

# Bulletin

NOW  
TWICE A  
WEEK!

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER TWENTY TWO 358

TUESDAY, MARCH 19, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS



Largest Anti-Nixon Demonstration Ever

# YS Marches Against Nixon

Part of 450-strong contingent at Young Socialists March against Nixon in Washington, DC.

**BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM WASHINGTON, DC, March 16—Over 450 youth and trade unionists marched through the capitol city Saturday afternoon demanding that the AFL-CIO take action to force Nixon out and construct a labor party based on**

**the unions, in the biggest anti-Nixon demonstration ever held in the United States.**

Contingents of Young Socialists from New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Bethlehem, Reading, Baltimore, Cleveland, Youngstown, and Washington received an enthusiastic reception in the working class communities through

which they passed along the three mile long route in a steady downpour.

Strong demonstrations were also held in San Francisco and Chicago by Young Socialist contingents from the Midwest and West Coast.

More than 150 youth from Detroit, Dayton, Minneapolis, St. Paul, St. Louis, and Chicago marched through the Midwest City in blustery and wet weather. The strong support for the march was expressed in the sale of 300 copies of the *Bulletin*, 100 copies of the *Young Socialist* and \$50 worth of literature.

The San Francisco demonstration included 115 youth from the Bay Area, Los Angeles and San Jose.

Washington workers leaned out of their windows and came out in front of their houses as the YS marchers passed by, cheering them on and often emphasizing their support by saluting with clenched fists.

Chanting such slogans as "Nixon Out, Labor In, Build A Labor Party," "What Do We Want—Jobs! When Do We Want Them—Now!", and "Make This Nixon's Final Hour, Labor Must Take The Power," the marchers convinced many youth from the communities to join the demon-

stration.

The rousing welcome given by Washington, DC workers to the marchers expressed not only the powerful hatred of the working class for Nixon, but also the powerful support which will now come forward for the actual construction of a revolutionary movement to throw Nixon out and defend the living standards and basic rights of the working class.

The demonstration marked a historic step forward in the building of the Young Socialists, reflected not only in the size of the march, but also in the fight taken up by the youth participating in the demonstration to reach new forces by selling the *Bulletin* and *Young Socialist* newspapers, literature, and raising contributions for the fund drive.

Rallying in Lafayette Square across the street from the AFL-CIO headquarters at the conclusion of the march, speakers from the Workers League and Young Socialists declared that the purpose of the demonstration had been to bring forward the movement of the working class against Nixon and for the building of a labor party, and through this fight to build the revolutionary party.

Bringing the greetings of the Workers League to the marchers, National Secretary Tim Wohlforth declared that Nixon had broken every law in the land but remained in office because the trade union bureaucracy refuses to take action to force him out.

"We did not come to Washington to beg George Meany to do anything. We have come here to create the movement within the working class that will throw the Meany's out and construct a labor party. It is this movement (Continued On Page 12)

## Building The Bulletin

### Weekend Trailblazer

This coming weekend, Saturday, March 23 and Sunday, March 24, we plan to carry out a weekend national trailblazing drive. Each branch should organize an entire weekend drive in a new area in order to get their entire monthly quota in one weekend and go over. We urge all our subscribers to join us in this drive.

In the first week of the subscription drive we have gotten only 789 subscriptions toward our goal of 4800. The national marches this past Saturday shows the big response of the working class and the youth toward the *Bulletin*. In Washington, 62 subscriptions were sold in the streets, in the pouring rain, along with hundreds of *Young Socialist* newspapers.

It is clear from the response to the march and to the *Bulletin* that it is only the *Bulletin* that is carrying on the fight for a labor party and to throw Nixon out through the building of our movement.

### In The Weekend Edition

•"The Truth About Oil," a special two-part series by Jeff Sebastian exposing the real source of the oil crisis.

An answer to all the questions workers are raising in every country on whether the shortage is real and who is responsible.

•A photo special on the Young Socialists Marches against Nixon in Washington, Chicago, and San Francisco on March 16.



# Bulletin

NOW  
TWICE A  
WEEK!

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER TWENTY TWO 358

TUESDAY, MARCH 19, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS



Largest Anti-Nixon Demonstration Ever

# YS Marches Against Nixon

Part of 450-strong contingent at Young Socialists March against Nixon in Washington, DC.

**BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM WASHINGTON, DC, March 16—Over 450 youth and trade unionists marched through the capitol city Saturday afternoon demanding that the AFL-CIO take action to force Nixon out and construct a labor party based on**

**the unions, in the biggest anti-Nixon demonstration ever held in the United States.**

Contingents of Young Socialists from New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Bethlehem, Reading, Baltimore, Cleveland, Youngstown, and Washington received an enthusiastic reception in the working class communities through

which they passed along the three mile long route in a steady downpour.

Strong demonstrations were also held in San Francisco and Chicago by Young Socialist contingents from the Midwest and West Coast.

More than 150 youth from Detroit, Dayton, Minneapolis, St. Paul, St. Louis, and Chicago marched through the Midwest City in blustery and wet weather. The strong support for the march was expressed in the sale of 300 copies of the *Bulletin*, 100 copies of the *Young Socialist* and \$50 worth of literature.

The San Francisco demonstration included 115 youth from the Bay Area, Los Angeles and San Jose.

Washington workers leaned out of their windows and came out in front of their houses as the YS marchers passed by, cheering them on and often emphasizing their support by saluting with clenched fists.

Chanting such slogans as "Nixon Out, Labor In, Build A Labor Party," "What Do We Want—Jobs! When Do We Want Them—Now!", and "Make This Nixon's Final Hour, Labor Must Take The Power," the marchers convinced many youth from the communities to join the demon-

stration.

The rousing welcome given by Washington, DC workers to the marchers expressed not only the powerful hatred of the working class for Nixon, but also the powerful support which will now come forward for the actual construction of a revolutionary movement to throw Nixon out and defend the living standards and basic rights of the working class.

The demonstration marked a historic step forward in the building of the Young Socialists, reflected not only in the size of the march, but also in the fight taken up by the youth participating in the demonstration to reach new forces by selling the *Bulletin* and *Young Socialist* newspapers, literature, and raising contributions for the fund drive.

Rallying in Lafayette Square across the street from the AFL-CIO headquarters at the conclusion of the march, speakers from the Workers League and Young Socialists declared that the purpose of the demonstration had been to bring forward the movement of the working class against Nixon and for the building of a labor party, and through this fight to build the revolutionary party.

Bringing the greetings of the Workers League to the marchers, National Secretary Tim Wohlforth declared that Nixon had broken every law in the land but remained in office because the trade union bureaucracy refuses to take action to force him out.

"We did not come to Washington to beg George Meany to do anything. We have come here to create the movement within the working class that will throw the Meanys out and construct a labor party. It is this movement  
(Continued On Page 12)

## Building The Bulletin

### Weekend Trailblazer

This coming weekend, Saturday, March 23 and Sunday, March 24, we plan to carry out a weekend national trailblazing drive. Each branch should organize an entire weekend drive in a new area in order to get their entire monthly quota in one weekend and go over. We urge all our subscribers to join us in this drive.

In the first week of the subscription drive we have gotten only 789 subscriptions toward our goal of 4800. The national marches this past Saturday shows the big response of the working class and the youth toward the *Bulletin*. In Washington, 62 subscriptions were sold in the streets, in the pouring rain, along with hundreds of *Young Socialist* newspapers.

It is clear from the response to the march and to the *Bulletin* that it is only the *Bulletin* that is carrying on the fight for a labor party and to throw Nixon out through the building of our movement.

### In The Weekend Edition

•"The Truth About Oil," a special two-part series by Jeff Sebastian exposing the real source of the oil crisis.

An answer to all the questions workers are raising in every country on whether the shortage is real and who is responsible.

•A photo special on the Young Socialists Marches against Nixon in Washington, Chicago, and San Francisco on March 16.

## A Big Step Forward For The Young Socialists

The Young Socialists March in Washington on March 16 was a tremendous step forward in the construction of the Young Socialists and the Workers League as the only revolutionary leadership in this country.

Only the Young Socialists and the Workers League organized and carried out a political march against Nixon, while the revisionists and Stalinists run after the Democrats and the labor bureaucrats.

The Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party, who once led huge protest marches against the Vietnam War, are now prostrate. Precisely when Nixon is at his weakest and millions of workers can be rallied against him in a direct political struggle, these organizations are silent.

Our march was held just one day after Nixon declared that no matter how unpopular he was, he would never resign.

At the same time, the present unemployment and inflation are just the beginning of a new level of attacks on our living standards. The deepening recession will rapidly turn into a depression, with millions thrown out of work, while inflation rages out of control and the capitalists and military turn increasingly towards a dictatorship to preserve their system.

Nixon is only able to reaffirm his arrogant defiance before the masses of people who oppose him and his policies because of the refusal of the spineless Democrats and trade union bureaucrats to act against him.

### What We Think

The purpose of our marches is not only to demand that Nixon be thrown out, but to demand that the trade unions organize a labor party pledged to socialist policies as the only answer to the crisis. As we fight for this, we are building the revolutionary party and the leadership that will carry this fight through.

We have no illusions that one demonstration can force Nixon out or that a labor party can be built simply by pressuring the AFL-CIO leadership of George Meany.

Our demands that labor force Nixon out and construct its own political party to replace the Democrats and Republicans is aimed at building our movement as the alternative leadership which will fight for these demands as the essential preparation for the overthrow of capitalism itself.

In holding these marches we are continuously assembling and training a revolutionary leadership that will lead millions of workers and youth in the major class battles that are on the agenda.

The central need for leadership was sharply seen as the very day our marches were held, the leaders of the San Francisco city workers strike capitulated and accepted a compromise settlement that solves nothing.

The trade union leadership acts to break up the powerful movement of the working class on the West Coast just at the point when a general strike of all the unions was imminent.

The Young Socialists through its campaign against unemployment and against Nixon fights among workers for the understanding that no defense of jobs, of decent wages, and democratic rights is possible unless this government is thrown out, and replaced by a government committed to socialist policies.

It is the revolutionary spirit and determination of the youth combined with the power of the working class in the unions that is the unbeatable force that will defeat the conspiracy of the capitalists to destroy our rights and living standards.

It is the aggressive fight of the youth that will encourage workers to come forward and in this way, youth will play a leading role in building an alternative leadership to expose and throw out the reformist bureaucracy in the unions.

We have now reached a new stage in the construction of the Young Socialists and the Workers League. From March 16 we will go forward to train these new forces to reach out and organize thousands of new youth and workers in all the areas. On May 4 and 5 the Young Socialists will hold its Second National Conference.

The deepening political and economic crisis means that our campaign to force Nixon out must be stepped up within the unions. On March 30, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party will hold a national conference of auto workers in Dayton, Ohio to build our movement inside the United Auto Workers against Woodcock.

We will now launch our first independent election campaign in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn. Helen Halyard, Central Committee member of the Workers League, will run for Congress in order to raise the need for a labor party and recruit new forces to our movement.

We will go forward to publish the **Bulletin** as a daily paper in 1975 as the necessary weapon to construct our party and prepare for the revolutionary struggles we face in America.

# Wilson Faces Wage Clash

BY DAVID NORTH

The British working class has launched a powerful wage offensive in the wake of the 35 percent increase won by the miners and new reports that prices rose at record rates in February.

Five million trade unionists, including engineers,

collision between the working class and the reformist Wilson government which assumed office three weeks ago.

Labour Party Prime Minister Harold Wilson made clear last week as Parliament opened that he will not fight for socialist policies, but will instead seek to carry out the anti-working class program of the defeated Tories.

### REPUDIATED

Virtually every aspect of the Labour Party's election plat-

**While Wilson seeks to implement Tory policies, the actual objective crisis of British capitalism which brought forward the movement of the working class—spearheaded by the miners—against Heath continues to deepen.**

**The end of the coal miners strike has not meant the end of the three day week. A survey of British industry by the Workers Press, newspaper of the Workers Revolutionary Party, shows that the prospects for returning to a five day week are very uncertain.**

**The three day week was not caused by the miners strike but by the conscious decision of the Tories last December to abandon "growth" policies through inflation and to introduce mass unemployment.**

**This dramatic cut in production inevitably decreased the cash flow of hundreds of firms which now do not have the necessary reserves to expand production to the old levels. The Confederation of British Industry in Scotland estimated that 1000 firms out of 4500 will not resume a five day work week.**

**The crisis of British capitalism is expressed also in the downward plunge of the London stock exchange, reflecting the fears in leading industrial and banking circles of a full-scale collapse.**

railroad workers, construction workers, printers, and seamen are among those who will not settle within the wage limits enacted into law by the defeated Tory government.

The wage offensive represents a new stage in the class struggle in England, where workers have viewed the elections as part of the fight against Tory policies and are now moving forward against the inflation and attacks on living standards introduced during the last four years.

This movement over wages has created the conditions for a

form has already been jettisoned. In the Queen's Speech, which outlined the new government's policies, Wilson repudiated his party's pledge to nationalize 25 major companies.

He has declared that his government will not touch the food monopolies, thus sanctioning the runaway inflation that is tearing into the living standards of every worker.

At the same time, the Labour Party has decided not to fight a Tory-Liberal veto of any attempt to do away with wage controls. Wilson wants this anti-union law on the books.

The Wilson government must



WRP demonstration called day after elections to demand socialist policies.

be a regime of crisis. It reveals itself as the "Trojan Horse" of the Tories within the labor movement as the working class extends its struggle to defend its rights under conditions of ever-deepening economic crisis.

The election of Harold Wilson does not mean a return to the period of 1964, when the Labour Party last came to power after years of Tory rule. Wilson returns to power to carry out the policies of mass unemployment and inflation drafted by the Tories as the military, police, and Powellite ultra-rightists build up their forces under the cover of Wilson's betrayals.

There is no possibility of a reformist regime lasting long in Britain. English reformists like Wilson can in this period only play the same role as Chilean reformists like Allende.

For this reason, the present period will be of tremendous importance in the development of the political consciousness of the British working class and the development of the revolutionary leadership, represented in England by the Workers Revolutionary Party, section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The present period does more than just open up the prospect of exposing the role of reformism and breaking the last illusions of the workers in Harold Wilson. If anything, the distrust of the reformists was reflected continuously in the course of the elec-

tion, particularly in the refusal of the miners to call off their strike for the duration of the campaign.

The collision between the Labour Party reformists, trade union bureaucracy, and the masses of British workers will create the conditions in which the working class will test out the perspectives of the Workers Revolutionary Party through their own experiences with this "Trojan Horse" government.

### PREPARATIONS

However, the ability to carry forward this struggle flows from the preparations for this crisis by the WRP and its predecessor, the Socialist Labour League.

Between 1964 and 1970, the SLL constructed the Young Socialists in the course of a bitter struggle against reformism within the trade unions and among broad sections of youth, demanding at every point that the Labour Party be compelled to carry out socialist policies.

Campaigning in the 1970 parliamentary elections for a return of Labour to power pledged to socialist policies, the SLL launched the day after the Tory victory a campaign to rally the working class to force Heath out. The SLL insisted throughout this fight that the struggle against Toryism was a political fight. It fought to train workers in an understanding of Stalinism, which, through the British Communist Party, sought to hold

the working class back at the level of trade union militancy and to prevent a political fight to force the Tories out.

In the fight to rally the working class against the Tories and return Labour to power, the SLL constructed its forces among advanced workers, launching campaigns such as the "Right to Work Marches" in the winter of 1972 which were instrumental in preparing for the transformation of the SLL into the Workers Revolutionary Party last November.

