves every request by the shipowners to cut manning scales. The government and corporations are deliberately creating a pool of unemployed seamen with full cooperation from the NMU officials. The very survival of the union is at stake.

NMU members must demand that the National Office stop all manning scale cuts immediately and re-open the contract to increase manning scales and wages. Only in this way can seamen get work instead of being dependent on government handouts which are being eliminated anyway.

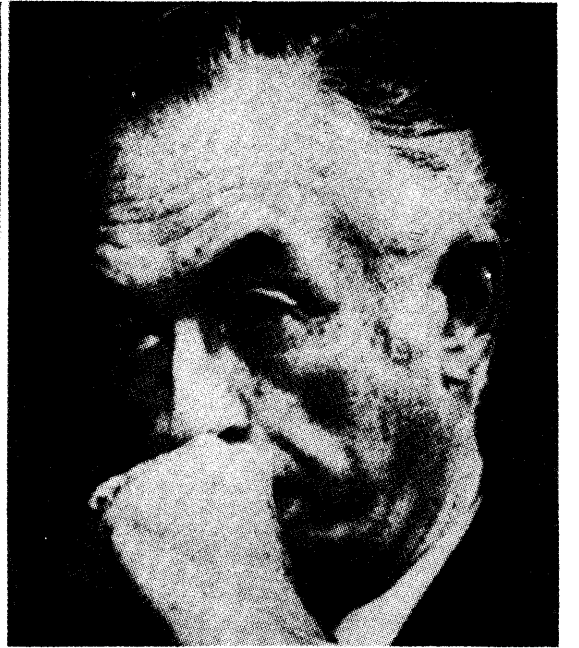
Jobs can be guaranteed only through the fight for a labor party with a program of nationalizing shipping and all basic industries without compensation and under workers control. The primary task in the NMU now is to fight for a new leadership to carry out these tasks.

## Witness Bares Vesco Bribe

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN  
NEW YORK, NY—The prosecution is constructing a devastating case against Former Attorney General John Mitchell and ex-Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans.

The two are on trial here in Federal Court for their role in accepting an illegal \$200,000 campaign contribution from financier Robert Vesco in exchange for assistance in halting a Securities Exchange Commission investigation of Robert Vesco's shady operations.

Government witness Harry L. Sears, former Republican leader



John Mitchell, left, and ex-Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans, right, on trial. See story below.

## "News" Drivers Go Back

NEW YORK, Mar. 11—Daily News drivers are back at work after a 24 hour wildcat strike that prevented delivery of 1.8 million copies of the paper to the newsstands.

Officials of the Mail and Newspaper Deliverers Union said that they did not back the strike, which was caused by a change in the starting time of the morning shift, ordered by management.

However, despite the disclaimers of the union leadership, the News immediately obtained an injunction against the strike, signed by Justice Margaret Mary Mangar. She threatened to cite the union leaders in contempt of court unless the drivers go back to work.

Typographical Union Number 6 has been warned by The New

York Times that management will appeal to the courts to prevent that union from taking action.

Last week, ITU President Bertram Powers stated that the union was prepared to strike to obtain a decent contract. He

declared that the ITU considered the making of an "interim agreement" last October 30 to have freed the union to take whatever job action it deemed necessary.

Powers also stated that he would demand wage increases beyond the 5.5 percent wage limit introduced by Nixon.

## Disabled Face Income Slash

BY A REPORTER  
NEW YORK, NY—Forty thousand disabled poor and up to 234,000 disabled people across

the country face elimination from Federal Supplementary Security Income payments under present Social Security Administration laws.

Under the new federal laws that went into effect in 1974, the federal government took over all disability cases.

The new rules require that all disability recipients who applied after June, 1973 undergo an examination to prove eligibility.

Federal requirements are much more stringent. For example, in New York City, drug addicts and alcoholics are considered disabled but not by the Social Security Administration.

They would be eliminated and forced onto the city relief roles with no federal grants to compensate the city. The federal government also requires proof that disability will prevent a person from working for at least a year as a qualification for aid.

## ELIMINATE

The effect of this law will be to eliminate thousands of cases that previously received assistance through federal funds paid to the cities. The pressure will be increased for the cities to tighten up requirements.

In addition, 43,000 New York state blind, aged, and disabled people have lost food stamp grants with no compensatory cash payments because their rents are too high under federal standards.

One elderly woman told the Bulletin about her situation. She receives \$280 a month in assistance out of which \$135 is paid for rent.

"First I pay my rent and get food and everything else with what's left. I make all my own clothes. I just get by, but it's impossible for people with little children. When I go into the supermarket now I see people take food up to the counter and when they ring up the bill they have to give half of it back because they can't pay for it."

of the New Jersey State Senate who later went to work for Vesco, testified to the payoff at the end of last week.

According to Sears, Vesco was having difficulty raising the money and wanted to know if Stans required it in cash.

The Nixon campaign committee considered the "donation" important enough to dispatch the President's brother Donald to meet with Vesco to arrange payment.

## NECESSARY

When Stans indicated that cash was necessary, the money was raised "off-shore" and delivered by Mr. Sears and another Vesco associate to Stans personally. The "contribution" arrived three days after a new campaign financing law requiring declaration of such funds.

covered by the guarantee.

The publishers want to trade off the reproduce clause for the union's right to reset advertising pages which are produced in other shops for the lifetime job guarantees.

The union is fighting for a four day week and other benefits in exchange for the elimination of insured work and a first year raise of \$55 to a union scale of \$300 a week, plus 20 percent increases in succeeding years.

The Washington publishers are offering 5.5 percent in line with Nixon's wage guidelines and a cost of living raise if inflation continues to exceed 4.75 percent a year.

Peterson told the Bulletin that, "In no way will we settle for 5.5 percent. The ranks will never vote for it with the cost of living going the way it is."

## POWERFUL

Apparently the SEC case against Vesco was so powerful that not even the intervention of the Nixon administration could put the lid on it. Sears testified that Vesco became so frustrated that at one point he shouted, "My god, I gave all that money!"

John Ehrlichman, Nixon's now indicted former domestic affairs adviser did his bit to help out as well. According to Sears, Ehrlichman called a number of US embassies abroad to put in a good word for Vesco, who had many international interests.

Sears has so far provided a very revealing glimpse into the way business is conducted in the Nixon administration.

The Vesco affair involved his former Attorney General, the Commerce Secretary, his domestic affairs adviser and members of his own family. Nixon's brother Donald is still on Vesco's payroll, but the president claims to know nothing about it.



# Workers League Launches Election Campaign

## POLITICAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT

This fall, for the first time in our history, the Workers League will enter a candidate in the November 5, 1974, congressional election in New York City.

Helen Halyard, Central Committee member of the Workers League, will run in the 12th Congressional District covering Bedford-Stuyvesant, and also including sections of East New York, Brownsville, and Crown Heights in Brooklyn, New York.

This campaign will be the beginning of our independent intervention in elections in order to raise the central issues and the basic tasks that face the working class.

These elections will take place at a critical time, when the working class is facing a concentrated attack by the government on its basic living standards and rights.

The Nixon government has launched a deliberate policy of driving down the wages of the working class with massive inflation. Prices of food and other basic commodities will at least double in the coming year, threatening masses of people with impoverishment.

Unemployment is being encouraged to split and weaken the working class. Hundreds of thousands of auto workers are laid off. This is the threat every American worker faces.

The capitalists want to slash the work force while exploitation of the remaining workers is brutally intensified.

Nixon and big business together with the military are in a conspiracy to destroy the trade unions and democratic rights. Troops, the National Guard, and riot police are being prepared to use against strikes.

Behind this crisis is the collapse and decay of the capitalist system internationally. In Europe, tremendous class battles are breaking out and civil war is developing.

Britain, where the working class is rapidly entering a revolutionary situation under conditions of even greater inflation and unemployment, where the capitalists are building up right-wing forces to repress the working class, is our future.

The real issue in this election is the necessity for workers to organize politically against these attacks and to fight back by demanding the trade unions build a labor party.

In these elections, the working class has no choice. There is no mass party that represents the working class.

While millions of working people want to force Nixon out, the Democrats are paralyzed and refuse to impeach Nixon.

The Democrats, like the Republicans, support the policy of big business to throw thousands out of work and to raise prices while wages are frozen; in short, to push the burden of the capitalist crisis on the backs of the working class. These are the people whom the trade union leaders tell us to vote for.

The Democrats are incapable



## Helen Halyard To Run In 12th Congressional District

"I was born in Brownsville and raised in Bedford-Stuyvesant. In the areas where I lived, near Gates and Stuyvesant, there are now only vacant lots or very old tenement houses.

"I went to Junior High School 57 and attended Franklin Delano Roosevelt High School. In the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn you can find some of the worst education in the country. The buildings are near collapse and the funds for facilities in the schools have been drastically cut back.

"The Workers League is launching the campaign for my election in order to popularize within the working class the tremendous need for a labor party in this country. We are fighting to bring forward the great hatred that workers have for Nixon and give it a political direction. This hatred exists not only for Nixon but for the Democrats as well. Neither party can offer any alternative to combat unemployment, poor housing, wage cutting and inflation. I will be running in order to expose them for who they represent: the large corporations.

"Shirley Chisholm serves on all these committees in Congress including the House Education and Labor Committee. For as long as Chisholm has been serving, the conditions in Bedford-Stuyvesant have only gotten worse. All the poverty programs which she and the Democrats have so vehemently supported, including Model Cities, are almost completely gone.

"We see the fight for the labor party as central. Our campaign, therefore, is not a protest for jobs or better conditions but to actually construct a new leadership within the working class. It is only our movement that can meet this breakdown in the capitalist system with socialist policies.

"We have no illusions that this system can be reformed. That is why our fight to construct a labor party is a step toward bringing the working class to power."

of defending the working class or of solving the economic crisis because they are a capitalist party and the working class needs a party that will fight and destroy capitalism and build a socialist economy.

### LABOR PARTY

Helen Halyard is running in order to raise the demand, that only our movement has fought for, that the trade unions organize a mass labor party; that they break with the Democrats; and that this is the only way working people can begin to defend their rights, their wages, and their jobs.

We will warn in this campaign that if Nixon is removed by his own party, it will bring in a Ford

government that will proceed rapidly with a vicious attack on wages, under conditions of continuous price increases, with the full support of the Democratic Party.

It is not a question of making Congress work for us. The present Congress is owned by the big corporations, and the Democrats and Republicans who sit there carry out their interests, not the interests of the working class.

