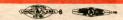
NOW TWICE A WEEK!

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER TWENTY ONE 357

FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1974



FIFTEEN CENTS

BY THE EDITORS

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His refusal to supply the House Judiciary Committee with the documents and tapes requested for their impeachment inquiry is an open breach of the Constitution.

It is the desperate act of a guilty President who knows that these documents and tapes would reveal his criminal activity.

Nixon's decision to defy the House makes a confrontation absolutely inevitable. But the working class cannot afford to wait while the Democrats hold back, providing Nixon with precious months to procede with his program for mass unemployment and runaway inflation.

The working class cannot afford to wait while its Democratic and Republican enemies maneuver and prepare to bring in a Ford government.

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The documents and tapes re-(Continued On Page 12)

ALL OUT MARCH 16! NARCH 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

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Francisco Strike And Our March he San

The union leadership in San Francisco is actively working to sabotage and break the powerful general strike movement of city workers.

There is a great danger that the leadership of the Services Employees International Union (SEIU), aided by the rest of the labor bureaucrats, will force the workers back and make major concessions to the government.

Mayor Alioto has mobilized police to reopen picketed facilities, a move which could lead to a total general strike on the order of 1934. This is what Thompson,

Harry Bridges, Walter Johnson and all the other union leaders want to prevent.

There is no way that San Francisco workers can take forward this strike under the present leadership.

In the recent strikes of truck drivers and of the

Baltimore teachers, the spontaneous movement of the workers was defeated by the leadership who called off the strikes despite mass opposition.

In San Francisco, the SEIU leaders have already made a significant retreat on picketing that will weaken the strike and opens the door to a sellout.

The confidence that San Francisco workers have gained in their power during this strike points up all the more sharply the need for a leadership that can take it forward politically against the government.

While there must be a fight to win all the demands of the strike and to take it as far as possible, the most important thing is to prepare now for the future struggles in which this leadership can be defeated.

The San Francisco strike is just the beginning of a new upsurge of struggles in the labor movement in response to the conditions of mass inflation created by

the Nixon government. The attack that San Francisco workers face now is a foretaste of the even more violent attacks that Nixon is preparing for workers fighting to defend their rights.

The Workers League and Young Socialists are holding a march against Nixon in San Francisco in the middle of this strike in order to strengthen and build a revolutionary party. This campaign is central in training workers and youth as revolutionary fighters, to lead the next wave of struggles politically against the government.

We are marching to assemble and recruit workers and youth to the Workers League and Young Socialists in the San Francisco communities of Filmore, Hunters Point, in the Mission District, and in cities all over the country. Through this campaign we fight to build a revolutionary leadership with strength within the unions, so that in the next period workers can go forward and win the decisive class battles ahead.

In this strike, the role of the Democratic Party has been clearly exposed. Mayor Alioto calls in strikebreaking police while the union leaders act to undermine it behind the scenes.

Our march this weekend is the most important event because it is only our movement that draws the lessons of these experiences, that fights on the need for workers to be politically independent as a class, and in this way is preparing to lead a struggle against the

It is only in the construction of this party that the present leadership can be exposed and driven out of the trade unions.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party through their strike support committees have actually worked hand in glove with the labor bureaucracy, giving their betrayal a left cover and a justification. They have consistently opposed the fight of the Workers League for the political mobilization of the

labor movement against Nixon.

Other radicals, left critics of the SWP and the Stalinists, tailend every strike, extolling militancy as the solution in itself, and never fight to take these struggles beyond the immediate issues.

It was the Stalinists together with the right-wing trade union bureaucrats in the leadership of the longshore union that led to the defeat of the 1934 San Francisco General Strike.

This strike, over union recognition and a wage increase, was marked by bloody clashes between the workers and police forces. The actual General Strike began when two workers were murdered.

It was above all the Stalinists, under the leadership of Harry Bridges, head of the International Union of Longshoremen and Warehousemen, that were responsible for the defeat of the strike.

Bridges refused to break with the Democratic Roosevelt government, and instead of mobilizing the workers independently against the two parties, relied on the liberals to support the workers.

These very same forces, Stalinists and revisionists, seek today to prevent the development of a revolutionary leadership in the unions.

Bridges is joined by Walter Johnson, leader of the striking Sears clerks, in alliance with the revisionist Socialist Workers Party. These forces, while making left protest noises, restrict the struggles of workers to an acceptance of capitalism and refuse to break with their political support for the Democratic Party.

The Workers League and Young Socialists are building a movement against Stalinism, based on Trotskyism, on the fight for the independence of workers from the parties of capitalism, and on a firm belief in their ability to overthrow capitalism.

We urge all workers and youth to join our marches on March 16 and to help build the revolutionary party.



Rateau workers during plant occupation.

Plant Occupations Hit F

BY MELODY FARROW

The impact of the economic crisis in France has led to a sharp upsurge in the class struggle in recent months.

In a series of bitter strike struggles and spontaneous occupations, French workers are resisting the Pompidou government's plan to create mass unemployment and destroy wages and conditions in order to streamline French industry for international trade war.

The strike of employees of the Bank of France is beginning to hit the economy. On March 7, helmeted riot police took over the Bank of France office in Paris which workers had occupied. The unions called for a strike of all of the bank's 14,000 workers in the country.

The workers of Rateau have been occupying their plant since January 31 after being told that 400 workers were to be laid off followed by a possible total shutdown of the plant.

A new wildcat of 200 miners threatens to shut the entire Lorraine Coal basin. Only last January, a strike of the underground train crews led to the lockout of all 10,000 miners.

At the Saviem auto plant, 300 workers are occupying the plant in a wage dispute. Management has locked out the rest. Saviem refuses to reopen the plant until it receives a guarantee from the union that there will be no future walkouts.

At the same time, a new upsurge of the student struggle is taking place. On March 7, almost 20,000 high school students chanting "Selection-Repression, Law of the Bosses" marched in Paris against the government's educational "reform" which will bar thousands of youth from the right to a college education.

Each of these strikes has taken on an openly insurrectionary character. While the Stalinistcontrolled General Federation of Workers (CGT) seeks to limit the struggle to the individual plants, each strike is exposing the impossibility of any reforms.

The French working class is rapidly entering into another general strike situation, under conditions where the Stalinist leadership is more discredited than ever but also at a time when the ruling class, unlike during the 1968 General Strike, is preparing its army and special police for civil war.

French Stalinism has been thrown into tremendous crisis by the powerful movement of the French working class, creating unparalleled opportunities to build a new revolutionary leadership, as part of the International Committee of the

abour Party D

BY A REPORTER

Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain within hours of the formation of a Labour government warned that this government would betray the working class and desocialist manded policies be implemented.

This warning has been rapidly borne out. Labour Party leader Harold Wilson has assembled a right-wing Cabinet and assured busi-

A 1000 strong march there will be no price cuts former Prime Minister Edward organized by the and no nationalization of

> The Labour government can only be a government of crisis. It has no program to solve the economic crisis of capitalism. It stands with the capitalists in attempting to force the working class to bear the burden of the crisis through massive inflation, unemployment, taxes and wage laws.

> Wilson will now become the tool of the Tories to launch these attacks while the preparation for a military-police dictatorship continues behind the scenes.

> Wilson's decision to end the three day work week and the

> > And 6 Contaction

nessmen and bankers that state of emergency imposed by Heath has solved nothing. It has only exposed, as the Workers Revolutionary Party stated in their election campaign, the fundamental economic crisis in Britain.

> The National Council of Economic Development, chaired by Labour Minister of the Treasury Denis Healey, has announced that steel production woll only return to 80 or 85 percent of normal. Other major industrial leaders refuse to give any guarantee of returning to a 100 percent production schedule.

The three day week has created conditions for collapse and bankruptcy of many middle and small-sized companies who cannot expand production without cash reserves. The banks are withholding credit from companies who are in shaky financial shape.

The declining rate of profit in capitalism internationally will force the British industrialists to increase unemployment and productivity, while inflation

rages out of control. The British staggering debts from the International Monetary Fund that will be paid for by more brutal slashes in workers living standards.

Michael Foot, Labour Employment Minister warned that "some form of wage restraint" would still be necessary.

The new government will immediately be thrown into confrontation with over five million workers demanding pay increases to make up for inflation.

This Labour government, unlike the Labour government of 1964-1970, takes power under conditions of massive struggles of the working class, in the course of which the role of the Labour Party as a servant of capitalism can be exposed and a revolutionary party built that will lead the fight for socialism.

No sooner have British workers dumped the Tories than they face a new struggle that will directly require the fight to take power.

The Workers Revolutionary banks will be forced to assume Party campaigned in this election to prepare the working class for this new stage of the class struggle. The WRP campaigned on a program of full nationalization under workers control of all industry and expropriation of the banks as the only answer to the crisis in order to expose all those who said capitalism could be reformed.

The lessons of these events is vital to American workers as the political and economic crisis deepens here.

We must fight for a labor party here as an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans and in this campaign construct an independent, revolutionary leadership within the unions.

A labor party will be created in the US at a time when no basis for reform exists, posing immediately the need to go beyond it and prepare for the taking of power by the working class.

To carry this out, the Workers League must be built into a mass movement in advance, to prepare workers for this.

Managing Editor: Melody Farrow; Labor Editor: David North Art Director: Jeannie Cooper

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Syrian President Hafez Assad opposes lifting of oil embargo.

Saudi Arabia, Egypt Engineer End Of Embargo

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The recent decision by the Arab oil producing states meeting in Libya to lift the oil embargo against the United States is a vicious blow against the struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people and is aimed at forcing a settlement of the Israeli-Syrian conflict in the Golan Heights.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has been shuttling through the Middle East for months attempting to line up the leaders of Egypt and Saudi Arabia to force Syria to accept a disengagement and a removal of the Arab oil embargo.

Kissinger has consistently sought to isolate Syria to gain time to prepare Israel for new aggression against the Arab workers and peasants.

Syria, Libya, and Algeria have been bitterly opposed to abandoning the oil weapon and conceding to the US as long as the hostilities continue on the Syrian front.

Only a few days ago in the sharpest statement to date, Syrian Defense Minister General Mustafa Tlas denounced Egyptian President Sadat's capitulation by accusing Egypt of betraying a Syrian counteroffensive during the October war.

He declared that Cairo's acceptance of the cease-fire "came as an unexpected surprise to us...and this denied us a rare opportunity to achieve a decisive victory."

OPPOSITION

The move to lift the embargo will meet with the bitter opposition of millions of Arabs determined to defend their rights against Zionist Israel and United States imperialism.