The participation of the WRP in the last election, campaigning for a return of Labour while running nine of its own candidates, was critical in reaching out to tens of thousands of workers to explain the tremendous dangers posed by the economic crisis and the movements of the Tory politicians, Powellites, and military toward dictatorship.

The call of the WRP for an emergency recall of the Labour Party conference can rally thousands of workers against the retreat of the Wilson government, demanding the immediate nationalization of all industry under workers control to save jobs and living standards.

The annual conference of the British Young Socialists in Blackpool next month will be a critical step forward in the fight against the Wilson government and in the construction of the revolutionary leadership.

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

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





Coal miner from Welch, W. Va., among those who returned to work Monday after Governor Arch Moore rescinded an order placing restrictions on the sale of gasoline. The three week wildcat had been opposed by UMW President Arnold Miller, who called for government action to force the miners back to work. Three miners and their supporters were shot in Welch last week shortly before the strike came to an end.

# "Unpopular" Nixon Plots Against Unions

BY MELODY FARROW

Nixon's speech at the Chicago Executive Club was the beginning of a new right-wing counter-offensive to maintain himself in power against the will of the majority of working people who want to throw him out.

Nixon declared that he did not care if his popularity was low in the polls and added, "Some of the best decisions ever made by presidents were made when they were not too popular."

Declaring that a resignation under these conditions "would forever change our form of government," he said: "If the president resigns when he was not guilty of charges, then every president in the future could be forced out of office by simply levelling some charges," and "I will not be a party to the destruction of the presidency of the United States of America."

Nixon's speech makes clear

that unless he is forced from office, he will use this as a mandate for absolute dictatorial powers.

He openly maintains that it is undemocratic and unconstitutional to remove a president just because he is unpopular but refuses to address himself to the specific accusations of criminal acts which everyone knows he committed.

His counteroffensive is based on the most reactionary themes of patriotism, national defense and anticommunism. He is now turning to right-wing forces in the South and appealing to backward sections of the population to win support. He uses patriotism and national defense to pit a section of white workers against Black and against the trade unions.

No worker, white or Black, will be sucked in by this demagogic smokescreen. Nixon's attempts to force the burden of the economic crisis onto the backs of working people affects everyone. Unorganized workers and lower middle class people in the South especially feel the effects of inflation and a decline in income most acutely.

The House impeachment inquiry continues to move at a snail's pace. There is no hint that either Judge Sirica or the committee wants to make public the secret report on Nixon's involvement that would prove him guilty.

The Democrats are stalling because they want to give Nixon time to make the "unpopular decisions" that will cut wages while the big corporations rack in fantastic profits, to slash the budget for housing, welfare and jobs, and to create mass unemployment.

The Democrats are in a conspiracy with Nixon to use his defiance to push through measures to defend the interests of the capitalist class, which both Democrats and Republicans represent.

Nixon's arrogant declaration that he could make no predictions about inflation because "my economic advisors don't even know and they used to know everything" is a blank check to allow inflation to soar to astronomical heights.

In the same speech, Nixon issued a threat not only to the Arab countries, but also to the Common Market countries of Europe not to "gang up" on the US in the economic and political fields.

Nixon's program is clear. There will be deliberate inflation and unemployment, and more attacks on wages and the unions here, while preparations for war against other countries go ahead to defend the US domination of the world market.

Nixon's appearance in Tennessee on Sunday, complete with flags, military bands, and a chorus of "God Bless America," was carefully staged to sweep Watergate out of the way, all in the name of "patriotism" and "national defense."

There are very real dangers facing the working class unless Nixon is forced out now. This can only be done by fighting in the unions to demand the labor leaders take action now and call a Congress of Labor to mobilize millions of workers in strike action against him. In this fight a labor party must be organized immediately pledged to socialist policies as the only alternative to both the parties of capitalism.

## Senate Votes Bill For Mandatory Execution

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The US Senate voted on Wednesday 54 to 33 to reinstate the death penalty for a wide variety of federal crimes.

Under the new legislation, capital punishment would be mandatory after conviction for treason, and espionage as well as for kidnapping, hijacking, escaping from custody, and bombing government buildings when these actions cause death.

In addition the death penalty would be imposed for political assassinations, murder for hire, the killing of federal law enforcement officers, and murder "in an especially heinous, cruel, or depraved manner."

The Senate measure will now go to the House, where the "law and order" forces are firmly in the saddle.

The new law has the enthusiastic backing of President Nixon and the Department of Justice.

In 1972 the Supreme Court declared the death penalty unconstitutional, basing a considerable portion of its argument on the fact that it was imposed in an irregular and arbitrary manner in different areas.

The Senate bill circumvents this ruling by removing the irregularities and establishing a uniform standard for mandatory execution upon conviction, removing all discretion from the courts. This means a strengthening of the government's repressive apparatus far beyond anything prior to the 1972 decision.

In addition, the Senate is giving the green light to each state to implement its own execution program. Already 22 states have reimposed the death penalty for specific crimes.

The Senate action is a move to

establish the legal framework to frame up, jail, and execute socialists and working class militants. Every crime listed in the Senate bill is political.

This bill is passed just when Nixon, Attorney General William Saxbe, and the press have been conducting a hysterical barrage of accusations about a "terrorist conspiracy" throughout the country. The government uses alleged organizations, like the Symbionese Liberation Army and the Black Liberation Army to try to link organizations like the American Indian Movement to acts of "terrorism."

### FRAME UP

In every case, the government is out to frame up anyone who fights for his rights. Recent revelations about the extensive FBI operations of infiltrating left-wing organizations and encouraging violent acts makes clear that this new bill would be used for provocations and frameups.

This bill would set a precedent for a new stage of attack on the trade union movement. This bill is brought out just when a massive movement of American workers against Nixon's policies is beginning, expressed in the San Francisco general strike, the miners strike and the recent truckers strike.

### PRECEDENTS

The frame ups the bill would allow have precedents in the persecution of working class fighters like the Haymarket martyrs executed in 1887 for a "bomb" attack, but in reality because they fought for the eight hour day, and the Italian socialists Sacco and Vanzetti in the 1900s, and the Rosenbergs.

More recently the government has tried to frameup the Pan-

thers and others like Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, and Joanne Chesimard.

The trade union movement must oppose this bill and rally forces to halt its passage.

## Arab Nations Divided On Ending Oil Embargo

BY MELODY FARROW

As we go to press, all attempts by the Arab countries to agree on ending the oil embargo against the United States have collapsed.

After months of negotiations, the split between the Arab nations who want to lift the embargo and Syria and Libya, who are opposed as long as Israel continues to occupy the Golan Heights, has deepened.

This crisis is the result of the tremendous revolutionary mobilization of the Arab masses and their determination not to allow their traitorous leaders to betray the fight for their land and to drive Zionism out of the Middle East.

Intense battles on the Golan Heights between Syrian forces and Israel are increasing daily, and Israeli troops have been put on a high state of alert. Full scale war may break out at any time.

In another blow against US hopes, the oil ministers also announced that oil prices would not be cut "unless inflation is stopped" and that oil production would continue at reduced

levels.

Even the lifting of the embargo could do nothing to ease the devastating impact the quadrupled oil prices are now having on the inflation ridden economies of the capitalist world.

Commerce Secretary Frederick Dent commented that if more imported oil at high prices came into the United States it would only aggravate the balance of payments crisis. The major oil producers are creating havoc on the world money markets with their huge dollar holdings.

The real nature of the oil crisis was exposed before the embargo talks collapsed when Nixon and oil industry officials rushed to announce that the possible lifting of the oil embargo would have little effect on jobs, prices, or the gasoline shortage.

William Simon, Federal Energy Administrator, said there would still be shortages of gas and John Sawhill stated that any reduction in oil prices would be very "slight."

Auto industry executives refused to state that a lifting of the embargo would mean the recall of any workers laid off. A General Motors vice-president said only that projected sales

would be 13 percent less than last year.

### USED

It is now clear that the oil crisis has been used by the major corporations to create unemployment and production cutbacks that were already being planned because of the fundamental crisis in capitalist production itself.

Saudi Arabia and Egypt, two of the most conservative pro-American Arab regimes, engineered the deal, which the Libyan government called "a treacherous letdown for Syria and the Palestinian cause."

Negotiations between Syria and US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger have practically broken down. Syria is demanding that Israel withdraw troops behind the town of El Quneitra, captured in the 1967 Mideast War, which Israeli Prime Minister Meir has adamantly opposed.

The US imperialists must still plan military intervention in order to take control of the world oil resources. The lifting of the embargo, which Kissinger refers to as a "vote of confidence" in US policy, would be used to intensify pressure on Syria to give in while preparations for a new war go ahead behind the scenes.



# Hoffa Charges Nixon Conspiracy

BY A REPORTER

James R. Hoffa, former Teamsters president, has filed suit in Washington charging the Nixon administration with an illegal conspiracy to prevent him from participating in the union.

Hoffa has already announced that he intends to run for the presidency of Detroit Teamsters Local 299 this year and will challenge Frank Fitzsimmons for the union presidency in 1976.

Hoffa is presently prevented from assuming office by a stipulation in the 1971 executive clemency order that released

him from prison which bars him from holding office in any labor organization.

This restriction on union activities has no precedent in previous presidential clemency orders.

Hoffa's charges point directly to Richard Nixon. According to the suit, Charles W. Colson—then Nixon's special counsel and now under indictment by two grand juries for Watergate crimes—conspired with Fitzsimmons to prevent Hoffa from challenging him in the union.

In exchange for the restrictions placed on Hoffa, Fitzsimmons threw his political support to Nixon in the 1972 elections and in addition retained Colson's law firm as general counsel to the union.

Hoffa has also charged that

large financial contributions were secretly funneled to Nixon's campaign through Fitzsimmons.

The order limiting Hoffa's activities was drafted by a Justice Department attorney who now claims that he was instructed to do so by John W. Dean, Nixon's former counsel.

Fitzsimmons has provided numerous other services for Nixon as well. He was the only labor official who refused to walk off Nixon's Pay Board and who during the recent truckers strike sided completely with the administration's actions to break the strike. He has also attempted to break the farm workers organizing campaign in California.

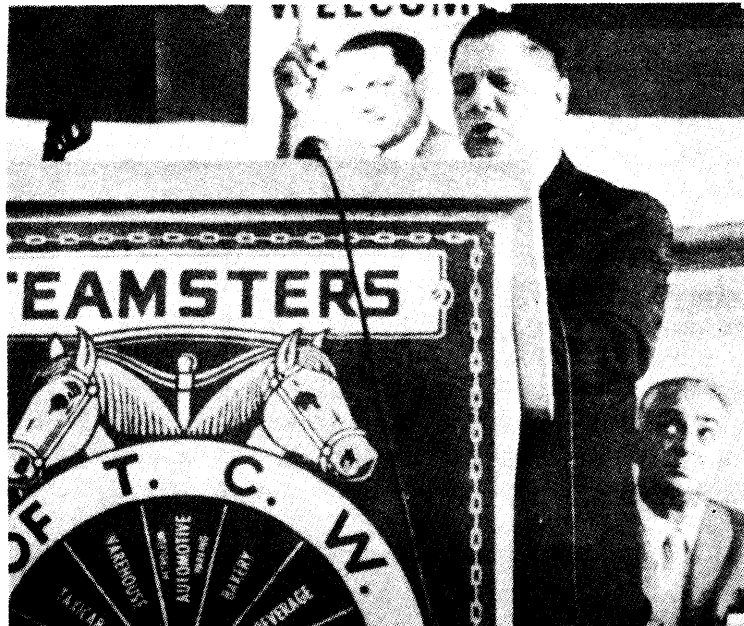
The Hoffa charges reveal an aspect of the Watergate conspiracy that has received little attention. Nixon was using the corruption of Fitzsimmons to control the powerful Teamsters Union and infiltrate his own Watergate conspirators into every aspect of the legal functioning of the union.

Fitzsimmons has been consciously conspiring to turn the Teamster bureaucracy into an arm of the state at the cost of the wages and conditions of the truck drivers.

## AMMUNITION

The Hoffa revelations will provide ammunition to hundreds of thousands of Teamsters to drive Fitzsimmons out of the labor movement.

But the fight to defeat the government's attempts to control the unions can only be taken forward through the political fight to construct a labor party.



James Hoffa at a meeting of Teamsters Local 777 in Chicago, July 1961.

## Iron Local Locked Out

BY BILL VANN

**BOSTON—A lockout by Bethlehem Steel against the iron workers of Iron Workers Union Local 7 has idled thousands of workers and stopped construction throughout the state of Massachusetts.**

The lockout began last week after the members of Local 4 of the Operating Engineers struck the contractors to back up demands for a 10 percent wage increase and job security. The Iron Workers have set up informational picket lines which have been respected by all the trades.

Local 7 members at the downtown Boston site were angered at the lockout and saw it as a clear provocation. One said:

"We work closely with the operating engineers, but we came in ready to work on Monday and there was work here. The contractors are just using the strike as an excuse to break our backs."

Many of the iron workers said they believed that Bethlehem Steel had been encouraged to lock out the men by the Contractors Association in order to launch an attack on the construc-

tion unions.

As another iron worker said, "We all know that there is a conspiracy in this country between the government and the contractors. They want to break the unions. There is a big growth in nonunion construction and these contractors want to get in on it."

One of the most important issues in the Operating Engineers strike is the attempt by the companies to eliminate so called "non-productive jobs." In many cases, the contractors have used this term to describe simply those jobs done by operating engineers.

In one instance, the contractors asked that the Operating Engineers be employed only on those water pumps which are six inches or larger in diameter. These pumps are rarely used on even the biggest jobs.

The aim of the contractors is to eliminate union jobs and to use the growing unemployment around the country as a lever to open the construction industry for nonunion labor. The present lockout has shown the powerful resistance with which these plans will be met.

## Hospital Workers Demand Back Pay

BY A REPORTER

**BALTIMORE—**The dispute involving 300 workers at Maryland General Hospital for pay increases which led to a strike last week has gone to arbitration.

Workers on the picket line told the Bulletin that they were determined to shut down the hospital until their increases were given. Mrs. Ola Montgomery, delegate for 1199 National Union of Hospital Workers, who called the walkout, said, "They have kept it from us for 15 months and now we are going to stay out until we get it."

The contract signed in December of 1972 authorized a 25

cent increase in January 1973 and another 25 cents in January, 1974. To date, only 15 cents has been given each year. Hospital administrators have used Nixon's Cost of Living Council to withhold the 20 cents.

They claim that until the government authorizes price increases for the hospital, they cannot give the increase.

"The hospital has plenty of money to build and expand, and then they tell us that we cannot have our money," said one striker.

"They tell us to go over to the new complex and work twice as hard as we did before."

## Italian Strike Wave Shakes Coalition

Mariano Rumor, the Christian Democratic Premier of Italy, patched together his fifth coalition government composed of the Christian Democratic Party, the Socialist Party, and the Social Democratic Party.

The right-wing Republican Party, which has traditionally been a partner in the Italian government, refused to join the new coalition.

### SPLIT

The last Rumor coalition split two weeks ago over the terms of a loan from the International Monetary Fund. Before granting the loan, the IMF demanded a reduction in government spending, a sharp cut in the money supply, and a lowering of food imports.

The Republican Party wanted to go ahead and implement these proposals which would mean a drastic slash in the living standards of the working class, while the Socialist Party opposed it. The split within the coalition resulted in the resignation of the Republican Party faction.

