

Bulletin

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

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

VOLUME TEN NUMBER TWENTY SEVEN 363

FRIDAY, APRIL 5, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

LABOR LEADERS OFFER TO POLICE WAGES



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BY THE EDITORS

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out of control.

This is the meaning of the unity between the AFL-CIO and leading Democrats that has emerged over the issue of wage and price controls.

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modity.

Several days ago, price controls were officially removed from the clothing, banking, real estate, life insurance, and securities industries.

Big wholesale manufacturers are predicting a wave of price hikes in the fall when the prices in raw materials—in some cases, 200 percent above

1973—hit the retail level.

Prices are rising so rapidly that many manufacturers are refusing to price their goods until the same day they ship them to the stores.

The big business and government economists are desperately seeking a way to stop the rate of inflation which threatens their production and

profits.

But what the capitalists and the Democrats and Republicans all agree on is that the working class should be forced to pay for the inflation by a brutal reduction in their standard of living. This is the reality behind labor leaders "Social Contract."

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(Continued On Page 12)

Nixon Admits \$432,787 Theft From Government

BY DAVID NORTH
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that President Nixon owes \$432,787 in back taxes plus interest amounting to \$70,000.

The Congressional report found five different cate-

gories of taxable income which Nixon failed to report between 1969 and 1972 and six different categories of deductions that he took without being entitled to do so.

While workers are taxed to the hilt and are this month waiting week after week for the meager
(Continued On Page 12)

Bulletin Monthly Fund

A Magnificent \$7496 In One Week!

We have received the magnificent sum of \$7496.83 since last week. This brings the Tenth Anniversary Bulletin Fund to \$15,822.05, very close to our goal of \$16,000 to complete the first third of our drive on time.

The following branches have made or gone over their one-third mark: East New York-Brownsville, Lower East Side, Queens, Washington-Northwest, Youngstown, Minneapolis South, the Bay Area branches, Minneapolis North, and Connecticut.

A number of other branches have made big leaps since last week so that they now can make serious plans to complete the next stage of the drive on time.

We wish to particularly thank a number of friends of the Bulletin who rallied to the critical situation in the Fund since last week. One supporter brought \$100 into the office. Another from New Orleans

sent in \$20.

The New York branches joined together to build a highly successful Rib-n-Brew party that brought in \$300. One branch, Bedford-Stuyvesant, raised \$134.65 from Bulletin readers in a week.

We now enter the critical second stage of our drive. We must now receive \$17,000 more by April 30 to give us a total of \$33,000. This requires that each branch learn the lessons of the great danger in delaying fund activity to the end, as well as how large sums can be raised among workers when the role of the Bulletin in the fight against Nixon and the corporations is explained and fought for.

At the same time, we must ask each reader and supporter to make special efforts to send in contributions so that we will have the resources to develop the Bulletin into a daily paper in the next period.

In The Midweek
Edition

•Report on the 14th Annual Conference of the British Young Socialists, held in England March 30-31.

•"The Fight for Democratic Rights," Part Three of the History of the IWW, by Nancy Fields.

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The UMW And The British Miners Strike

The struggle of British miners has aroused the interest of broad sections of the American working class, particularly the coal miners. This is an important factor in the political development of the American working class which will continue to learn from revolutionary events in England as it enters into tremendous battles against Nixon and the ruling class in this country.

What workers learn from the struggles of the British working class as they fight here will be vital in the construction of the revolutionary party in the United States.

**What
We
Think**

The leadership of the United Mine Workers is disturbed by the impact of the British coal miners strike on its membership here. Especially in the wake of the three-week strike in West Virginia, where 26,000 miners walked out against the government's emergency fuel measures, the Miller bureaucracy does not want the ranks to draw the political lessons of the British events.

It is for this reason that the UMW bureaucracy, with the aid of the American Communist Party, has launched an all-out propaganda campaign to totally distort the significance of the British miners strike.

At the heart of this campaign is the March 1-15 issue of the *Journal of the UMW*, which is devoted almost entirely to an article by Don Stillman entitled "How the British Miners Won Their Strike." He writes:

"But as both British and American miners know, the

key to any strike is a strong and unified rank-and-file that sets goals and stays out until they are achieved. The UMW doesn't want a strike any more than the NUM (National Union of Miners) did and hopefully the lessons of the British victory are sinking in up in the board rooms of the energy conglomerates in Pittsburgh and New York and Boston."

To present the British miners strike as an object lesson in the virtues of militancy rather than a clear warning that every strike in defense of living standards and basic rights is a political struggle against the state, that the conditions of civil war are expressed in every one of these struggles, and that the miners strike posed the necessity of building the revolutionary leadership of the working class to take power, is to disarm workers for the struggles which are developing now in the US.

Stillman makes virtually no mention of the insoluble crisis of British capitalism which forced the Tory government to launch unprecedented attacks on the working class through wild inflation, the establishment of a three-day week, and the creation of an arsenal of anti-union laws.

He says nothing of the fact that on the eve of the miners strike, the Tory government deployed troops and tanks in the vicinity of Heathrow Airport—a large working class community—in a menacing show of force against the miners.

Stillman attempts to portray the 1974 miners strike as a more militant version of the 1972 strike. However, miners saw in the aftermath of the first strike how the Tories used inflation to take away all the concessions it had made in order to remain in power.

These developments confirmed the perspectives of the Workers Revolutionary Party, British section of the

Fourth International, which fought among miners and all sections of the working class for an understanding of the need to defeat the government by forcing its resignation and returning the Labor party to power pledged to socialist policies.

The greatest dangers confront the miners now. The Wilson government is carrying out the policies pursued by the Tories. The new Labor budget is a blueprint for recession and a vicious assault on living standards. As Wilson carries out these policies, acting as the "Trojan Horse" of the Tories within the labor movement, the Tories are working out a conspiracy with rightists and top military brass for a Chilean-style coup in England.

Like British workers, the American working class must confront wage controls backed by laws, the intervention of the courts against the unions, skyrocketing inflation, the danger of mass unemployment and the threat of dictatorship.

The recent strike by truckers and miners was a direct confrontation against the government. They raised immediately the need to mobilize the working class to force Nixon out of office, demand new elections, and to construct a labor party as the alternative to this government.

George Morris, the labor editor of the Communist Party's *Daily World*, praises Stillman's article on Britain precisely because it buries every political issue. The British Stalinists consistently opposed a campaign to bring down the Tory government. In this country, the Stalinists oppose forcing Nixon out of office.

The fight to force Nixon out and to build a labor party will be taken forward in a fight against the bureaucracy and Stalinists in the course of constructing the Workers League.

US Prepares New Saigon Offensive

BY MELODY FARROW

Nixon's Vietnam Veterans Day speech at the National War College was not only an open defense of his past Vietnam policies, but was aimed at sanctioning a new imperialist offensive in Southeast Asia.

Declaring that the Vietnam War was "in good conscience, honorably undertaken and honorably ended," Nixon was accompanied by the Ambassador of South Vietnam, Tran Kim Phung, who read a message of "gratitude" from South Vietnamese dictator Nguyen Thieu.

Open fighting between Saigon forces and the National Liberation Front and its political arm, the Provisional Revolutionary Government has never ceased since the Paris peace treaty was signed in January 1973. Recent fighting has intensified in the South to the point of a major renewal of the war.

The Saigon regime has been encouraged, financially and politically, to launch continuous raids into areas of South Vietnam controlled by the PRG. Without US support, the Thieu government would have collapsed a year ago.

Nixon officially maintains a force of 5000 American officials in South Vietnam who mainly work in the logistics services of the South Vietnamese Army.

This includes areas such as aid, food supplies, repair and maintenance of equipment, planning the needs of the army.

Graham Martin, the US Ambassador in Saigon who has a staff of 145 "special assistants" and 125 diplomats is the same man who as ambassador to Thailand played a key role in getting

that country involved in the Vietnam War.

The Paris peace treaty, imposed on the Vietnamese by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union saved imperialism from defeat, and gave it valuable time to gather its forces again in preparation for a new attack.

Henry Kissinger recently declared that the Paris agreement meant: "We have committed ourselves very substantially, both politically and morally."

Despite Article Seven of the Paris agreement, which bans the introduction by either side of military personnel or material from the outside, US military aid went up to \$813 million between 1973 and 1974.

The Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and the leadership of the Provisional Revolutionary Government are perpetrating the fraud that imperialism can be forced to observe the Paris treaty which neither Nixon or Thieu intend to implement.

Rather than mobilize for an offensive against Thieu, the PRG has issued a call for a new calendar for elections.

The PRG accused Saigon and the US of strangling all democratic rights in the hamlets it controls and demanded the immediate release of the 200,000 political prisoners still held in Saigon jails and the dismantling of all concentration camps.

But the PRG's call for a new cease-fire, scheduled elections, and the establishment of the National Council of Reconciliation and Concord places the Vietnamese people in a dangerous trap.

The Stalinists in the Soviet Union are desperately seeking to prevent a full-scale outbreak of fighting and want to maintain the reactionary Thieu puppet regime in Saigon rather than mobilize the Vietnamese workers and peasants in an offensive to drive imperialism out of Vietnam.



Housewives in Tubarao in Brazil waiting at government building for food and medicine.

Chilean Junta Jails 47 Leftists

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The Chilean junta imposed savage sentences last week on 47 alleged members of the outlawed Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) following a short drumhead trial held in Temuco, 400 miles south of Santiago.

Victor Manuel Gavilan Pinto, aged 30, termed a founder of the MIR in Temuco, was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment. Other defendants received up to 15 year jail terms on charges of having fabricated explosives and having received guerrilla training in Cuba.

Troops surrounded the barracks where the trial was held, and local news media were barred from providing coverage.

Many members of the MIR were reported killed in fighting at the time of the coup d'etat and many others have been summarily executed. The MIR leader, Bautista van Schowen, was captured on December 13 and has been brutally tortured.

The MIR has issued a statement saying it fears that the regime may have already murdered van Schowen.

This trial took place against the backdrop of massive attacks on the living standards of Chilean workers.

The cost of living has risen five or even ten times since the coup. Hundreds of thousands have lost their jobs for political reasons.

The cost of a kilo of sugar has risen since the coup from 12 escudos to 280. A liter of cooking oil, 36 escudos in September, now costs 550.

Reporters in Santiago have

noted the long lines outside foreign embassies of Chileans seeking to flee the country. According to one estimate, as many as half a million citizens have applied for visas to leave the country.

Several embassies closed their doors last week, declaring that they could not accommodate the flood of desperate Chileans.

Floods Ravage Brazil

BY FRANK MARTIN

The worst floods in Brazil's history have hit nine different states, killing thousands and leaving hundreds of thousands homeless.

The military dictatorship that rules Brazil has reported less casualties and damage to hide that they are doing nothing to aid the victims.

In the town of Tubarao in southern Brazil, at least 2000 are dead. Hundreds of bodies are still buried in the mud or have floated off to sea. Last Sunday, the Tubarao River overflowed its banks destroying 90 percent of the buildings in the town.

Many people, especially in the outlying areas, who could not get to shelter have been left completely stranded now for over a week without food or medical supplies. A construction worker

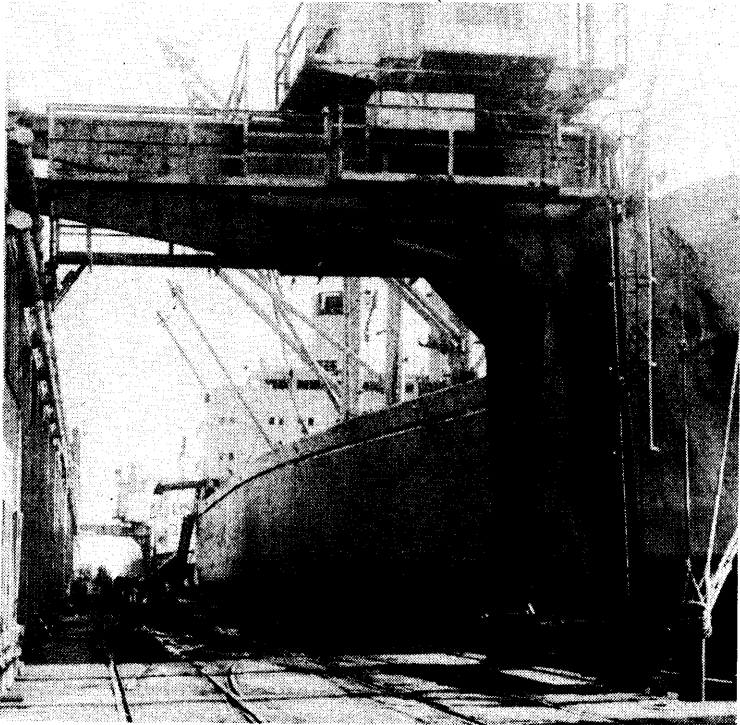
reported that people were eating fish out of polluted rivers.

"We know the waters are contaminated, but there's nothing else to eat," he said.

Farmers have had their entire crops and livestock wiped out by the floods. The estimated damage in the nine states is at least \$400 million. Yet government sources claim only 500 people throughout the country have died and is only offering \$1.5 million in relief aid.

Even this absurdly small amount of aid is not reaching the flood victims, but is being pocketed by the local government and military officials.

One young worker at Passo do Gado, near the Madre River, said that people were getting fed up. "We're not getting food or vaccination shots because we live too far from the relief post."



Baltimore docks, where fuel shortages have disrupted cargo shipments.

Threat To GAI In ILA Talks

NEW YORK—The opening of contract talks between the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and the Council of North Atlantic Shipping Associations (CONASA) have been marked by the open declaration of the ILA bureaucracy to accept the shippers' destruction of the Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI).

The talks broke down after one two-hour session and no new talks have been scheduled. Negotiations on local issues, including the vital Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI), have not yet begun.

The ILA has tabled a seven point list of demands, including a \$72 per day wage, a one year contract, an increase of 50 cents per hour employer contribution to both the pension and the welfare funds, the right to strip and stuff all containers, and jurisdiction over all lighter-aboard-ship (LASH) barge loading and unloading.

Longshoremen in Manhattan told the Bulletin that two men were killed earlier this year due to unsafe working conditions.

One Brooklyn docker stated that when he applied to his foreman for some disputed pay, he was threatened by a group of thugs. Debiting and double-debiting continue on every pier.

Present economic conditions mean that these men forced off the piers will be forced onto the bread lines.

The profits of the most ef-

US Arms Pour Into Israel

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The Israeli government has received assurances from Nixon that the United States will immediately launch a massive rearmament program for the crisis-stricken Zionist regime.

During talks this weekend with Henry Kissinger and Defense Secretary James Schlesinger, Israeli Defense Minister Dayan asked for the prompt delivery of the most sophisticated American weaponry.

It is reported that Nixon has already decided to extend a \$1.5 billion gift and to supply \$700 million in credit.

This all-out drive to arm the Zionists to their teeth comes when the prospects for any disengagement along the Israeli-Syrian front have just about col-

lapsed. The crisis means now that the shippers can no longer afford to pay the GAI, which is already \$19,500,000 in arrears.

Defending jobs, working conditions, and wages in the ILA requires a fight against the government, for a labor party pledged to socialist policies of nationalization of the docks and shipping under workers control.

There must not be any retreat before Nixon, the Democrats, and the shippers. The new contract must include a full GAI available to all unemployed dockers in all ports. The debit system must be abolished.

Longshoremen must begin the struggle immediately for joint strike action with the West Coast dockers to win these demands, and take up the struggle in the ILA for the labor party.

Such weaponry would be vital for a renewed attack against Egyptian forces. The US wants these offensive missiles in the Middle East as it considers the possibility of directly intervening in that area to save the Zionist regime and secure direct control over oil resources.

WEAPONRY

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It is especially significant that Dayan emphasized Israel's need for offensive military weaponry to counter Egyptian anti-aircraft missiles which neutralized the Zionist air force during the October war.

There has been no progress whatsoever toward a disengagement of military forces in that area. The Israeli government has insisted that it will not discuss the future of the territory it seized in 1967, but Syria has declared that it wants the 1967 territories, as well as that seized in October returned.

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IMF Cracks Up As Inflation Runs Wild

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The collapse of the talks on international monetary reform by the Committee of 20 of the International Monetary Fund last weekend in Washington marks a new stage in the disintegration of the world monetary system.