We will be campaigning in Bedford-Stuyvesant as part of a national campaign to raise the fight for a labor party among workers all over the country. This fight must be taken into the unions in a struggle against the

reformist bureaucracy to build a new leadership that will lead this fight.

We will demand that a labor party carry out socialist policies as the only solution to the mass unemployment and inflation of capitalism. We will demand that such a party nationalize all industries which refuse to provide jobs and decent wages, under workers control.

### REMAIN

Through this election campaign we will be fighting to construct the Workers League and Young Socialists as the only revolutionary movement in the unions and in the neighborhoods that will remain and fight after the election.

In this campaign and in our fight for a labor party, we are constructing our revolutionary leadership that will lead the fight for a socialist America and a socialist world.

In this campaign we will be fighting to bring our policies to broad sections of workers, both Black and white, in all neighborhoods, and to recruit workers and youth to our movement.

Bedford-Stuyvesant, a predominantly Black ghetto, is typical of the conditions that working people everywhere face.

Over one-third of all employed workers in Bedford-Stuyvesant make less than \$3000 in actual take home wages. Between 40 and 50 percent of all youth in this community are without jobs.

### HOUSING

The housing conditions can be compared only to the worst slums in Harlem. In whole sections of the community, there are nothing but empty shells of buildings that have been burned out, or allowed to fall apart.

Seventy-five percent of all dwellings constructed after 1940 were mammoth housing projects where many of Bedford-Stuyvesant residents live. For the high rents they pay, tenants receive leaky roofs, and often no heat or hot water.

Bedford-Stuyvesant was always a predominantly working class community, but before the 1940s it was populated almost entirely by immigrants who had come to the US from Europe. It was not until the outbreak of World War Two that the big influx of Blacks into Bedford-Stuyvesant began.

They came mostly from Harlem and from the Deep South. The attraction for workers from the South came when the Brooklyn Navy Yard put out a national call for laborers and ship builders.

Helen Halyard will be running against the current Congressional Representative for District 12, Democrat Shirley Chisholm.

Chisholm, who has continually claimed that she would "do something for the Black community in District 12" and that she was "unbought and unbossed" has done absolutely nothing to change the conditions in the community.

Last year, she underwent a federal investigation for her expenditures during her campaign for president against Nixon. She, like Nixon, was investigated for allegedly receiving campaign funds that were not reported.

Despite our fundamental disagreements with the Socialist Workers Party, they are still calling for a labor party as part of their election program. In areas outside of the 12th District, we are urging a vote for the SWP.

The Young Socialists and Workers League has already launched a branch in Bedford-Stuyvesant and we will be fighting to strengthen and extend branches of our movement throughout the Brooklyn and New York area in the course of this campaign.

We urge all our readers, trade unionists, and youth to join our campaign to help build the Workers League and Young Socialists.





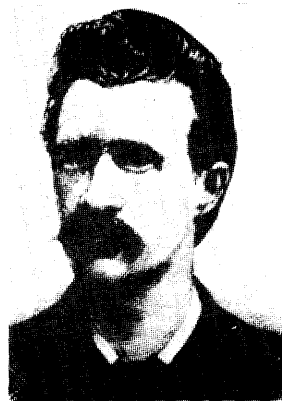
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The IWW was set up in 1905 and two-thirds of those in attendance were members of the Socialist Party. While it is true that the SP never officially supported the IWW because of the influence of the right-wing forces working within the AFL, the IWW and the SP were organizations very much intertwined with a large dual membership even after the right wing of the SP engineered Haywood's ouster from the National Executive Committee in 1912 and a mass exodus of pro-Wobbly forces took place.

It is true the IWW never built a stable trade union organization. It was very much a grouping of union organizers who had a fantastic ability to lead strikes but were unable to consolidate any sizable industrial union organization.

But we must also realize that the AFL was no smashing success, either. It remained an extremely small organization of predominantly craft unions. These unions were largely unable to carry through effective strike action.

The amazing thing about the IWW was precisely its indestructibility and its ability to penetrate virtually every corner of the nation. Each moment, when it seemed to be dead, it would flare up again at another point in the class struggle. It organized miners, lumberjacks, migrant farm workers, but also immigrant workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, and Patterson, New Jersey. It even reached into the deep South to organize on an interracial basis, lumbermen in the woods of western Louisiana.

In each and every one of these struggles, the IWW preached the necessity of revolution in absolutely harsh and clear-cut terms. Nonetheless, masses of workers supported the IWW leadership. Many of these same workers voted Socialist Party despite the hostility which existed between the two organizations.

It is not a matter of which organization had the most influence in that period. They were both part of the turn of American workers to revolutionary solutions. The IWW attracted many workers who were hostile to the reform side of the SP, just as workers had rallied to the Chicago social revolutionaries.

It was not necessarily a matter of rejecting political struggle, but of unclear rebellion against the conservatives of the AFL and of the Socialist leaders tied to the AFL. Neither the IWW nor the Socialist Party were able to meet the changed requirements of the new period after World War One.

Another important element in the Socialist Party were the farmers. As we have

noted, these were largely tenant farmers, living in conditions almost Asiatic in character, with only a very vague conception of socialism, but with a revolutionary determination equal to that of the workers who rallied behind the IWW and came in the thousands to hear Debs in the major industrial centers. These forces were on the left of the party, devoted to revolution, but also very transitory, a product of the shift in America from agriculture to industry.

These rural forces had their own special method of organizing, borrowed from the old revival religions and from the Populists—the encampment. Ray Ginger described what these encampments were like in the year 1908, in many ways the high point of the Socialist Party as a revolutionary fighting organization:

"Debs spoke at several of these camps during early July. In every case, the scene was precisely the same. One evening, there were two or three organizers near a small creek. The next morning, a steady stream of wagons came into view across the prairie, a red flag waving from each whipsocket."

Perhaps the most fantastic expression of the revolutionary determination of these farmers occurred in Oklahoma in 1917. In an area of extremely poor tenant farmers, like those who later left for California and whose odyssey is described in John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, which had supported the Socialist Party, a new underground organization called the Working Class Union grew up. It organized an actual armed uprising of farmers called the Green Corn Rebellion.

They planned to march on Washington, having no clear idea how far away it was. There they expected to be met by other insurrectionists including a mythical 190,000 Wobblies from Chicago, seize the government by force, stop the war, and establish socialism.

This was called the Green Corn Rebellion because the rebels expected to feed themselves on the trip from green corn and barbecue beef contributed by farmers along the way. After making a few unsuccessful attempts at cutting telegraph wires and burning railroad bridges, the encamped "army" was seized by the local sheriff and posse. This action, however, did express the determination which underlay the rural forces which rallied to the Socialist Party in the early 1900s.

The third element within the Socialist Party was the right wing, which has already been described in its embryonic stage of development within the Socialist Labor Party. We have already discussed Morris Hillquit of New York, Max Hayes of Cleveland, and Victor Berger of Milwaukee. We should add James Hudson Maurer, the "Pennsylvania Dutchman" (actually German) from Reading. He left the SLP on his own in 1901 to join the Socialist Party. He built up a political machine in the small industrial city of Reading which dominated the city for many years. As in Milwaukee and Cleveland its core was control of the Central Labor Council of the AFL. This was extended to control over the entire Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

Victor Berger spoke most clearly for this strata within the party. Berger was an open admirer of Eduard Bernstein, the theoretician of revisionism in Europe. He proclaimed himself in favor of what was known

as "step at a time" socialism in which gradual accumulation of reforms will add up in time to socialist revolution.

He was a firm supporter of work within the AFL as a loyal opposition to Gompers, opposing efforts to run against him and even efforts to commit the AFL as a whole to a socialist outlook.

He was an open racist who favored immigration restrictions particularly against orientals and who excused lynchings on the basis that they were intemperate actions understandably taken against the Blacks who are inferior and move with more base passions.

That Weinstein devotes so much of his book seeking to cover for Berger, to claim that he was not a right-wing element such as the Scheidemans and Noskes of Germany, only exposes where Weinstein and the "new left" stand—with the Bergers of the world!

of his misguided efforts to preserve the unity of the party. But he nevertheless spoke out clearly and paints a picture quite different from Weinstein:

"The danger I see ahead is that the Socialist Party at this stage, and under existing conditions, is apt to attract elements which it cannot assimilate, and that it may be either weighted down, or torn asunder with internal strife, or that it may become permeated and corrupted with the spirit of bourgeois reform to an extent that will practically destroy its virility and efficiency as a revolutionary organization.

"To my mind the working-class character and the revolutionary integrity of the Socialist Party are of first importance. All the votes of the people would do us no good if our party ceased to be a revolutionary party, or only incidentally so while yielding more and more to the pressure to modify the principles and program of the party for

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There is an attempt to portray Morris Hillquit of New York as representing some center element between left and right within the Socialist Party. This is based solely on his verbal statements and on his tendency to put forward compromise positions aimed at securing the support of the left and right. If we look at the actual content and life of Hillquit there is little to distinguish between the two men.

There were many other elements who made up the right as well. These were particularly the Christian socialists, ministers, professors, and assorted middle class people and reformers. Because of these elements, so prominent on the top of the party, Trotsky once characterized an American Socialist convention as being like a convention of dentists. This may well have been true, but the main bulwark of the right were the municipal and state machine people who combined control of sections of the AFL with a reform political electoral machine much in the spirit of the European social democracy.

Debs on more than one occasion expressed his assessment of this tendency. It must be born in mind that Debs wrote on such matters with great restraint because

the sake of swelling the vote and hastening the day of its expect triumph...

"The truth is that we have not a few members who regard vote-getting as of supreme importance, no matter by what method the votes may be secured, and this leads them to hold out inducements and make representations which are not at all compatible with the stern and uncompromising principles of a revolutionary party..."

"There is also a disposition on the part of some to join hands with reactionary trade unionists in local emergencies and in certain temporary situations to effect some specific purpose, which may or may not be in harmony with our revolutionary program..."

"Not for all the vote of the American Federation of Labor and its labor-dividing and corruption-breeding craft unions should we compromise one jot of our revolutionary principles; and if we do, we shall be visited with the contempt we deserve by all real Socialists, who will scorn to remain in a party professing to be a revolutionary party of the working class while employing the crooked and disreputable methods of ward-healing and politicians to attain their ends."

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Haywood



Lawrence, Mass. strike



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Pullman strike

Debs

We can perhaps now get some picture of the Socialist Party. It was first and foremost a revolutionary response of masses of workers and small farmers to the triumph of monopoly capital at the point in time when America emerged as an imperialist nation. It was a massive movement of immigrant and native born, East, Midwest, West, and even South.