### RULING CLASS

The Italian ruling class is attempting to make the workers pay for the deepening economic crisis. It has already been announced that the 12.3 percent rise in the cost of living for 1973 will at least double before the end of 1974.



Italian Fiat workers on strike.

Recently, the workers at the Fiat Motor Company forced the company to grant massive wage increases. The agreement will cost the firm an additional \$160 million a year. Realizing the revolutionary implications of a strike under conditions of growing militancy throughout all sections of the Italian working class with no strong government in power, Fiat temporarily conceded to the workers.

### DICTATORSHIP

The latest coalition can only serve to cover the preparations by the police and the military to establish a dictatorship in Italy.

Para-military police forces throughout Italy have been doing exercises to prepare for civil war, going into small towns to check how quickly they could round up people and interrogate them. Moreover, a number of "reception" camps are reported to have been reopened.

### WILDCATS

An almost continuous series of wildcat strikes throughout the country demonstrates the tremendous determination and strength of the Italian working class. It is their fight that has created the sharpest political crisis within the government.

subscribe now to the twice-weekly!

# Bulletin

**NEW RATES!**  \$4.00 for 2 months  
 \$3.00 for 6 months  
 \$6.00 for 1 year

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

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

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



The following interview with a comrade of the Greek Trotskyist organization EDE (Workers Internationalist League) was recorded in Athens by a special correspondent. The EDE is the Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, with which the Workers League is in political solidarity.

What is behind the coming to power of the Gizikis dictatorship which overthrew President Papadopoulos in Greece?

The new dictatorship came about as a result of the crisis which exists now in Greece. The crisis has pushed the dictatorship to take action against the working class in Greece.

We have a situation in which the working class has begun to criticize the dictatorship within the factories and mines. Before the new dictatorship we had strikes in the Bordosakis mine in north Greece, where 1500 miners struck.

Papadopoulos was forced to satisfy the miners demands for improved wages and working conditions. Another struggle was at the big chemical fertilizer factory in Piraeus, employing 2500 people.

The government has had to pay increased wages there too, resulting in a partial victory for the workers as a result of a strike threat. There were many other similar struggles.

All these developments had pushed the students forward. The students come from all parts of the country and were aware of these different struggles. They began their struggle as a reflection of the movement of the working class.

All these struggles brought the Papadopoulos regime to an impasse, as he failed in his attempts to find allies from among the bourgeois politicians in order to be in a stronger position to confront the working class.

The new dictators have exactly the same objective. But they find themselves in the midst of an aggravated economic crisis, and therefore are weaker and more isolated. The November events were only a forerunner of the struggles that lie ahead.

What was the role of the Communist Party Stalinists in the students' struggle?

In the universities the Stalinists fought to stop the students from occupying the Polytechnic. They thought Papadopoulos would open the road to democracy.

When the Markezinis regime was established in September (in reality as a civilian facade for the military rulers) the Stalinists said it was the beginning of democracy. They wanted to take part in the elections held to ratify the regime.

The Stalinists saw all the struggles of the workers and students as an obstacle to this process. The Papadopoulos regime was very weak and unable to face up to the workers and students. He wanted the politicians brought forward to try and get a base and hit back at the working class.

Papadopoulos was trying to find allies because he was feeling too weak to be able to confront the movement due to the inflationary crisis. Inflation was very much affecting the low wages in the working class and Papadopoulos could not find a

# Behind The Greek Dictatorship



way because he was facing an upsurge of the workers movement, so he had to strike first.

But the bourgeois politicians and Stalinists found it very difficult to adapt themselves to these requirements of the regime and the attempt failed.

The failure of the Papadopoulos regime is a measure of the new junta's failure because this new junta came out of the forces supporting the old one and is much more isolated than Papadopoulos and therefore they are bound to fail.

A new factor which makes the dictatorship more unstable is the enormous split within the army itself. Markezinis and other bourgeois politicians are talking about splits in the army and Gaddafiist trends... lower-ranking officers with nationalist ideas who think they can play off the two big powers, like the Libyan leader does.

They are afraid because since the army is in power they want it to be unified and this split prevents the unification of the army. But the events of indiscipline in the army on the part of soldiers makes them much more afraid.

The soldiers were friendly to the students in the Polytechnic events and some of them refused to fire. Another effect of the "fraternization" between soldiers and students was that the people were not afraid of the tanks any more.

In 1967 people closed the doors and did not dare to go out. But this time, despite the curfew and continuous warnings, people came out and looked at the tanks. The people have a sort of familiarity with tanks now. They just stand in the streets and jeer at them. They don't take any notice of their appearance.

The announcement about the curfew—"The regime does not take responsibility for any shootings by the army"—was an attempt to terrorize the population. At the time this announcement was being made people were sitting in cafes on Constitution Square, drinking their coffee and jeering and laughing at the tanks.

These were the same tanks

that the workers and students at the Polytechnic were fighting against a few days before. Such was the reaction of the population that it took about two hours for the tanks to go about one and one-half kilometers.

People blocked the roads with trucks, buses, and private cars. Before the shooting, as the tanks were on their way to the Polytechnic, some organized groups appeared with Molotov cocktails. They were dubbed the kamikazes.

Some of them were only 15 years old, very young high school students. Their fire-bombs were not effective against the tanks, but they used them later on to set fire to the barricades when the police came to tear them down.

There was a very strong feeling that it was possible to overthrow the junta that night. Students adopted the slogan "now or never."

A popular slogan inside the Athens Polytechnic was "revolution now," reflecting the aspirations of the students and workers there.

What are the effects of inflation on the Greek working class?

Inflation was between 30 and 35 percent last year. Each month the percentage increase becomes higher. Prices go up all the time, while there is a lack of foodstuffs. There is a black market in groceries.

There is hoarding both on the part of the capitalists themselves who are hoarding to have real value in their hands and on the part of the population who want food for difficult times ahead.

The peasants don't put their products on the market unless they are going to spend the proceeds immediately because they know the money will lose its value.

There have been restrictions in fuel consumption and the price of gasoline and electricity has gone up, petrol by 60 to 70 percent. There has been a fall in industrial production and layoffs.

The chemical industry is particularly affected. Other sectors are the iron and steel industry.

Higher taxes on the building industry have been imposed. These have created unemployment among building workers and driven down their previously high wages.

This was deliberate, as the building workers are in the vanguard of the working class and the junta wanted to weaken them.

The building workers played a big part in the Polytechnic events. They are very militant. Before the junta came to power they forced the seven hour day which has never been taken from them.

How does this affect relations between the junta and the working class?

When it came to power the junta didn't try to confront the working class head on. While the regime outlawed all workers organizations it was absolutely unable to drive down the standards of living of the working class which continued to rise until 1970 to 1971.

A key factor is emigration, creating a shortage of labor and enabling workers to move from factory to factory in order to get higher wages. To try and counter this the regime imported workers from Lebanon, Egypt and Algeria in an attempt to keep wages down.

The first effect of the economic crisis is the return to Greece of hundreds of thousands of emigrant workers. This will have a tremendous impact on conditions of workers in Greece. From this arises the necessity for an offensive to defend their conditions.

What are the conditions of political work in Greece?

The conditions are very difficult because the police have already started investigating our organization. Nevertheless we have to find the means to overcome this situation. It is absolutely necessary for us to intensify our work in the factories and universities.

The danger appears of the formation of some sort of national front (a coalition of the bourgeois parties) or even a popular front with the participa-

tion of the Stalinists.

A popular front will mean a split in the population which are united now against the junta. A popular front government would have responsibility for the miserable situation in the country.

We saw an element of cooperation between the Stalinists and the bourgeois parties in the Polytechnic events. The junta sent tanks and the bourgeois politicians warned, "don't go too far" while the Stalinists tried to prevent the events.

Our intervention is a life and death question both for ourselves and the working class.

What was the position of the Trotskyists in the course of the Polytechnic events?

We were opposed to the centrists who were in favor of calling a general strike at that time. Our slogan was to call on the Communist Party (the only workers party) to call a general strike.

In this way we aimed to expose the CP who did not want to fight for such a strike. Through posters, leaflets, slogans and intervention in the Polytechnic student meetings we tried to put forward our slogan.

The Stalinists did everything they could to keep the students isolated and to cut off one faculty from another. They opposed the holding of a general meeting of all the students.

When the workers went into the Polytechnic in solidarity with the students there was a meeting of students and workers chaired by one of our comrades, Sofronis Papadopoulos. He had been imprisoned by his namesake the dictator after 1967 but released under the amnesty last year.

He had been serving a life sentence for attempting to overthrow the regime. He is now in exile. As this spontaneous movement came to a dead end, the Stalinists began to win the upper hand.

Unfortunately there was no mass revolutionary organization able to organize a retreat as soon as the situation changed. Our organization there was very weak and we were not able to influence this spontaneous movement.

What was the death toll in the Polytechnic events?

More than 300 militants died there. There was a conscious attempt on the part of all, including the Stalinists, to hide this figure.

All publicity was censored. But the only ones who could reveal the exact number were the Stalinists. Their radio station adopted the official death toll, 13. They also tried to hide the torture that was being carried out in the concentration camps after the shootings.

The sharpening of the crisis puts on the agenda other confrontations like the Polytechnic events and poses the immediate task of intervention to avoid such unorganized confrontations. We have to intervene to take the initiative.

There is the danger that the working class will go on a general strike in spite of the Stalinists, but in a spontaneous way and unorganized, unled. The regime in these circumstances would have the initiative.

This situation places before us the task of getting roots in the working class and leading the strike struggle, giving leadership to the general strike that could develop in such a way.

We must fight against the Stalinists, who are opposed to mobilizing the students and workers, in this struggle to build the revolutionary party for the conquest of power.





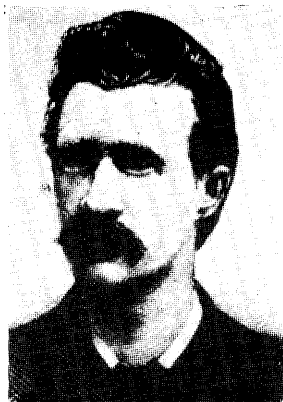
Sorge



Weydemeyer



Parsons



Spies



Haymarket

During 1918 and early 1919, the new left wing developed with tremendous rapidity. It quickly became the center of the political life of the Socialist Party and virtually every section of the Socialist Party was in bitter struggle over the issues it raised.

Numerically it was spurred on by the tremendous influx of new immigrants from Russia and the East European countries who flocked to the party and to its left wing because of the impact of the Russian Revolution.

The Federations by this time represented 53 percent of the membership of the Socialist Party. By April of 1919, the left controlled Cleveland, Toledo, Akron, Buffalo, Oakland, San Francisco, Seattle, Detroit, Philadelphia, Newark, Queens, the Bronx, and Brooklyn as well as the Hungarian, Lithuanian, Lettish, Russian, Polish, South Slavic, and Ukrainian Federations.

In New York City a formal organization of the left was set up in a bitter struggle against Hillquit's control of the Manhattan local. The left wing went to a meeting of the local fighting for an accounting of the treacherous actions of the Socialist Aldermen who had not only voted for the third Liberty Loan to finance the war, but to erect a temporary Victory Arch.

Hillquit's henchman, Julius Gerber, chaired the meeting and prevented the left from even speaking. The left walked out, insisted on a caucus room and formally organized the left wing, which became a center for the national left wing.

Events from this point on moved extremely swiftly. It soon became clear that the left wing had the majority of the party. A referendum favoring a complete break from the Second International and affiliation with the Third International carried by a vote of 10 to 1. The left then won 12 of the 15 seats on the National Executive Committee.

At this point, the right wing, acting through the old NEC, acted with wholesale expulsions. It expelled the Michigan party because of its opposition to immediate demands and out went 6000 members. It then suspended seven foreign language Federations together with several New York branches, throwing out another 20,000 members. By the time it had finished its work, it had thrown out about two-thirds of the party, or around 70,000 members!

These expulsions alone destroy Weinstein's entire argument. If the various wings of the Socialist Party spent the war period "coming together," then how can we explain the action of the right wing in precipitously expelling two-thirds of the organization? It was the right wing which took the splitting action and not the left.

If there were no differences of import between the wings, then how do we explain this action? Certainly Hillquit and Berger were not men prone to impulsive and irrational acts. If the 70,000 expelled members are to be dismissed as foreign-born Johnny-come-latelies led by a Fraina, who Weinstein even intimates may have been a police agent, then this means that the pure as gold old-fashioned, all-American coming together Socialist Party had only the 35,000 members who were not expelled

(most of whom would leave the SP in the next two to three years). If this is the argument, then there was a precipitous decline in the membership of the SP since 1912. How is that decline to be explained?

All of Weinstein's statistics about how many aldermen, constables, and justices of the peace were elected in small towns of Indiana prove nothing when one looks at the events of the spring of 1919. These events have only one interpretation.

From its very origins, and even before its formal birth, there existed within the Socialist Party a right-wing reform group, with essentially the same outlook as the European social democracy. It was interested only in control and administration of craft unions and electoral reform politics. Over the years, it developed a stranglehold grip on the national apparatus of the party. This grip was finalized in the 1912 purge of Haywood.

But this right wing ruled a party the mass of whose members were revolutionaries, though of a most confused sort. Their confusion left the right wing in power. But to stay in power the right wing learned long ago how to talk left and act right. All its talk of opposition to the war was proved fraudulent in the action of the Socialist Aldermen on the Liberty Loan and the Victory Arch, an action protected by Hillquit. All its talk of support to the Bolsheviki was exposed as a fraud in its brutal expulsions of the majority of its own party, the pro-Bolshevik majority.

Weinstein's polemic is actually aimed directly at Lenin and Trotsky and their policy of forming the Third International in the first place. He raises two different levels of argumentation. One is aimed at convincing one that the American Socialist Party was unlike those in Europe.

There was no real right wing as there was in Europe. Therefore: "Whatever political justification existed for splits in Europe, there was none in the United States."

We have seen that this argumentation is based on the verbal "leftism" of the right and nothing else.

Of course, verbal leftism was not unique to the United States and dominated throughout all the world. The strategy of Lenin and Trotsky in the first two or three years of the Communist International was aimed at separating out the revolutionaries from these centrist verbal leftist forces in every country. Weinstein openly disagrees with that policy. Weinstein defends the outlook of the centrists of Europe, who were called the Two-and-a-Half International, because they sought to live somewhere between the Second and Third Internationals:

"Of course, the groups that had gone over into the Two-and-a-Half International had, for the most part, never been guilty of 'hesitation at the decisive moment.' Most of them had opposed the war, and all supported the Soviets. Their 'hesitation' consisted of their failure to call for open insurrection in their own countries at a time when such action had no chance of success. Significantly, at the time Radek wrote his attack, Lenin had already published his Left Wing Communism, which was an open admission that Western Europe had not been ready for the revolution which the Russians had originally demanded, and on which they had counted for survival."

In the first place, the centrists had hesitated. This was clearly the role of the German Independents, the main constituent of the centrists, during the German Revolution of 1919.

Secondly, the call of Lenin and Trotsky for insurrection was not based on a false assessment of the situation. There was, after all, a revolution in Germany, which would have succeeded if the German revolutionaries had been properly prepared for the events. And there were revolutionary developments in Poland, Hungary, and elsewhere.

The extent of these developments and the feasibility of victory could not be simply determined ahead of time. It required a struggle on the part of revolutionaries for revolutionary policies and the construction of revolutionary parties.