At this meeting, the financial representatives of the leading capitalist nations declared that all efforts to reach a compromise on monetary matters were impossible.

The only agreement reached was that they could not repair the collapse of paper currency, marked by the massive increase in the price of gold and commodities.

Today, with paper money and credit no longer backed by gold, vast hoards of currency and credit are essentially worthless. Since Nixon's August 15, 1971 measures which removed the gold cover from the dollar and initiated the period of wild inflation, the capitalist countries have been attempting to hold together some form of monetary stability through joint floats and negotiations on currency reform.

But with currency, no longer backed by gold, there is no objective basis for the conduct of international trade and production. It is this crisis that has doomed the talks from the start.

The breakdown of the IMF negotiations means in effect that each capitalist minister returns home to prepare for interest rate wars, competitive devaluations, international trade war, and all-out attacks on the working class which is to be forced to foot the bill.

At the center of the IMF paralysis is the inflation ridden dollar which can no longer play the role of the international standard of value.

Even the most conservative economists are forced to admit that inflation in the United States is completely out of control and that the coming runaway inflation threatens the breakup of capitalist rule itself.

None other than George Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury warned in an interview that the increases taking place were

such a shock that if unchecked they would lead millions to question the very nature of the political and economic system.

Henry Kaufman, a leading Wall Street economist, recently warned that "persistent inflation breaks the back of the middle and lower income groups."

He fears that it threatens to "destabilize the political structure," forcing the country either sharply to the right or left.

Milton Friedman, conservative University of Chicago economist, now predicts that inflation rates of at least 12 percent are here to stay.

Alan Greenspan, an economic consultant, recently warned that inflation and controls have gotten the US into "the British situation and look where it has gotten them."

What all these economists are now forced to recognize is that the decades of inflationary expansion based on the unlimited increase of dollars and credit have brought about a worldwide inflation which is drawing the US into the double digit inflation figures of Europe and Latin America.

This situation of runaway price increases is preparing the way for massive class struggles which, as in Europe, threaten the very existence of capitalism.

That these warnings are being given by leading capitalist spokesmen shows that the capitalists are well aware of the threat to their system and of the need to prepare for violent, brutal measures against the

working class.

Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns who has persistently warned of Latin American style inflation is forcing interest rates up to near 10 percent. These are measures to force cutbacks in construction, bankrupt many industries, and lead to the development of massive unemployment.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The government, which several months ago dropped 4 percent as its full employment goal, is now openly considering abandoning the figure of 5 percent as well.

Democratic Party economists are developing the ominous idea of a "social contract" between government and the labor bureaucracy to assure that the trade union leaders will fight to keep wage increases voluntarily limited in the national interest.

While preparations are being made for dropping all controls on prices, a debate is raging in the government on the most effective methods to keep the lid on wages and drive for higher productivity.

These developments are warnings to the American working class that the revolutionary struggles on the agenda in Europe are rapidly being prepared for the US as well.

This drives home the urgency of the labor movement preparing now for the political fight to drive its enemies in the Democratic and Republican Parties from power through the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

Young Socialists National Conference

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TWU Leaders Sign Deal To Slash Jobs

BY MITCH PATTERSON

NEW YORK—Strong opposition to the recently negotiated contract between the Transport Workers Union and the Metropolitan Transportation Authority is being voiced by bus and subway workers throughout New York City.

The new contract will mean laying off hundreds of workers through "productivity plans." This was accepted by union President Matthew J. Guinan.

The contract is far below what the union members demanded. The union had called for a 21.4 percent increase in wages and a full cost of living escalator clause to become effective immediately. These were minimal demands required in order for the transport workers to keep pace with inflation.

In order for any wage increase to be won by the union, Guinan had to promise the Authority to "extend productivity plans in the subway car repair shops throughout the system."

These "productivity plans" resulted in the laying off of six hundred repairmen over the duration of the last contract. Further layoffs are expected in the near future.

A subway conductor who has worked for the Authority for 23 years told the Bulletin: "If you look at it, we really didn't get anything."

"Prices will eat up these small increases right quick. We won't see any real money until 1975 anyway. What will the prices be like at that time?"

"These union leaders always pull that stuff. They wait until the last minute to scare the people who ride the subways, then they settle for something less than what we wanted without a strike."

"I voted for a strike; almost all of us voted for a strike. In the next month, they are going to start cutting back on jobs because we have productivity in this new contract."

A porter in the TWU de-

clared: "You can't print what I have to say about this contract. These wage rises amount to nothing. Fourteen percent over two years means nothing nowadays."

"The cost of living that we got should have been for this year and not 1975. Anyway, it's only 2.5 cents."

"I think that a lot of us are going to vote this contract down."

The ratification meeting for all bus and subway workers in New York City will be held in two weeks. All transport workers must reject this contract with a massive "no" vote and demand that the union leadership carry forward the strike action against the Transit Authority.

Guinan's settlement includes a six percent increase beginning immediately. This is part of a "cost of living catch up" to compensate for wages that were wiped out through inflation since 1971.

Another three percent rise will go in to effect on December 1 of this year and will be followed by a five percent hike beginning April 1, 1975. Deducting the first six percent, transit workers will receive only an eight percent rise in "across the board" wages for the next two years.

ESCALATOR

The power of the transport workers forced the TA to concede a partial cost of living escalator clause in the new contract. It is a forerunner in the labor movement and marks the beginning of a massive wage offensive throughout the working class in this country.

It will mean that starting on April 1, 1975, transport workers will receive a 2.5 percent increase for every one percentage point hike in the Consumer Price Index. This will be adjusted twice throughout the year.

Union Leaders Sell Out Macy Ranks

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK—The growing movement among the 8000 Macy's Department Store workers to strike all of the six Macy's locations throughout the last moment when union representatives settled a two-year contract with the company.

"It's a lot of garbage," stated



ITU No. 6 typographers at the New York Times. The typos are preparing for strike vote next week as contract negotiations are deadlocked and the Times continues to bring in new automated equipment threatening layoffs.

ITU Strike Threat In Contract Talks

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK—Negotiations between the city's major newspapers and Typographers No. 6 are virtually deadlocked, union president Bertram Powers told the Bulletin Monday.

A new strike vote will be taken next week unless a tentative settlement is reached by Friday, which is highly unlikely.



ITU No. 6 Pres. Powers

The International Executive Board of the ITU, located in Colorado Springs, has told No. 6 that it will consider the results of a strike vote and perhaps permit action by the membership at some "appropriate" time.

While still refusing to grant automatic strike authorization, the International stated for the first time that it would at least release No. 6 from the present contract if the membership voted to strike.

Powers termed the present state of negotiations as "poor" and said that the Daily News and The New York Times are still attempting to lay off printers

through the introduction of automated equipment.

"The Times is very difficult and the News is even more difficult," said Powers. "One has to be worse than the other."

He added that there is a sharp clash over wages, because the newspapers insist that they will not offer more than the Pay Board guidelines.

During the past week, the government removed all price controls on the newspaper industry, but retains controls on wages. The Daily News is about to raise its price 50 percent and the Post has already upped its newstand price to 20 cents.

NLRB Cuts Boston Shipyard Pickets

BY BILL VAN

BOSTON—As the shipyard workers strike against the General Dynamics Corporation of Quincy, Massachusetts enters its third week, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) dealt its second blow to the union's right

to picket.

The board ruled that the picketing of trucks hauling steel for the yard and of other contractors constituted a secondary boycott and demanded that the union leave one gate open for deliveries into the plant.

During the previous week a local court issued an injunction which limited the size of the picket line to 10 strikers and prohibited the men from attempting to dissuade workers from entering the plant.

At the beginning of the strike, the union had ringed the plant with hundreds of strikers and faced an almost equal number of police. Also last week, four supervisors still working in the yard were fired for leading a protest of some 50 supervisory personnel against the demand of the company that they take over the work of striking production workers.

DETERMINATION

Layoffs have also begun of clerical workers which are not involved in the strike. The determination of the General Dynamics workers remains strong.