Because of the pioneer work done by the early American Marxists, as part of the international movement of the working class, it was a party clearly differentiated from capitalism, a class party of the working class. It was at the same time, a new development, for socialism was no longer confined in the narrow limits of the immigrant circle.

Being, a new development, the lines of demarcation within it were only at a beginning stage. It was definitely a party of contradiction, with a clearly defined right

coach windows as the trains passed. Sympathetic engineers blew long, shrill blasts on their locomotive whistles.

"The tracks were lined with buggies which had come for miles; often the spectators crowded forward and forced the train to halt...When the train moved on, it left old grizzled farmers gazing after it, scratching their heads and muttering, 'By God, he's right.'"

"The meetings in Colorado were large—five thousand in Denver and two thousand at an open-air gathering in Leadville—but these were dwarfed by the crowds in California.

"When the Red Special arrived in Santa Barbara at four o'clock in the morning, a huge throng of Socialists waited in the railroad yards.

"Debs genially rolled out of his berth and went out on the platform in his nightshirt to give a brief talk. In San Diego, fifteen thou-

mass of American workers were unorganized. The AFL was very, very small, incorporated only the skilled worker, was itself preoccupied with inter-craft jurisdictional disputes, its leadership was anti-socialist and worked closely with the leading capitalists.

Socialists could not help but be preoccupied with how to change this existing trade union movement as well as how to construct a new trade union movement incorporating the great mass of unorganized workers. How this could be achieved, while at the same time a political party of the working class, based on a revolutionary program be constructed, was then and still is, in the form of the labor party, the central question facing the movement.

Lenin credited Daniel DeLeon with one accomplishment, his assessment of this AFL leadership as "labor lieutenants of capital." Lenin felt that this assessment was central to an understanding of the disease of reformism within the socialist movement of Europe, particularly in the German party.

This labor bureaucracy was concerned only with maintaining the flows of dues into the union coffers, the narrow jurisdictional interests which were related to this dues flow, and winning certain bread and butter demands for the workers represented by the union, where this could be done without any undue difficulty with the capitalists. This labor bureaucracy represented the capitalist class within the working class.

As we have seen even within the old Socialist Labor Party, a socialist version of these "labor lieutenants" grew up. These men—Max Hayes, James Maurer, Victor Berger, Morris Hillquit—either directly or through their close associates, administered local unions precisely in the manner of Gompers men. They were also concerned with dues, jurisdiction, and bread and butter. They were indistinguishable from Gompers men in the day to day life of trade union functioning. Their difference lie in their efforts to combine a trade union machine with a political machine devoted to socialism as a far distant goal—Berger spoke of several centuries—and be involved on a day to day basis with simply bourgeois municipal reform. For this they deservedly earned the label not only of labor lieutenants of capital, but of sewer socialists.

As we have stressed, there developed within the Socialist Party this right-wing grouping. It had a history to it which predates the establishment of the Socialist Party. It alone, within the Socialist Party, had a clear idea of what it was doing and acted consciously to preserve itself. Because it was well-organized, controlled solidly whole sections of the party, had a clear perspective, it carried inordinate weight within the SP, way beyond its actual following.

As we have noted, the mass of SP members were with the left. They desired revolution and were determined to achieve it. But the leadership of the left had only the foggiest notion of how this was to be accomplished. The right, which was concerned only with its immediate, narrow union and electoral concerns, thus continuously got the upper hand.

The formation of the IWW created great

difficulties for the right wing as it did for Gompers. The IWW was never conceived of and rarely functioned as a "dual union" in the sense of campaigning to take members from the AFL. It was always bitterly hostile to the AFL. But its main preoccupation was with organizing the mass of workers the AFL refused to have anything to do with, the industrial working class.

To the AFL, as to DeLeon, these workers were just burns. The threat of the IWW to the AFL, and it was a serious threat, was that it exposed what the AFL refused to do, therefore revealing its close connections with the American ruling class.

The position of the right wing in the SP reflected the position of the AFL. They were hostile to the IWW from the very beginning. Though some of them on occasion talked of "industrial unionism," it was just talk. They were wedded to the AFL as it was. They were the loyal not so opposition to Gompers.

Eugene V. Debs took a different position. He was, even before he became a socialist, a champion of industrial unionism and a bitter critic of the AFL. He did not oppose some work within the AFL, but he did not think it would be very fruitful.

He was convinced a new union organization would have to somehow emerge if the mass of American workers were ever to be organized. In this position, the later events of the 1930s were to prove him to be completely correct. In time, disheartened by the factional struggle within the IWW, with DeLeon dominating the political wing and the anti-DeLeon wing turning more and more against political struggle, he simply dropped out of the IWW though remaining an advocate of industrial unionism.

The official position of the Socialist Party on the trade union question had been a formal neutrality which advocated industrial unionism in general, but gave no specific endorsement to the IWW. This permitted the Berger elements to persist peacefully in their reformist activity within the AFL. The position was, however, insufficient for the right wing. Big Bill Haywood, the man most associated in the eyes of millions of workers with the IWW, sat on the party's National Executive Committee. Eugene V. Debs, the man most associated in the eyes of millions of workers with the Socialist Party, persisted in his advocacy of industrial unionism, of revolution, and his criticism of the AFL. Debs could not be touched, such was his popularity in the party and in the class. Various unsuccessful moves were made nonetheless to remove him as party candidate. Such moves only exposed the weakness in the ranks of the right clique. So Haywood would have to be the man to be gotten.

The issue of industrial unionism could not be tackled head-on. This was not just because the party held an official position of neutrality on the question. It was more because the right wing would lose on this issue as the rank and file overwhelmingly supported industrial unionism and was sympathetic to the IWW. The party held a neutral position in any event because that was the best the right wing could achieve through maneuvers to protect their operations in the AFL. So the question of sabotage was manufactured.

TO BE CONTINUED



# The Wobblies And The Farmers

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.

wing within it tied in outlook to European reformism, tied in class connections to capitalism.

Its left wing was nowhere near as clearly defined. Its theory was almost nonexistent, its own tactics quite unclear. It was revolutionary more in spirit, in determination, in will, than in scientific program. This would prove to be its undoing as the Socialist Party broke asunder under the impact of its own internal contradictions which could not help but become sharper, and by the sharp changes posed to it by worldwide developments: World War One and the Russian Revolution.

The great power of the Socialist Party of this period can best be seen in this description from Ray Ginger of the Red Special, the election train which carried Debs across the nation during the 1908 election:

"In Omaha the train was decorated with red bunting by the local socialists. Red streamers floated from the roof, from the wheels, and from the rear platform. As the Red Special hurtled across the prairies toward the West Coast, oncoming trains could identify it for miles.

"Flags and bandannas were waved from

sand persons paid their way into an open-air speech, and Soring Stadium in Los Angeles was jammed on September 9."

Was the year 1912 the decisive turning point in the history of the Socialist Party? This was the year that the right wing engineered the expulsion of Big Bill Haywood from the National Executive Committee.

The bulk of James Weinstein's book is devoted to an attempt to prove that this was not the case. He writes:

"A leveling off did occur after 1912. But with the departure of Haywood and many of his IWW followers, there was a reduction in the faction that had been, and remained, a by-product of the Party's heterogeneity. On every major political question, if not on tactics, the years after 1912 saw a coming together in action. Of course, difference still existed; during the war they were to lead to a further split in Party ranks. But taken in the balance, the years from 1912 to 1917 were more nearly a period of consolidation than of disintegration."

The split in 1912, as was true of almost all major divisions in this early period, was over the trade union question. From the very first days, the American Marxists had been preoccupied with this question. The



Fraina

Russian Revolution. 1917.

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Palmer Raids

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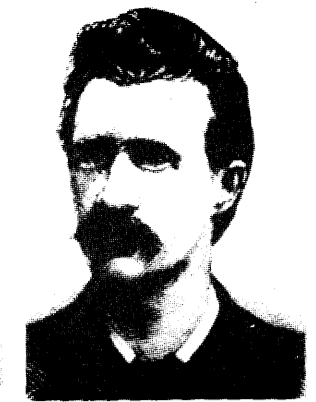
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Weydemeyer



Parsons



Spies



Haymarket



Pullman strike



Debs

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noted, these were largely tenant farmers, living in conditions almost Asiatic in character, with only a very vague conception of socialism, but with a revolutionary determination equal to that of the workers who rallied behind the IWW and came in the thousands to hear Debs in the major industrial centers. These forces were on the left of the party, devoted to revolution, but also very transitory, a product of the shift in America from agriculture to industry.

These rural forces had their own special method of organizing, borrowed from the old revival religions and from the Populists—the encampment. Ray Ginger described what these encampments were like in the year 1908, in many ways the high point of the Socialist Party as a revolutionary fighting organization:

"Debs spoke at several of these camps during early July. In every case, the scene was precisely the same. One evening, there were two or three organizers near a small creek. The next morning, a steady stream of wagons came into view across the prairie, a red flag waving from each whipsocket."

Perhaps the most fantastic expression of the revolutionary determination of these farmers occurred in Oklahoma in 1917. In an area of extremely poor tenant farmers, like those who later left for California and whose odyssey is described in John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, which had supported the Socialist Party, a new underground organization called the Working Class Union grew up. It organized an actual armed uprising of farmers called the Green Corn Rebellion.

They planned to march on Washington, having no clear idea how far away it was. There they expected to be met by other insurrectionists including a mythical 190,000 Wobblies from Chicago, seize the government by force, stop the war, and establish socialism.

This was called the Green Corn Rebellion because the rebels expected to feed themselves on the trip from green corn and barbecue beef contributed by farmers along the way. After making a few unsuccessful attempts at cutting telegraph wires and burning railroad bridges, the encamped "army" was seized by the local sheriff and posse. This action, however, did express the determination which underlay the rural forces which rallied to the Socialist Party in the early 1900s.

The third element within the Socialist Party was the right wing, which has already been described in its embryonic stage of development within the Socialist Labor Party. We have already discussed Morris Hillquit of New York, Max Hayes of Cleveland, and Victor Berger of Milwaukee. We should add James Hudson Maurer, the "Pennsylvania Dutchman" (actually German) from Reading. He left the SLP on his own in 1901 to join the Socialist Party. He built up a political machine in the small industrial city of Reading which dominated the city for many years. As in Milwaukee and Cleveland its core was control of the Central Labor Council of the AFL. This was extended to control over the entire Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

Victor Berger spoke most clearly for this strata within the party. Berger was an open admirer of Eduard Bernstein, the theoretician of revisionism in Europe. He proclaimed himself in favor of what was known

as "step at a time" socialism in which gradual accumulation of reforms will add up in time to socialist revolution.