This will be particularly the case since Israel has made it absolutely clear that it intends to concede nothing to the Arabs and will continue her drive to prepare for a new war.

Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir, in her address to the Israeli Parliament, capitulated to the right wing of her party by declaring that Israel would never return to the old 1967 borders, which were "never recognized boundaries and are not defensible borders."

She accused Syria of preparing a new offensive and rejected all proposals for a west bank Palestinian state, proclaiming that Israel stood for two states, Jordan and Israel, with a "united Jerusalem as its capital."

The Syrian government immediately denounced her remarks as "a reaffirmation of the Zionist policy based on expansion and occupation."

The most treacherous role is being played by the Soviet Union. Its recent public statement denouncing Sadat's efforts to halt the embargo as "a surrender in the face of American pressure" comes after months of Soviet pressure on Syria to do precisely that.

MANEUVERED

It was the Stalinist bureaucracy together with the United States which maneuvered to isolate Syria by arranging the Egyptian cease-fire. It was Brezhnev who was instrumental in setting up the Geneva "peace" negotiations which it knows barred representatives of the Palestinian people and is only being conducted to buy time for Israeli war preparations. The Stalinists continue to work with Kissinger and have no intentions of endangering its detente with Nixon by aiding Syria in driving the Zionists out of the Golan Heights.

West Virginia Mine Pickets Shot

BY HAL STANTON

WELCH, W. Va.—Two miners are in critical condition, including a woman, and a third wounded after a group of striking miners were ambushed outside Keystone Mine, near Welch, West Virginia. The assailants are unknown.

In some areas of the state, there were partial returns to work, after enormous pressure was brought by the leadership of the United Mine Workers Union.

Arnold Miller, President of the UMW, has appealed to West Virginia Governor Arch Moore to use the provisions of the Emergency Fuel Power Act to force 26,000 striking miners back to work.

This open attempt to break the strike follows the open rebellion of the miners who voted down Miller's orders to end the strike. Miller urged the men to go back and rely on a suit he filed in the West Virginia Supreme Court which would require the governor to rescind his restrictions on gasoline purchases.

Darryl Sparks, a strike leader from Boone County, West Virginia, told a rally of 1000 miners in Dawdy Falls, West Virginia: "The state can't deal with the oil companies so we've got to go higher up. What we can do is this—close down every mine in the country.

COMPANY STATIONS

"We've got to get gas to the independent dealers. The company stations got all they want but they're holding it for themselves.

"The miners here in America could lead the kind of movement of American workers against Nixon that their brothers in England led to topple the Tory government. It is this sort of leadership that all the present labor leaders want to avoid."

US STEEL

As the strike enters its third week, US Steel threatened to lay off at least 30,000 steel workers, if the strike continues through the weekend.



Premier Makonnen of Ethiopia.

US Steel claims that a shortage of coking coal will force it to cut operations in plants ranging from Gary, Indiana to the Fairless works near Philadelphia.

In the Pittsburgh area, US Steel has already cut production at its huge coke oven facilities in Clairton, Pennsylvania, by 25 to 30 percent.

REDUCTION

The company has threatened a drastic reduction in operations at its blast furnace and rolling mills there, along with a 25 percent cut in iron production and a 20 percent cutback in open hearth steel output at the Homestead mills.

US Steel has already threatened to reduce production at the Duquesne works and at its Edgar Thompson works in Braddock, Pennsylvania.

Spokesmen for the steel and coal industries have viciously attacked the striking miners. US

Steel blamed the strike on "terror tactics" by roving gangs of pickets. An executive of Consolidation Coal Company said "We see no effort on the part of United Mine Workers to get them back."

Other mining industry officials are screaming that the strike has grown from its original gasoline protest into a campaign by the miners to deplete coal and steel stockpiles in order to strengthen its bargaining posture in the upcoming talks on the new contract.

Walter Bleil, president of District 19 of the United Steel Workers of America told the Bulletin: "I don't really know what the miners are striking for. The West Virginia government has given them their gasoline. We aren't heavily affected in my district but speaking for the United Steel Workers in general, I say that we all want to see the damn thing settled."

New Oil Probe Solves Nothing

BY A REPORTER

Anxious to assure the public that something is being done about the powerful oil companies, congressmen and federal officials have spent the last three months investigating the directorship activities of at least 25 executives.

The government watchdogs have discovered that a number of executives sit on the board of directors of more than one oil company.

What is most revealing is that the executives studied are largely small fry except for Texas oilman John Murchison and investment banker John L. Loeb, Sr.

The congressmen have also discovered that the board of directors of large banks and financial institutions have 132 interlocks with the 18 largest corporations. For example, the same bank has directors who also sit on the boards of at least two major oil companies.

The federal officials are launching a publicity campaign

about this as a smokescreen to hide the magnitude of the oil swindles and the real men who wield power.

The directors of even the largest corporations and banks are largely figureheads appointed for purposes of prestige or their business experience.

The great banks and financial institutions control at least 30 percent of the stock of the large oil companies. It is banking millionaires like Rockefeller and Mellon who are in control of the oil monopolies.

Meanwhile it has been revealed that 58 employees of the Federal Energy Office are former employees of the oil industry or its trade associations.

They are engaged in key positions concentrated in Washington making policy on planning, regulation, taxation and research and development.

The power of the oil monopolies can only be broken by full nationalization under workers control, by a workers government.

Ethiopian Teachers Call For Selassie Resignation

BY A REPORTER

The massive strike wave in Ethiopia is continuing despite the "agreement in principle" reached between the Ethiopian trade unions and Emperor Haile Selassie to end a four day general strike last week.

Following the original mutinies in the Army and Navy, the Ethiopian Air Force men at the Asmara and Debra Zeit bases rebelled, and are demanding the ouster of 21 officers.

Air traffic controllers at two airports went on strike after 46 workers were arrested for leafletting during the general strike. They are demanding a wage increase, pensions, and the right to organize a union.

Hundreds of demonstrating students at Haile Selassie University were attacked by police with clubs and tear gas. Teachers at the university are demanding that the new premier, Endalkachew Makonnen, resign and free elections be held.

The March 8 agreement, which promises a minimum wage, the right of public employees to strike, and price controls, is opposed by many unions who want to continue the general strike to force Selassie to resign.

Following the settlement, bus, construction, airport and rail workers refused to return to work. In addition workers at the Assab oil refinery and dockers joined the strike.

Philly Cop Corruption Exposed

BY A REPORTER PHILADELPHIA—

A 21-month, 1200 page investigation by the Pennsylvania Crime Commission has found police corruption in Philadelphia on-going, widespread, systematic, and occurring at all levels of the police department.

The commission identified 400 to 700 officers who have been receiving improper payments in cash, merchandise, sexual favors, or meals. According to the report, the officers, ranging in rank from policemen to inspectors, were involved in graft in every police district in the city.

With over 400 definitely indicted, the commission said that 100 could be prosecuted for perjury, bribery, or related offenses, and 15 for misdemeanors such as violation of the City Charter.

An estimated 250 others could be dismissed or disciplined for receiving Christmas money, and receiving illegal gifts in the form of meals or other merchandise for neglect of duty.

The report accused former Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo of trying to block the investigation by arresting state troopers who were agents for the commission and by refusing to act on concrete evidence of corruption

The report said that Rizzo attended a political fund raising dinner with a gambler who had four arrests and one conviction.

DENOUNCED

Rizzo has denounced the report and called the accusations "frivolous, unsubstantiated or undocumented allegations."

"To deliberately attempt to destroy police morale and to shake police confidence in our police department at this critical time is a tragedy we must avoid."

The Fraternal Order of Police plans to seek a court injunction to block distribution of the

What Rizzo calls "flimsy" evidence is proof that at least 70 specifically named police officers received payments from bars and nightclub owners. One bar owner who worked as an undercover agent for the commission recorded conversations with 12 officers on payoffs. These were then verified by the commission by direct observation, and comparing payoff records kept by bartenders to police assignment sheets.

The commission also cited widespread police protection of gambling and narcotics traffic. A former policeman told the commission that in more than half of all narcotic arrests, the drugs were kept by the arresting officer either for re-sale, to buy

information, or for "farming" (planting false evidence).

Rizzo's attack on the commission makes it clear that the police are being trained by the government in this period for attacking workers and youth who are fighting back against the intolerable conditions.

Philadelphia's police are among the most brutal in the country. Police harassment has been stepped up against youth in the North Philadelphia community and recently police have been patrolling by twos on horseback at the city's main intersections.

The commission's conclusion, that a special deputy Attorney General's office should be set up to cleanse the department, is as worthless as the Knapp Commission's investigation in New York. The police can only be removed when Nixon and the government that protects them is thrown out



Model Cities to be eliminated in New York City because city refuses to fund it.

"Where Do We Go Now?"

BY MITCH PATTERSON

NEW YORK,
N.Y.—In a few weeks,
thousands of jobs will be
destroyed by the total
shutdown of all Model
Cities Programs
throughout New York
State.

Model Cities was an experimental poverty program funded by the federal government for a five year period. At the end of the five years, the Model Cities Administration was to have the option of continuing the program under the auspices and funding of the city.

This is the end of the fifth year. The program is being discontinued because the city has refused to fund it.

Nearly 100 percent of the Model Cities workers live in the community where their jobs are located. The largest offices and programs are in the most dilapidated sections of New York: Bedford-Stuyvesant, Harlem,

and the South Bronx.

Marlene Citron, a Model Cities worker in the South Bronx, in the Housing and Relocation Job Development Program of Model Cities said: "I am angry at the city and national governments. Working people always get it; not the rich.

"Model Cities was a place where people from the community, many receiving welfare, could get a job, get some training, and do something with the ability that they do have. Most of us have nowhere to go except back on to the streets.

"I think that we waited too long before we started fighting for our jobs. A lot of people feel that they are beaten. They are scared of what will happen to their lives after they lose their jobs. While we are losing our jobs, Nixon vetoes every good bill that goes through Congress."

Pedro Varrez from the sanitation program felt that the South Bronx would lose a very important service once the program is eliminated: "The community gets service from us. That is the worst part of their closing the program. Sanitation is one of the biggest problems around here. When they close this down, this part of the city will smell of garbage.

"Did you know that they have been taking social security out of our checks and we will not be able to get anything for it after we lose our jobs. What is going to happen to our families, and

where are we going to go now?

"I am a union member. It is not really their fault but they will not be able to get us jobs. If you go to the unemployment office right now on 177 Street, the line goes like a snake for blocks. Maybe we will find a job for \$100 a week, but you know how expensive life is today. We heard that Model Cities is going to close down all over the nation."