Bill, a welder with six years in the plant, told the Bulletin, "The issue in the strike is wages. This is the lowest paying shipyard in the country, and what the company is offering would still only make us the second lowest. With the way inflation is raising up all the prices we have to stay out for the full amount. General Dynamics has offered a 90 cent wage increase and the union is demanding \$1.50."

Workers Union, Local 1-S Monday night. The meeting ratified the recently negotiated contract between Macy's and the union leaders.

CENTRAL

Negotiations were tied up for days over the question of a cost of living clause in the contract, which was the central demand of the workers. Union representatives at the negotiations completely dropped this demand.

Beginning June 1 of this year, Macy's workers will receive a \$12 a week increase and starting in January of next year, they will get another \$8 hike. This averages out to a less than 8 percent increase over a two-year period. In addition, the minimum wage for starting Macy's workers was increased to \$3.07 from \$2.92.

"I thought that the new contract would change their pension program," stated a 71-year-old employee of Macy's who has worked there for twenty years, "but it is just the same for me—I don't get a pension."

"They told me that I came here in the wrong year to qualify for the pension."

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Below, we are printing a part of the discussion that took place at the National Auto Conference of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, industrial arm of the Workers League. The discussion centered on the deteriorating conditions and speedup in the plants which have created inhuman working conditions and actually caused the deaths of many workers.

The heart of the conference focused on the fact that each condition in the plants is rooted in the crisis of the capitalist system itself and, therefore, the only way that they can be fought is through a political fight against the government itself.

Above all, this fight must be taken forward through the construction of a labor party as an alternative to the parties of big business and as the first step in the fight to bring the working class to power.

As the discussion shows the main question raised was how workers could actually take forward the fight to build a labor party. The conference stressed that this could only be done through the construction of the Workers League, through the training of revolutionaries in the unions and the neighborhoods, against the betrayals of the Meany and the Woodcocks.

Lawrence Trammell, of Ford's River Rouge Plant, Dearborn, Michigan.

I want to speak about what personally happened to me under workmens compensation. If you lose an eye or a leg, they give you so much money. They treat you like a machine. So many dollars for an eye, so many dollars for a leg or half a finger. We are supposed to get 95 percent of our pay on medical layoff. I get \$77 unemployment and \$33 from the company.

No matter how you do your arithmetic, that's not 95 percent of \$208. I have a wife, six kids, two dogs and a cat and I can't support my family on that. We have to work. You go because you have to and they want to work you to death. I want to see something done about the situation. We are fighting for our human rights. I want every human being to be a human being, to have a future. I'm sick of seeing the dirty end of everything pushed down the working class's back.

I am sick of seeing what is happening to our people and to our youth. Slavery is not over. It is not just one group; it's all of us. If we have enough power to go to work every day and let the man stay on our backs for eight to ten hours, don't we have the power to stay out of work and defeat the company? The company is all those all over the world who make a buck off our sweat.

I have been whipped for fighting for my rights. We still have slavery; slavery for all workers. Men with 30 years in the plant are sent into the grease hole, into the worst jobs.

Arthur Bennett, St. Louis GMAD Plant.

Ours is one of the plants without a local contract. There is a strong movement in the plant for strike action. The first shift on the passenger line has been laid off. This is the only plant that makes Stingrays. We have production of 7 cars an hour. It may seem like seven

cars is not very fast, but this is very hard work. You never see a man. All you see is moving plexiglass. You have to fly in and out of these cars.

Now, without a contract, they are trying to up the speed to ten cars an hour. That's what not having a local contract means. I am on the Community Service Committee of the union. I said let's put some things in the union paper. The local president said sure. Then they had an Executive Board meeting and they stopped putting out the paper.

Then I started writing for the company paper and they stopped that, too. We've worked 15 hours a day on one shift. We don't know who is buying these Corvettes...it must be some fool. You get home too tired to eat. You don't bother taking your clothes off because you have to go right back.

You can go to the company nurse with your arm half cut off and blood gushing everywhere. She'll say, 'What's wrong with you?' Then she'll give you some aspirin. When you have an overtime grievance the union tells you that they are right behind you. Then you go back to the plant and see the foreman and he tells you to take two weeks off without pay."

Ed Bailey, Lynch Road Plant, Detroit.

We go to work for eight hours. If there is a breakdown, they say you have to work ten hours. There's not supposed to be forced overtime. It seems like the company and the union are working together.

George Walker, St. Louis, laid off GM worker.

We were having some trouble at our plant but the union paper said nothing about it. I would open up the paper and all I would see was about some guy retiring or someone else's bowling score. They try to make you feel that your plant is the only one with a problem, that it's not important, that no one else cares about it.

The Bulletin showed the truth. That's how I found out what the Bulletin was all about! Then I gave an interview to the Bulletin with my picture. I wanted the union officials to know about it. Another problem we have in taking up this fight is just using words, like labor party or socialist without explaining them. We must explain exactly what we are fighting for in order to lead workers and train them. That is why the classes in theory are so important. We've got to get into this. That is the challenge."

Robert Pitts, GH&R Foundry, Dayton, Ohio.

Sometimes we fight one another. The company keeps working on using the divisions among the workers. We need education not to fight one another in favor of the company. At GH&R we have a four day week instead of layoffs. We can't live this way with prices going up. That is why we have to do something."

Robert Stevens, Delco Morain, Dayton.

We need education. I've watched Jim Lawrence and John Austin. They have educated masses of workers. We have to put forth the political questions. There must be education as to the nature of capitalism. This is what has to take place in union halls across the country. We have to bring out the true relations in production. It is not enough to call for a labor party. You must put your political position out.

The labor party is a political position. Nixon is not the problem because it is the capitalist system. We have to educate about capitalism.



Jim Lawrence, Delco Morain Local 696 addresses conference. Tom Cagle, Local 1364 GM Fremont seated left.

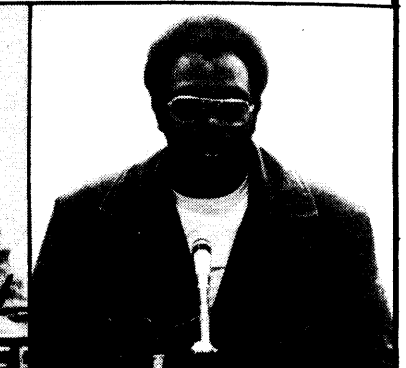
Dayton TUALP Auto Conference "We Are Fighting For Human Rights"



Wilbert Wright, Delco Morain plant, UAW Local 696.



Tim Wohlforth, Workers League, National Secretary.



Arthur Bennett, St. Louis GMAD plant, UAW Local 25.



Lawrence Trammell, Ford River Rouge plant, UAW Local 600.



John Austin, Delco Morain plant, UAW Local 696.



Robert Stevens, Delco Morain plant, UAW Local 696.

Wilbert Wright, Delco Morain, Dayton:

One of the problems is this new minimum wage bill. We have one thing to look forward to. If Nixon signs this...by 1976 I can be making \$2.30 an hour. This is the kind of thing we must do something about. What can we do as workers to bring about the necessary changes? What can I do?

Sam Wright, Delco Products, Local 755, IUE.

We have to get together. We have a lot of unsolved grievances. I believe in fair play, but if the union doesn't stand up for you, you don't have a chance. Most of the time, the union seems to be working with the company.

Jim Lawrence, Delco Morain Local 696 UAW.

These layoffs are not temporary. We must build a revolutionary leadership. This is not a period of reform. How are we going to bring the working class to power? That is the question we must discuss today. How are we going to replace Meany, Woodcock and Fitz-

simmons and with what?

Woodcock says that he is not for Nixon's resignation because that would make him a martyr. He claims to be for impeachment. He wants to see everything taken care of without challenging capitalism. When the union bureaucrats threaten us, it is because they are weak, not strong. They are afraid of the ranks.

A month before, the Lordstown workers passed a motion for solidarity strike action with the truckers and for a labor party. The local bureaucrats were chasing Bulletin salesmen down the highway at 90 miles an hour. Then the motion was passed. That shows the strength of the working class."

John Austin, Delco Morain, Local 696 UAW.

We have to see the changes taking place. There have been tremendous changes in the last year, even the last six months. The working class is moving and it is far more powerful than any bureaucrat. When we ran candidates in the local elections at Delco Morain, the bureaucracy put out a long leaflet screaming

about communism. Not only were we communists but we were Black communists which was even worse.