He was a firm supporter of work within the AFL as a loyal opposition to Gompers, opposing efforts to run against him and even efforts to commit the AFL as a whole to a socialist outlook.


He was an open racist who favored immigration restrictions particularly against orientals and who excused lynchings on the basis that they were temperate actions understandably taken against the Blacks who are inferior and move with more base passions.

That Weinstein devotes so much of his book seeking to cover for Berger, to claim that he was not a right-wing element such as the Scheidemanns and Noskes of Germany, only exposes where Weinstein and the "new left" stand—with the Bergers of the world!

of his misguided efforts to preserve the unity of the party. But he nevertheless spoke out clearly and paints a picture quite different from Weinstein:

"The danger I see ahead is that the Socialist Party at this stage, and under existing conditions, is apt to attract elements which it cannot assimilate, and that it may be either weighted down, or torn asunder with internal strife, or that it may become permeated and corrupted with the spirit of bourgeois reform to an extent that will practically destroy its virility and efficiency as a revolutionary organization."

"To my mind the working-class character and the revolutionary integrity of the Socialist Party are of first importance. All the votes of the people would do us no good if our party ceased to be a revolutionary party, or only incidentally so while yielding more and more to the pressure to modify the principles and program of the party for



# FROM SOCIALISM TO COMMUNISM IN AMERICA

## Part Three

### The Wobblies And The Farmers

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.

There is an attempt to portray Morris Hillquit of New York as representing some center element between left and right within the Socialist Party. This is based solely on his verbal statements and on his tendency to put forward compromise positions aimed at securing the support of the left and right. If we look at the actual content and life of Hillquit there is little to distinguish between the two men.

There were many other elements who made up the right as well. These were particularly the Christian socialists, ministers, professors, and assorted middle class people and reformers. Because of these elements, so prominent on the top of the party, Trotsky once characterized an American Socialist convention as being like a convention of dentists. This may well have been true, but the main bulwark of the right were the municipal and state machine people who combined control of sections of the AFL with a reform political electoral machine much in the spirit of the European social democracy.

Debs on more than one occasion expressed his assessment of this tendency. It must be born in mind that Debs wrote on such matters with great restraint because

of the sake of swelling the vote and hastening the day of its expect triumph...

"The truth is that we have not a few members who regard vote-getting as of supreme importance, no matter by what method the votes may be secured, and this leads them to hold out inducements and make representations which are not at all compatible with the stern and uncompromising principles of a revolutionary party..."

"There is also a disposition on the part of some to join hands with reactionary trade unionists in local emergencies and in certain temporary situations to effect some specific purpose, which may or may not be in harmony with our revolutionary program..."

"Not for all the vote of the American Federation of Labor and its labor-dividing and corruption-breeding craft unions should we compromise one jot of our revolutionary principles; and if we do, we shall be visited with the contempt we deserve by all real Socialists, who will scorn to remain in a party professing to be a revolutionary party of the working class while employing the crooked and disreputable methods of ward-healing and politicians to attain their ends."

We can perhaps now get some picture of the Socialist Party. It was first and foremost a revolutionary response of masses of workers and small farmers to the triumph of monopoly capital at the point in time when America emerged as an imperialist nation. It was a massive movement of immigrant and native born, East, Midwest, West, and even South.

Because of the pioneer work done by the early American Marxists, as part of the international movement of the working class, it was a party clearly differentiated from capitalism, a class party of the working class. It was at the same time, a new development, for socialism was no longer confined in the narrow limits of the immigrant circle.

Being, a new development, the lines of demarcation within it were only at a beginning stage. It was definitely a party of contradiction, with a clearly defined right

coach windows as the trains passed. Sympathetic engineers blew long, shrill blasts on their locomotive whistles.

"The tracks were lined with buggies which had come for miles; often the spectators crowded forward and forced the train to halt...When the train moved on, it left old grizzled farmers gazing after it, scratching their heads and muttering, 'By God, he's right.'"

"The meetings in Colorado were large—five thousand in Denver and two thousand at an open-air gathering in Leadville—but these were dwarfed by the crowds in California.

"When the Red Special arrived in Santa Barbara at four o'clock in the morning, a huge throng of Socialists waited in the railroad yards.

"Debs genially rolled out of his berth and went out on the platform in his nightshirt to give a brief talk. In San Diego, fifteen thou-

mass of American workers were unorganized. The AFL was very, very small, incorporated only the skilled worker, was itself preoccupied with intricate craft jurisdictional disputes, its leadership was anti-socialist and worked closely with the leading capitalists.

Socialists could not help but be preoccupied with how to change this existing trade union movement as well as how to construct a new trade union movement incorporating the great mass of unorganized workers. How this could be achieved, while at the same time a political party of the working class, based on a revolutionary program be constructed, was then and still is, in the form of the labor party, the central question facing the movement.

Lenin credited Daniel DeLeon with one accomplishment, his assessment of this AFL leadership as "labor lieutenants of capital." Lenin felt that this assessment was central to an understanding of the disease of reformism within the socialist movement of Europe, particularly in the German party.

This labor bureaucracy was concerned only with maintaining the flows of dues into the union coffers, the narrow jurisdictional interests which were related to this dues flow, and winning certain bread and butter demands for the workers represented by the union, where this could be done without any undue difficulty with the capitalists. This labor bureaucracy represented the capitalist class within the working class.

As we have seen even within the old Socialist Labor Party, a socialist version of these "labor lieutenants" grew up. These men—Max Hayes, James Maurer, Victor Berger, Morris Hillquit—either directly or through their close associates, administered local unions precisely in the manner of Gompers men. They were also concerned with dues, jurisdiction, and bread and butter. They were indistinguishable from Gompers men in the day to day life of trade union functioning. Their difference lie in their efforts to combine a trade union machine with a political machine devoted to socialism as a far distant goal—Berger spoke of several centuries—and be involved on a day to day basis with simply bourgeois municipal reform. For this they deservedly earned the label not only of labor lieutenants of capital, but of sewer socialists.

As we have stressed, there developed within the Socialist Party this right-wing grouping. It had a history to it which predates the establishment of the Socialist Party. It alone, within the Socialist Party, had a clear idea of what it was doing and acted consciously to preserve itself. Because it was well-organized, controlled solidly whole sections of the party, had a clear perspective, it carried inordinate weight within the SP, way beyond its actual following.

As we have noted, the mass of SP members were with the left. They desired revolution and were determined to achieve it. But the leadership of the left had only the foggiest notion of how this was to be accomplished. The right, which was concerned only with its immediate, narrow union and electoral concerns, thus continuously got the upper hand.

The formation of the IWW created great

difficulties for the right wing as it did for Gompers. The IWW was never conceived of and rarely functioned as a "dual union" in the sense of campaigning to take members from the AFL. It was always bitterly hostile to the AFL. But its main preoccupation was with organizing the mass of workers the AFL refused to have anything to do with, the industrial working class.

To the AFL, as to DeLeon, these workers were just bums. The threat of the IWW to the AFL, and it was a serious threat, was that it exposed what the AFL refused to do, therefore revealing its close connections with the American ruling class.

The position of the right wing in the SP reflected the position of the AFL. They were hostile to the IWW from the very beginning. Though some of them on occasion talked of "industrial unionism," it was just talk. They were wedded to the AFL as it was. They were the loyal not so opposition to Gompers.

Eugene V. Debs took a different position. He was, even before he became a socialist, a champion of industrial unionism and a bitter critic of the AFL. He did not oppose some work within the AFL, but he did not think it would be very fruitful.

He was convinced a new union organization would have to somehow emerge if the mass of American workers were ever to be organized. In this position, the later events of the 1930s were to prove him to be completely correct. In time, disheartened by the factional struggle within the IWW, with DeLeon dominating the political wing and the anti-DeLeon wing turning more and more against political struggle, he simply dropped out of the IWW though remaining an advocate of industrial unionism.

The official position of the Socialist Party on the trade union question had been a formal neutrality which advocated industrial unionism in general, but gave no specific endorsement to the IWW. This permitted the Berger elements to persist peacefully in their reformist activity within the AFL. The position was, however, insufficient for the right wing. Big Bill Haywood, the man most associated in the eyes of millions of workers with the IWW, sat on the party's National Executive Committee. Eugene V. Debs, the man most associated in the eyes of millions of workers with the Socialist Party, persisted in his advocacy of industrial unionism, of revolution, and his criticism of the AFL. Debs could not be touched, such was his popularity in the party and in the class. Various unsuccessful moves were made nonetheless to remove him as party candidate. Such moves only exposed the weakness in the ranks of the right clique. So Haywood would have to be the man to be gotten.

The issue of industrial unionism could not be tackled head-on. This was not just because the party held an official position of neutrality on the question. It was more because the right wing would lose on this issue as the rank and file overwhelmingly supported industrial unionism and was sympathetic to the IWW. The party held a neutral position in any event because that was the best the right wing could achieve through maneuvers to protect their operations in the AFL. So the question of sabotage was manufactured.

TO BE CONTINUED



Berger



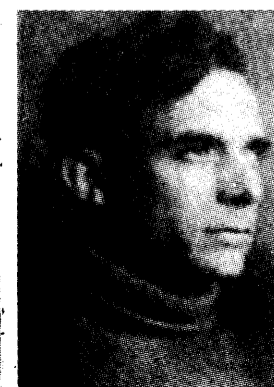
Fur workers



Haywood



Lawrence, Mass. strike



Fraha



Russian Revolution, 1917



Reed



Palmer Raids



Foester with Mother Jones





## ITT Crisis Explodes

The international economic crisis is now hitting the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation with a devastating impact.

ITT was built into one of the largest conglomerates in the world during the postwar boom, based on continuously expanding credit and swelling stock values.

The methods used to construct ITT are the methods by which all the great conglomerates were assembled. Runaway inflation and the credit squeeze now threatens to tear apart the ITT empire, hitting financial houses and industries across the globe.

It was this financial crisis that was behind the desperate ITT maneuver to bribe the Nixon administration with \$400,000 in exchange for Justice Department cooperation on a merger with the Hartford Fire Insurance Company.

The Internal Revenue Service recently announced that it had revoked the 1969 tax ruling that facilitated the tax free takeover of Hartford Fire in 1970.

ITT acquired the Hartford company in exchange for \$1.5 billion of its stock. The original tax ruling exempted Hartford stockholders from paying any capital gains taxes.

In exchange, ITT was forced to sell off nearly 2 million shares of Hartford it had acquired to force the merger. Rather than sell at a loss it placed the stock with an Italian bank which held them until the price went up and then sold them returning a profit to ITT. This illegal operation is the cause of the IRS reversal.