Lenin's Left Wing Communism was not an admission that revolution had been impossible in other countries in the aftermath of World War One and the Russian Revolution. It was an assessment that the conditions had changed by 1921 with a temporary

pletely broken with. Centralized disciplined parties had to be constructed. An international had to be built that was centralized, based on a common assessment of the development of the capitalist crisis and a common strategy flowing from that assessment.

The cadres had to be trained in the Marxist method in the actual practice of building parties as against the old tradition of some Marxist pedagogues whose work was separated from the daily practice of the mass of party members.

All this added up to what was called parties of a new type. The nature of the party flowed, not from the specific illegal conditions of Russia as the centrists claimed, but from the nature of the period and the tasks all parties would have to take up.

The great difficulty Lenin and Trotsky faced in the first period of the formation of the Communist International lay precisely in the popularity of the Russian Revolution.

Not only in America, but in many

This of capi the gr learned power

Ame nation well.

Party zation society

The formed talism reform

further desires and co

though this tra

This sociali the imp why th

solved

**FROM SOCIALISM TO COMMUNISM IN AMERICA**

Part Five

stabilization of capitalism in Europe and in any event, the fledgling Communist Parties of Europe and elsewhere had simply aped the Russian party instead of seeking to master its essential strategy and method.

Weinstein completely distorts the meaning of the division between Communism and centrism in that period and the tactics which flowed from that. It was never simply a matter of advocacy of immediate insurrection. Some supporters of the Bolsheviki, including many in the United States no doubt saw it that way, but Lenin and Trotsky did not.

The central question was a recognition that in this new period of capitalist decay, one had to construct parties which were actually prepared to take power. This meant a recognition of the character of the period, that power would be posed at some point, and that only those parties prepared for such revolutionary tasks could lead the proletariat to victory.

This required a harsh break with the kind of party which had existed in almost all countries before World War One and with the kind of international which had existed. Right-wing elements had to be com-

countries of the world, nonrevolutionary forces sought to cover their position before a revolutionary mass by pouring on the praise of the Soviets while their party practice persisted in the old prewar mold. It was in this situation that Lenin drew up his famous "21 points" as conditions for membership in the Third International.

The purpose of these points was not only to clarify the basic programmatic positions of the Third International, but to specifically demand a break with the right wing. Center elements in Europe, such as Surati who headed the Italian Socialist Party, agreed with all the points but the one, which requested the specific expulsion of Turati, a right winger who had supported the war. Morris Hillquit, whose role in relationship to the Socialist Aldermen shows where he stood on the war, was one of those singled out in the 21 points.

Weinstein's claim that all this amounted to a "conflict over forms of organization, attitudes toward fellow Socialists, and concepts of strategy and tactics that did not grow out of American experience or the problems of transforming American society" is reformist hogwash.

1919; a pletely munisr

The early C in the munisr Americ way an

early mechan the ear underst tion. Th schoolk

It is tenden remem way for of lear

But this method its oppo break Intern like Bo Germa



Berger



Fur workers



Haywood



Lawrence, Mass. strike



Fraina





Pullman strike

Debs

This conflict grew out of the very nature of capitalism as an international system and the great lessons for all countries to be learned from Lenin's successful struggle for power in a particular country.

American experience as part of international experience fully bears this out as well. The whole history of the Socialist Party exposed its inadequacy as an organization for "transforming American society."

The right wing already had been transformed by "American society" (read: capitalism) into a tame part of American reform politics. The left wing could go no further than expressing the revolutionary desires of millions of Americans. It had not and could not with its old methods of thought create an instrumentality to lead this transformation.

This is why the crisis of American socialism began in 1912 and not 1919: why the impact of the 1919 left was so sweeping; why this crisis could only begin to be resolved in the Communist movement after

Trotsky explains why this is so in his powerful essay "Tradition and Revolutionary Policy" in his book *The New Course*. "Marxism is a method of historical analysis," he writes, "and not a mass of decisions prepared in advance."

The early American Communists saw Marxism as a series of slogans, of catch phrases on "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "soviets." This phraseology would prove to be but a cover for a persistence of American radical trends.

This persistence took several forms. First, there was the leadership of the foreign language federations. These forces sought to repeat in this new period the disastrously conservative approach of the old German-Americans who Engels had criticized so sharply. For them, Communism was an idea to be talked about as they administered relatively large circles of foreign language workers. They used it as a weapon against development, against participation in the actual struggles of the working class. Their talk was very revolu-

tionary tasks. The American party of that period made more progress in that direction than Marxists had done in the whole preceding period since 1871.

The difficulty lay outside the control of the Americans. In the Soviet Union, reaction set in and the bureaucratic apparatus around Stalin took over. As early as 1925, this worked against the development of the American Communist movement. The triumph of Stalinism internationally left the American Communists ill-prepared for the revolutionary opportunities which opened up once again in the 1930s.

The struggle for revolutionary policies was taken up by the American Trotskyist movement, not without its own problems rooted in American radicalism (See: *The Struggle for Marxism in the United States* by Tim Wohlforth).

But the overwhelming weight of Stalinism proved to be decisive. It was the conscious role of Stalinism, not the absence of the prewar style Socialist Party, which prevented the development of a mass workers party in America during the upheavals that led to the formation of the CIO.

The great importance of a study of this period lies precisely in the character of the period we are now entering. Eugene V. Debs was a man of the first great confrontation of American labor with the newly ascendent monopoly capitalists. He fought, lived and breathed revolutionary socialism in the course of great civil war battles between classes. But Eugene V. Debs collapsed before the new conditions created by this rise of monopoly capital—the world of imperialism in its death agony, the world of Lenin, Trotsky, and the great October Revolution.

We have now entered a new period of warfare between classes internationally. Once again, American workers prepare to do battle against the corporate giants, today's conglomerates, the descendants of the robber barons of Debs's day.

But the issue is different, sharper, and the conditions are drastically changed. Then the issue was the formation of unions. Today it is a matter of their destruction. Pinkertons, labor spies, and the National Guard sufficed for the former task; fascism is essential for the latter task.

However, the American working class does not fight alone. Never before in capitalist history has the working class of the world been brought so wholly into a common combined struggle against capital.

We are now in the period of the internationalization of the American working class. What a vanguard formation went through in 1919, the millions will go through today. The difference is that this process is enriched with all the valuable lessons of the struggles for Marxism of the Trotskyist movement.

Therefore, the task which has been postponed for so long, the negation of the narrow pragmatic side of the American working class history, is the task of the hour.

This will take place all the more powerfully, explosively for its postponement. In this way, we will establish our continuity with the great revolutionary fighters of the past from the martyrs Albert Parsons and August Spies, through Eugene V. Debs and Big Bill Haywood.

CONCLUDED

## Birth Of American Communism 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.

1919; and why the Socialist Party so completely collapsed after the rise of Communism in America.

The great weakness which plagued the early Communist movement lay precisely in the extent to which the early Communists had not broken with the past of American radicalism rather than the other way around. There was, of course, in the early movement, a strong tendency to mechanically copy the Bolsheviks. After all, the early Communist had no real Marxist understanding prior to the Russian Revolution. They sought to learn from Russia as a schoolboy learns through simple copying.

It is all well and good to attack this tendency in hindsight, but it must be remembered that there was really no other way for the Americans to begin the process of learning from the Russian experience. But this could only be a beginning and if the method was persisted in, it would achieve its opposite effect, that is lead to an actual break of the Americans from the Third International. This happened with "leftists" like Bordiga of Italy and Paul Levy of Germany.

tionary but, like the centrists of the old Socialist Party, their practice was extremely conservative. Charles Ruthenberg rested upon this strata and with its support, administered the Communist Party in the manner in which he had administered the old Ohio Socialist Party.

Among the native American radicals there was complete confusion as to exactly what Bolshevik tactics and strategy were all about. For the bulk of them, there was a tendency to eschew any reform demands, sometimes even any political action at all, and to talk of "mass action" in a way little different from the IWW's dream of some massive general strike which would do away with capitalism and place the working class in power. Adaptation to the Russians became a cover for both syndicalist and DeLeonist carry-overs from the American radical past.

It is of the greatest significance that it was the intervention of the Comintern which would be decisive in the period after 1921 in fighting to break the early Communists from the grip of its own sectarianism.

The Comintern battled to turn the Communists out into the working class. It fought

GA

GA



Fraina



Russian Revolution, 1917.



Reed



Palmer Raids



Foster with Mother Jones





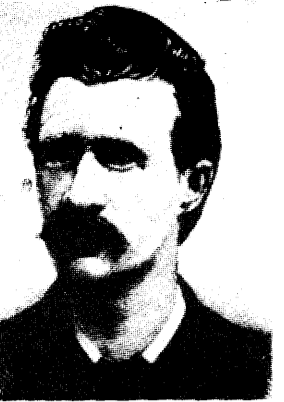
Sorge



Weydemeyer



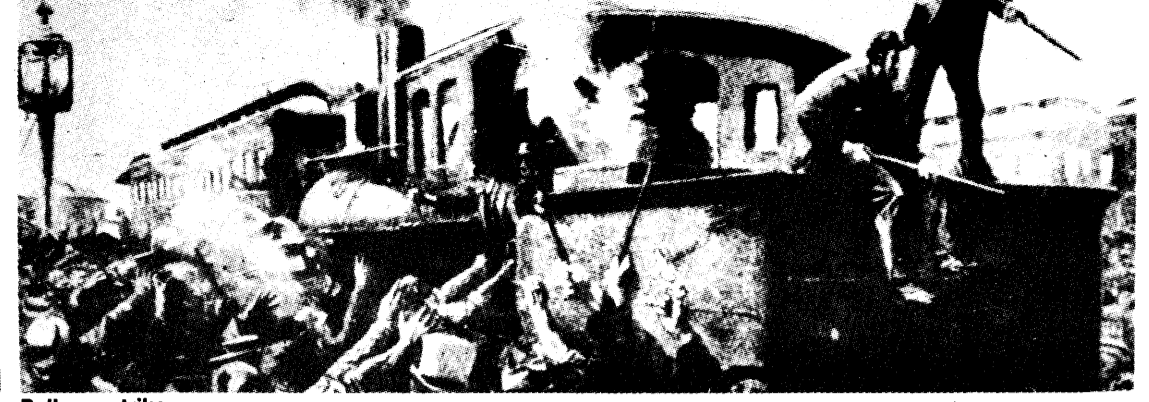
Parsons



Spies



Haymarket



Pullman strike



Debs

During 1918 and early 1919, the new left wing developed with tremendous rapidity. It quickly became the center of the political life of the Socialist Party and virtually every section of the Socialist Party was in bitter struggle over the issues it raised.

Numerically it was spurred on by the tremendous influx of new immigrants from Russia and the East European countries who flocked to the party and to its left wing because of the impact of the Russian Revolution.

The Federations by this time represented 53 percent of the membership of the Socialist Party. By April of 1919, the left controlled Cleveland, Toledo, Akron, Buffalo, Oakland, San Francisco, Seattle, Detroit, Philadelphia, Newark, Queens, the Bronx, and Brooklyn as well as the Hungarian, Lithuanian, Lettish, Russian, Polish, South Slavic, and Ukrainian Federations.

In New York City a formal organization of the left was set up in a bitter struggle against Hillquit's control of the Manhattan local. The left wing went to a meeting of the local fighting for an accounting of the treacherous actions of the Socialist Aldermen who had not only voted for the third Liberty Loan to finance the war, but to erect a temporary Victory Arch.

Hillquit's henchman, Julius Gerber, chaired the meeting and prevented the left from even speaking. The left walked out, insisted on a caucus room and formally organized the left wing, which became a center for the national left wing.

Events from this point on moved extremely swiftly. It soon became clear that the left wing had the majority of the party. A referendum favoring a complete break from the Second International and affiliation with the Third International carried by a vote of 10 to 1. The left then won 12 of the 15 seats on the National Executive Committee.

At this point, the right wing, acting through the old NEC, acted with wholesale expulsions. It expelled the Michigan party because of its opposition to immediate demands and out went 6000 members. It then suspended seven foreign language Federations together with several New York branches, throwing out another 20,000 members. By the time it had finished its work, it had thrown out about two-thirds of the party, or around 70,000 members!

These expulsions alone destroy Weinstein's entire argument. If the various wings of the Socialist Party spent the war period "coming together," then how can we explain the action of the right wing in precipitously expelling two-thirds of the organization? It was the right wing which took the splitting action and not the left.

If there were no differences of import between the wings, then how do we explain this action? Certainly Hillquit and Berger were not men prone to impulsive and irrational acts. If the 70,000 expelled members are to be dismissed as foreign-born Johnny-come-latelies led by a Fraina, who Weinstein even intimates may have been a police agent, then this means that the pure as gold old-fashioned, all-American coming together Socialist Party had only the 35,000 members who were not expelled

(most of whom would leave the SP in the next two to three years). If this is the argument, then there was a precipitous decline in the membership of the SP since 1912. How is that decline to be explained?

All of Weinstein's statistics about how many aldermen, constables, and justices of the peace were elected in small towns of Indiana prove nothing when one looks at the events of the spring of 1919. These events have only one interpretation.

From its very origins, and even before its formal birth, there existed within the Socialist Party a right-wing reform group, with essentially the same outlook as the European social democracy. It was interested only in control and administration of craft unions and electoral reform politics. Over the years, it developed a stranglehold grip on the national apparatus of the party. This grip was finalized in the 1912 purge of Haywood.

But this right wing ruled a party the mass of whose members were revolutionaries, though of a most confused sort. Their confusion left the right wing in power. But to stay in power the right wing learned long ago how to talk left and act right. All its talk of opposition to the war was proved fraudulent in the action of the Socialist Aldermen on the Liberty Loan and the Victory Arch, an action protected by Hillquit. All its talk of support to the Bolsheviks was exposed as a fraud in its brutal expulsions of the majority of its own party, the pro-Bolshevik majority.

Weinstein's polemic is actually aimed directly at Lenin and Trotsky and his policy of forming the Third International in the first place. He raises two different levels of argumentation. One is aimed at convincing one that the American Socialist Party was unlike those in Europe.

There was no real right wing as there was in Europe. Therefore: "Whatever political justification existed for splits in Europe, there was none in the United States."

We have seen that this argumentation is based on the verbal "leftism" of the right and nothing else.

Of course, verbal leftism was not unique to the United States and dominated throughout all the world. The strategy of Lenin and Trotsky in the first two or three years of the Communist International was aimed at separating out the revolutionaries from these centrist verbal leftist forces in every country. Weinstein openly disagrees with that policy. Weinstein defends the outlook of the centrists of Europe, who were called the Two-and-a-Half Internationals, because they sought to live somewhere between the Second and Third Internationals:

"Of course, the groups that had gone over into the Two-and-a-Half International had, for the most part, never been guilty of hesitation at the decisive moment." Most of them had opposed the war, and all supported the Soviets. Their "hesitation" consisted of their failure to call for open insurrection in their own countries at a time when such action had no chance of success. Significantly, at the time Radek wrote his attack, Lenin had already published his Left Wing Communism, which was an open admission that Western Europe had not been ready for the revolution which the Russians had originally demanded, and on which they had counted for survival."

In the first place, the centrists had hesitated. This was clearly the role of the German Independents, the main constituent of the centrists, during the German Revolution of 1919.

Secondly, the call of Lenin and Trotsky for insurrection was not based on a false assessment of the situation. There was, after all, a revolution in Germany, which would have succeeded if the German revolutionaries had been properly prepared for the events. And there were revolutionary developments in Poland, Hungary, and elsewhere.