We got 15 to 20 percent of the vote for President, first vice-president and other offices. This was before bread started going up to a dollar a loaf, before gasoline went to 60 cents a gallon.

You can't hold workers back when they have to feed their families. You can't take the bread out of their mouths and expect them not to fight. There are going to be tremendous movements. What we have to work on is the leadership.

The bureaucracy is scared to death. Local president Elmo Parrish is frightened. We are still there. We haven't been fired. He can't get us because we have sunk roots. We have support.

We are talking about survival. We are talking about millions. We are not talking about getting a few crumbs when they can't even give it. We need a whole new system and a revolutionary leadership to solve this.

From its very establishment, the Industrial Workers of the World was wracked by an internal conflict. This conflict was brought about both by the growth and influence of the western working class, with its open hostility to theory and its emphasis on direct action as the complete solution to the problems confronting the working class, and by the right-wing turn of the Socialist Party away from any conception of revolutionary union struggle.

While the official leadership of the Socialist Party had opposed the formation of the IWW from the beginning, the leadership of the IWW nevertheless was dominated, in the form of Debs, Haywood, and Moyer, by the SP. These were men who had participated in every aspect of the struggle of the working class, leading great strike battles themselves, but who also recognized the need for political action by workers in their fight against capitalism.

Through their efforts, together with those of Daniel DeLeon, the founding convention of the IWW had passed a resolution over the objection of the western element, favoring political action by workers. However, immediately after the convention, both Haywood and Moyer were framed up on a charge of murdering the ex-governor of Idaho and both spent the next two years outside the class struggle in the Idaho State Penitentiary. Thus, the IWW was deprived of its most capable leadership.

This left the fight to defend the need for political action in the hands of Daniel DeLeon. DeLeon had no actual experience in leading the struggles of the working class. He had participated in the organization of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in 1895, as the industrial arm of the Socialist Labor Party. It never reached out to organize broad masses of workers and, in fact, was actually little more than a recruiting ground for the SLP. It represented the doctrinaire, sectarian position always upheld by DeLeon throughout his political life.

At the time of the founding of the IWW, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was almost nonexistent. Many of the delegates at the first convention were suspicious that DeLeon, the Columbia professor, was simply entering the IWW to conduct a raiding operation for his own SLP.

They viewed him as a man distant from the actual life and death battles being waged in the working class and as someone who simply was paying lip service to the need for industrial unionism to serve his own purpose.

Haywood described his impression of DeLeon at the convention, contrasting him to Debs:

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Thus, DeLeon was hardly the man capable of carrying out an effective fight within the IWW to defend the basic principles of the need for the working class to organize politically as well as economically. Except for the first year of its existence, he actually stood outside the fight to organize the IWW and he never participated in any of the actual battles it was leading, particularly in the West, to defend the working class.

A fourth factor was involved in the IWW's turn away from politics and that was the actual developments within the class struggle itself. As we noted in Part One, the IWW was founded in response to the growing recognition by thousands of workers of the need for revolutionary action to fight back against the ruthless actions of the monopolies.

During the entire decade preceding the founding of the IWW, strike after strike had been defeated through the armed violence of the capitalist class.

The violent nature of strike struggles continued throughout the entire period of the IWW's existence. Thus, to many of its members, the idea that you could fight the bayonets of the capitalist class at the ballot box seemed to represent a denial of the IWW's "uncompromising principle of revolutionary class struggle action."



Part Two

Politics & The Trade Unions

by Nancy Fields

Furthermore, the vast majority of the membership of the IWW could not vote, either because they were Black, women or immigrants, or because they were migrant workers who were never in one place long enough to meet the voter registration requirements.

The tactics of direct action were also seen as necessary by the vast majority of the members of the IWW because of the very nature of their working conditions. As Vincent St. John noted:

"In many cases, unable to finance long-term strikes, the unskilled laborers resorted to short decisive actions. It was impossible to maintain a picket line across thousands of miles of Kansas, Nebraska, and Dakota wheat fields. But it was possible for the Wobblies to leave threatening signs: '\$3 a day—shocks right side up; \$1 a day, shocks upside down.' Intermittent strikes, strikes on the job, were means of gaining practical concessions quickly, as well as part of the long-term battle to weaken the capitalist system."

MOVEMENT TOWARD A SPLIT

The heart of the fight inside the IWW between 1906 and 1908 centered on the question that had dominated the entire history of the American workers movement. The dominance of radicalism, with its pragmatic conception that militant trade unionism was sufficient to take on the capitalist state, had gripped the American working class from its very origins. Because of it, workers had never been able to break from the parties of the capitalist class and create their own independent party.

Over this fundamental question of whether or not workers had to organize politically as well as industrially, the IWW began to break apart almost as soon as it was created.

From the very beginning, the IWW had seen the question of political action as

secondary to that of industrial action and it had adopted in its constitution the provision that it would never affiliate with any political party.

At the Second Convention, there was a growing movement toward the abolition of the clause in the constitution calling for political action and away from the centralized organizational structure created at the first convention to establish a disciplined nationwide organization.

Vincent St. John and William Trautmann used the corruption of the IWW's first president, C.O. Sherman, as a weapon both to advance their anarchistic principles of organization and to attack the socialists within the IWW. He used the fact that Sherman had misused the funds of the organization for his own purposes to launch a bitter attack on both the SP and the SLP, whom he claimed "looked upon the IWW only as a battle ground on which to settle their respective merits and demerits. The labor fakirs strove to fasten themselves upon the organization, that they might continue to exist if the new union was a success."

He then went on to propose that the office of president be abolished and that the centralized structure of the organization be dismantled. He held that only through the most decentralized organization would the rank and file be ensured of their absolute control of their organization.

Winning the vote on this issue, where he was supported by Daniel DeLeon and opposed by Haywood who, because he was in jail could not play an active role in the fight, he went on to propose that the political action clause in the constitution be eliminated.

DeLeon opposed this motion and for days debate centered on the issue. Although DeLeon finally won, his victory was based on a compromise worked out with St. John which called for a referendum of the

membership on the question.

Even though the antipolitical element was defeated, the growth of their influence inside the IWW was clearly revealed. This was seen most clearly in the passing of a resolution ordering one of the locals in Denver to withdraw support to Haywood's candidacy for governor on the Socialist Party ticket. They also censured John O'Neill, editor of the *Miners' Magazine* for having endorsed the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania.

Thus, the foundation for the eventual split was laid at the Second Convention. The evolution of the IWW during the next two years would further the strength of the antipolitical element within it, at the same time that the turn of the Socialist Party to an open denunciation of the IWW would allow the antipoliticals to gain the upper hand.

THE WESTERN WORKER AND THE OVERALL BRIGADE

The heart of the early activity of the IWW was centered in the West. The western workers made up the majority of the IWW during its first two years of existence and its dominant leadership came out of the West. The western worker brought into the IWW ideas which were very much a product of the development of capitalism in that region.

Living in the last frontier of America, the ideas of the western worker were still dominated to a certain extent by a pioneer, individualistic outlook at the precise time that America was emerging as a powerful, industrial, imperialist nation.