ITT stands today as the ninth largest industrial corporation in the US in sales which totalled \$8.6 billion in 1972. ITT operates with factories in 27 countries and hundreds of subsidiaries in over 70 countries. Sales in 1959 were only \$766 million and the corporation stood fifty-second on the list of sales giants.

The rise of ITT parallels the development of the inflationary capitalist boom of the 1960s.

In 1959 ITT began the campaign that turned it into one of the largest conglomerates in the world with hundreds of thousands of employees.

The plan was relatively simple. Beginning with its control of telephones, cables, and Telexes, ITT used its own stock to buy up control of virtually anything with a potential for high growth rates and profits.

In short order ITT had gobbled up the Sheraton Hotels, Avis, Levitt and Sons home builders, Canteen Corporation, Continental Bakers, scores of companies in Europe and Latin America related to electrical equipment, and hundreds of other companies in virtually every field from dog food to transistors and from face cream to telephones.

In every case payment was in shares of ITT. Such a program required rising stock values and a growing stream of profits. In February 1973 ITT could announce that for 54 consecutive quarters earnings had increased by record amounts often as much as 10 percent.

To a great extent this was done through incredibly complex accounting procedures which enabled ITT to hide losses, defer tax payments, sell off assets from its acquisitions, and report them as profits, not one time sales.

The most recent exposure of such manipulations was on Friday when the SEC halted trading in ITT-controlled Avis, Inc. shares, charging Avis with hiding a \$600,000 drop in rentals by reporting sales of its vehicles as profits.

ITT is also facing tremendous losses from its investments in Levitt and Sons due to the collapse in the home building market.

This is what was behind ITT's desperate campaign to gain control of Hartford Fire Insurance Company. Hartford, with 1968 premiums of \$969 million and assets of over \$2 billion, could provide a steady cash flow and the potential of enormous borrowing power against its assets to ITT.

ITT, which expanded on the basis of growing stock values and boom industries, now faces a collapsing stock market and a growing worldwide slump that threatens a big section of its investments.

The outright fraud behind many of its acquisitions and profit statements must now come out, threatening a collapse such as that which hit the giant Ling-Temco-Vought conglomerate in 1969.

Now ITT is headed in the same direction. ITT's collapse could bring on a panic that would bring down hundreds of subsidiaries threatening the jobs of hundreds of thousands of workers.

# Paper Shortage Is On The Way

BY L. MARTIN  
DAYTON, Ohio—  
Long paper shortages are being predicted by the president of Meade Corporation, Robert M. O'Hara.

The company, which is located in Dayton, is the number two producer of printing and writing paper in the country. Meade Corporation owns several pulp and paper mills throughout Canada, the United States, and Europe.

The Scott Paper Company is a joint venture of the Meade Corporation. O'Hara attributes the predicted paper shortage to low returns on investment, reflecting the falling rate of profit.

Says O'Hara: "The ills of the industry extend back into the late 1960s. They were based on substantial over-capacity and mills of low and non-profitability."

To increase capacity and thereby to meet demands, says O'Hara, requires the purchase of new machinery. "In 1965 we could put in a paper machine for \$50 to \$55 million. Today, a similar machine costs \$120 million."

O'Hara complains that press and paper prices do not encourage expansion. "We would like a 15 percent return on assets after taxes. We have had substantially less than that in the past."

O'Hara indicates that the new facilities in Escanaba, Michigan, were "losing one million dollars a month" until recently. "How many individual investors could take a substantial risk for a 5 percent return?" he asked.

He says the outlook will be brighter after April 30, when the Cost of Living Council formally lifts controls on price increases.

### INCREASED

In 1971, when Meade laid off many workers, prices increased dramatically, and the corporation reported record earnings of \$49.5 million.

Production has increased although the company is operating with a reduced number of workers.

New machinery is being added in a secret \$50 million expansion of paper production. The cost for

the expansion is financed directly from earnings and are not reported as such.

Workers report, however, that the new expansion will not result in any significant increase of the work force. "They've set up the new equipment in such a manner that workers will not have time to breathe," said one worker.

The company has stated that present earnings are not enough and that they must increase from \$49.5 to \$79.2 million. Meade treasurer Rube Bedford

asserts that this goal can be accomplished "only with everyone's cooperation."

Workers at Meade Corporation are organized under the International Paper Workers, AFL-CIO. Last year, the union negotiated a three year contract calling for a six percent wage increase for the first and each following year. The contract also contains a no-strike clause. Union negotiations at Meade are standard for the whole paper industry.

## Judge States FBI Distorted Evidence

BY JEAN BRUST  
ST. PAUL, Minn.—"I don't care how many FBI agents are in the courtroom listening to me," declared US District Court Judge Fred Nichols on March 6. "I think it has deteriorated."

Judge Nichols's admission that he suspects his courtroom of being filled with FBI agents came just after he accused the FBI of first withholding evidence and then distorting it in the Wounded Knee trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means.

Nichols's accusation followed the revelation that a petition presented in court as prosecution evidence was a photocopy of a doctored photocopy, and not the original.

The petition in question has been sought by defense attorneys for almost a year. It was signed by over 100 residents of Wounded Knee, and presented last March 3 to the US Marshalls during the occupation of Wounded Knee.

The petition stated that AIM was there "at our request" and asks that federal agents stop firing upon the occupiers and that they be allowed to pass freely through the government roadblock.

Reverend Paul Manhart, prosecution witness, testified that he thought some of the signatures on the petition might be

forgeries because of the penciled notation "resident" or "non-resident" next to the names. When the original petition was finally located and presented in court, there were no notations at all on it.

### DISTORTING

According to Sally Noheart, from the AIM defense committee this is especially significant because the judge has been forced to admit that the FBI has been suppressing and distorting evidence.

Earlier the defense made a motion to suppress a letter from Carter Camp partially because it had not been turned over to the defense until February although the FBI had received (or stolen) it early in September 1973.

As a result of these events, Judge Nichols has decided that defense attorneys and prosecutors should examine the FBI Wounded Knee files.

### INVESTIGATE

The Judge has assigned the US Postal Service and not the FBI to investigate John Birch society literature mailed to eight of the jurors in an obvious attempt to influence the jury.

So far in the case every witness the prosecution has put on the stand has been forced, under cross-examination, to substantiate the claims of the defense. Even R.D. Hurd, assistant US District attorney for South Dakota who is conducting the case, has complained that the defense is converting his witnesses to witnesses for the defendants.

## National Auto Conference

Of The Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party

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MARCH 31

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"That the UAW International follow the lead of truckers in the fight against inflation and unemployment by calling together the representatives of the trade union movement for the purpose of forcing Nixon out through national strike action and the building of a labor party as an alternative to Nixon."

This motion, put forward by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, passed in Local 1112, Lordstown.



# midwest news UAW Plans March On White House

**BY A REPORTER  
CLEVELAND, Ohio**  
—The Northeast Ohio and Northwest Pennsylvania region of the United Auto Workers has announced plans to march in front of the White House April 22 or 23 to demand Nixon's resignation or impeachment.

The UAW represents 85,000 workers in this region. The march will be held during the UAW's annual legislative conference, when UAW bureaucrats and appointed delegates will meet with Congressmen and Senators. In addition over 3000 petitions are being circulated in this area.

The petition which demands Nixon's resignation or impeachment reads in part: "The complete failure of his administration's ability to continue to lead our country is apparent in each of our lives each day in the areas of continuing inflation, unemployment at a recession level, mismanagement of energy shortages, the overall destruction of the total economy and

the mistrust of the American public to his leadership."

These petitions will be presented to Congressmen and Senators. The UAW bureaucracy has been forced to call this march under enormous pressure from rank and file members. Workers are demanding their union leadership fight the layoffs, speedup and inflation.

## BROOK PARK

At Ford's Brook Park complex alone, over 3000 workers have been laid off. Wayne Medders, president of the Brook Park local, has hired a caravan of buses for the Washington march.

While Medders and others are forced to call a march in front of the White House, they are desperately attempting to keep this explosive anger within the limits of protest and pressure on the Democrats.

In announcing plans for the march, Medders reported what he considered "shocking" remarks by his members about politicians in the Democratic Party.

"Governor Gilligan is running behind in the plants because of taxes on top of taxes," Medders said. One union member remarked that Cleveland's millionaire Senator Howard Metzenbaum "never hired a union man in his life."

# URW Breaks Off Flintkote Talks

**CHILLICOTHE, Ohio**—Negotiations between striking Flintkote workers and management have come to a standstill.

Management refused to negotiate a decent contract, throwing out a "take it or leave" offer.

Under the recently expired contract, Flintkote workers received minimal wages, supplemented by a 32 cent per hour cost of living supplement and another three cents an hour incentive pay.

The company's offer of a flat 45 cent an hour raise and the elimination of the cost of living clause and incentive pay will put the workers scale 80 cents below the last contract.

"The cost of living won't go down," said Floyd Edler, president of Local 656, United Rubber Workers of America. "We're not going to give up. The cost of living isn't going to go down. If it was good enough in the last contract, it had better be for this one."

Edler also said the workers "won't go back into that place with a pay cut." He said the URW negotiators learned from the mistakes of the local Alcoa aluminum contract of a few years ago.

"They took a big pay cut and they got a 10 week vacation in the first contract, then when the next one rolled around the employees lost their vacation too."



Bulletin discusses labor party with unemployed workers in Dayton.

# GM Layoffs At Dayton Plants

**BY A REPORTING  
TEAM**

**DAYTON, Ohio, March 6**—Layoffs continue to cut into the ranks of General Motors workers with more than 1300 laid off this past week.

Frigidaire announced 900 workers laid off while an additional 355 have been tossed out at Inland, 75 at Delco-Moraine, and 150 at Delco Products. Over 4500 workers from General Motors alone are on the unemployment compensation rolls.

These auto layoffs do not include Chrysler Airtemp, or the heavy cutbacks in every industry in Dayton.

The labor leadership continues to offer no solutions. At Frigidaire a total of at least 2100 workers have now been laid off. Auto workers are moving into the appliance section with a \$40 a week wage cut because of the wage differential engineered by the company and the union leadership.

Appliance workers, who received no wage increase in the latest contract, are threatening to walk out in May, when the local contract expires.

The Inland Division of General Motors continues to have the heaviest layoffs, in addition to several week long plant shut-downs. Dwayne Blair, president of United Rubber Workers Local-87, has had no proposal other than four day weeks. Some departments started on four day weeks last November, but the layoffs still continue.

An Inland worker told the Bulletin that Blair was elected because "the workers thought he would improve their conditions, but he has turned out to be nothing but a company man."