The extent of these developments and the feasibility of victory could not be simply determined ahead of time. It required a struggle on the part of revolutionaries for revolutionary policies and the construction of revolutionary parties.

Lenin's Left Wing Communism was not an admission that revolution had been impossible in other countries in the aftermath of World War One and the Russian Revolution. It was an assessment that the conditions had changed by 1921 with a temporary

pletely broken with. Centralized disciplined parties had to be constructed. An international had to be built that was centralized, based on a common assessment of the development of the capitalist crisis and a common strategy flowing from that assessment.

The cadres had to be trained in the Marxist method in the actual practice of building parties as against the old tradition of some Marxist pedagogues whose work was separated from the daily practice of the mass of party members.

All this added up to what was called parties of a new type. The nature of the party flowed, not from the specific illegal conditions of Russia as the centrists claimed, but from the nature of the period and the tasks all parties would have to take up.

The great difficulty Lenin and Trotsky faced in the first period of the formation of the Communist International lay precisely in the popularity of the Russian Revolution.

Not only in America, but in many

This conflict grew out of the very nature of capitalism as an international system and the great lessons for all countries to be learned from Lenin's successful struggle for power in a particular country.

American experience as part of international experience fully bears this out as well. The whole history of the Socialist Party exposed its inadequacy as an organization for "transforming American society."

The right wing already had been transformed by "American society" (read: capitalism) into a tame part of American reform politics. The left wing could go no further than expressing the revolutionary desires of millions of Americans. It had not and could not with its old methods of thought create an instrumentality to lead this transformation.

This is why the crisis of American socialism began in 1912 and not 1919: why the impact of the 1919 left was so sweeping; why this crisis could only begin to be resolved in the Communist movement after

Trotsky explains why this is so in his powerful essay "Tradition and Revolutionary Policy" in his book *The New Course*. "Marxism is a method of historical analysis," he writes, "and not a mass of decisions prepared in advance."

The early American Communists saw Marxism as a series of slogans, of catch phrases on "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "soviets." This phraseology would prove to be but a cover for a persistence of American radical trends.

This persistence took several forms. First, there was the leadership of the foreign language federations. These forces sought to repeat in this new period the disastrously conservative approach of the old German-Americans who Engels had criticized so sharply. For them, Communism was an idea to be talked about as they administered relatively large circles of foreign language workers. They used it as a weapon against development, against participation in the actual struggles of the working class. Their talk was very revolu-

for a perspective of setting up a legal party; for a policy of work within the AFL as well as independent of it; for a serious turn to the Negro question; for a fight for a labor party as a way of politically reaching masses of workers.

In this fashion, a strategy for building a revolutionary movement emerged for the first time in American working class history. In this manner, "concepts of strategy and tactics" for "transforming American society" were actually developed. Such concepts grew out of American and the international experience of the working class through the battle to construct a revolutionary party as part of an international world party.

Weinstein completely distorts this process when he states: "Programmatically, the formation of the Workers Party meant a full cycle return to the Socialist Party position of 1919." This is again an example of a completely surface view of development. This can be seen clearly from the critical question of trade union policy. The Socialist Party of 1919 had an orientation towards work within the AFL and was opposed to dual unionism. The Comintern intervened in the American Communist movement against its dual unionist tendency and urged the Workers Party, the legal party set up in 1922, to work within the AFL.

At this point, the similarities break down. To the Socialist Party, work within the AFL consisted of maintaining control of unions, locals, labor councils, etc., which were used as a base for political electoral work. For the Communists, work within the AFL was a matter of winning over and training Communist cadres prepared to lead the working class in revolutionary struggle.

It was a struggle against the existing leadership of the AFL, and not in the formal sense of the old SP. It was a struggle against the narrow craft form of the AFL for industrial unionism. And it was supplemented with serious, and at times highly successful, efforts outside the AFL to build industrial unions.

The similarity between the two policies was on the surface only. What gave the Communist strategy its different content is that it was seen as part of a transitional struggle, that is a struggle which connects the immediate interests of workers to the actual struggle for power, for socialism. With the SP, it was merely "step by step" socialism in which each step was pragmatically separated from any revolutionary strategy. The step stood in and for itself.

The period of 1922 to 1924 was a particularly important period of development of the early Communist movement. It was not, as James P. Cannon tended to see it, just a matter of learning tactically how to reach American workers in struggle. There was more to it than the authority of the Comintern coming down on the side of the instinctual "feel" of the American working class of the Cannons and Fosters.

It was the beginning of the process of training Marxists in America who could master Marxism as a method and not just prescriptions even if they appear to be very effective and practicable ones.

A party must be able to make its own decisions, its own "brusque turns" as Trotsky notes, if it is to be prepared for

revolutionary tasks. The American party of that period made more progress in that direction than Marxists had done in the whole preceding period since 1871.

The difficulty lay outside the control of the Americans. In the Soviet Union, reaction set in and the bureaucratic apparatus around Stalin took over. As early as 1925, this worked against the development of the American Communist movement. The triumph of Stalinism internationally left the American Communists ill-prepared for the revolutionary opportunities which opened up once again in the 1930s.

The struggle for revolutionary policies was taken up by the American Trotskyist movement, not without its own problems rooted in American radicalism (See: *The Struggle for Marxism in the United States* by Tim Wohlforth).

But the overwhelming weight of Stalinism proved to be decisive. It was the conscious role of Stalinism, not the absence of the prewar style Socialist Party, which prevented the development of a mass workers party in America during the upheavals that led to the formation of the CIO.

The great importance of a study of this period lies precisely in the character of the period we are now entering. Eugene V. Debs was a man of the first great confrontation of American labor with the newly ascendent monopoly capitalists. He fought, lived and breathed revolutionary socialism in the course of great civil war battles between classes. But Eugene V. Debs collapsed before the new conditions created by this rise of monopoly capital—the world of imperialism in its death agony, the world of Lenin, Trotsky, and the great October Revolution.

We have now entered a new period of warfare between classes internationally. Once again, American workers prepare to do battle against the corporate giants, today's conglomerates, the descendants of the robber barons of Debs's day.

But the issue is different, sharper, and the conditions are drastically changed. Then the issue was the formation of unions. Today it is a matter of their destruction. Pinkertons, labor spies, and the National Guard sufficed for the former task; fascism is essential for the latter task.


However, the American working class does not fight alone. Never before in capitalist history has the working class of the world been brought so wholly into a common combined struggle against capital.

We are now in the period of the internationalization of the American working class. What a vanguard formation went through in 1919, the millions will go through today. The difference is that this process is enriched with all the valuable lessons of the struggles for Marxism of the Trotskyist movement.

Therefore, the task which has been postponed for so long, the negation of the narrow pragmatic side of the American working class history, is the task of the hour.

This will take place all the more powerfully, explosively for its postponement. In this way, we will establish our continuity with the great revolutionary fighters of the past from the martyrs Albert Parsons and August Spies, through Eugene V. Debs and Big Bill Haywood.

CONCLUDED



# FROM SOCIALISM TO COMMUNISM IN AMERICA

## Part Five

### Birth Of American Communism

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.

stabilization of capitalism in Europe and in any event, the fledgling Communist Parties of Europe and elsewhere had simply aped the Russian party instead of seeking to master its essential strategy and method.

Weinstein completely distorts the meaning of the division between Communism and centrism in that period and the tactics which flowed from that. It was never simply a matter of advocacy of immediate insurrection. Some supporters of the Bolsheviks, including many in the United States no doubt saw it that way, but Lenin and Trotsky did not.

The central question was a recognition that in this new period of capitalist decay, one had to construct parties which were actually prepared to take power. This meant a recognition of the character of the period, that power would be posed at some point, and that only those parties prepared for such revolutionary tasks could lead the proletariat to victory.

This required a harsh break with the kind of party which had existed in almost all countries before World War One and with the kind of international which had existed. Right-wing elements had to be com-

pletely collapsed after the rise of Communism in America.

The great weakness which plagued the early Communist movement lay precisely in the extent to which the early Communists had not broken with the past of American radicalism rather than the other way around. There was, of course, in the early movement, a strong tendency to mechanically copy the Bolsheviks. After all, the early Communist had no real Marxist understanding prior to the Russian Revolution. They sought to learn from Russia as a schoolboy learns through simple copying.

It is all well and good to attack this tendency in hindsight, but it must be remembered that there was really no other way for the Americans to begin the process of learning from the Russian experience. But this could only be a beginning and if the method was persisted in, it would achieve its opposite effect, that is lead to an actual break of the Americans from the Third International. This happened with "leftists" like Bordiga of Italy and Paul Levy of Germany.

Weinstein's claim that all this amounted to a "conflict over forms of organization, attitudes toward fellow Socialists, and concepts of strategy and tactics that did not grow out of American experience or the problems of transforming American society" is reformist hogwash.



Berger



Fur workers



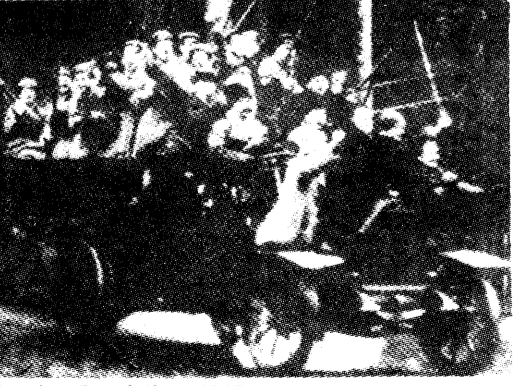
Haywood



Lawrence, Mass. strike



Fraina



Russian Revolution, 1917.



Reed

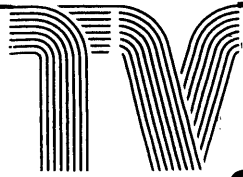


Palmer Raids



Foster with Mother Jones





by Collette Windsor

## The Execution of Private Slovik

Private Eddie Slovik was the first soldier to be executed for desertion since the Civil War. NBC-TV presented a two and one-half hour television movie based on a book of the same name written in 1954 based on documents, interviews, and personal papers of people involved in Slovik's execution at the end of World War Two under the orders of General Eisenhower.

Slovik and his wife were a working class couple struggling to live decently, overjoyed when he got a job at an auto plant, buying new furniture, and moving into a nice apartment. Slovik had spent five years in a Michigan penitentiary before his marriage. When the Army reclassified the 4-Fs into 1-As, Slovik was drafted.

Slovik tried every means possible to get out, desperately wanting to hang on to the beginnings of the life he had worked hard to get, but ended up on the front lines. Under the first attack he became separated from his company and determined never to go back to the front, a decision which resulted in his court martial.

### Decision

No political or even moral reasons prompted Slovik's decision. He had no interest in the war, but was willing to function in the Army in any capacity except on the front.

Refused any other position but the one he was drafted for—infantry replacement—Slovik saw court martial as the only way out. He expected a few years in prison after the war ended, like the 48 other deserters court martialled and sentenced to death during World War Two. Even the court martial panel, sentencing Slovik to "death by musketry," clearly expected the sentence to be commuted despite their long deliberations.

The strength of the film lies in its re-creation of the lifestyles of the working class in the 1940s and their reaction to the war's effect on their family life.

But by centering exclusively on Slovik's personal life, the film could not explain the decision to execute him.

Slovik was not allowed a company transfer because desk jobs and even headquarters KP jobs were reserved for the people with connections. The place of the working class is on the front line, in all wars. Their duty is not to die for "their country," but to die for the further enrichment of the capitalists.

Slovik's reaction to the war was not a singular one. The working class men and youth were thrown into the battles, and died for causes unknown to them.

### Horrifying

The execution itself is a horrifying and highly effective scene. Slovik, a devout Roman Catholic, mutters over and over again the Hail Mary, blocking all else out, as he is read the execution orders. His voice drones on as he is tied to the post, as the hood is placed over his face, and as the order "ready, aim" are shouted.

Not one of the 13 men in the firing squad hit Slovik's heart. Slovik was finally pronounced

dead just before they were ready to fire another round.

Slovik's execution was not the outcome of the Army's bureaucratic bungling or the moral conceptions of the various officers as the film attempts to say, as though the case were a personal tragedy.

### The Reasons

Neither is Slovik's conception of the reasons underlying his execution more than half correct. He tells the chaplain moments before he is led out to the post that he is being used as a scapegoat, but he sees his criminal record as the reason he is being singled out.

When Slovik was executed in January 1945, the US was in no danger of losing the war because of a few deserters. Faced at the end of the war with soldiers determined not to return home to depression conditions, European workers taking over factories and demanding socialism, and a revolution in China, the US government reacted with fear.

Slovik was murdered because of the tremendous hatred and fear of the working class, and if they had hoped to use him as an example, this same fear forbade it. Any hopes the Army, which was in danger of a disciplinary breakdown, had of intimidating the working class



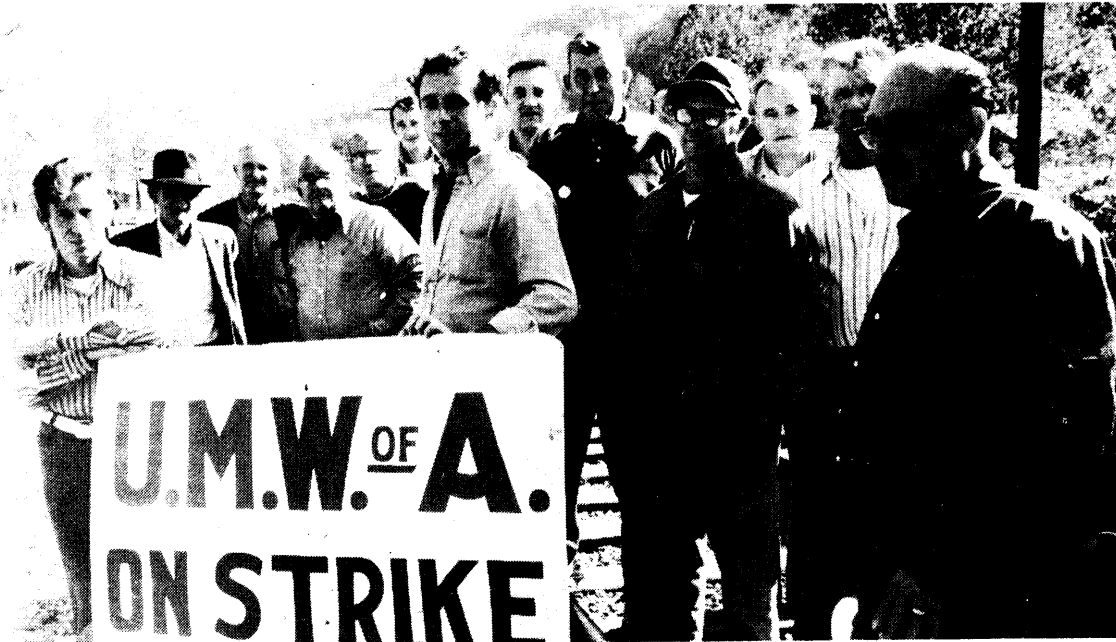
Martin Sheen as Eddie Slovik.

would have turned right back on it.

The tremendous movements to "bring the boys home," supported by the US trade unions later—in 1945—shows clearly that policies of intimidation would have led to massive protests. Thus, Slovik's execution was kept secret and even his wife did not learn of it until eight years later.