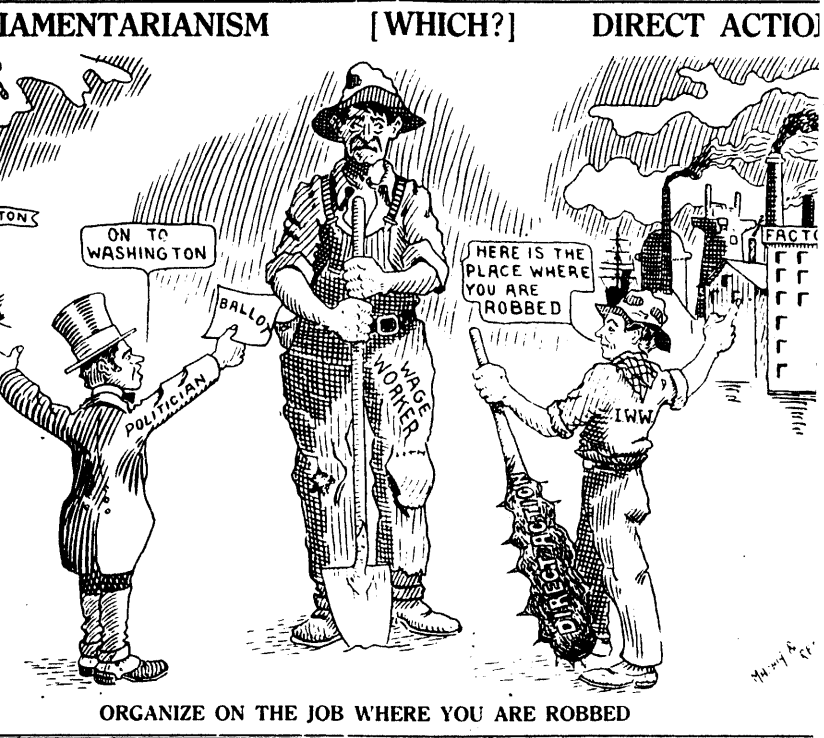
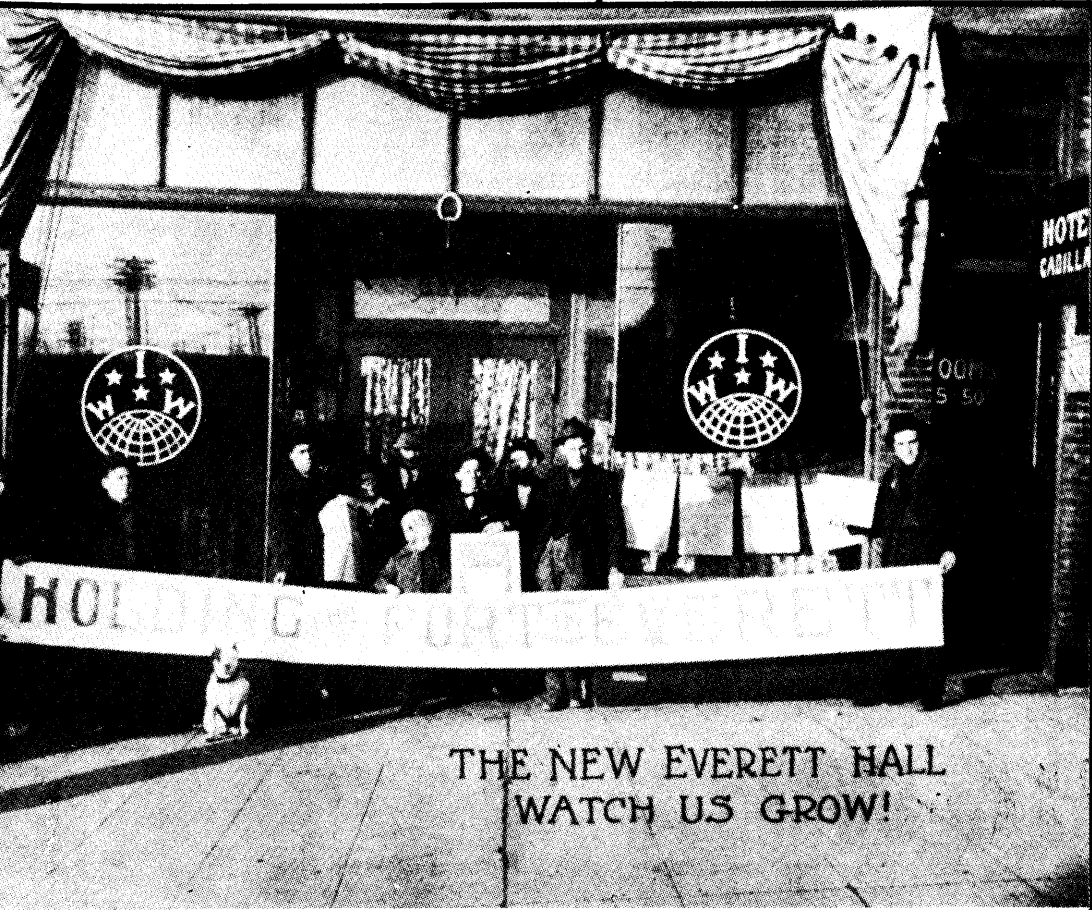
The Western worker fought civil war battles against corporations owned by capitalists of the East who received the full support of the national military. It was the civil war character of these western strike struggles that made the western workers the most militant section of the American working class. Yet, precisely because the



PARLIAMENTARY



Top, Everett Hall, Washington over the question of political



Hall, Washington State; Bottom left, cartoon from IWW newspaper Solidarity depicts struggle within the IWW question of politics; Bottom right, Big Bill Haywood.

pioneer outlook still maintained a grip on the West, these workers were, for all their militancy, the most openly hostile to theory and political action.

Vincent St. John, the leader of the anti-political group, was himself very much shaped by the West. He had led the bitter strike of miners at Telluride, Colorado and fought in the violent battles in the Coeur d'Alene. Next to Moyer and Haywood, St. John was the best known class struggle fighter in the West. Detectives of the Colorado Mine Owners Association said of him: "St. John has given more trouble in the past year than any 20 men. If left undisturbed, he would have the whole district organized in another year."

St. John's experiences in these strikes led him to develop the position that political action by workers would prove to be futile. In stating that only industrial action could lead to the liberation of the working class, he said:

"I know that here you will say: what about the injunction judges, the militia, and the bull pens? In answer, ask yourself what will stop the use of these same weapons against you on the political field if by the political activity of the workers you were able to menace the profits of the capitalists?"

"Turn to the Coeur d'Alene where the military forces of the United States put out of office all officials who would not do the bidding of the mining companies of that region.

"The only power that the working class has is the power to produce wealth. The IWW proposes to organize the workers to control the use of their labor so that they will be able to stop the production of wealth except upon the terms dictated by the workers themselves."

Between 1906 and 1908, the center of activity of the IWW was the fight to organize the hundreds of thousands of

lumber workers in Portland, made the IWW famous throughout the West and thousands of workers joined the new union. Then came the economic crisis of 1907 which left the majority of workers penniless and without jobs throughout the Northwest. Thousands of workers packed freight trains traveling everywhere looking for work. Out of these conditions and the creation of a large section of workers who became hoboes, the Western Overall Brigade was formed to represent the interests of the western workers at the 1908 IWW Convention. With these workers, the antipolitical element gathered enough strength to defeat the political clause in the constitution: a defeat which ultimately was to move the IWW further and further away from the question of revolution—although in words they always upheld the need for revolution—and more and more onto the level of simple trade union militant activity.

The Overall Brigade traveled in a freight car, labeled the "Red Special" from Seattle, Washington to Chicago to attend the Fourth Convention. At each stop along the way, its 20 members would organize new locals of the IWW. Its organizer, J.H. Walsh, described the impact it had:

"We put the Salvation Army on the bum and packed the streets from one side to the other. The literature sales were good, the collections good, and the red cards containing the songs sold like hot cakes." He went on to note the growing number of homeless, unemployed workers that the "Red Special" encountered along the way:

"There are Mulligan Bunches all along the road. We had scarcely gotten out of the city limits of Portland, when we saw the camp fires of the 'boes' along the road, and we have never, as yet, been out of sight of those camp fires. In fact, the further east we get, the more numerous appear to be the boes. On investigation, we find that the Mulligan Bunch is not composed of pick and shovel artists alone, but that all kinds of tradesmen can be found among them."

THE ROLE OF DANIEL DELEON

In the midst of this mass unemployment and with those who had jobs suffering severe wage cuts, Daniel DeLeon opened up a polemic in the pages of the IWW press which was to increase the hostility of the masses of the IWW to political action because they saw the question of political action to be bound up with DeLeon himself.

DeLeon claimed that a rise in wages automatically caused a rise in prices and therefore, the working class should not fight for any wage increases. He held that any attempt to organize workers to improve their standard of living was reactionary and that what all workers must do was to concentrate on the revolutionary overthrow of the wage system itself. How they were to do this, he did not specify except to use the pages of the IWW press to advocate that all workers join the SLP.

This policy of propagandizing for his own organization angered most of the IWW members, including those who agreed with DeLeon on the need for political action. At the same time, the antipolitical element claimed that by filling the pages of their press with political questions they were losing members.