The GH&R Foundry, a division of National Malleable Iron Co. which makes castings for General Motors, is going on an indefinite four day week starting Friday.

Many workers report having to wait five and six weeks before receiving their first unemployment compensation or SUB pay. As one Delco-Moraine worker put it, "I don't know how I'm going to make it. Things just can't go on like this."

A fight must now be taken up against the layoffs; a political fight against Nixon that raises the demand for a labor party to nationalize all corporations under workers control. We urge all unemployed workers in Dayton to join the Young Socialists March for Jobs in Chicago on March 16. We call on the General Motors and Chrysler workers as well as the auto-related workers to attend the National Auto Conference of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party to be held in Dayton at the Mall Motor Inn on March 31.

## Clayton Corp. Hires 13 Scabs

**BY JOHN DUNN**

**ST. LOUIS, March 5**—The strike here of 25 workers in Machinists Local 1345, District 9, is entering its sixth week against the Clayton Corporation and the Clayton Plastics Co.

The company has refused to negotiate with the union and has hired about 13 scabs to keep production going.

The workers are negotiating for higher wages and job protection. The company, which makes aerosol valves for spray cans, wants foremen to do the work of production workers while several workers are laid off.

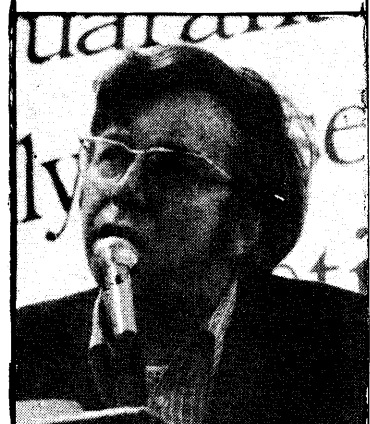
One woman striker told the Bulletin: "We didn't have a good contract to begin with, and the company doesn't want to give even a little bit. They offered a starting wage of \$2.20 an hour. We think people getting hired deserve more."

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**DETROIT**  
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Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, Workers League National Secretary

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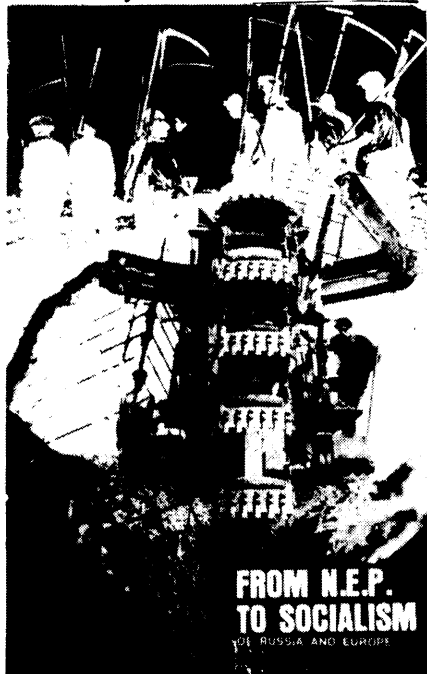
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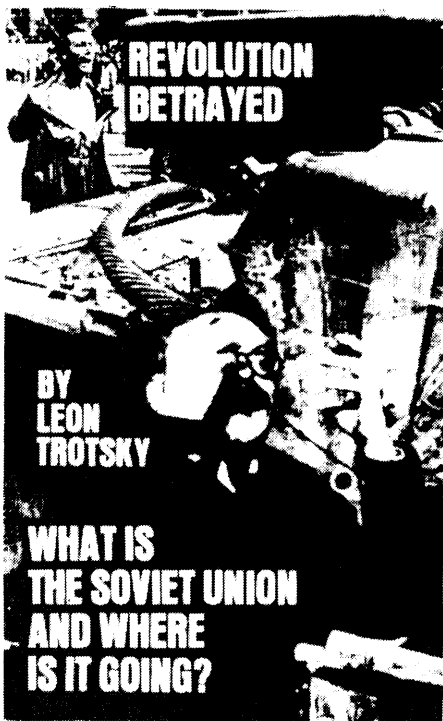
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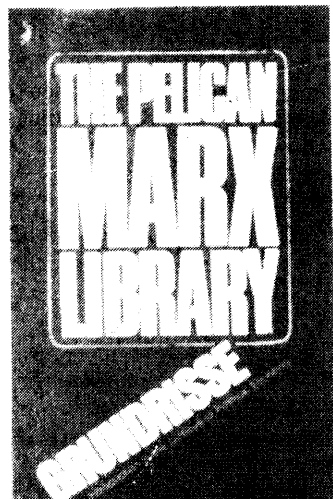
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Governor Reagan has used energy crisis to invoke emergency power law. See article below.

# Seattle Strike Postponed

**BY A REPORTER**  
SEATTLE—At a stormy meeting of the King County Labor Council, Seattle union leaders pushed through another delay of the general strike first called almost a month ago.

Despite the increasing shortage of gasoline and the growing lines of cars at Seattle's gas stations, the strike was postponed until union officials can meet with Washington Governor Evans. Evans probably will not meet with the union leaders until March 19.

The Labor Council, supported

by the Building Trades Council, the Puget Sound Maritime Trades Council, and Local 19 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), voted to call the general strike last month in response to the gasoline shortage.

They are demanding an immediate emergency increase of gas allocations of 25 percent, as well as a rationing program that would give priority to workers, and a labor-government conference on the fuel shortage.

They have not taken up the demand for nationalization of the oil companies or come out in favor of the formation of a labor party. Instead they are desperately trying to hold the Seattle labor movement within the limits of pressure on Nixon and Evans for stopgap relief measures.

### PROPER

One official, who asked to remain anonymous, told the *Bulletin*: "We are trying to keep this thing strictly within the proper channels. We don't want to shut the city down unless there is no other recourse. We don't want things to get out of hand."

He admitted, however, that a large section of the labor movement in Seattle is demanding an immediate general strike.

He said that the fight over this issue dominated Wednesday night's Labor Council meeting.

# FBI Terrorizes 'SLA' Prisoners

**BY TED BAKER**  
SAN FRANCISCO—Joseph Remiro and Michael Little issued their first public statement today since their arrest over two months ago. The two alleged members of the Symbionese Liberation Army demanded to be allowed to hold a live nationwide TV and radio news conference to detail a plan they say could lead to the release of Patricia Hearst.

According to the statement: "The Attorney General of the US, William Saxbe, and the director of the FBI, Clarence Kelly, want Patricia Hearst to die." They claimed in their statement that they have been beaten and intimidated by San Quentin authorities, "in hopes of...retaliation by the SLA on the person of Patricia Hearst."

The statement says: "They are desperately trying to discredit the SLA in the eyes of the nation's hungry, oppressed people. We feel it is of the utmost importance to expose this callous plan to the public in the hopes of averting the death of Patricia Hearst, those holding her, and ourselves."

Their plan to gain the release of Patricia Hearst was outlined in a meeting with Raymond Percunier, director of the state prison system, and numerous FBI agents last week at San Quentin.

### TOUR

Before the meeting the two were led on a tour of the gas chamber in San Quentin. They both face possible execution if they are convicted on charges of shooting Oakland school superintendent Marcus Foster. Earlier in the week, attempts were made to set the two up for assassination. In their statement they said that guards at the prison spread rumors among inmates that the two men had knifed a Black inmate. Their statement said the

meeting had been set up in an unusual phone call from "death row Jeff," an inmate of Folsom Prison. The two men's attorney's did not learn of the meeting until the next day.

In no place in the letter did the two men admit to be members of the SLA or to having been involved in the shooting of Dr. Foster. Their lawyers would neither confirm nor deny the authenticity of the statement when contacted by reporters, but admitted that the San Quentin meeting had taken place.

All parties in the case are under a strict court gag order barring them from speaking to the press. However, radio station KPFA which received the letter claims that it was hand delivered by one of the attorneys.

# Reagan Invokes Emergency Power

**BY DENNIS BREHM**  
"During a state of emergency the Governor shall have complete authority over all agencies. He shall promulgate and enforce such orders and regulations as he deems necessary."

—from State of Emergency Services Act

The authority for Governor Ronald Reagan to declare that drivers can only purchase gas every other day was invoked under the State Emergency Services Act. This act, which gives Reagan broad powers requires no vote from the public or from their elected officials.

Under the guise of the fuel crisis, Reagan, with the full backing of Nixon, has brought back an act which was used in 1965 to mobilize National Guard troops during the Watts rebellion.

The State of Emergency Services Act is a blueprint for dic-

tatorship. It permits the Governor to proclaim a state of insurrection and to declare martial law.

The act specifically states that it is to be used only in cases of war, riot, fire, air pollution, flood, storm, epidemic, earthquake; but not in labor controversies.

### AUTHORITY

"It would be up to the discretion of the Governor of the state of California and if he declared a riot he would have the authority to use this act." Mix also admitted that under this act, if Reagan "deemed it necessary" he could limit the work week to four days.

The use of this state law to introduce gas rationing at a time when mass strikes such as that of the San Francisco city workers have shown the determination of workers to fight the policies of Nixon, must be a warning to every worker.



# Hawaii Sugar Strike Shuts Plantations

**BY A REPORTER HONOLULU, Hawaii—**Members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union went on strike here last Saturday demanding guarantees against layoffs, a cost of living clause, and a wage hike above the 5.5 percent over two years being offered by the employers.

Robert McElrath, the ILWU Regional Director, said, "Our people are prepared for a minimum strike of three months. All the plantations will be picketed."

The sugar companies have refused to negotiate seriously with the ILWU. They have provoked this strike in an effort to enforce massive layoffs, speedup, and greater efficiency. The ILWU leadership tried to prevent a strike, even offering to settle certain issues by mediation and arbitration. This was attacked by the companies as a "roadblock" to reaching an agreement.

This strike can paralyze the economy of Hawaii. Sugar and pineapple are the main industries of the island.

But the ILWU leadership is holding back the enormous power of the union membership. 6000 ILWU pineapple workers have been working without a contract since January 31. The pineapple companies are seeking to move out of Hawaii in order to exploit nonunion labor in the

Philippines and Thailand.

Bridges has deliberately held back a strike by pineapple workers in order to avoid a political confrontation with the government. He seeks to split the strength of the union.

### SUPPORT

At the same time, he has not committed the longshore section of the ILWU either in Hawaii or the mainland to support the sugar workers with strike action. This act would deliver a powerful blow to the Hawaiian economy, which is completely dependent on shipping.