Court Upholds Fines Of Baltimore Teachers

BY MARK McGUIRE BALTIMORE, March 12—At a meeting of the **Public School Teachers** Association representatives, President Karl Boone commented on the recent strike of city teachers, saying, "You never win anything with a long strike. If you look at other cities, especially Detroit, the teachers lost as much as they gained in the strike. We feel that we settled at the right time, before the strike started down-

This statement was intended to justify the PSTA's betrayal of the teachers on March 4. Teachers narrowly rejected the PSTA recommendations to accept the city offer, but hours later Boone ended the strike and ordered teachers back to work.

The Circuit Court Judge, Mercy, arrogantly upheld contempt charges against both the PSTA and the Baltimore Teachers Union (BTU). However, he reduced the fines against the PSTA by more than half in gratitude for Boone's cooperation in betraying the strike.

In contrast, the court labelled the Baltimore Teachers Union, which recommended rejection of the contract, as being "irresponsible."

Mercy has moved the contempt charges against the BTU from civil to criminal court in an attempt to make criminals of teachers who are determined to fight for a just contract.

The contract gives the teachers three percent the first year, six percent including fringe benefits in the next year. At a time when food prices in Baltimore rose over 20 percent in 1973, and overall inflation is skyrocketing, the settlement will mean a large pay cut. The PSTA agreed to a vague and meaning-

less statement on class size which will lead to an actual increase in class size over the next year.

It was only through the strength of the strike that teachers were able to gain an improved health care plan, binding arbitration of grievances, and six percent instead of the 3.8 percent the city wanted to force teachers to accept.

Electric Bills Go Up Again

NEW YORK, N.Y.—Consolidated Edison Company, the utility company supplying some 2.9 million people in New York with electricity, has announced a rate increase of 3.5 percent.

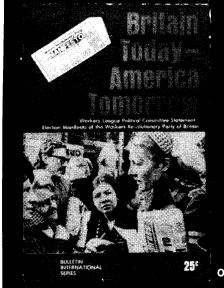
This follows the unprecedented rate hike of 12.3 percent granted to Con Ed by the Public Service Commission just last month.

The company is using the fraudulent "pass along" clause to continuously jack up their

prices, allowing Con Ed to increase their prices every time the cost for fuel goes up.

The Long Island Lighting Company, which services 836,000 people, is raising its rates 19 percent. They service Nassau and Suffolk Counties as well as a major part of Queens.

The average bill to customers for the month of March will be \$24.27. This includes \$15.28 for the regular bill, a \$17.40 "pass along" fuel adjustment, and 7 percent tax. LILCO has pushed their prices up 120 percent since January.



Britain Today-America Tommorrow

Contains Election Manifesto of the Workers Revolutionary Party, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, the only party which campaigned for socialist policies to answer the crisis in the recent elections. Includes also a Workers League Political Committee Statement on the new stage of the crisis as shown in Britain and the need for American workers to build a labor party here to force Nixon out. 25¢

Order from: Labor Publications Inc., 135 W. 14 St., N.Y., N.Y.10011

BY DAVID NORTH

George C. Wallace, Governor of Alabama and the most powerful right-wing labor-hater in this country, has already launched his new campaign for the presidency.

"I'm physically able to make any kind of campaign that is necessary," he declared in Alabama last month. "I am as well as I ever have been, with the exception of being unable to walk."

While the AFL-CIO and the entire labor bureaucracy stands paralyzed, Wallace is assembling his forces both within and outside the Democratic Party. He represents a greater danger to the working class today than in 1972 or even 1968.

In order to carry out vicious attacks on the trade union movement, to drive workers back and slash their living standards, the corporations encourage the development of the Wallaceite movement

Precisely under conditions of unemployment and inflation, which must bring about a powerful movement of the working class in defense of its living standards as is seen today by the massive strike in San Francisco and the wildcat of coal miners, the capitalists seek to develop right-wing forces to break this movement

NAZIS

This is why the Nazis make their appearances today in the San Francisco area with the approval of liberal Mayor Alioto and why the Ku Klux Klan surfaces for the first time in a decade in Atlanta, supposedly the most liberal city in the South.

Wallace now emerges as a respected—and perhaps the most powerful-figure in the Democratic Party not because his opinions have changed, but because the corporations now are considering the possibility of a Wallace government.

Every trade unionist must recognize the Wallace danger now. The experience of the 1972 elections, in which Wallace won hundreds of thousands of votes not only in the South but also in states like Michigan, demonstrates that Wallace draws his strength primarily from the refusal of the trade union bureaucracy to break with the Democrats and Republicans and form an independent labor party.

Only a labor party, mobilizing and uniting millions of workers around socialist policies to defend jobs, living standards and democratic rights, can expose where Wallace really stands in relation to the working class.

The fact that workers can fight Wallace only by building their own party is shown by the fact that there is no important Democrat or Republican who has not made a pilgrimage to Alabama during the past year to pay his respects to the man who declared just 12 years ago: "Segregation today, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever!"

Last month, Nixon flew to Huntsville, Alabama, embraced Wallace, and stated: "There's nothing wrong with his spirit. He has the will to come back. He's going to make it." In return, Wallace said: "God bless you, Mr. President. You're among friends here."

KENNEDY

The Democrats have courted him no less enthusiastically. Kennedy, Humphrey, Muskie, and a host of other liberals have paid their respects. Just how

close the relations between the liberals and Wallace actually are was revealed only this past week when he reported that he had been offered the vice presidency in 1972.

"Some important people came and offered me the vice presidency in exchange for my delegates," Wallace said.

"If I told you who they were you would know they were important. But I turned them down because I couldn't run on their platform.

Now, as Wallace likes to point out, the Democrats are prepared to accept his platform.

'I'm proud of the fact that we are visited by people from the President and up and down who now say we are the conscience and the heart of America, because I knew it all the time."

What does Wallace really stand for? What really lies behind his demagogic claims to represent the common man?

Along with the statistics, the product of Wallace's terms as Governor, is the state's infamous "right to work" law. Time and again, the Alabama labor movement has sought to have it repealed. The strongest efforts have been made during the lengthy tenure of George Wallace. But largely through his efforts, repeal has been defeated every time.

The children of Alabama workers receive the poorest education. Less money is spent for educating youth than anywhere else in the United States.

Alabama is notorious for its use of state troopers and other police agencies to prevent union organizing. Wallace has close ties with the most reactionary union-busting bosses, like Earl Goodwin. This man supervised Wallace's national fund raising in 1968, and is vice president of the Bush Hog Manufacturing Company in Selma. The firm re-

However, while preparing to run in the Democratic Party primaries, Wallace has not abandoned the independent forces which he first assembled in 1968 in the American Independence Party which he founded.

Still working within the Wallace movement are the forces he attracted then with his virulent racism: the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, the Minutemen, the John Birch Society, and a wide variety of anti-semitic and fascist elements.

Among Wallace's advisers are neo-fascists like "Ace" Carter, a former Klansman who had founded the racist and antisemitic North Alabama Citizen Council which distributes the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, an 80-year-old forgery which "documents" the Jewish plot to take over the world!

In 1968, when Wallace won 13 million votes, and in 1972, when he swept through the primaries

with Wallace. Meany said that he had a "nice conversation" with Wallace, whom he believes "might play a role" in the Democratic Party. Wallace, said Meany, had "mellowed somewhat'' since 1972.

This collapse by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy before Wallace opens the door for the extreme right-wing forces who are developing strength within the Wallaceite movement. It feeds Wallace's cynical and fraudulent claims to represent the interests of the working class. It helps Wallace drive a wedge between white and Black workers just as they are drawn into a common struggle against Nixon.

It is the paralysis of the AFL-CIO that allows Wallace to advance his plans to construct a right-wing movement against the working class either through the Democratic Party or by building an ultra-right third party.

The Wallace Threat



Democrat Ted Kennedy meets with George Wallace.

For the answer, one can look at conditions in Alabama, the state he has controlled for 12 years.

There is no effective minimum wage law in Alabama. The production worker in the state earns an average \$114.97, which places him below the workers in 38 other states.

The average per capita yearly income in Alabama is \$2853, which is 48th in the national ranking. Unemployment compensation averages \$39 per week, lower than in 41 other

COMPENSATION

Alabama ranks 36th in workmen's compensation; the maximum weekly allowance is \$60. A survey in Michigan, where Wallace received 50 percent of the vote thanks to the UAW's support for Muskie, a worker's eve is worth about \$13,000. In Alabama, that same eye would be worth only \$5000 in compensa-

It is reported that 24.7 percent of Alabama residents live in poverty as defined by the US Department of Labor. This is the second highest rate in the country and more than double the national average.

fused to bargain with a local of the United Steel Workers, forcing USWA President I.W. Abel to say: "Mr. Wallace likes to talk about law and order yet here is a case of a top Wallace lieutenant not only ignoring the law but provoking violence by recruiting strike-breakers.'

The rapid development of the corporations to drive the living standards of the working class as a whole far below the levels which now exist in Alabama. This is why the corporations welcome Wallace now, hoping to use his vast experience in unionbusting, racist propaganda as well as his connection with the ultra-right against the labor movement.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Wallace is building up a strong base in the Democratic Party. More than one million dollars was spent in 1973 to prepare for the upcoming national campaign. He already has secured enough delegate support to be a major contender in 1976. His statewide organizations are more up to date and sophisticated than even those of Kennedy.

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before being shot in Maryland, Wallace received support of layers of the middle class frustrated with the bankrupt policies of the Democrats and Republicans.

Many workers supported Wallace because they saw him as an alternative to the parties of big business, and this view persisted only because the tradeunion leadership would not expose Wallace because this could be done only by showing how he-like the Democrats and Republicans-defends the interests of big business.

Today, the labor bureaucracy prepares to accept Wallace as a Democratic Party candidate. COPE, the political arm of the AFL-CIO, no longer even publishes anti-Wallace material as it did in the past. George Meany prefers Wallace to breaking with the Democrats and waging a campaign against him, Nixon and the Democrats through the building of a labor party.

MEANY

This is what was exposed by Meany's secret meeting last month with George Wallace in which the AFL-CIO chief sought: to establish a working relation

Wallace is carefully surveying the prospects for such a party. Commenting on the 1976 elections, he said:

'The country's economic situation being low-in a reces-'sion—and the Democratic Party still being controlled by the exotic left-wing elements that controlled it in 1972-in that event a third party movement might be highly successful. But I don't contemplate that happen-

The Wallace danger must be confronted and overcome through the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies to unite the working class against all the politicians of big business.