The book upon which the film was based was written in 1945 and the screenplay was written by a member of the Hollywood Ten, blacklisted during the McCarthy era.

The book was suppressed by President Eisenhower. When Frank Sinatra bought the rights to the book in 1959, Hollywood's right wing intervened to stop the film from being made. The book was reissued in 1970 and now in 1974—19 years after the event—the execution of Private Slovik has been made into a documentary which, despite its portrayal of the case as a "tragedy" rather than a conscious decision of the entire government, is an important, extremely well made film.



UMW President Miller has done nothing to shut down all mines in support of strike against Eastover Mining.

# Harlan Miners Face Contempt Charges

BY DAVID NORTH  
HARLAN, Ky. —  
Twelve miners involved in the nine month old strike against the Eastover Mining Company here have been ordered to appear in court April 1 to answer contempt charges which could lead to severe jail sentences.

"Some of us might be in real trouble," declared United Mine Workers organizer Houston Elmore, one of those who faces charges.

The authorities have also levelled charges against the UMW itself, and are examining union records to prove that the union violated laws in supporting the strike.

The latest moves by the courts against the strikers make clear that the Nixon government and Duke Power Company, owner of Eastover Mining, are determined to crush the UMW organizing drive in eastern Kentucky.

Charges against the 12 United Mine Workers members stem from last month's reversal of an earlier court order which had permitted mass picketing. An appeals court granted the company request for new restrictions, and recalled Letcher County Judge Byrd Hogg to the Harlan County bench.

Miners defied the court ruling and set up mass picket lines last

February 28 when Duke Power sent in scabs to work the mines.

Four hundred miners immediately rushed to the Eastover mine. Several scabs were seized by the strikers and suffered serious injuries.

State police who rushed to support the scabs were surrounded by angry miners' wives armed only with sticks and broom handles.

### BEAT

State Police Captain James Croomer attacked several women but, according to one miner, "had the hell beat out of him."

Miners dragged the scabs out of the mines. At one point, a scab threatened the miners with a submachine gun but they succeeded in closing the mine again.

Harlan police threatened several miners with sawed-off shotguns.

The strike of Harlan miners is now in its most critical stage. The chief danger facing the strike is the refusal of UMW President Arnold Miller to support the Harlan miners by organizing strike action throughout Kentucky.

This step must be taken because the major coal companies are behind Duke Power, backing its stand against the unionizing of eastern Kentucky.

The UMW's payment of \$100 per week strike benefits is no substitute for a policy designed to mobilize the full strength of the miners union to win this strike.

Miller uses the strike benefits

to claim that he is doing all that can be done for the miners. This is his cover for blaming the Harlan miners if the strike is not won.

The treacherous policies of the UMW leadership were exposed last Monday and Tuesday by an "inquiry" set up by Miller into the background of the strike and the present conditions in Harlan.

A so-called "citizens' panel" composed of liberal professors, writers and Democratic Party politicians descended on Harlan last week to hear the testimony of miners.

Duke Power ignored the proceedings and Sheriff Billy G. Williams walked into the auditorium serving as the site of the inquiry to hand out subpoenas to several miners.

The UMW bureaucracy has told miners to place their trust in these two-faced liberal politicians in order to avoid an independent struggle by the labor movement in defense of such a basic right as the right to join a union.

Miller released a statement in which he said that the UMW hoped to model the Harlan strike on the Farah boycott, and that he would solicit the churches, universities, and capitalist foundations for support.

He had not one word to say about shutting down Kentucky mines and halting all coal production.

These protests and appeals to liberals are absolutely worthless in the face of the repression being organized by the government against the mine workers.

## National Auto Conference Of The

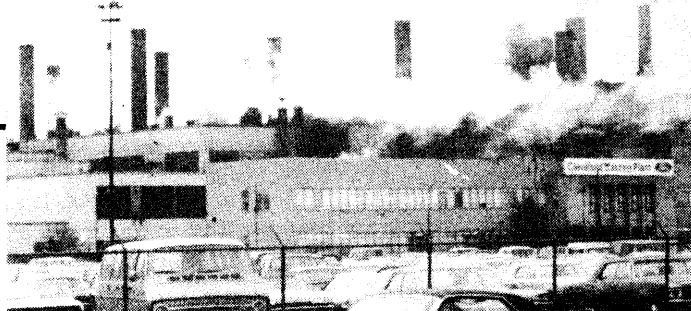
Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party

DAYTON  
MARCH 31

noon

Mall Motor Inn  
21 So. Jefferson  
(Carillon Room)

Registration: \$2.50 / For information call (212) 924-0852



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

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



# midwest news Teachers Walk Out On Seldon

BY A REPORTING  
TEAM  
MINNEAPOLIS—

Teachers were angered by American Federation of Teachers President Dave Seldon's declaration at a rally last week that members should not expect to win their demands this year.

Speaking at a pre-negotiation rally attended by about 500 members of the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers Local 59, Seldon said that the AFT supported their demands for a class size limit of 24 and a classroom time limit of four and three-quarters hours per day.

However, he immediately attempted to dampen the teachers' enthusiasm by declaring that these demands probably would not be won.

## SETTLE

"Even if we don't win all our demands and have to settle for less, it shows our heart is in the right place," Seldon concluded his remarks, making a mockery of his show of support.

Dale Holstrom, local business agent, said: "I don't want to build your expectancy that you can win everything. But we'll win what we can. If there is compromise on both sides we can complete negotiations by the end of May. We should look at arbitration only as a last step."

## BLEAK

3400 teachers are included in the bargaining unit, and the job outlook for many of them is extremely bleak without a real determined fight to preserve education against every attempt by the city and suburban governments to solve their crisis at the

expense of both the teachers and the students.

## PROSPEROUS

The prosperous Minneapolis suburb of St. Louis Park announced the firing of 80 teachers and professional educators, including many tenured personnel. This amounts to a slash of nearly one in seven. Further sharp attacks include elimination of many custodial and clerical jobs, dismissal of coaching assistants, outright closings of entire schools, deep cuts in purchase of library books and instructional films, drastic increases of some special fees such as driver education, and higher lunch prices.

## AXE

In other suburban schools the situation is much the same: Robbinsdale will axe 58 full time teachers; Bloomington, 40; Edina 45 jobs, including 23 teachers; South St. Paul 42 staff jobs, including 33 teachers. In addition there are many cuts in coaching and extra curricular funds.

Although the teachers came prepared for a spirited demonstration, no demonstration was held and dozens left throughout the brief one hour meeting.

The Bulletin interviewed several teachers who walked out in the middle of the speeches. When asked why, they explained:

## DISGUSTED

"We're disgusted. First of all, we get a copy of our demands less than an hour before we're supposed to vote on them. Then we come here and the president of the International—our own union not the Board of Education—tells us we should not expect to win our own demands."

Another teacher said: "I lost \$1000 in the last strike because of that kind of no-good leadership. Why wouldn't I be disgusted?"

# Bleak Summer For Chicago ILA

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

CHICAGO—The St. Lawrence-Great Lakes shipping season will start a week ahead of schedule, about March 25, but officials warn that this season will be even bleaker than last for longshoremen on the Lakes.

Maxim M. Cohen, in charge of the Lake Calumet Harbor in Chicago, said: "Though we'll open earlier, we'll have less ships because of higher costs. As long as current conditions hold, we all will suffer."

The major factor is the soaring price of fuel for the oceangoing liners. Fuel prices have increased 62 percent since December 2 and 216 percent

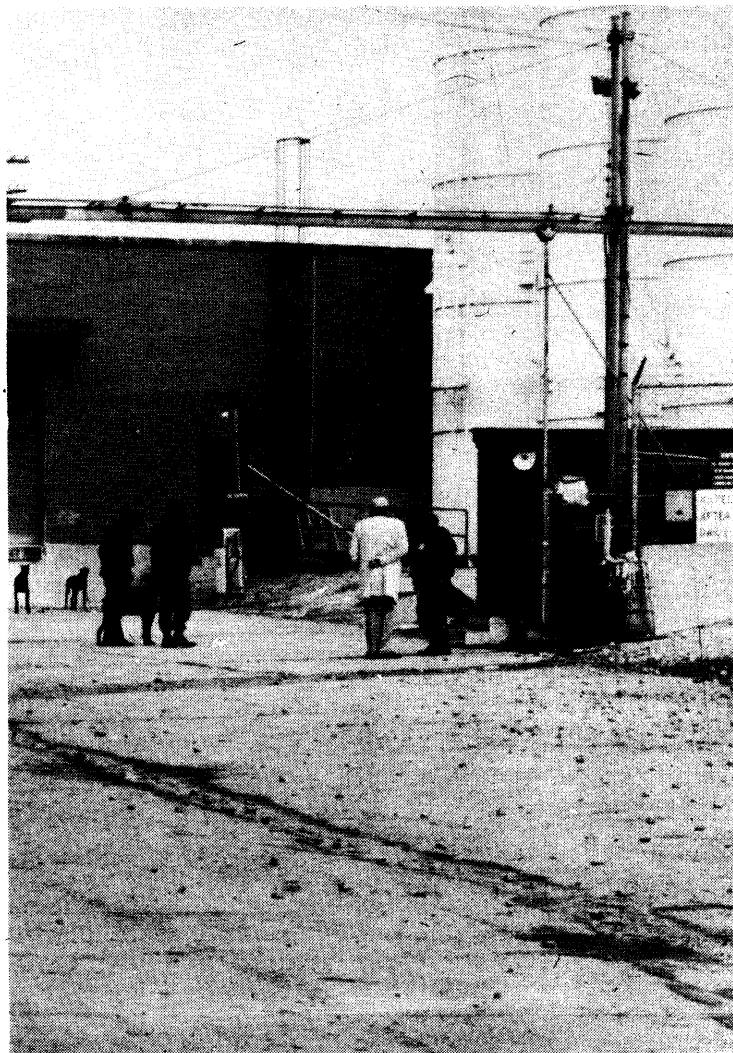
since September, 1972.

This means that many exporters are now using rail to ship general cargo to the East and Gulf coasts rather than chartering ships for the Seaway trip. Combined with a slowdown in manufacturing in the area, this means hundreds of shiploads of general cargo, which provides the most longshore jobs, will be eliminated. The small Navy Pier near downtown Chicago could face complete closure, and it was deserted the better part of last season.

## DECLINED

Last year, overseas cargo moving through Chicago ports declined 11 percent. Seaway tonnage was a record 57.6 million, but general cargo declined from 7.9 million tons to 5.8 million.

In addition, drastic reductions in steel imports will threaten the massive grain shipments which were the main support of the



Borden's Coated Fabrics plant, where dog patrols are in constant use.

# Borden Chemical Refuses To Budge

BY LOUIS MILLER

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Workers at Borden Chemical's Columbus Coated Fabrics plant remain on strike against intolerable working conditions and slave wages at the plant.

No negotiations have been attempted during the month long strike which began February 9 since the original "take it or leave it" offer of CCF in January.

Corwin Smith, president of Local 487, Textile Workers of America, told the Bulletin all the company has done to try to end the strike is mail letters to the wives of employees one day before union meetings, telling them their husbands will have no jobs if the strike continues.

"The last letter listed the machinery they were taking out," said Smith.

Meanwhile, the cameramen and dog patrols are constantly working, hoping workers will become agitated and attempt retaliation.

## IRON WORKERS

The iron workers union has refused to cross the picket lines at CCF, and asked the local to notify them if anyone else tries to dismantle and remove equipment. The iron workers have vowed to support the textile workers, and will not allow equipment to be removed.

"Support from other unions and locals is what we need," said Smith. Local 487, TWUA in Columbus, has asked fellow union men to assist them financially.

One worker, referring to the patrol dogs said, "That's the new Borden symbol. They should have a dog chasing the calf as their company trademark."

docks last season. It has always been these steel ships which were refitted and then loaded with outgoing grain.

## NO GUARANTEE

Great Lakes longshoremen, whose contract expires this summer along with ILA contracts on the East and Gulf Coasts, have no guarantee except for a payment which supplements winter unemployment checks when they have worked a certain number of hours. These minimums have not been revised, despite the fact that almost none of the members made the minimum last season.

The need to tally up those hours and the fact of the December to April closedown itself, have always been used by the ILA leadership on the Lakes to hold back strike struggles. The pressure will be even stronger this year, and the shipping authorities have deliberately scheduled a heavy first

half so that they can use a "get it while you can" argument, to pressure Lakes dockers to stay at work during a coastal shut-down. This has already been begun, with Cohen stating that:

"One thing that could help us would be if a lot of tonnage is locked out of East Coast ports. If so, some tonnage might be diverted to the Lakes and help take up the slack."

Canadian dockers are leading the way in defense of jobs on the docks with a strike scheduled to begin March 15 by the 7000 member Seafarers International Union in Canada.

Dockers in every port must demand an immediate shut-down in defense of jobs and wages on the docks, and use this struggle as a base for mobilizing the entire labor movement in a general strike to force Nixon out and to construct a labor party to win nationalization of basic industries and transport.

## THEORY & PRACTICE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

LOS ANGELES  
Thursday, Mar. 21  
Mafundi Institute  
103rd & Wilmington  
7:30 pm

SAN FRANCISCO  
Friday, Mar. 22  
Labor Book Store  
3327 24th Street  
7:30 pm

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



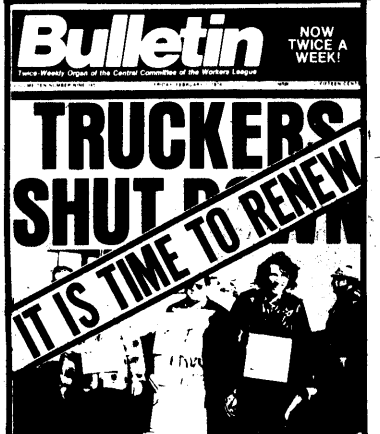
Speaker:  
Tim Wohlforth,  
Workers League  
National Secretary

## THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED

A class on  
Trotsky's basic work  
on Stalinism

PITTSBURGH  
Monday, Mar. 25  
Bethesda United  
Presbyterian Church  
7220 Bennett St.  
Fellowship D Room  
7:30 pm

All Classes: \$1 trade unionists  
75¢ youth



If the number 3 is after your name on the address label

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

\$3.00 for 6 months  
\$6.00 for 1 year

Name .....  
Address .....  
City .....  
State .....  
Zip .....

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



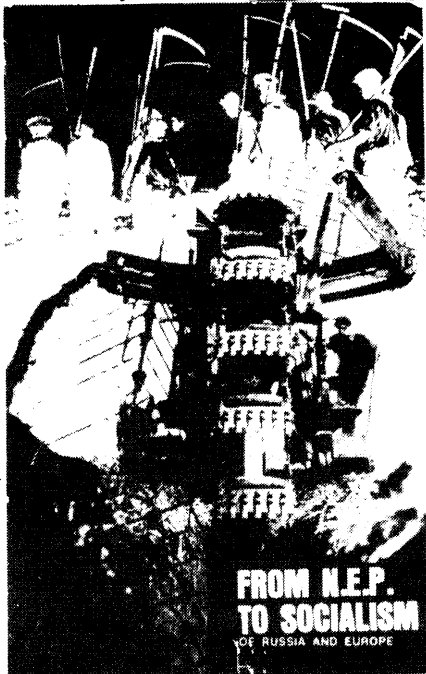
# Just Out!

We have just received a new shipment of books from England, which are available in the USA exclusively from Labor Publications, Inc.