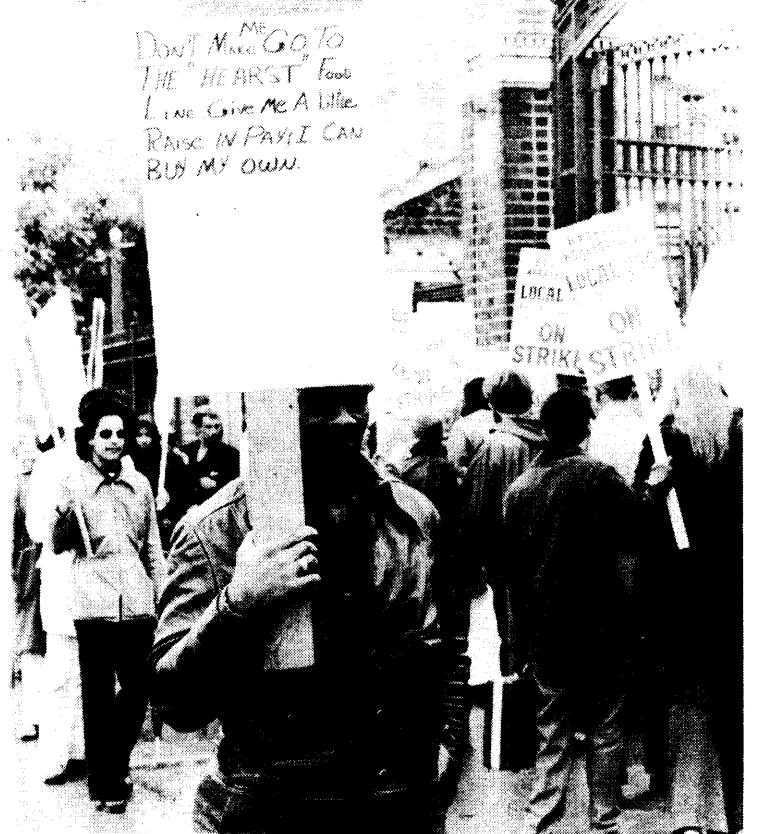
In the January 25 *Dispatcher*, newspaper of the ILWU, Bridges pledged the "International union's full power and support" to defend the jobs of plantation workers in Hawaii. This means

strike action by the entire ILWU and US dockers must see that Bridges backs up his words.

Bridges has refused at the same time to take any action in defense of the longshore contract, which was cancelled by the National Labor Relations Board several weeks ago. The NLRB ruled illegal three clauses of the contract guaranteeing ILWU jurisdiction over containers.

### STRIKE

Bridges must be forced to launch strike action by longshoremen in support of the plantation workers, and at the same time, demand a new contract with the Pacific Maritime Association which will restore ILWU jurisdiction over containers and win a 25 percent wage hike to make up for inflation.



San Francisco hospital workers set up picket line at SF General Hospital as city workers strike continues to grow. Below, Tim Twomey, head of SEIU Local 250 hospital workers, and a vice-president of the Bay Area Labor Council. See article page 1.

## GM Cuts 1450 Fremont Jobs

**BY BARRY GREY SAN FRANCISCO—**The most recent wave of layoffs announced by General Motors will have the hardest impact at the General Motors Assembly Division plant in Fremont, California.

The entire second shift of auto production is scheduled to be eliminated indefinitely, laying off 1450 members of UAW Local 1364. These layoffs will throw out men with as much as seven years seniority.

The Fremont ranks know they have been betrayed by Woodcock and by Earlie Mays, the shop committee chairman of Local 1364.

Ernest, who works on the night shift on the truck line, has five years seniority. He will be among those laid off on March 26. He told the *Bulletin*:

"I was laid off in 1970 for seven months when they eliminated the second shift at Fremont. It was like a long vacation then, because I was able to pick up a few odd jobs together with my unemployment and SUB checks, and actually made more money while I went to school part time. "But this time it is different. Inflation and unemployment now

makes it much harder to live with these layoffs.

### TRIMMED

"SUB will run out by April and there is no way I can live on \$75 a week. The house and car payments and bills will have to be trimmed, and my wife will have to get a job to make ends meet.

"I called Mays to see what he was doing about these layoffs. He said that he and the International were trying to get us jobs at the Ford Milpitas plant.

"I got mad and told him neither he nor the union should accept this layoff. I don't want to be forced to work at Ford or laid off on the streets just because GM can't sell these damn cars."

Ford Milpitas is hiring 1300 men and is adding an entire shift in preparation for production of Mustang Two's.

"I told Earlie Mays that he should not accept this layoff or rotten contract or Nixon's whole energy crisis without a fight. I am prepared now to do anything to fight this and everyone that I know feels the same way."

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is demanding an emergency membership meeting of Local 1364 before the next membership meeting scheduled for March 24. We demand immediate strike action by Local 136 and a national strike by the UAW against these layoffs.

## 100,000 Face Layoffs In Construction Slump

**BY ALLEN SALTER SAN JOSE—**Between 50,000 and 100,000 construction workers in the Bay Area and northern California may lose their jobs over the next several months.

This is the prediction of one building trades union representative in Santa Clara County who spoke to the *Bulletin* last week. The layoffs will be the result of massive inflation in the cost of building materials. The roofing trades have already been hard hit. Makers of roofing materials, which are a petroleum-based product, have ceased production in northern California.

The immediate cause of this cutback is that the sole producer of roofing materials, the Trumbull Oil Co., has now diverted its reduced oil allotments to a Defense Department contractor.

This has already halted major construction projects throughout northern California. Roofers are now only working one-half week in Santa Clara County.

### CRISIS

Although Trumbull Oil may renew production in the next couple of weeks, there will be no letup in the crisis in the construction industry.

Mr. Woodbenny, financial

secretary of the Hod Carriers in Santa Clara County, told the *Bulletin* that because of the crunch, steel prices had soared. Steel lining, used in all major construction projects, has now become unavailable because it is too expensive. This has led to a complete halt in the construction of the major new wing of the El Camino Hospital in San Jose.

Woodbenny stated that if the price of basic materials used in building continues to increase, there will be a complete collapse of the construction industry.

## Teachers Plan Strike To Win 15% Pay Hike

**BY A BULLETIN REPORTER**

**SAN FRANCISCO—**The teachers union, American Federation of Teachers, voted Thursday night to strike San Francisco public schools, beginning on Friday, March 8.

Many teachers have already been refusing to cross picket lines of city workers since Thursday and have picketed the schools in support of striking clerks, janitors and cafeteria workers.

The union, representing more than half of the city's 4500 teachers, is demanding a wage increase of 15 percent and many educational changes. So far the school board's offer has been 6 percent.

Originally, the teachers were not expected to strike for another two weeks, but at a meeting Thursday, the decision was made to strike now with the city workers and the MUNI bus drivers.

The San Francisco Labor Council has refused sanction to the teachers strike. Labor Council Secretary John Crowley disagreed with teachers union leader John Ballard that once teachers join the strike of other school employees, the walkout will, in effect, be sanctioned.

The Labor Council has been backpeddling on the city workers strike since the beginning. Now, faced with an almost total city shutdown, the Council leaders are seeking to sabotage it in favor of keeping friendly relations with Mayor Alioto.

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

# lucha obrera

lucía rivera

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A través de la lucha de los pescadores y de otros sectores de la clase obrera fue que se conquistaron los derechos que al presente tienen, las ocho horas de trabajo y el derecho de tener una unión.

Al presente los pescadores se enfrentan a la miseria y hambre, debido a la crisis que se halla la industria pesquera. De 10 millones de toneladas de pescado recojidos hace años atrás, al presente se recojen solamente 4 millones de toneladas.

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La Liga Comunista ha hecho campaña dentro de las uniones de los pescadores, 18,000 miembros, para construir un nuevo liderato en las uniones con un programa que les garantice trabajo permanente, y salarios, en contra de las medidas de desempleo masivo en la industria, y la necesidad de que las uniones de los pescadores se afilien a la CGTP. Debido a su actual liderato estos han maniobrado para separar a los pescadores de la CGTP y lo han afiliados a la union controlada por el estado, Central de Trabajadores Revolucionarios Peruanos (CTRP).

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El Partido Comunista, desde que Velasco llevo al poder a través de un golpe de estado en el 1968, ha colaborado con todas las medidas del gobierno en contra de la clase obrera. Los stalinistas del Partido Comunista quienes controlan a la CGTP, han usado su posición para tratar de destruir la independencia de clase de los trabajadores, expresada a través de sus uniones.

La Liga Comunista, organización trotskista ha llevado una campaña en la clase obrera para que esta rechacen las políticas de colaboración de clase de los stalinistas y ha hecho un llamado al Partido Comunista para que se celebren nuevas elecciones, (estas estaban programadas hace 6 años atrás) y que el Partido Comunista entre en las elecciones en contra de la dictadura militar con un programa de demandas socialistas: nacionalización de todas las industrias bajo control obrero, y una economía planificada para el beneficio de la clase obrera y los campesinos.

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# Lordstown Workers Angry At UAW Order

**BY FRED MUELLER**  
**LORDSTOWN, Mar. 11—Striking auto workers at the Fisher Body fabricating plant are angered by orders from the United Auto Workers International to return to work tonight before a settlement on local contract issues has been reached.**

UAW President Leonard Woodcock has labelled this job action a "mini-strike" even though the members of UAW Local 1714 had intended to stay out until the thousands of grievances that have piled up were resolved.

The strike, now in its fourth day, has already led to a shutdown of the Vega assembly plant in the Lordstown complex. This shutdown has hit GM hard because the Vega is virtually the only car produced by the corporation that is still selling well.

However, Woodcock attempts to end this strike now because he wishes to avoid at all costs a confrontation with GM.

At the same time, he refuses to launch a fight against the intolerable plant conditions and massive layoffs by mobilizing the full strength of the UAW in a nationwide strike behind the Lordstown workers.

"The strike doesn't make sense, because we still have no contract," a Fisher Body worker, Jose, told the *Bulletin*. "When you go on strike, you're supposed to stay out until you get

a contract. This is not like a strike; it's a layoff.

"It's about time we had a national auto strike," said a worker from the Vega assembly plant. "So many people are out of work because of shortages. This is how the big man raises prices, and they tell the worker to roll with the punches.

### THREE DAY STRIKES

"We've been having these three day strikers for the last few years, fighting one plant at a time. The International is behind this. The local asked for strike authorization and the International wouldn't give it during the truckers strike. That would have become a national strike, a general strike against Nixon. Every time we should strike, the International steps in. As far as I'm concerned, Woodcock is part of Nixon's group."

A worker at the van assembly plant at Lordstown expressed the belief that workers feel layoffs will hit their departments very soon, especially in the van plant.