At the heart of the fight against Wallace, for the labor party, is the construction of the revolutionary leadership in the working class. The development of the Workers League and Young Socialists will be decisive in preparing the working class for this crisis. This is why the demonstration this weekend in Washington, along with those in San Francisco and Chicago, must be taken forward in the fight to build and strengthen the branches of the Workers League.



The issue of sabotage was manufactured within the Socialist Party at the same time the bourgeois press was whipping up an hysteria over the question, using the bombing by the McNamarea Brothers of the Los Angeles Times as its excuse. Haywood, who refused ever to pander to bourgeois opinion, in a debate at Cooper Union with Morris Hillquit on industrial unionsim, had made an off-hand remark supporting a little bit of sabo-

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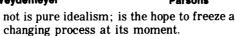
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Weinstein is forced to note this in a most curious way. One favorable feature he finds in the departure of the pro-Wobbly forces was "a reduction of factionism." However, factionalism is, as he notes, "a by-product" of the heterogeneous character of the party, the aspect of the party most appealing to Weinstein. Thus the reduction in factionalism could only mean that the SP in 1912 took a giant stride towards becoming a reformist party pure and simple.

It now becomes clear that the very heterogeneity of the SP was a momentary product of the political immaturity of the masses of American workers freshly entering struggle. The first stage of mass struggle of workers always takes on a centrist form in that the sharp questions of revolutionary perspectives together with the testing process for revolutionary cadres take time and experience to work out. As time passes and experience is gained, inevitably the polarization takes place. To wish it would





1912 proves that no matter what else happened afterwards on a worldwide scale, the old SP was destined to break up. The right wing was determined to construct a reformist party and the left wing could not coexist with this attempt any more than the right wing could coexist with the revolutionary forces.

It is not quite true, however, to see just in the issues of 1912 the definitive issues which led to the decline of the Socialist Party. They only made clear that the early Socialist Party was no unique creation, but a workers movement at a particular moment in the development of the American working class, a movement with the same essential divisions within it as in other countries. The Socialist Party would be destroyed, along with its more revolutionary historic neighbor the IWW, because of the inability of the bulk of its leadership and cadres to cope with the immense changes taking place in the world during and following World War One.

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

Lenin's bitter struggle against virtually the whole generation of Plekhanov is one of history's richest examples of this process. Plekhanov, a man superbly equipped for the tasks of the defense of Marxism in a propaganda period, collapsed completely before the task of a period of actual preparation for and carrying through the workers revolu-

Trotsky's brilliant Lessons of October describes the great crisis this very creation of Lenin's struggle, the Bolshevik Party, went through when it passed over into the actual period of the struggle to come to power. The recent history of the Trotskyist movement proves this once again, as virtually a whole generation of revolutionists, the orthodox men like Cannon as well as the revisionists like Pablo, collapsed before the tasks posed by a new period of revolutionary upsurge.

World War One signified momentous changes in the world. This first great world war of the capitalist nations was itself a product of the deep decay of capitalism as a world economic system. It was forced to turn upon itself, capitalist nation to cannabalize capitalist nation, in a bitter struggle for survival. World War One, as Lenin and Trotsky correctly noted, signified the new period of the death agony of imperialism and of the birth of socialism. Socialism became finally something which could be realized and on a world scale. World War One meant the end of peaceful transitions, step by step socialism, evolutionary gradualism of the previous epoch.

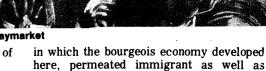
The two most important products of World War One were the great October Revolution in Russia which proved that socialism was a reality and the rise of America as world imperialist master at the precise point when the imperialist world as



a whole had entered its period of decay, of war and revolution.

In one sense the American workers were well prepared for these events and in another the least prepared of any working class in the world. The American working class entered World War One passing through a most tumultuous history of class warfare. Hundreds of thousands of workers, immigrant and native born, were convinced by this experience of the necessity of revolutionary struggle. The great class battles in America of that period were thus anticipatory to the worldwide revolutionary events which would follow.

However, it was on the theoretical plane that the American worker was least prepared. This would prove to be the decisive plane. It is precisely at the point of change in a party and in the class it represents that theory is thrust to the fore. Never



It is significant that an Albert Parsons, the product of Reconstruction South, joins with German immigrant August Spies to build a movement of the greatest theoretical confusion as well as revolutionary ardor. Then, decades later, William D. Haywood, a most American of Americans, repeats the experience of the German social revolutionaries. There was Austrian born Victor Berger, Morris Hillquit, a Jew from Riga, and Pennsylvania Dutchman Maurer emerging as the socialist version of Tammany Hall, more adept at American pragmatic thinking than many native born workers.

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before in its history did American workers face such momentous changes.

Consciousness always lags behind being. While the rise of monopoly capital as a world imperialist force brought forward from the working class a bitter struggle creating civil war conditions in much of the country, the thinking of workers still proceeded within the narrow framework created by the earlier period of capitalist development. America had been for centuries an agricultural country with an industry built upon adaptation from Europe and geared to the home market. It was a country with no feudal past. It was a country of vast natural resources and of continuous geographical expansion. All these conditions encouraged pragmatic

Pragmatic thought is concerned with activity only, with immediate results. It is hostile to theoretical thought and is concerned only with the surface events. It is narrow and provincial, and with the pragmatic method one cannot comprehend international developments. This method of thinking, springing as it does from the wav

Russia through a brilliant defense of Marxist theory against non-Marxist trends. In this process they made a contribution to Marxist understanding which was appreciated throughout Europe. Lenin always recognized the great contributions of this generation and himself owed much to the Plekhanovs, though this is no sense prevented him from conducting a war to the end against his shortcomings.

No such generation prepared the American socialists for the tasks which lay ahead of them as America assumed mastery of a decaying world capitalist system. There was a Marxist movement in America before the rise of the Socialist Party, but there was very little Marxism. Engels recognized this and viewed the leadership of the American Marxist movement of the 1880s and 1890s to be a generally worthless bunch, narrowminded, concerned with their petty circle affairs. But he knew it was the Marxist movement and it existed in a country most backward in matters of theory. He hoped for future events, new experiences in the life of the American workers, to bring forward a serious development of Marxist theory so

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Berger



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Lawrence, Mass. strike



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Eugene V. Debs very much reflected this

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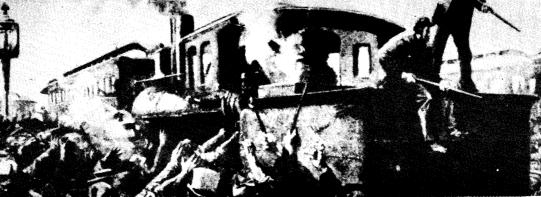
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immediately have seen the inadequacy of essential if the American workers were to the Socialist Party as a revolutionary confront the task of removing from power instrument and his inadequacy as a revoluthe strongest capitalist class of the world. The rise of the Socialist Party was not tionary leader.

But Debs very much reflected the prewar American worker. He was convinced of socialism, of revolution, of its immediacy. Gripped by the pragmatic method, isolated from the theoretical life of the world Marxist movement, he had only the haziest notion of how to prepare that revolution. He and the American working class therefore entered the revolutionary period totally unprepared. The prewar party of socialism would be completely destroyed. The movement would have to be forced back very, very far on the field of practical class struggle in order to painfully make a few baby steps forward on the crucial field of revolutionary theory.

Weinstein's book, of course, grasps none

the war verbally but did little about it. It supported the Bolsheviks verbally as it went about its business of preparing its next election campaign for assemblyman. Weinstein, being an idealist and opportunist, is most impressed by the "evidence" of these verbal statements.

The position taken by the Socialist Party as a whole on the war was not a revolutionary one. It was centrist. The Socialist Party opposed the war and many members of the Socialist Party suffered persecution because they spoke out in no uncertain terms. While some elements within the Socialist Party opposed the war in pacifist terms, by and large the party stood on Debs's ground which attacked the war as an imperialist war and which refused to participate in any other war but the class war.

Lenin noted this position and saluted it in his Letter to American Workers. But the position of the Socialist Party stopped there, while Lenin fought for a policy of the overthrow of one's own capitalist class in the course of the war, linked with the fight for a new International. In this way he urged a break be made in the course of the war with the right wing and center forces within the social democratic parties. Thus, for Lenin, the position on the war was linked with what all parties had to face up to after the war: the question of whether or not to split with reformism and centrism and form a new International.

The question of the Bolshevik Revolution expressed the same thing. The Socialist Party as a whole warmly endorsed the revolution, reflecting the tremendous enthusiasm for the revolution among hundreds of thousands of American workers. The right wing did so to cover their traces in tumultuous times. Left wingers like Debs did so out of deep conviction, deep love for the Russian Revolution. But they could not understand that which they identified with. For Debs, like the Wobblies, they saw it in terms of their own experiences. To the IWW the Russian Revolution was just One Big Union! They were thus so much with the Russian Revolution and so distant from it theoretically

Debs spoke for his whole wing of the party, for its vast majority, or the bulk of its supporters, when he proudly and defiantly

"From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet I am a Bolshevik, and proud of

And on the first anniversary of the Bolshevik victory, while American armies invaded Russia. Debs declared:

'Comrades of the Russian Soviet and the Bolshevik Republic, we salute and honor you on this first anniversary of your great revolutionary triumph, the greatest point of historic significance and far-reaching influence in the annual of the race...

"The chief glory of your revolutionary triumph is that you have preserved inviolate the fundamental principles of international Socialism and refused to compromise...

"You... are resolved that... the working class... shall not allow itself to be used... to install some intermediary class into power and perpetuate its own slavery and degradation.

"We pledge you... to strive with all our energy to emulate your inspiring example by abolishing our imperialistic capitalism, driving our plutocratic exploiters and oppressors from power and establishing the working class republic, the Commonwealth of Comrades.

Theodore Draper writes: "Some students have expressed the opinion that the American Communist movement was totally unrelated to the Socialist Left Wing of 1912. This view seems to minimize historical continuity. The Bolshevik revolution transformed the Left Wing, but it did not create a new one out of nothing."

The crisis of the Socialist Party, as we have pointed out, was essentially a crisis of its historic left wing. American Communism rose out of sections of this left wing, conflicted with this left wing in part, and carried over into the new Communist Party much of the methods of thinking of the old left-to its detriment.

The great difficulty was that there was little in the experience and training of this left wing to equip it to understand the Russian Revolution and its meaning. It had to almost start all over again.

This is why the first kernel of a new left wing, the embryo which would emerge later as the majority of the Socialist Party and split to form the Communist Party, took the form of the entirely fresh efforts of a man new to the party, Louis P. Fraina.