F.W. Heslewood, speaking for the workers of the Northwest, revealed the extreme hostility of the western worker to theory:

"I hope that you won't print any more of that junk about DeLeon, Katz, etc., as the great majority of the members do not belong to the SLP and the continual harping about these things will do more harm than good.

"Tell them there is too much to do to bother with such small matters, and if they don't like it to go to hell, or some other place. It costs more to be eternally getting out these petty charges than the whole bunch of these political fanatics are worth.

"The IWW has no political affiliation and that settles it, and any more of this damn dope about DeLeon or the SLP will be very obnoxious to me and to hundreds of others that are the life of the IWW."

In spite of the hostility received from the western workers, the Bulletin defended the need to publish such material. It quoted Marx on the necessity of emphasizing theory in the fight to lead the working class.

It held that if devoting the pages of the Bulletin to these political questions slowed the growth of the IWW, "it is safer if the slow groundwork is done perfectly and future work thereby secured."

Thus, DeLeon was not the only member of the IWW to advocate political action and to

uphold the need for workers to be educated theoretically. He could have rallied considerable forces in the fight against the anti-political element if he had abandoned his completely rigid sectarian approach to the question of trade union activity.

DeLeon's open hostility to the western worker was the final step which succeeded in defeating the political action group within the IWW. He called the Overall Brigade bums and stated that all those who favored direct action were uncivilized rabble.

In the face of the mass organization of violence by the capitalists against strikers, DeLeon proclaimed that he would fight "against the advocates of physical force within the organization." He held an openly pacifist position that the American working class could come to power peacefully.

THE SPLIT AT THE FOURTH CONVENTION

When the fourth convention was convened, St. John moved to bar DeLeon from being a delegate. He used a technicality which claimed that DeLeon was not a member of the local of the industry in which he was working. Behind this action, was the desire on the part of St. John and the western delegates to rid the IWW of its most outstanding spokesman for political action in order to ensure their success at this convention of overturning the political action clause.

Following four days of debate, the St. John faction inside the Credentials Committee voted 40 to 21 to bar DeLeon from the convention. They then presented their case to the convention as a whole to have the political action clause removed.

To support his case against political action, St. John and others reported on the activities of the Socialist Party to show that the SP had abandoned its revolutionary principles.

It was noted that at the International Socialist and Labor Congress in Stuttgart, held in 1907, the SP had denounced the IWW and stated that it was neutral on the question of industrial versus craft unionism and on the question of the IWW versus the AFL.

This position was taken even further at the 1908 convention of the SP where the right and center elements condemned the IWW for "extreme radicalism" and refused to endorse the concept of industrial unionism.

In spite of these arguments, St. John barely succeeded in overthrowing the clause. Many delegates who favored the expulsion of DeLeon did not favor the removal of this clause. The division within the organization was so deep and nearly evenly divided that when the vote came, it was 35 to 32.

In addition, following the convention and throughout the history of the IWW, the question of the need for political action was continuously raised. In fact, the majority of its members voted for the Socialist Party and many of its outstanding leaders, such as Bill Haywood, James P. Cannon, etc., participated in the establishment of the Communist Party following the Russian Revolution.

The split did not result in the downfall of the IWW as many people predicted and as many historians today assert. While it did lead to the creation of two rival organizations, one based in Chicago and DeLeon's group based in Detroit, the former continued to grow, while the latter had little influence in the struggles of the working class.

In fact, DeLeon's group remained nothing more than a propaganda sect for the SLP. It refused to actually lead the struggles of the working class claiming that it stood for "civilized" labor activity as opposed to the direct action methods of the St. John IWW. So removed was DeLeon from the needs of the working class, that he claimed he would rather lose a strike than "have one drop of human blood spilled."

Following the 1908 convention, the IWW led some of the greatest struggles in American labor history. At the same time, it led the fight for democratic rights for workers through its free speech campaigns.

Nevertheless, the split did reflect the dominance of radicalism within the American workers movement, with its anti-theoretical, antipolitical character.

This dominance continued to hold back the development of the American working class. It took the intervention of an international event, the Russian Revolution, to break the grip of middle class radicalism on the workers movement.

From its very establishment, the Industrial Workers of the World was wracked by an internal conflict. This conflict was brought about both by the growth and influence of the western working class, with its open hostility to theory and its emphasis on direct action as the complete solution to the problems confronting the working class, and by the right-wing turn of the Socialist Party away from any conception of revolutionary union struggle.

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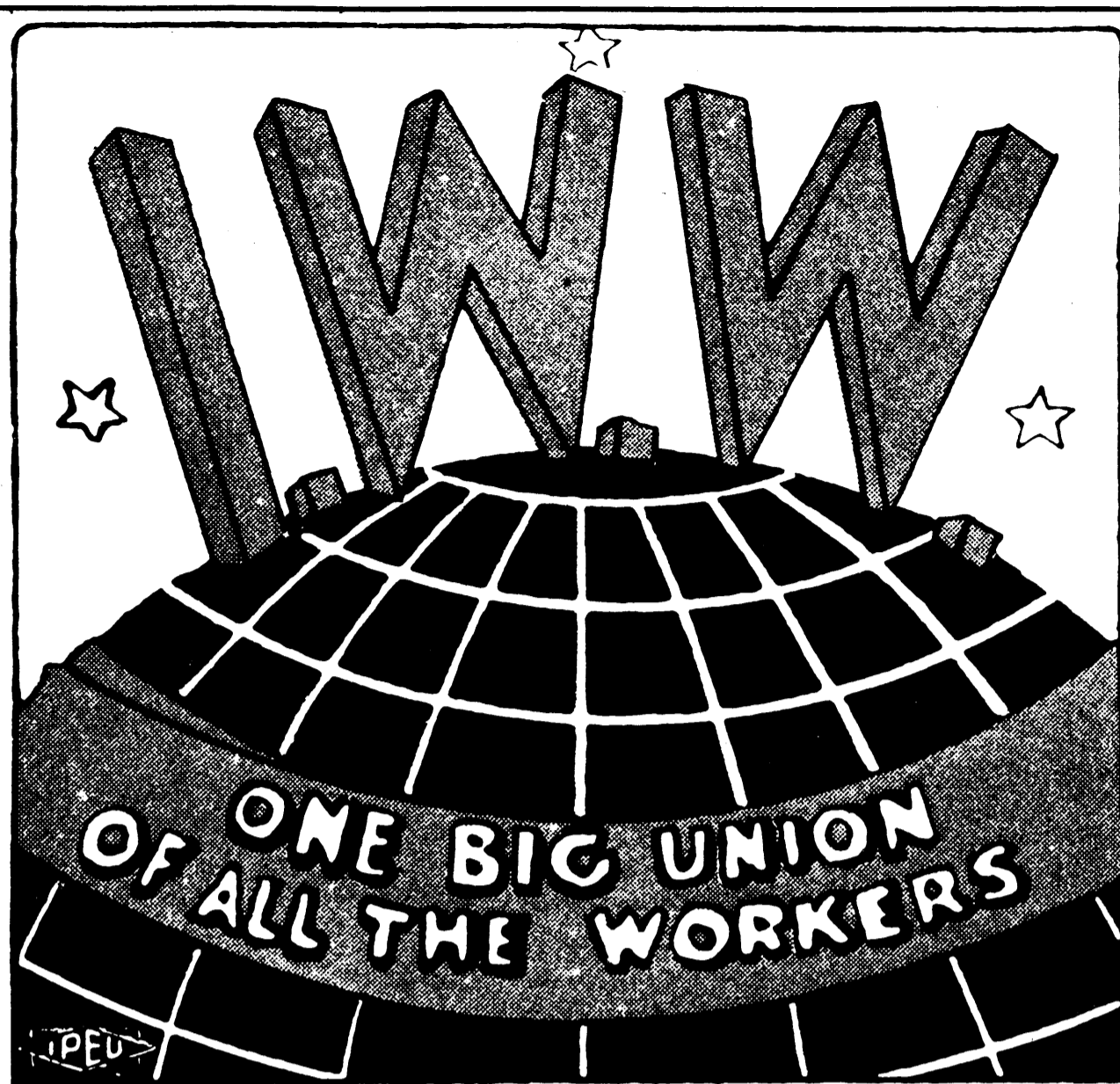
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A fourth factor was involved in the IWW's turn away from politics and that was the actual developments within the class struggle itself. As we noted in Part One, the IWW was founded in response to the growing recognition by thousands of workers of the need for revolutionary action to fight back against the ruthless actions of the monopolies.