"You need a national strike. Let's say everything closed until we got what we wanted, until we forced Nixon out. There are so many thousands laid off and so many more will be. Why don't we get together and say if we can't all work, GM and the others won't make anything."

Woodcock seeks to end this strike at a time when the continuing spiral of layoffs must be answered by mobilizing the full strength of the United Auto Workers in a fight to defend jobs.

This week, GM is laying off 52,000 workers at 18 plants. During the week of March 18, it

will idle 36,400 workers at nine plants. The following week, another 32,200 will be thrown out of work at nine plants.

### SLASH

The fact that GM is now deeply committed to a program of mass layoffs is shown by the company's decision to slash investments in production over the next few years.

General Motors announced Thursday that two new plants that had been scheduled to open in Memphis and Oklahoma City will not be built. Furthermore, GM is stopping its production of motor homes in Pontiac, Michigan.

Lordstown workers must demand that Woodcock call a national strike in order to defend the jobs of every auto worker and to bring all those laid off back into the plants immediately.

The full strength of the trade unions can be rallied around the UAW in this struggle by linking such a national strike to a political campaign to force the resignation of Nixon and new elections.

Auto workers must demand that the UAW take forward this political fight through the call for a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

These policies must be fought for in the UAW through the building of a new leadership against Woodcock.

We call on all auto workers to attend the National Auto Conference of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in Dayton on March 31 at the Mall Motor Inn in order to build this leadership.

## San Francisco . . .

(Continued From Page 1)  
 over 100 workers streaming out with picket signs to the chant of, "Go, Go, Go." Most pickets went to the MUNI car barns to stop the city buses from their morning run.

Police were sent to the picket lines, threatening to arrest anyone blocking the gate and jabbing several pickets in the face with their billy clubs. Many drivers stated their desire to honor the strike despite Squire's instructions.

Labor Council and SEIU bureaucrats hurried to the car barns, pleading with the pickets to go home. Attempting to justify the postponement, Labor Council Secretary John Crowley explained that he had withdrawn strike sanction because "the mayor requested it."

City workers set up pickets and kept over 10,000 employees away from two city hospitals, welfare offices, City Hall, schools, health centers, and numerous other city offices.

Workers are determined to stick to their full demands of \$80 a month across the board and a fully paid dental plan. Thursday, Alioto offered a compromise package of \$50 and a partially paid dental plan which was immediately rejected by the negotiating committee.

A laundry worker at San Francisco General Hospital explained, "We make about \$600 a month. After deductions it comes to about \$400. With everything going up, we need a raise or we won't be able to live. With milk, bread, and gas going

up, we need a raise to live."

Diane Feinstein, president of the Board of Supervisors, said she considered the strike illegal and announced that she was crossing the picket line to "help push the carts with the doctors." Mrs. Feinstein, who was endorsed by the union leadership in the recent election, set up a government efficiency committee.

### PICKETS

Pickets at the MUNI car barn told the *Bulletin*: "People warned us of a sellout, and I didn't believe them at first. We took a vote, got a strike sanction, and before we go out, Twomey and the others want to stop the strike.

"I'm sure they have the whole thing planned to just use the threat of a strike and not carry it out. But the plan got ripped up tonight. We've got to have a new leadership in this union before the strike is over."

All day Thursday, the union officials permitted scabs to cross picket lines at General Hospital, over the objections of the striking hospital workers. Police were massed at the emergency entrance to the hospital and warned strikers they would be arrested if they touched or even talked to people crossing the line.

Striking workers from the port set up picket lines and shut down several piers. James Herman, head of ILWU Local 34, told the pickets to leave and Tim Twomey ordered the pickets pulled.

Almost no pickets were dispatched to the airport, despite the decision of the membership to shut down both the airport and the docks.

San Francisco workers are learning that their fight for decent wages is a political struggle against the Democrats as well as Nixon and that their leadership will not conduct an all-out fight that means breaking with the capitalist parties.

We call on workers in San Francisco and throughout the country to join the Young Socialists and Workers League on March 16 to build the revolutionary party.

## Building The Bulletin Over The Top!

We have gone over our February goal of 5000 subscriptions to the *Bulletin* with a grand total of 5136.

The East Flatbush trailblazers sold 1135 subscriptions in two weeks. The total subs for the other branches was 4001.

The branches that went over their quotas were Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, North Side Chicago, North Side Minneapolis, and Pomona Valley.

Every branch must begin subscription campaigns immediately for the March drive of 5000. While we start this drive a week late, every effort has to be made to complete this drive on time.



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**LORDSTOWN, Mar. 11—Striking auto workers at the Fisher Body fabricating plant are angered by orders from the United Auto Workers International to return to work tonight before a settlement on local contract issues has been reached.**

UAW President Leonard Woodcock has labelled this job action a "mini-strike" even though the members of UAW Local 1714 had intended to stay out until the thousands of grievances that have piled up were resolved.

The strike, now in its fourth day, has already led to a shutdown of the Vega assembly plant in the Lordstown complex. This shutdown has hit GM hard because the Vega is virtually the only car produced by the corporation that is still selling well.

However, Woodcock attempts to end this strike now because he wishes to avoid at all costs a confrontation with GM.

At the same time, he refuses to launch a fight against the intolerable plant conditions and massive layoffs by mobilizing the full strength of the UAW in a nationwide strike behind the Lordstown workers.

"The strike doesn't make sense, because we still have no contract," a Fisher Body worker, Jose, told the Bulletin. "When you go on strike, you're supposed to stay out until you get

a contract. This is not like a strike; it's a layoff.

"It's about time we had a national auto strike," said a worker from the Vega assembly plant. "So many people are out of work because of shortages. This is how the big man raises prices, and they tell the worker to roll with the punches.

### THREE DAY STRIKES

"We've been having these three day strikers for the last few years, fighting one plant at a time. The International is behind this. The local asked for strike authorization and the International wouldn't give it during the truckers strike. That would have become a national strike, a general strike against Nixon. Every time we should strike, the International steps in. As far as I'm concerned, Woodcock is part of Nixon's group."

A worker at the van assembly plant at Lordstown expressed the belief that workers feel layoffs will hit their departments very soon, especially in the van plant.

"You need a national strike. Let's say everything closed until we got what we wanted, until we forced Nixon out. There are so many thousands laid off and so many more will be. Why don't we get together and say if we can't all work, GM and the others won't make anything."

Woodcock seeks to end this strike at a time when the continuing spiral of layoffs must be answered by mobilizing the full strength of the United Auto Workers in a fight to defend jobs.

This week, GM is laying off 52,000 workers at 18 plants. During the week of March 18, it

will idle 36,400 workers at nine plants. The following week, another 32,200 will be thrown out of work at nine plants.

### SLASH

The fact that GM is now deeply committed to a program of mass layoffs is shown by the company's decision to slash investments in production over the next few years.

General Motors announced Thursday that two new plants that had been scheduled to open in Memphis and Oklahoma City will not be built. Furthermore, GM is stopping its production of motor homes in Pontiac, Michigan.

Lordstown workers must demand that Woodcock call a national strike in order to defend the jobs of every auto worker and to bring all those laid off back into the plants immediately.

The full strength of the trade unions can be rallied around the UAW in this struggle by linking such a national strike to a political campaign to force the resignation of Nixon and new elections.

Auto workers must demand that the UAW take forward this political fight through the call for a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

These policies must be fought for in the UAW through the building of a new leadership against Woodcock.

We call on all auto workers to attend the National Auto Conference of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in Dayton on March 31 at the Mall Motor Inn in order to build this leadership.

## San Francisco . . .

(Continued From Page 1)  
 over 100 workers streaming out with picket signs to the chant of, "Go, Go, Go." Most pickets went to the MUNI car barns to stop the city buses from their morning run.

Police were sent to the picket lines, threatening to arrest anyone blocking the gate and jabbing several pickets in the face with their billy clubs. Many drivers stated their desire to honor the strike despite Squire's instructions.

Labor Council and SEIU bureaucrats hurried to the car barns, pleading with the pickets to go home. Attempting to justify the postponement, Labor Council Secretary John Crowley explained that he had withdrawn strike sanction because "the mayor requested it."

City workers set up pickets and kept over 10,000 employees away from two city hospitals, welfare offices, City Hall, schools, health centers, and numerous other city offices.

Workers are determined to stick to their full demands of \$80 a month across the board and a fully paid dental plan. Thursday, Alioto offered a compromise package of \$50 and a partially paid dental plan which was immediately rejected by the negotiating committee.

A laundry worker at San Francisco General Hospital explained, "We make about \$600 a month. After deductions it comes to about \$400. With everything going up, we need a raise or we won't be able to live. With milk, bread, and gas going

up, we need a raise to live."

Diane Feinstein, president of the Board of Supervisors, said she considered the strike illegal and announced that she was crossing the picket line to "help push the carts with the doctors." Mrs. Feinstein, who was endorsed by the union leadership in the recent election, set up a government efficiency committee.

### PICKETS

Pickets at the MUNI car barn told the Bulletin: "People warned us of a sellout, and I didn't believe them at first. We took a vote, got a strike sanction, and before we go out, Twomey and the others want to stop the strike.

"I'm sure they have the whole thing planned to just use the threat of a strike and not carry it out. But the plan got ripped up tonight. We've got to have a new leadership in this union before the strike is over."

All day Thursday, the union officials permitted scabs to cross picket lines at General Hospital, over the objections of the striking hospital workers. Police were massed at the emergency entrance to the hospital and warned strikers they would be arrested if they touched or even talked to people crossing the line.

Striking workers from the port set up picket lines and shut down several piers. James Herman, head of ILWU Local 34, told the pickets to leave and Tim Twomey ordered the pickets pulled.

Almost no pickets were dispatched to the airport, despite the decision of the membership to shut down both the airport and the docks.

San Francisco workers are learning that their fight for decent wages is a political struggle against the Democrats as well as Nixon and that their leadership will not conduct an all-out fight that means breaking with the capitalist parties.

We call on workers in San Francisco and throughout the country to join the Young Socialists and Workers League on March 16 to build the revolutionary party.

## Building The Bulletin Over The Top!

We have gone over our February goal of 5000 subscriptions to the Bulletin with a grand total of 5136.

The East Flatbush trailblazers sold 1135 subscriptions in two weeks. The total subs for the other branches was 4001.

The branches that went over their quotas were Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, North Side Chicago, North Side Minneapolis, and Pomona Valley.

Every branch must begin subscription campaigns immediately for the March drive of 5000. While we start this drive a week late, every effort has to be made to complete this drive on time.