Fraina published a small paper in Boston, Revolutionary Age, with the backing of the Lettish Federation. Fraina, even before the Russian Revolution, turned his attention to the problems of the international movement. As James Weinstein comments with disapproval: "What concerned Fraina most was the crisis of socialism—in Europe. He devoted his major attention to attacks on the Second International and to a campaign for a Third.

For Weinstein, this all was a terrible mistake, a turn away from concern with purely American questions, a preoccupation with abroad. He fails completely to understand the significance of this turn and therefore the collapse of the Socialist Party remains a mystery for him.

Fraina's concern with Europe was not the concern of the emigre, but rather the search for a theoretical understanding necessary to meet the tasks posed to American revolutionaries. It would be those who turned to learn from Europe, the bulk of recent immigrants like the Letts and Russians, as well as many native Americans like James P. Cannon, the Dunne Brothers, Charles Ruthenberg, and William Z. Foster, who would lay the basis for the next stage in the development of the American revolutionary movement.

The bulk of the left wing could not make this turn. It was as wedded to the methods of thought and functioning of prewar America as the right wing. Most of these left wingers could not continue to live in a right wing SP, but they could not change to become part of the new Communist move-

They just dropped out of politics. The new left-wing forces, which emerged in continuity with the old, were made up, in addition to the foreign language groups, primarily of youth, of fresh forces, of forces who recently joined the SP from out of the IWW and similar groups.

TO BE CONTINUED



The Left And The Right 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.

struggles within the Socialist Party. He was convinced his task was to popularize socialism, to win recruits for the revolutionary movement. In that, no one before or since has excelled him. However, his failure to concern himself with theory led him into continuous compromises with the right wing as the 1912 experience illustrates

Search as you may through Debs's writings and speeches you cannot discover any clear conception of how the socialism he preached would be achieved. He and the rest of the left with him had no strategy for the coming to power of the working class. Debs was no Victor Berger who saw socialn evolving over centuries. He sensed its nearness in the intensity of the class battles around him. He certainly did not believe he would be peacefully elected to power. He viewed elections as a tool of the education of the working class in socialist principles, in the building of the revolutionary party.

Exactly how this revolutionary party would come to power is never really dealt with. If Debs had confronted that question—Lenin devoted his life to it—he would

of this. He lives in the world of surface events he cannot interpret. His main point is that during the war, the left and right came together on the critical questions of war and revolution: they agreed in common in their opposition to American involvement in imperialist war and warmly supported the Bolshevik Revolution. He offers no evidence to prove that any change took place in the actual practice of the right-its reform political operations and its bread and butter trade unionism.

The "coming together" that he notes really had two causes. The first we have already noted. The crisis of the Socialist Party was really a crisis of its left wing. It was the confusion of the left, its failure to break with pragamtism, which under conditions of war and revolution brought it together with the right. This was the first and most decisive cause of this "coming together.'

The second cause was the demagogy of the right. Time and time again the right wing gave in to the left in words while persisting in its reformist practice. It opposed



Russian Revolution, 1917.





Palmer Raids



Foster with Mother Jones



The issue of sabotage was manufactured within the Socialist Party at the same time the bourgeois press was whipping up an hysteria over the question, using the bombing by the McNamarea Brothers of the Los Angeles Times as its excuse. Haywood, who refused ever to pander to bourgeois opinion, in a debate at Cooper Union with Morris Hillquit on industrial unionsim, had made an off-hand remark supporting a little bit of sabo-

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essential if the American workers were to confront the task of removing from power the strongest capitalist class of the world.

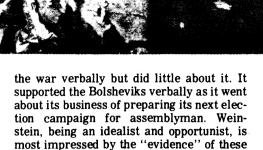
The rise of the Socialist Party was not accompanied by any rise in Marxist theory: quite the contrary. As Lenin explains in What Is To Be Done? the very mass popularity of a party is many times accompanied by a lowering of its theoretical level. If anything, the theoretical life of the Socialist Party was worse than that of the SLP which preceded it. And there was no theoretical life anywhere else—certainly not in DeLeon's doctrinaire sect.

Eugene V. Debs very much reflected this situation. He was a man of great revolutionary vitality but no real interest in theory. He read very little of Marx, relying on Kautsky's popularizations of Marx's works. He refrained from concern of even participation in the day to day life and

immediately have seen the inadequacy of the Socialist Party as a revolutionary instrument and his inadequacy as a revolutionary leader.

But Debs very much reflected the prewar American worker. He was convinced of socialism, of revolution, of its immediacy. Gripped by the pragmatic method, isolated from the theoretical life of the world Marxist movement, he had only the haziest notion of how to prepare that revolution. He and the American working class therefore entered the revolutionary period totally unprepared. The prewar party of socialism would be completely destroyed. The movement would have to be forced back very, very far on the field of practical class struggle in order to painfully make a few baby steps forward on the crucial field of revolutionary theory.

Weinstein's book, of course, grasps none



verbal statements. The position taken by the Socialist Party as a whole on the war was not a revolutionary one. It was centrist. The Socialist Party opposed the war and many members of the Socialist Party suffered persecution because they spoke out in no uncertain terms. While some elements within the Socialist Party opposed the war in pacifist terms, by and large the party stood on Debs's ground which attacked the war as an imperialist war and which refused to participate in any other war but the class war.

Lenin noted this position and saluted it in his Letter to American Workers. But the position of the Socialist Party stopped there, while Lenin fought for a policy of the overthrow of one's own capitalist class in the course of the war, linked with the fight for a new International. In this way he urged a break be made in the course of the war with the right wing and center forces within the social democratic parties. Thus, for Lenin. the position on the war was linked with what all parties had to face up to after the war: the question of whether or not to split with reformism and centrism and form a new

The question of the Bolshevik Revolution expressed the same thing. The Socialist Party as a whole warmly endorsed the revolution, reflecting the tremendous enthusiasm for the revolution among hundreds of thousands of American workers. The right wing did so to cover their traces in tumultuous times. Left wingers like Debs did so out of deep conviction, deep love for the Russian Revolution. But they could not understand that which they identified with. For Debs, like the Wobblies, they saw it in terms of their own experiences. To the IWW the Russian Revolution was just One Big Union! They were thus so much with the Russian Revolution and so distant from it theoretically

Debs spoke for his whole wing of the party, for its vast majority, or the bulk of its supporters, when he proudly and defiantly

"From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet I am a Bolshevik, and proud of

And on the first anniversary of the Bolshevik victory, while American armies invaded Russia, Debs declared:

'Comrades of the Russian Soviet and the Bolshevik Republic, we salute and honor you on this first anniversary of your great revolutionary triumph, the greatest point of historic significance and far-reaching influence in the annual of the race..

"The chief glory of your revolutionary triumph is that you have preserved inviolate the fundamental principles of international Socialism and refused to compro-

"You... are resolved that... the working class... shall not allow itself to be used... to install some intermediary class into power and perpetuate its own slavery and degrada-

"We pledge you... to strive with all our energy to emulate your inspiring example

by abolishing our imperialistic capitalism, driving our plutocratic exploiters and oppressors from power and establishing the working class republic, the Commonwealth

Theodore Draper writes: "Some students have expressed the opinion that the American Communist movement was totally unrelated to the Socialist Left Wing of 1912. This view seems to minimize historical continuity. The Bolshevik revolution transformed the Left Wing, but it did not create a new one out of nothing."

The crisis of the Socialist Party, as we have pointed out, was essentially a crisis of its historic left wing. American Communism rose out of sections of this left wing, conflicted with this left wing in part, and carried over into the new Communist Party much of the methods of thinking of the old left—to its detriment.

The great difficulty was that there was little in the experience and training of this left wing to equip it to understand the Russian Revolution and its meaning. It had to almost start all over again.

This is why the first kernel of a new left wing, the embryo which would emerge later as the majority of the Socialist Party and split to form the Communist Party, took the form of the entirely fresh efforts of a man new to the party, Louis P. Fraina.

Fraina published a small paper in Boston, Revolutionary Age, with the backing of the Lettish Federation. Fraina, even before the Russian Revolution, turned his attention to the problems of the international movement. As James Weinstein comments with disapproval: "What concerned Fraina most was the crisis of socialism-in Europe. He devoted his major attention to attacks on the Second International and to a campaign

For Weinstein, this all was a terrible mistake, a turn away from concern with purely American questions, a preoccupation with abroad. He fails completely to understand the significance of this turn and therefore the collapse of the Socialist Party remains a mystery for him.

Fraina's concern with Europe was not the concern of the emigre, but rather the search for a theoretical understanding necessary to meet the tasks posed to American revolutionaries. It would be those who turned to learn from Europe, the bulk of recent immigrants like the Letts and Russians, as well as many native Americans like James P. Cannon, the Dunne Brothers, Charles Ruthenberg, and William Z. Foster, who would lay the basis for the next stage in the development of the American revolutionary movement.

The bulk of the left wing could not make this turn. It was as wedded to the methods of thought and functioning of prewar America as the right wing. Most of these left wingers could not continue to live in a right wing SP, but they could not change to become part of the new Communist

They just dropped out of politics. The new left-wing forces, which emerged in continuity with the old, were made up, in addition to the foreign language groups, primarily of youth, of fresh forces, of forces who recently joined the SP from out of the IWW and similar groups.

TO BE CONTINUED



The Left And The Right 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

trade unionism.

of this. He lives in the world of surface

events he cannot interpret. His main point is

that during the war, the left and right came

together on the critical questions of war and

revolution: they agreed in common in their

opposition to American involvement in

imperialist war and warmly supported the

Bolshevik Revolution. He offers no evi-

dence to prove that any change took place in

the actual practice of the right—its reform

political operations and its bread and butter

The "coming together" that he notes

really had two causes. The first we have

already noted. The crisis of the Socialist

Party was really a crisis of its left wing. It

was the confusion of the left, its failure to

break with pragamtism, which under condi-

tions of war and revolution brought it

together with the right. This was the first



before in its history did American workers face such momentous changes.

Consciousness always lags behind being. While the rise of monopoly capital as a world imperialist force brought forward from the working class a bitter struggle creating civil war conditions in much of the country, the thinking of workers still proceeded within the narrow framework created by the earlier period of capitalist development. America had been for centuries an agricultural country with an industry built upon adaptation from Europe and geared to the home market. It was a country with no feudal past. It was a country of vast natural resources and of continuous geographical expansion. All realized and on a world scale. World War these conditions encouraged pragmatic

Pragmatic thought is concerned with activity only, with immediate results. It is hostile to theoretical thought and is concerned only with the surface events. It is narrow and provincial, and with the pragmatic method one cannot comprehend international developments. This method of precise point when the imperialist world as thinking, springing as it does from the way

Russia through a brilliant defense of Marxist theory against non-Marxist trends. In this process they made a contribution to Marxist understanding which was appreciated throughout Europe. Lenin always recognized the great contributions of this generation and himself owed much to the Plekhanovs, though this is no sense prevented him from conducting a war to the end against his shortcomings.