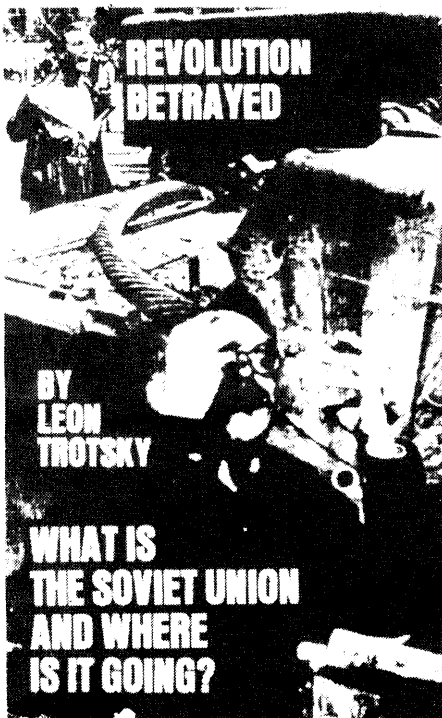
## From N.E.P. to Socialism

By E. A. Preobrazhensky

Available for the first time in English, this book was written by one of the leading Soviet economists of the 1920s who joined the Left Opposition and was murdered on Stalin's orders. Preobrazhensky's views on planned industrialization in a backward country are contained in the book, which remains banned in the Soviet Union. Of great interest to all those concerned with Marxist theory.



\$3.00



## Revolution Betrayed

By Leon Trotsky

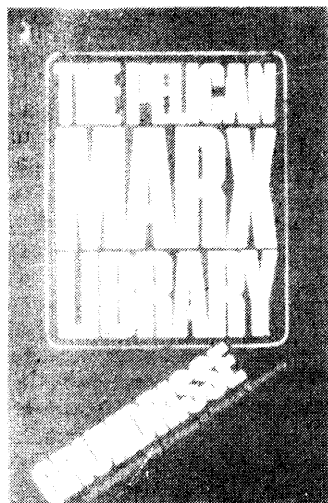
A totally new edition with a new introduction. Trotsky's most fundamental assessment of the origins of Stalinism and the class nature of the Soviet state.

\$2.95

## Now Back in Stock

Grundrisse

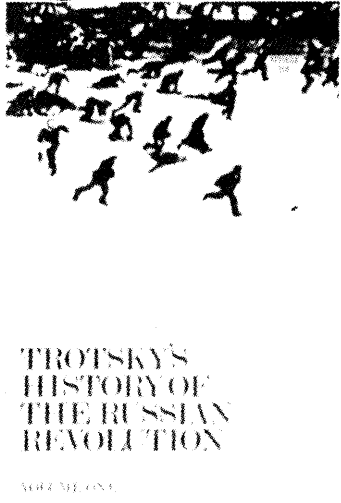
History of the Russian Revolution



By Karl Marx

Translated by Martin Nicolaus. The first English translation of the complete work. These manuscripts written from 1857-1858 reveal Marx's fundamental economic and philosophical preparations for the writing of *Capital*.

\$4.25



By Leon Trotsky

Paperback edition of the complete three volume work. Trotsky's classic study of the preparations for the great leap to the October Revolution. A masterpiece in the application of the method of historical materialism to the understanding of revolution.

\$4.75

Labor Book Center  
135 West 14 St.  
New York, NY 10011

Enclose check or money order. All orders will be mailed postage paid.



Los Angeles Mayor Bradley's \$1.6 million cut will almost eliminate pre-school centers in housing projects.

# Teachers Press Pay Fight

BY MARTY MORAN  
SAN FRANCISCO—

The San Francisco Board of Education told 2500 striking teachers Tuesday that it was completely broke and would not meet their demand for a 15 percent wage increase and improved working conditions.

Board financial experts claimed they did not even know where to find the money for the six percent increase which teachers rejected last Thursday.

American Federation of Teachers Local 61 struck last Thursday after 10,000 city employees walked out. AFT leader James Ballard had told the membership to respect the city workers picket lines. At a special emergency meeting the teachers voted almost 5 to 1 to

join the strike.

Ballard said: "Frankly, I was surprised at the outcome of the vote. But what got them mad is that the district is trying to get us to accept a six percent increase."

### DROP

In return for the six percent, the Board demanded that the union drop all other demands, including job security and fringe benefits for para-professionals, equity for substitute teachers, and child care center teachers, and reduction of class sizes.

The declaration of bankruptcy was followed by the announcement that school superintendent Stephen Morena was receiving a raise to bring his salary to \$44,500 a year. For the last several years, the Board has claimed to be broke when salary talks began, and then turned up with eight or nine million dollar surpluses on June 30.

### ISOLATED

The AFT faces the danger of being isolated if the city workers strike is settled. The NEA affiliated Classroom Teachers Association is not honoring the picket lines, but their members have been advised not to report for work as long as public transportation is shut down by the city strike. CTA president Gerald DeRyan has publicly opposed the strike.

The School Board has been keeping the schools open, despite the threat to the students' health and safety since there is no heat, janitors or food service.

# Bradley Budget Closes Centers

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley has proposed a budget cut of over \$1.6 million. The drastic cutback would virtually wipe out many sports and recreation programs for pre-schoolers, youth, adults and senior citizens.

The budget cut, if approved by the city council, will affect over 100,000 people and will eliminate at least 200 full time jobs, including 41 recreation center directors. Money for part time workers will be reduced by at least \$232,000.

Winston Miller, superintendent of recreation, termed the cuts "disastrous."

"It has created a huge crisis. We needed to expand the facilities. Storefronts are being used in some neighborhoods now because we don't have adequate facilities."

About 85 percent of the adult sports programs will be eliminated, including 1900 teams playing soccer, basketball, and volleyball. Centers with two or three directors will be cut down to only one director, and many swimming pools will be understaffed this summer.

East LA and South Central Los Angeles, which includes Watts, will be especially hard hit. Camps for these youth will be eliminated.

Outside of the activities that the parks and recreation centers provide, there is no other place for the youth to go. For the tens of thousands of Watts residents there is not even one movie theater.

One youth from Nickerson Gardens Housing Project in Watts told the Bulletin: "These cuts will be bad. It will create even more crime. There's

nothing to do as it is with no jobs. Bradley is full of empty promises."

Included in the cuts are the gyms and pre-school centers in the housing projects. A pre-school teacher at Nickerson Gardens said, "There are eight people working here for 60 children and it isn't enough. We've been cut four times in seven years. They spend money for outer space but not for human beings. These children need pre-school."

The staff, food, materials and equipment will be slashed if the cuts go into effect.

In addition to the \$1.6 million cut, an additional \$451,000 has just been slated to be trimmed from the city's budget for parks and recreation.

# Nixon Backers Funded Democrat Campaigns

BY DENNIS BREHM

LOS ANGELES—The publication of the list of contributors to the primary campaigns of California gubernatorial candidates has made clear that all the candidates, Democrats as well as Republicans, enjoy the support of California big business.

One of the front-runners in the Democratic primary, Joseph Alioto, received the largest share of the money: a total of \$690,301. Alioto, Mayor of San Francisco, got by far the largest donations of any candidate from the labor movement, a sum of \$126,000.

### PUBLIC

Although he has made public statements about the right of city workers to picket, he is the

one who declared a state of emergency which gives Governor Reagan the authority to take over city facilities and call in the National Guard.

Alioto has also received \$1000 from C. Arnholt Smith. Smith is currently facing criminal investigation and donated \$200,000 to Nixon's 1968 campaign.

Herbert Kalmbach, Nixon's former personal attorney implicated in the Watergate conspiracy, contributed \$200 to Democrat Edmund Brown's campaign. He also donated \$300 to Flourney, a Republican who has called for the firing of all San Francisco strikers.

Howard Hughes has also donated \$300 to Flourney and \$300 to Jerome Waldie, who has been played up as a "progressive" Democrat.



# Teachers Stay On Strike In San Francisco

**BY A REPORTER SAN FRANCISCO**—As we go to press, teachers have refused to return to work, continuing their strike in spite of a treacherous settlement signed by leaders of the Service Employees International Union Friday.

The deal cooked up between the SEIU bureaucrats and Mayor Alioto was designed to break up the powerful movement of San Francisco labor that paralyzed the city.

It isolates the teachers who came out on strike after the city workers shutdown began.

The settlement falls far short of the needs of city workers and the original demands put forward by the SEIU. The leadership had been pledged to seek an \$80 per month across the board increase but accepted only \$45.

San Francisco workers must reject this settlement and demand that the full support of the labor movement be rallied behind the teachers.

There was opposition to the pact in the Rank and File Negotiating Committee, with 20 voting for and three against accepting the settlement.

Reagan had threatened the use of National Guardsmen to break the strike and had attacked Alioto for not firing all the strikers and replacing them with scabs.

## INJUNCTIONS

A whole series of injunctions and suits were filed against the unions by the Board of Supervisors and the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

Governor Reagan sent in Cali-

fornia highway patrolmen to clear away pickets from the Ace A.C. Terminal on Thursday, and escort buses coming from the East Bay through the picket lines. Thursday afternoon eight pickets were arrested by the police and charged with resisting arrest and loitering on state property.

Last Tuesday, the lawyers for the chamber obtained an injunction from Superior Court Judge Clayton Horn ordering the strikers to return immediately and ordering the arrest of all those who disobeyed.

Alioto depended upon the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and Crowley to cook up a sellout and force it through. On Thursday, after extended negotiations between the Board of Supervisors, the union, and Alioto, the mayor announced a settlement was near and that an agreement had been reached on the wage increase.

## WAR

The Chamber of Commerce however, insisted upon all-out war with the union. While negotiations were going on, the chamber returned to Judge Horn and obtained contempt citations against Mayor Alioto and Police Chief Scott and three union leaders: Crowley, Twomey, and Gerry Hips, who heads the city clerks division of the SEIU.

Horn once again demanded that Alioto carry out mass arrests and threatened to fine the union one million dollars per day for every day the strike continued.

Victor Levit, attorney for the chamber, stated that they were considering challenging the legality of any settlement reached "under the duress of the strike."

Sergeant Gerald Crowley, president of the Police Officers Association, told the **Bulletin**: "We were used in 1934 and all throughout history, and mostly by management. If we have to arrest, it would be the darkest day San Francisco has ever seen. They are pitting one city worker against another."

One picket told the **Bulletin** during the strike:

"I think the issues go much further than \$80 and the dental plan. A lot of people are realizing what union solidarity really means. Many of us had the experience of seeing a picket sign stop the MUNI. It is of course not the sign but the result of a long history of union discipline.

"I think we are on the road to a general strike and I agree with you that it's got to be political. I'm out here on strike because of the whole political situation in this country: the gas, Watergate, the cost of food. I can really see in this strike that it's the unions that can really challenge the political system. Whatever we win in the strike will be taken away if we don't bring down Nixon."



San Francisco police at bus depot.

# Spy Plan Against Left

**BY BARRY GREY**

The California Senate subcommittee on civil disorder issued a report Wednesday urging that all radical groups be put under "constant surveillance."

The Senate committee, successor to the old Senate Fact-finding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, also reported what it called "the worst seige of violence in the history" of California prisons. The committee pointed to the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst and warned of more such terrorist actions in California.

The committee said the legislature should draft new laws against political kidnappings, but the emphasis of the report was on police and military measures in flagrant violation of First Amendment rights to be systematically used against the left.

Two organizations, Vencemos and the National Lawyers Guild, were specifically cited as having a direct influence on radical activities and revolts inside the prisons. The report openly called for them to be crushed:

## ELIMINATE

"The subcommittee will soon be holding hearings on these organizations and their activities in an effort to determine the extent of their influence, the reasons for their apparent growth, and what may be done to curtail or eliminate them as threats to our society's well being and safety."

The subcommittee quoted extensively from a Civil Disorder Management Course Manual of the state military department and said the following measures could be adopted to discourage terrorism and kidnappings: "Establish a neighborhood source of reliable information regarding suspect persons or unusual happenings. Every neighborhood has a 'busy-body' and they can be useful.

"Target desirability and accessibility studies should be conducted for all persons of high social, political or financial standings.

"Run extensive security and police intelligence checks on all persons having access to officials.

"Initiate a family whereabouts monitoring and check-in system. Allow no unaccompanied trips and outings. Vary

travel times and routes.

"Special shielding devices, such as LEXAN plastic used to protect the President of the United States, should be provided."

In the prison section of the report, the committee singled out four racial groups as primarily responsible for the vio-

lence: "the Mexican Mafia," "Nuestra Familia," the "Black Guerrilla Family," and the "Aryan Brotherhood."

This report comes at the same time as the US Senate votes to restore the death penalty for "treason" and "espionage." These are open preparations for civil war against the working class.

# Carpenters To Unite Demands

**BY A REPORTER**

**SAN FRANCISCO**—Northern California carpenters have voted to join with southern California locals in negotiations for a new contract this summer. This proposal, passed by a 75 vote margin in a referendum throughout the northern California locals, could mean a statewide strike in June if it is approved by the State Council of Carpenters.

The vote to establish a statewide contract rather than the separate contracts for the north and south as in the past reflects the determination of northern California carpenters to win back the wages cut in the last contract by the Construction

Industry Stabilization Committee.

This past winter thousands of carpenters throughout northern California staged a seven and one-half week wildcat against the CISC to win back the 65 cents cut by the CISC. That strike was broken by Bay Area carpenter chief Joe O'Sullivan and the District Council, together with the courts and federal marshals.

All the forces which joined together to sabotage the recent strike, from O'Sullivan to the Progressive Labor Party-dominated Carpenters for a Stronger Union, opposed a statewide contract.

One of the major demands in the new contract will be parity between northern California and lower paid southern California carpenters.

# East Oakland Neighbors Defend Youth From Pistol-Whipping Cops

**BY TED BAKER**

**OAKLAND**—Police beat and pistol-whipped a youth and his girlfriend in East Oakland Wednesday night, provoking an angry response from nearly 100 friends and neighbors who came out of their homes to protect them.

The incident occurred when police arrested Lance Brown in the Lockhaven Village Project on 66th Avenue. It was reported on the front page of the **Oakland Tribune** as an attack by residents on the police with no mention of the beating of Lance and his girlfriend.

Mickie, an eye-witness, told the **Bulletin**: "It was a lie, what the **Tribune** wrote. They did not print all of what really happened. They had Pinkie against the car and his family came out

to see what was happening.

"His mama tried to tell him something and they pushed her down, the two policemen who were there at first. That's when everyone started running up and hollering and everything.

"When Mrs. Brown attempted to talk to her son a second time, police threw her on the ground and threatened her 13-year-old daughter with a gun."

## HELICOPTERS

According to Mickie and other eye-witnesses, there were only 15 to 20 people around the car when the police called for reinforcements. Eventually, there were nearly 20 police and four squad cars with the police helicopter flying overhead.

Mickie told the **Bulletin**: "When the other policemen came, that's when he started

beating Pinkie in the head with the butt of his gun. Pinkie wasn't struggling or anything when they started hitting him. The only time he struggled is when they pushed his mama down."

The police also hit Lance's girlfriend with a pistol and later arrested her and two other men who were in the crowd. Later in the evening, Mrs. Brown was arrested while visiting her son in the hospital on charges of interfering with an arrest.

Mickie told the **Bulletin**: "I have never seen police brutality before, but now I saw it right in front of my house. But I'm not scared of them. All they do is hide behind their badge and their club and their gun. The one thing the **Tribune** said that was true, is that the police were scared. The man was so scared his gun was shaking."