No such generation prepared the American socialists for the tasks which lay ahead of them as America assumed mastery of a decaying world capitalist system. There was a Marxist movement in America before the rise of the Socialist Party, but there was very little Marxism. Engels recognized this Marxist movement of the 1880s and 1890s to be a generally worthless bunch, narrowminded, concerned with their petty circle affairs. But he knew it was the Marxist movement and it existed in a country most backward in matters of theory. He hoped for future events, new experiences in the life of the American workers, to bring forward a serious development of Marxist theory so

struggles within the Socialist Party. He was convinced his task was to popularize socialism, to win recruits for the revolutionary movement. In that, no one before or since has excelled him. However, his failure to concern himself with theory led him into continuous compromises with the right wing as the 1912 experience illustrates.

Search as you may through Debs's writings and speeches you cannot discover any clear conception of how the socialism he preached would be achieved. He and the rest of the left with him had no strategy for the coming to power of the working class. Debs was no Victor Berger who saw socialism evolving over centuries. He sensed its nearness in the intensity of the class battles around him. He certainly did not believe he would be peacefully elected to power. He viewed elections as a tool of the education of the working class in socialist principles, in the building of the revolutionary party.

Exactly how this revolutionary party would come to power is never really dealt with. If Debs had confronted that question—Lenin devoted his life to it—he would and most decisive cause of this "coming The second cause was the demagogy of the right. Time and time again the right

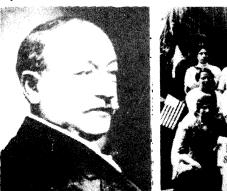
wing gave in to the left in words while persisting in its reformist practice. It opposed







Foster with Mother Jones











Strike-Breaker Miller

Along with the strike of city workers that has paralyzed San Francisco, the wildcat of 26,000 coal miners in West Virginia, now in its third week, expresses the powerful movement of the American working class against the Nixon government.

The strike is political in character. Miners have refused to return to work until all restrictions on the sale of fuel and its availability are rescinded. Miners have repudiated every suggestion that they return to work while things are "worked out" between the state government and the union leadership.

The strike has now pitted the miners directly against the government. Injunctions are to be handed down by the state Supreme Court, picketing has already been declared a crime in many areas, and a call-up of the National Guard is expected.

This struggle now poses to miners and to every section of the working class the urgency of taking forward a conscious political struggle to force the resignation of Nixon and to construct a labor party.

UMW President Arnold Miller has turned bitterly against the coal miners. Having failed to force the miners back to work through official directives, Miller has now openly joined the government's efforts to break the

Miller assumes the role of strike-breaker because he will not lead a political fight against Nixon. As a trade union bureaucrat, his role is to maintain the movement of miners within the limits set down by the government. He accepts the government's definition of this strike as illegal because Miller opposes a direct challenge to the laws established by the government.

But Miller's role in this strike is particularly significant because it exposes the Stalinists of the Communist Party and revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party who have uncritically supported his regime and have presented Miller as a model of progressive trade union leadership.

Miller came to power last year through the tremendous rebellion of miners against the Boyle leadership and the intolerable working and living conditions which the union bureaucracy accepted.

The Workers League gave critical support to Miller in his campaign against Boyle without any illusions that his policies would be any different. We recognized that the rebellion of miners against Boyle would inevitably at first be expressed through support to the Miller section of the bureaucracy.

By supporting his campaign, the Miller leadership would be tested out and exposed in the experiences of the miners themselves, creating conditions which have now emerged for miners to break with the bureaucracy and to see the need for a Marxist leadership based on a fight for an independent labor party.

We also warned that Miller's reliance on the government through the courts and the Department of Labor in the course of his fight against Boyle was extremely dangerous.

Both the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party and the Stalinists have played an opposite role in the UMW. Their aim has been to stop the movement of the miners precisely at the point when it must go beyond the bureaucracy.

This is the real meaning of the disgusting flattery of Arnold Miller in the SWP's newspaper, The Militant, and the CP's newspaper, the Daily World.

At the recent UMW Convention in Pittsburgh, the struggle of miners against Miller was already reflected in the constant opposition over different aspects of policies. His own movement to the right was expressed most clearly in the carefully engineered defeat of a resolution to demand Nixon's resignation.

However, the SWP and CP consciously covered for Miller, declaring that he represented the "rank and file." The SWP declared that, "The current convention is proceeding in an open, democratic manner. The working committees, which will bring in resolutions on major issues, are made up of a majority of rank and file delegates. Their proposals will undoubtedly reflect many of the needs of coal miners today."

The Stalinists and revisionists will not fight to expose this bureaucracy. They stand opposed to Marxism's scientific assessment of the trade union bureaucracy as an appendage of the capitalist class within the working class. They both cover their talks about the "rank and file" to cover their defense of the bureaucracy and the capitalist system.

The Workers League will continue to fight for the political mobilization of the UMW against Nixon through the building of a labor party. We will expose Miller's betrayals and refusal to carry out any serious fight against Nixon. We will fight for the construction of a Marxist leadership in the UMW, and we call on all miners to join us. -by david north-

Steel workers in Youngstown, Pittsburgh face layoffs. Above is the Campbell Works of Youngstown Steel.

US Steel Begins Layoffs

BY A REPORTER

YOUNGSTOWN, Mar. 12—US Steel shut one blast furnace and three open hearth furnaces today, throwing nearly 300 out of work. The company has announced it plans to lay off 30,000 nationally if the coal miners strike continues.

The big steel corporations are using the battle of the miners as an excuse to go ahead with lavoffs that were planned anyway because of the downturn of the auto industry and deliberately created shortages of coke and operating mines.

The Pittsburgh mills are operating on a day to day basis and are threatening layoffs at Clairton, Homestead, Duquesne, and the Edgar Thompson works by the end of the week.

US Steel workers in Youngstown learned they were laid off as they came into work. One worker told the Bulletin: "They just told me I'm laid off. I've just walked in the gate, now I'm supposed to take my lunch and walk back home."

By Wednesday, US Steel is planning to cut back from 12 open hearths to seven. This would lay off workers with as much as 10 years seniority. The company has threatened to move to five furnaces by the end of the week.

MINERS

One USWA member said, "The miners have a right to strike just like anyone else. They took our right away. At least the miners have that.

Another worker said, "I am with the miners. If they can't get gas, they might as well stay home.'

NIXON

Drey Smalls said, "Anything to get rid of Nixon. Nixon has put all the countries under dictatorship, so you know what he's trying to become. He got rid of Archibald Cox. That's something no president was supposed to be able to do.'

Workers at the plant gate bought 60 copies of the Bulletin Tuesday morning and agreed that steel workers should unite with the miners to stop the layoffs and to force Nixon out of office with the building of a labor

No Settlement At Lordstown GM

BY FRED MUELLER

LORDSTOWN, Ohio, The Fisher Body auto workers who were sent back to work March 12 are almost unanimously opposed to the ministrike strategy of UAW President Leonard Woodcock which means a return to work without a settlement.

The Lordstown strike ended with no settlement, only a statement by union and management that some progress had been made. Thomas Weekeley, shop chairman of Local 1714, said, "If we don't receive any movement on the remaining issues, than another five day letter of intent to strike will be issued and another strike will be called."

"This is even worse than a layoff," said one worker. "They send us back before we can get any unemployment benefits. They're still at the bargaining table and we have nothing.'

Speedup and harassment is as bad as ever. "It's sellouts up and down the line. The local and International are working together," said a maintenance worker on the third shift at Fisher Body

"Auto workers can't win one plant at a time. Even a few years ago this was wrong. Now it's crazy. We not only need a national auto strike, we have to get together with the miners and truckers also.

NATIONAL STRIKE

"Most of the men here wanted to stay on strike until we got a settlement. We definitely need a national strike. I never thought much about a labor party, but I can see where we might need that."

The National Auto Conference called by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in Dayton on March 31 is the only way rank and file UAW members can discuss a program and build a new leadership against Woodcock and the government.

This conference will discuss the need for a political struggle by the unions for a labor party as the only answer to the unemployment and speed-up.

Plans are being made to bring a large contingent from the Lordstown complex to go to Dayton March 31.

National Auto Conference Of The

Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party

> **DAYTON** MARCH 31

Mall Motor Inn 21 So. Jefferson (Carillon Room)

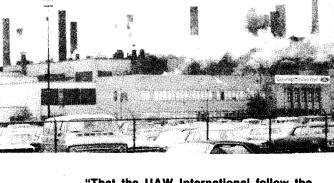
"That the UAW International follow the lead of truckers in the fight against inflation and unemployment by calling together the representatives of the trade union movement for the purpose of forcing Nixon out through national strike action and the building of a labor party as an alternative to

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

Registration: \$2.50

noon

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Police Teams Crack Down On Youth

BY J. NELSON MINNEAPOLIS—Preparations for a police crackdown on working class youth were revealed in a letter by District Judge Lindsay Arthur to 20 Minnesota judges and police officials.

The letter, dated August 30, 1973, and just published, calls for the creation of "Massive Intervention Teams" which would be "hand picked as an elite corps with combat pay if such can be arranged" to stop ''juvenile delinquency.''

The core of the Massive Intervention Team is the police, who would be given a blank check to attack the youth. Each police team would be assigned certain youth in the community to watch and would also have the right to survey and intimidate the youth's family.

In Judge Arthur's own words, "The police member of the team, as an example, will provide intensive surveillance of family members, slightly short of harassment, in order to keep them immediately accountable for every misbehavior.'

Judge Arthur proposes the Massive Intervention Team determine within a period of 18 months whether or not a juvenile delinquent and his family are "reformed." If the family and youth are judged not to have reformed, the team would have the power to implement the "Final Plan" which would mean:

•"Dispersal of the family by termination of parental rights, adoption, incarceration, foster placement, or institutionalization, or...

•"Dismissal of all supportive services as being no longer needed, or...

•"A low-intensity plan of supportive social work by a single agency.'

Judge Arthur's proposals are made in anticipation of mass struggles of the youth against Nixon's plans.

The unions must demand an end to police terror and repression as a weapon the government uses against not only youth, but trade unionists.



Minneapolis YS marched against Nixon last week to prepare for Midwest Regional March in Chicago March 16.

Jury Clears STRESS Cop

BY KEN WESTON **DETROIT—STRESS** Officer Raymond A. Peterson was acquitted of second degree murder charges for his shooting of an unarmed motorist after a traffic accident last March.

Peterson is no ordinary cop. As an undercover STRESS agent, he achieved notoriety for his involvement in the deaths of nine STRESS victims, having personally fired five of the fatal

On March 1, 1973, Peterson was off duty and driving his car on the highway when he was side-swiped by a car driven by Robert Hoyt, a 24-year-old Cadillac Motors worker.

Peterson and another off duty STRESS officer forced Hoyt off the road. An argument began between Hoyt and Peterson which ended when Peterson pulled out his concealed pistol and shot Hoyt to death.

KNIFE

Peterson and his partner first claimed that Hoyt came at them waving a knife which was found at the scene of the shooting. Laboratory tests proved however that the knife belonged to Peterson who then admitted in court that he had fabricated the story and had deliberately placed his own knife at the

Peterson's acquittal by a 12man jury after this amazing confession which exposed the

cold-blooded murder, must serve as a warning to all workers and vouth.

FEAR

Peterson based his final defense on the testimony of two psychiatrists who claimed that because he lived in constant fear for his life, he showed no intent to commit a crime. Such a judgment lays the basis for unrestricted repression of the working class by "special" law officers like STRESS agents.

Another ominous sign of the intensified repression against the working class and its organizations is the renewed attempts by big business associations in Detroit to abolish Michigan's pre-Civil War ban on capital punishment, especially in relation to persons convicted of killing a cop.

Twin Cities COL Index Jumps To 9.4%

BY JEAN BRUST

MINNEAPOLIS—The cost of living in the Twin City area of Minneapolis and St. Paul went up even greater than the national average, according to figures released by the Department of Labor at the end of February.

Nationally, the C.O.L. went up 9.4 percent. In Minnesota workers paid 9.8 percent more for goods and services than they did a year ago, with most of the increases hitting in the last quarter of the year. Moreover, figures for the first months indicate actual buying power took an even greater plunge the first part of 1974.

"It is bad, real bad," explained Pam, a young unemployed mother of two as she left the grocery store. "What gets me especially angry is the increase in lunch money and milk money I have to send with

went up a nickel. Even the nickel candy bar is a dime—and most of them are 15 cents now.

"That's a lot of money when you don't have much. And gas prices are real bad. I hardly drive any more. Only to the store and shopping. We don't do anything carefree, like trips or visiting."

Dick is a carpenter who has been out of work almost four months now. He explained that he is used to some unemployment, due to the severity of the weather in the winter, but this year things are different. Housing starts are down and commercial work is slow.

JUMPING

"The way prices are jumping affects everybody," he said, 'employed or unemployed. People can't eat well. Nixon's wage controls really hurt the workers. In fact Nixon is no good

my kids to school. Everything for the worker—he's no good at all. I never voted for the man and never would.

> "There are a lot of members of my union who would support the YS fight for a Congress of Labor, and a labor party to force Nixon out. But we are a small union, and don't have much power. I think it's the big unions that are going to have to take it up and stick together.'

> Mary is a young mother who has lived all her life on the South Side of Minneapolis, and who has been working to build the YS' Jobs Marches.

> "These apartments are a real ripoff," she said, pointing to some recently built two-story frame buildings. "They are a crime against people. They should be outlawed. They are built poorly, they cost \$160 a month, and you get closet-sized rooms. One person would be crowded. Working people can't afford that kind of rent.

"Model Cities in another thing It's just run to make some rich people richer. They take a poor worker who is trying to buy a house here and demand he spend all sorts of money improving it. He hasn't got that money, not at today's prices.

'Just because a person is trying to buy a house doesn't mean he's not a worker. If he were middle class he wouldn't buy it here on the South Side, or in Selby-Dale in St. Paul where they are trying to do the same thing. All they want to do is tear down his house and someone gets rich dealing in the land.

"You bet I can tell the C.O.L. has gone up. Just about everything I buy has gone up 20 cents an item. I don't use my food stamps for anything but food: no cookies, pop, not even graham crackers or anything. But even so I'm out of money and food stamps too before the end of the

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Sunday, Mar. 24 Wayne State University 7:30 pm



Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, Workers League National Secretary

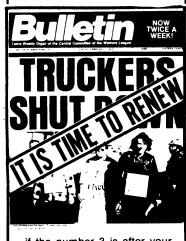
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"The Unquiet Death of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," currently being broadcast in different cities on public television, is a powerful expose of the notorious atomic spy case 20 years ago which ended in the government's murder of the Rosenbergs.

Unlike "The Trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," a court-room drama televised last month which cynically defended the integrity of the trial, "The Unquiet Death" scrupulously documents how the Justice Department concocted a case against the Rosenbergs in order to feed the anticommunist hysteria so essential for American domestic and international policies

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were the first US citizens ever executed during peacetime for the "crime" of treason. They were arrested in 1950 on the spectacular charge of having stolen the "secret" of the atom bomb and passing it over to a Soviet agent.

Sing Sing

Three years later, they were electrocuted in Sing Sing Penitentiary while thousands protested in front of the White House, in New York City, and throughout Europe.

The first aspect of the case exposed in the documentary is the most basic: even if one accepts the government's definition of treason, had the secret of the A-bomb actually been stolen?

A scientist who helped develop the bomb and who holds a patent on it is seen explaining that there was never any such thing as the "secret" of the atomic bomb. Once an understanding of atomic fission developed within the international scientific community during the late 1930s, there was little doubt that atomic energy could be released for the purpose of exploding a bomb

At any rate, the detonation of a bomb over Hiroshima in 1945 demonstrated conclusively that all practical difficulties in building such a weapon could be overcome.

Therefore, according to the scientist, it was plainly understood that any major power could build a bomb. Most scientists expected that the Soviet Union would develop a nuclear device by 1950. They were impressed, but not surprised, when the USSR exploded its first device in 1949.

Witch-Hunt

The Truman administration knew far in advance of Soviet nuclear capacities, but deliberately launched a vicious witch-hunt around the absurd claim that America's "secret" had been stolen.

The Rosenbergs were arrested mainly because they apparently had connections at some point in their lives with the American Communist Party.

However, when they were brought to trial, the government had no evidence against them except the testimony of Ethel's brother and sister-in-law, the twisted testimony of one Harry Gold, and the top of a jello box.

The FBI claimed that Harry Gold was working with Soviet intelligence when he contacted Ethel's brother Greenglass in Albuquerque, New Mexico, by saying "I come from Julius" and then identifying himself with one-half of a jello box top. Then, according to the FBI, Greenglass gave Gold the "secrets" stolen by Julius and Ethel.

All this supposedly took place in a hotel in Albuquerque.

"The Unquiet Death" rips this story to pieces. First of all, doctors who examined Gold concluded that he was a psychotic who was unable most of his life to differentiate between the real world and his fantasies. The fact that he claimed to be a spy could not be taken seriously.

Furthermore, tapes obtained by the producers of the documentary reveal that Gold altered his testimony several times before coming to trial. An FBI agent who worked on the case has admitted that the words "I come from Julius" were put into Gold's mouth by his interrogators.

Even more important, the receipt from the Albuquerque hotel produced by the government at the trial to substantiate Gold's story has been discredited as a forgery. The FBI now says that it has lost the receipt.

As for the testimony of Greenglass, he had already been convicted of spying and the government withheld sentencing until he testified against his sister and brother-in-law. Greenglass's lawyer reports today that a deal was made with the prosecution to give Greenglass a prison term rather than the death sentence if he "cooperated."

Screened

The documentary also focuses on the trial itself. The FBI carefully screened the jury so that it was stacked with hardened reactionaries and anticommunists. Pressures were placed on those jurors who did waver.

Found guilty and condemned to death, legal proceedings continued for two years. The decision to finally carry out the executions in June 1953 was made by Dwight Eisenhower at a cabinet meeting held in the White House hours before the legal murders were scheduled to begin

Written from a liberal viewpoint, the weakness of the documentary is that it does not deal with the manner in which the defense of the Rosenbergs was handled. This was an extremely important issue because the Communist Party refused to wage a serious political defense of the Rosenbergs and tied their lives to legal maneuvers.

Throughout the trial and their long incarceration, during which both Julius and Ethel displayed exceptional courage, refusing to save their lives by pleading guilty, they never answered the government's questions concerning their alleged membership in the Communist Party. They were told by their lawyers that this would hurt their case.

However, by avoiding the political issues, the defense never exposed the full extent of the government's monstrous conspiracy.



Picket of hospital workers in San Francisco.

Drivers Fined \$12,000

ALAMEDA—Fines totalling \$12,000 were assessed by a federal court against beer drivers in Teamsters Local 888 and the Alameda County Labor Council for violating court injunctions against picketing liquor stores.

Local 888 Oakland Business Agent Gus Carridas said the union would not appeal the fine. "It was a victory for us," he told the Bulletin. "The court has given us a break. Up until this time they have not been too lenient with us. We have conducted a peaceful boycott."

Local 888 has been on strike against beer distributors in the East Bay and Sacramento over nine months. Several distributors spearheaded by Coors Beer, are running completely non-union operations.

The union leadership aban-

doned any attempt to shut down the scab operation in the face of injunctions and the massive use of armed security guards. For fear of a political fight they adopted the futile strategy of consumer protest boycotting. They abandoned even this effort for 45 days because of court injunctions.

13 Mexicans Killed In Border Patrol Bus

BY A REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Thirteen men were killed and six others were critically injured this week when an immigration van crashed into the rear of a parked semitrailer truck 45 miles west of El Centro.

The men killed were all young workers being deported to Mexico.

people who were out in Decem-

ber will respect our picket lines.

just like we did theirs. Either

Kaiser gives us what we deserve

or the whole place will be shut

down. We're just waiting to hear

from the union."

The van was en route from the

Border Patrol sector headquarters in El Centrol to San Ysidro, where the "illegal aliens" were to be processed for deportation across the border.

SECOND

This is the second such accident this year. On January 15, a farm labor bus carrying field workers from Mexicali plunged into a drainage ditch and killed 19 workers. That crash was blamed on excessive speed, although the bus had poorly maintained electrical wiring, an inefficient exhaust system, and holes in the fire wall between the engine and the passenger compartment.

Ziola, a young worker from Mexico, said he was sickened by the recent crash. "They come up here because they are in need, they are hungry. It is worse in Mexico. So they take the jobs, the worst jobs, the ones that no one else will take yet, and they try to make a living. And then they are killed."