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

# lucha obrera

lucía rivera

## Helen Halyard Candidata Congresional De La Liga Obrera

La Liga Obrera por primera vez en su historia presentará un candidato en las elecciones congresionales de noviembre. Helen Halyard, miembro del Comité Central de la Liga Obrera, será candidata en las elecciones del distrito congresional número 12. Este distrito cubre a Bedford Stuyvesant, algunas secciones de East New York, Brownsville y Crown Heights en Brooklyn.

Participamos en estas elecciones en la época más crítica de la historia de la clase obrera. La crisis económica a la que se enfrenta el sistema capitalista requiere que las grandes corporaciones, para que puedan sobrevivir su crisis, ataquen cuanta conquista ha logrado la clase obrera tras décadas de luchas.



Las medidas conscientes de Nixon de implementar desempleo masivo, como lo podemos ver a través de los seis millones de desempleados y los planes de las grandes corporaciones de

lanzar a la línea de desempleo a millones más, conjuntamente con la incontrolable inflación que los capitalistas han creado, es un ataque abierto en contra de las condiciones de vida que los trabajadores han logrado.

El gobierno usará el desempleo para debilitar a las uniones, dividir así a los trabajadores desempleados de los empleados, los trabajadores jóvenes de los adultos.

Ellos llevarán a cabo una campaña racista, la cual utilizarán para dividir a la clase obrera. Esto lo podemos ver claramente con la invención de la policía del Ejército de Liberación Negra en la Costa del Este y con el Ejército de Liberación Simbalés en la Costa del oeste.

Nixon como nunca antes ha sido expuesto como la figura principal de la conspiración de Watergate, pero se presenta arrogantemente frente a los millones de trabajadores y jóvenes y se niega a renunciar del gobierno.

Los líderes sindicales son responsables de que Nixon aún este en el poder. Ellos están con los demócratas y los republicanos en abierta colaboración con Nixon y apoyan sus medidas en contra de la clase obrera.

La actual congresista del distrito 12, es la demócrata Sherley Chisholm, la cual no ha hecho nada para cambiar las condiciones a la que se enfrentan los cientos de miles de trabajadores y jóvenes en el distrito. Ella al igual que Nixon fue sometida a una investigación federal debido a que los fondos que utilizó en su campaña presidencial no fueron reportados.

Nosotros no participamos en esta campaña electoral, con ilusiones de reformar el gobierno o hacer que el congreso funcione para el beneficio de los trabajadores y la juventud. El congreso esta controlado por los demócratas y los republicanos que representan los intereses de las grandes corporaciones en este país.

Entramos en esta campaña electoral para presentar la necesidad de que las uniones construyan un partido obrero. Esto requiere una lucha en contra del liderato reformista de las uniones, quienes rehusan movilizar el poder de la clase obrera para sacar a Nixon del gobierno.

Esta campaña electoral para presentar la necesidad de que las uniones construyan un partido obrero. Esto requiere una lucha en contra del liderato reformista de las uniones, quienes rehusan movilizar el poder de la clase obrera para sacar a Nixon del gobierno.

Esta campaña es central en traer la lucha por un partido obrero a amplios sectores de la clase obrera y jóvenes en este país y construir a través de esta lucha un liderato revolucionario en las uniones, en contra de los burocratas sindicales, y en las comunidades, que prepare a la clase obrera al poder.

La solución de las condiciones a la que se enfrentan los trabajadores solo se pueden solucionar a través de la construcción de un liderato revolucionario que lleve a la clase obrera al poder.

La construcción de la Liga Obrera y la Juventud Socialista en un movimiento revolucionario de masas es central en la defensa y preparación de la clase obrera en contra de las medidas del gobierno de Nixon.

Helen Halyard ve su campaña de esta forma "Nosotros vemos la lucha por un partido obrero como central. Nuestra campaña, es por lo tanto, no una protesta para más trabajos o mejores condiciones pero es para construir actualmente un nuevo liderato dentro de la clase obrera. Es solo nuestro movimiento el que puede enfrentarse a la crisis del capitalismo con un programa de demandas socialistas.

"Nosotros no tenemos ningunas ilusiones que este sistema se pueda reformar. Es por eso que nuestra lucha por un partido obrero es un paso para llevar a la clase obrera al poder."



Young Socialists march in front of AFL-CIO headquarters demanding that the unions build a labor party.

### YS Marches . . .

(Continued From Page 1)  
that will force Nixon out and all the Democrats and Republicans and fight for socialism."

Young Socialists National Secretary Adele Sinclair called for a powerful campaign to carry forward the demonstration by building the Second Annual Conference of the YS in May.

"This march was prepared through the fight of the Young Socialist newspaper and all the activities in the communities," she declared. "In the fight for the Young Socialists program to prepare a new leadership in the working class, we will build a movement that will construct a labor party. The YS Conference will lay the basis for building this leadership."

Helen Halyard, who is the first Workers League candidate to run in an election, explained the reason for her campaign for a congressional seat in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn.

"We are running this fall to organize around a program that meets the needs of the working class. We have no illusions that this system can provide any of those needs.

"We are organizing this campaign not just in Brooklyn, but nationally to build our movement among the broadest layers of the working class through the fight for a labor party."

The achievements of the march were made in spite of the most difficult weather conditions. At times, the rain came down with torrential force, but this neither delayed the marchers nor dampened their spirits.

The youth passed through working class communities which the protest marches organized by the revisionists during the period of the antiwar movement had always avoided.

The route of the march passed down Euclid Avenue, along

Fourteenth Street, North Road, Mount Pleasant, Columbia Road, Ontario, Seventeenth Street, and Cochran.

When workers and housewives saw the marchers pass by their buildings, they often walked down several flights of stairs into the street without an overcoat to catch up with a *Bulletin* or Young Socialist salesman.

Others leaned out the windows and asked salesmen to wait as they fetched a dollar for a subscription.

### BANNERS

The large impressive banners caught the eye of shoppers who came out of the stores to applaud the marchers.

Motorists rolled down their windows and stopped their cars to buy *Bulletins* and literature.

Young Socialists who volunteered to serve as marshalls, most of whom had only recently joined the movement, carried out the difficult task of guiding the marchers along the prescribed routes.

The most popular chants were improvised by Young Socialists members.

Construction workers along the route took a break as the marchers passed by, and salesmen sold copies of the *Bulletin* and explained the purpose of the demonstration.

As the marchers passed down the upper class areas along Sixteenth Street during the last 10 minutes of the demonstration to get to the headquarters of the AFL-CIO, doormen could be seen reading the *Bulletin*.

As the marchers reached the AFL-CIO building, they stopped to chant slogans calling for the building of a labor party, defense of the unions, a fight against unemployment, and action to throw out Nixon.

### EAST NEW YORK

The most powerful contingent was mobilized by the East New York branch, which brought 60

people including 10 from Brownsville. Thirty-one youth came from Queens and 28 from Bedford-Stuyvesant. The Boston YS brought 28 youth to Washington.

Eugene McNeil from Philadelphia said: "The march was nice. I came to Washington to support the march. We got more people interested in the Young Socialists. When we go back to Philly, our fight is to get more people to join."

Raymond Rayes, a young welder from Bethlehem, said: "Except for the rain, the march was very good. We sold a lot of literature on the march. I believe in what we are fighting for. That is why I came to Washington to be on the march."



Helen Halyard, Workers League candidate in fall elections in Bedford-Stuyvesant, addresses rally.

Marchers collected \$67.30 in contributions. In addition to *Bulletins*, salesmen sold 247 pamphlets of the latest publications of the Workers League and Young Socialists. Salesmen sold 126 copies of the *Young Socialists 1974 Draft Program*, 24 copies of the *Workers League Perspectives for the American Revolution*, 56 copies of *Britain Today—America Tomorrow*, and 41 copies of *The Case for a Labor Party*.





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

# lucha obrera

lucía rivera

## Helen Halyard Candidata Congressional De La Liga Obrera

La Liga Obrera por primera vez en su historia presentará un candidato en las elecciones congresionales de noviembre. Helen Halyard, miembro del Comité Central de la Liga Obrera, será candidata en las elecciones del distrito congresional número 12. Este distrito cubre a Bedford Stuyvesant, algunas secciones de East New York, Brownsville y Crown Heights en Brooklyn.

Participamos en estas elecciones en la época más crítica de la historia de la clase obrera. La crisis económica a la que se enfrenta el sistema capitalista requiere que las grandes corporaciones, para que puedan sobrevivir su crisis, ataquen cuanta conquista ha logrado la clase obrera tras décadas de luchas.



Las medidas conscientes de Nixon de implementar desempleo masivo, como lo podemos ver a través de los seis millones de desempleados y los planes de las grandes corporaciones de

lanzar a la línea de desempleo a millones más, conjuntamente con la incontrolable inflación que los capitalistas han creado, es un ataque abierto en contra de las condiciones de vida que los trabajadores han logrado.

El gobierno usará el desempleo para debilitar a las uniones, dividir así a los trabajadores desempleados de los empleados, los trabajadores jóvenes de los adultos.

Ellos llevarán a cabo una campaña racista, la cual utilizarán para dividir a la clase obrera. Esto lo podemos ver claramente con la invención de la policía del Ejército de Liberación Negra en la Costa del Este y con el Ejército de Liberación Simbólico en la Costa del Oeste.

Nixon como nunca antes ha sido expuesto como la figura principal de la conspiración de Watergate, pero se presenta arrogantemente frente a los millones de trabajadores y jóvenes y se niega a renunciar del gobierno.

Los líderes sindicales son responsables de que Nixon aún este en el poder. Ellos están con los demócratas y los republicanos en abierta colaboración con Nixon y apoyan sus medidas en contra de la clase obrera.

La actual congresista del distrito 12, es la demócrata Sherley Chisholm, la cual no ha hecho nada para cambiar las condiciones a la que se enfrentan los cientos de miles de trabajadores y jóvenes en el distrito. Ella al igual que Nixon fue sometida a una investigación federal debido a que los fondos que utilizó en su campaña presidencial no fueron reportados.

Nosotros no participamos en esta campaña electoral, con ilusiones de reformar el gobierno o hacer que el congreso funcione para el beneficio de los trabajadores y la juventud. El congreso esta controlado por los demócratas y los republicanos que representan los intereses de las grandes corporaciones en este país.

Entramos en esta campaña electoral para presentar la necesidad de que las uniones construyan un partido obrero. Esto requiere una lucha en contra del liderato reformista de las uniones, quienes rehusan movilizar el poder de la clase obrera para sacar a Nixon del gobierno.

Esta campaña electoral para presentar la necesidad de que las uniones construyan un partido obrero. Esto requiere una lucha en contra del liderato reformista de las uniones, quienes rehusan movilizar el poder de la clase obrera para sacar a Nixon del gobierno.

Esta campaña es central en traer la lucha por un partido obrero a amplios sectores de la clase obrera y jóvenes en este país y construir a través de esta lucha un liderato revolucionario en las uniones, en contra de los burocratas sindicales, y en las comunidades, que prepare a la clase obrera al poder.

La solución de las condiciones a la que se enfrentan los trabajadores solo se pueden solucionar a través de la construcción de un liderato revolucionario que lleve a la clase obrera al poder.

La construcción de la Liga Obrera y la Juventud Socialista en un movimiento revolucionario de masas es central en la defensa y preparación de la clase obrera en contra de las medidas del gobierno de Nixon.

Helen Halyard ve su campaña de esta forma "Nosotros vemos la lucha por un partido obrero como central. Nuestra campaña, es por lo tanto, no una protesta para más trabajos o mejores condiciones pero es para construir actualmente un nuevo liderato dentro de la clase obrera. Es solo nuestro movimiento el que puede enfrentarse a la crisis del capitalismo con un programa de demandas socialistas.

"Nosotros no tenemos ningunas ilusiones que este sistema se pueda reformar. Es por eso que nuestra lucha por un partido obrero es un paso para llevar a la clase obrera al poder."



Young Socialists march in front of AFL-CIO headquarters demanding that the unions build a labor party.

### YS Marches . . .

(Continued From Page 1)  
that will force Nixon out and all the Democrats and Republicans and fight for socialism."

Young Socialists National Secretary Adele Sinclair called for a powerful campaign to carry forward the demonstration by building the Second Annual Conference of the YS in May.

"This march was prepared through the fight of the Young Socialist newspaper and all the activities in the communities," she declared. "In the fight for the Young Socialists program to prepare a new leadership in the working class, we will build a movement that will construct a labor party. The YS Conference will lay the basis for building this leadership."

Helen Halyard, who is the first Workers League candidate to run in an election, explained the reason for her campaign for a congressional seat in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn.

"We are running this fall to organize around a program that meets the needs of the working class. We have no illusions that this system can provide any of those needs."

"We are organizing this campaign not just in Brooklyn, but nationally to build our movement among the broadest layers of the working class through the fight for a labor party."

The achievements of the march were made in spite of the most difficult weather conditions. At times, the rain came down with torrential force, but this neither delayed the marchers nor dampened their spirits.

The youth passed through working class communities which the protest marches organized by the revisionists during the period of the antiwar movement had always avoided.

The route of the march passed down Euclid Avenue, along

Fourteenth Street, North Road, Mount Pleasant, Columbia Road, Ontario, Seventeenth Street, and Cochran.

When workers and housewives saw the marchers pass by their buildings, they often walked down several flights of stairs into the street without an overcoat to catch up with a *Bulletin* or Young Socialist salesman.

Others leaned out the windows and asked salesmen to wait as they fetched a dollar for a subscription.

### BANNERS

The large impressive banners caught the eye of shoppers who came out of the stores to applaud the marchers.

Motorists rolled down their windows and stopped their cars to buy *Bulletins* and literature.

Young Socialists who volunteered to serve as marshalls, most of whom had only recently joined the movement, carried out the difficult task of guiding the marchers along the prescribed routes.

The most popular chants were improvised by Young Socialists members.

Construction workers along the route took a break as the marchers passed by, and salesmen sold copies of the *Bulletin* and explained the purpose of the demonstration.

As the marchers passed down the upper class areas along Sixteenth Street during the last 10 minutes of the demonstration to get to the headquarters of the AFL-CIO, doormen could be seen reading the *Bulletin*.

As the marchers reached the AFL-CIO building, they stopped to chant slogans calling for the building of a labor party, defense of the unions, a fight against unemployment, and action to throw out Nixon.

### EAST NEW YORK

The most powerful contingent was mobilized by the East New York branch, which brought 60

people including 10 from Brownsville. Thirty-one youth came from Queens and 28 from Bedford-Stuyvesant. The Boston YS brought 28 youth to Washington.

Eugene McNeil from Philadelphia said: "The march was nice. I came to Washington to support the march. We got more people interested in the Young Socialists. When we go back to Philly, our fight is to get more people to join."

Raymond Rayes, a young welder from Bethlehem, said: "Except for the rain, the march was very good. We sold a lot of literature on the march. I believe in what we are fighting for. That is why I came to Washington to be on the march."



Helen Halyard, Workers League candidate in fall elections in Bedford-Stuyvesant, addresses rally.

Marchers collected \$67.30 in contributions. In addition to *Bulletins*, salesmen sold 247 pamphlets of the latest publications of the Workers League and Young Socialists. Salesmen sold 126 copies of the *Young Socialists 1974 Draft Program*, 24 copies of the *Workers League Perspectives for the American Revolution*, 56 copies of *Britain Today—America Tomorrow*, and 41 copies of *The Case for a Labor Party*.