Talks Break Off At Kaiser Hospitals

BY TED BAKER
OAKLAND, Calif.—
Contract negotiations
between Optical Technicians and Workers
Local 505 and Kaiser
hospitals have broken
down, opening up the
possibility of another
strike at the 14 hospitals and clinics in northern California.

The 220 members of Local 505 are demanding wage increases and benefits comparable to those won by hospital workers in a strike last December.

PACKAGE

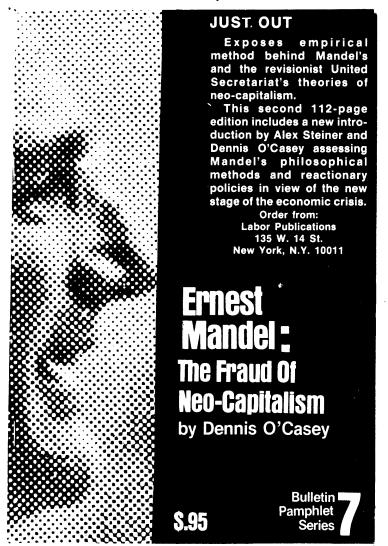
The hospital workers won a package totaling 10 percent in wages and benefits after a bitter 10 day strike. The union won despite court injunctions and police intimidation of pickets.

Now Kaiser is refusing to give Local 505 members the increases. The Alameda County Central Labor Council has voted to give Local 505 strike sanction, which could begin if negotiations are not reopened.

NERVE

A member of Local 505 at Kaiser's Oakland hospital told the Bulletin: "I think Kaiser has a hell of a lot of nerve. They think just because there are only a few hundred of us they don't have to give us the same as everyone else.

"But if we strike, it won't be just Local 505, but all 5000



City Strikers Defy Injunction

BY A REPORTER

FRANCIS-SAN CO-City workers here are defying an injunction of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce which not only orders the strike ended immediately, but instructs the San Francisco Police Department to arrest any picketers who remain at their post.

The strike by Service Employees International Union city workers, which began last Thursday, has shut down all city offices, all janitorial services at the San Francisco International Airport, and all public transportation. City hospitals have been shut down except for emergency. services. The teachers union has joined the strike, fighting for its own demands, forcing a shutdown of the schools.

Local 10 and Clerks Local 34 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union have voted to strike in support of the city workers. Pickets were being dispatched to the docks Thursday morning.

The Chamber of Commerce is demanding Alioto dispatch the police immediately or call in the National Guard to crush the

Mayor Alioto is preparing to order police in and claims there will be no arrests if workers peacefully disperse. He is also threatening to call in the State Highway Patrol to remove pickets from the A.C. Transit Terminal.

The head of the Police Officers Association, however, declared he would not allow the police to be used as strike-

SPREAD

The strike has already spread to include the Southern Pacific engineers and Bay Area Transit Workers on the East Bay.

The state is being set for a violent confrontation between the government and the workers on the scale of the 1934 San Francisco General Strike.

The danger facing the city workers is that the SEIU leadership has already weakened the strike in preparation for a settlement. Sewage plant workers have been ordered back and pickets withdrawn from the General Hospital.

Superior Court Judge Horn issued the injunction after negotiations between the striking unions, Mayor Alioto, and the Board of Supervisors were broken off late Monday night.

At a news conference called shortly after the injunction was



Workers from many San Francisco unions rally in support of San Francisco city workers.

issued, John Crowley, Secretary-Treasurer of the San Francisco Central Labor Council, stated the picket lines would stay up in defiance of the injunction "even if the police asked them to leave."

STRENGTH

The enormous strength and determination of city workers to win a living wage has brought them into a direct confrontation with the Democratic "friends of labor" such as Alioto and Dianne Feinstein, Board of Super-

Alioto has refused to offer more than a 5 percent wage increase. City workers are demanding \$80 across the board, about 15 percent for the lowest paid workers, and a full dental plan. Dianne Feinstein has personally scabbed on the strike and applauded Judge Horn's ruling. Alioto said, "I and the Board of Supervisors are morally outraged by the refusal of the unions to stop polluting the

At a meeting of the San Francisco Labor Council Monday night the Executive Board of the Labor Council was given the authority to call and set the date for a "Labor Solidarity Day, a 24 Hour Work Stoppage and Mass Unity Labor Rally." Walter Johnson, head of striking Sears clerks, motivated his motion, "What better way than to have a total, general work stoppage in San Francisco to get our point across.'

Crowley and the SEIU leadership have already retreated from the demand for \$80 across the board. Crowley stated on TV Saturday night that the union was willing to compromise for 8 percent. Tim Twomey of Hospital Local 250 concurred in a statement to the press.

In his press release, Crowley stated: "We've said before, we say again, that as soon as the Board of Supervisors sits down and begins to bargain earnestly and in good faith, abandoning the fixed positions they've held all this time, we're prepared to ask the sewage plant employees to return to work."

ALLIANCE

Crowley seeks to hold back the struggle, to compromise, in order to preserve his alliance with Alioto and the Democrats. He defended Alioto at the press conference, saying "the Mayor is trying hard.

This is a political strike and requires a break with the capitalist parties and an independent fight by the labor movement for its own party.

The San Francisco Central Labor Council must immediately lauch a call for an unlimited citywide general strike to defend city workers and to launch a wage offensive against inflation.

This strike immediately raises the need for a Congress of Labor to unite all workers in a campaign to force Nixon out. The fight for such a congress and the building of a labor party are central to the San Francisco strike.

SLA Statement Seeks To Frame AIM

BY A REPORTER

SAN JOSE—The campaign of provocations against the left and the labor movement was escalated last week with a series of bombings of Shell oil facilities in San Jose and Los Altos.

The San Francisco Chronicle immediately claimed that someone from the "Americans for Justice" had

claimed responsibility for the bombings.

The paper said that a series of demands had been issued, including free gas and oil for the elderly and the setting up of a new energy commission headed possibly by consumer critic Ralph Nader.

The FBI is now involved in investigating the bombing. This moves the witchhunt against "terrorism" a step closer to the real target: any section of the working class, such as the coal miners and the independent truckers, which fights back against Nixon's attacks on their standard of living. The bombings took place at the same time as the miners voted to continue their strike against gasoline allocations.

FRAUD

The latest communication from the Symbionese Liberation Army makes it even clearer that the Patricia Hearst kidnapping itself is a fraud.

The new SLA message, coming after 17 days of silence, denounces Randolph Hearst for providing \$8 in "hog feed" and other cheap surplus foods for his giveaway program instead of the \$70 in "top quality" food demanded by the SLA.

The message states, "The people have experienced such. trickery too many times in the oast to ever be fooled by it again. SLA elements were at Wounded Knee and we too, honored the elders' decision to cease the occupation. But we will not forget the lesson that we learned from our brothers and sisters there: one thing above all, never trust the words of the enemy.'

WOUNDED KNEE

This statement links the SLA to Wounded Knee at the very moment when hundreds of Indians who fought for their rights there are going on trial in Minnesota and South Dakota. It is tailormade to bolster the prosecution's case just when it is at the point of collapse.

Similarly, the SLA sends greetings to the Black Liberation Army, allegedly a Black guerrilla organization, as Joanne Chesimard, whom police claim is a BLA leader, is on trial in New Jersey on a murder charge.

Campus Spy Squad **Aids Budget Cutting**

BY SHEILA BREHM

try's largest system of higher education, which resulted in the firing of one tenured professor in the mathematics department at California State, is continuing.

Ernest Eckert, chairman of the department, was fired three years ago as a result of an investigation into whether faculty members in the State University and College system are teaching fewer hours than they are being paid for. The study is currently being conducted on six campuses by special auditors.

Although top administrators on each of the six campuses have necessarily been told of the management-type audit, most of the individual faculty members being surveilled have not.

The auditors claim that the alleged cheating cost the state over one million dollars in one department alone.

There is no doubt that the

spying is being used to begin LOS ANGELES—Spying on wholesale layoffs and budget faculty members in the councillation cuts far beyond the current cutbacks on the college campuses.

The pilot study which began four years ago at the Los Angeles campus is now completed. Professors were charged with illegally taking teacher credit for such duties as advising students and double credit for extra large classes.

Investigations are now underway on six other campuses, including, San Francisco, Hayward, Pomona, San Luis Obispo, Long Beach and San Bernadino.

The investigations were spurred on by Thelma Canney, an assistant professor in the Mathematics Department at Cal

Governor Reagan and the Board of Trustees are behind the drive to demolish the California higher education system, rapidly turning the right to a public education into a luxury for those who can afford to attend the private schools.



ILWU Clerks Local 34 now on strike in support of city workers.

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ucha obrera

-lucia rivera-

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Black Family Is Fire-Bomb Target

BY A REPORTER

BROOKLYN, NY—Two molotov cocktails were thrown at the home of Mr. and Mr. Harold Kirschner in an attempt to destroy their basement apartment which they had recently rented to a Black family.

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The incident occurred on 103 Street in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn where, with the exception of one Black family, only white, middle class residents live. This area is only a few blocks from the broken down Breukelen Houses, which is a massive housing project where thousands of Black families live.

At the beginning of the last school year, a big struggle over the question of integration broke out. A group of right-wingers, whipping up racism and hysteria within the community, led a boycott at the local junior high and high schools as a protest against the presence of Blacks in the school. This group terrorized many white families who did not support the boycott into keeping their children home.

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"I did not even hear that they were bombed down the street or that there was even another Black family on this block. I think it's terrible; but there are Black people that are bad and white people too."

The racism within this community could be sharply seen in a statement made by Joe, a third year law student and next door neighbor to the Kirschner's. "I knew there was going to be a bombing. I think the family down the block will get it next. The people on this block, including myself, have a fear of economic degradation that they bring here with them."

As the economic crisis deepens, right-wing elements, including the fascists, emerge to attempt to divide the working class and whip up hysteria among the middle class in order to pit sections of the middle class against the working class. These elements will use racism as their main weapon to carry out their aims

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subpoena down there.''	the labor movement must i
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when he goes.

The massive strike action of the San Francisco labor movement and the West Virginia coal miners reveals that the working class is rapidly moving into a fundamental clash with the government. It will be out of such struggles that it can develop and gain the knowledge of the need for a labor party and of the inadequacy of its present leadership.

It is through the fight against Nixon to build a revolutionary leadership through the construction of the Workers League and the Young Socialists and the preparation for the daily Bulletin that the working class will be prepared.

The marches in Washington, Chicago, and San Francisco led by the Workers League and the Young Socialists represent a great step in carrying this out.

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