During the entire decade preceding the founding of the IWW, strike after strike had been defeated through the armed violence of the capitalist class.

The violent nature of strike struggles continued throughout the entire period of the IWW's existence. Thus, to many of its members, the idea that you could fight the bayonets of the capitalist class at the ballot box seemed to represent a denial of the IWW's "uncompromising principle of revolutionary class struggle action."



Part Two Politics & The Trade Unions by Nancy Fields

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"In many cases, unable to finance long-term strikes, the unskilled laborers resorted to short decisive actions. It was impossible to maintain a picket line across thousands of miles of Kansas, Nebraska, and Dakota wheat fields. But it was possible for the Wobblies to leave threatening signs: '\$3 a day—shocks right side up; \$1 a day, shocks upside down.' Intermittent strikes, strikes on the job, were means of gaining practical concessions quickly, as well as part of the long-term battle to weaken the capitalist system."

MOVEMENT TOWARD A SPLIT

The heart of the fight inside the IWW between 1906 and 1908 centered on the question that had dominated the entire history of the American workers movement. The dominance of radicalism, with its pragmatic conception that militant trade unionism was sufficient to take on the capitalist state, had gripped the American working class from its very origins. Because of it, workers had never been able to break from the parties of the capitalist class and create their own independent party.

Over this fundamental question of whether or not workers had to organize politically as well as industrially, the IWW began to break apart almost as soon as it was created.

From the very beginning, the IWW had seen the question of political action as

secondary to that of industrial action and it had adopted in its constitution the provision that it would never affiliate with any political party.

At the Second Convention, there was a growing movement toward the abolition of the clause in the constitution calling for political action and away from the centralized organizational structure created at the first convention to establish a disciplined nationwide organization.

Vincent St. John and William Trautmann used the corruption of the IWW's first president, C.O. Sherman, as a weapon both to advance their anarchistic principles of organization and to attack the socialists within the IWW. He used the fact that Sherman had misused the funds of the organization for his own purposes to launch a bitter attack on both the SP and the SLP, whom he claimed "looked upon the IWW only as a battle ground on which to settle their respective merits and demerits. The labor fakirs strove to fasten themselves upon the organization, that they might continue to exist if the new union was a success."

He then went on to propose that the office of president be abolished and that the centralized structure of the organization be dismantled. He held that only through the most decentralized organization would the rank and file be ensured of their absolute control of their organization.

Winning the vote on this issue, where he was supported by Daniel DeLeon and opposed by Haywood who, because he was in jail could not play an active role in the fight, he went on to propose that the political action clause in the constitution be eliminated.

DeLeon opposed this motion and for days debate centered on the issue. Although DeLeon finally won, his victory was based on a compromise worked out with St. John which called for a referendum of the

membership on the question.

Even though the antipolitical element was defeated, the growth of their influence inside the IWW was clearly revealed. This was seen most clearly in the passing of a resolution ordering one of the locals in Denver to withdraw support to Haywood's candidacy for governor on the Socialist Party ticket. They also censured John O'Neill, editor of the *Miners' Magazine* for having endorsed the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania.

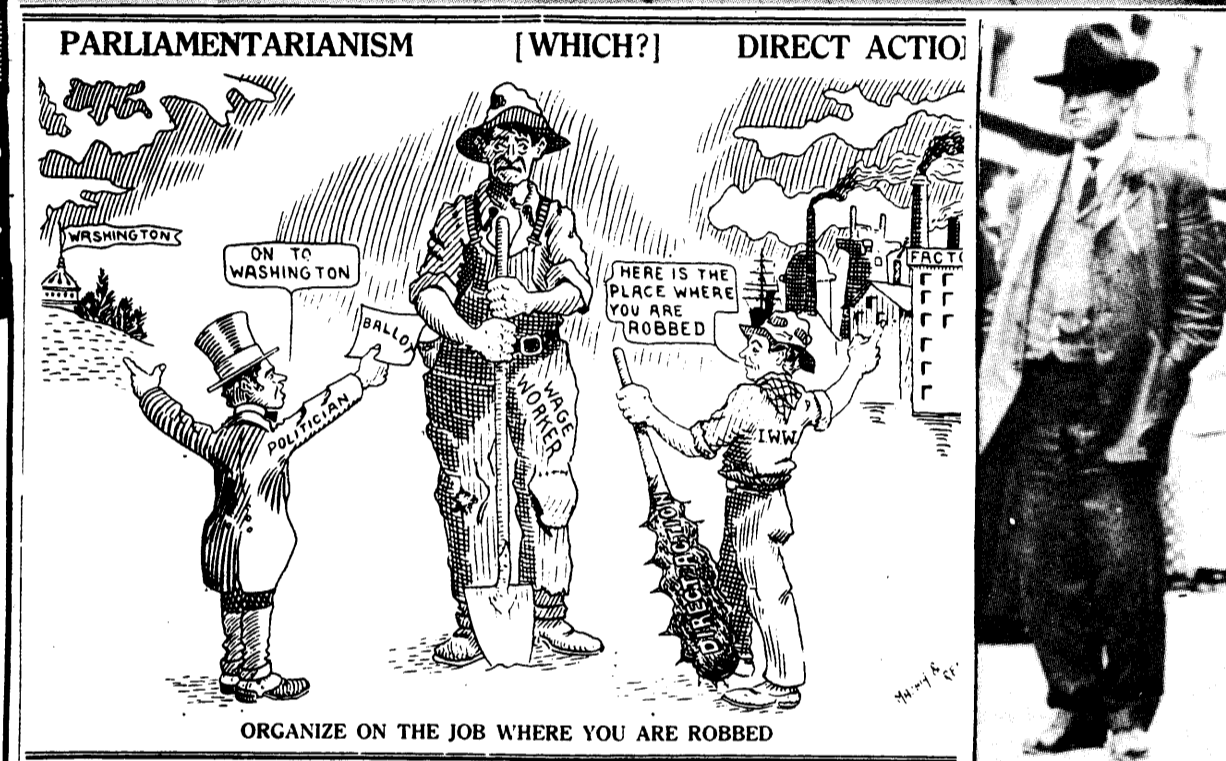
Thus, the foundation for the eventual split was laid at the Second Convention. The evolution of the IWW during the next two years would further the strength of the antipolitical element within it, at the same time that the turn of the Socialist Party to an open denunciation of the IWW would allow the antipoliticals to gain the upper hand.

THE WESTERN WORKER AND THE OVERALL BRIGADE

The heart of the early activity of the IWW was centered in the West. The western workers made up the majority of the IWW during its first two years of existence and its dominant leadership came out of the West. The western worker brought into the IWW ideas which were very much a product of the development of capitalism in that region.

Living in the last frontier of America, the ideas of the western worker were still dominated to a certain extent by a pioneer, individualistic outlook at the precise time that America was emerging as a powerful, industrial, imperialist nation.

The Western worker fought civil war battles against corporations owned by capitalists of the East who received the full support of the national military. It was the civil war character of these western strike struggles that made the western workers the most militant section of the American working class. Yet, precisely because the



Top, Everett Hall, Washington State; Bottom left, cartoon from IWW newspaper *Solidarity* depicts struggle within the IWW over the question of politics; Bottom right, Big Bill Haywood.

pioneer outlook still maintained a grip on the West, these workers were, for all their militancy, the most openly hostile to theory and political action.

Vincent St. John, the leader of the antipolitical group, was himself very much shaped by the West. He had led the bitter strike of miners at Telluride, Colorado and fought in the violent battles in the Coeur d'Alene. Next to Moyer and Haywood, St. John was the best known class struggle fighter in the West. Detectives of the Colorado Mine Owners Association said of him: "St. John has given more trouble in the past year than any 20 men. If left undisturbed, he would have the whole district organized in another year."

St. John's experiences in these strikes led him to develop the position that political action by workers would prove to be futile. In stating that only industrial action could lead to the liberation of the working class, he said:

"I know that here you will say: what about the injunction judges, the militia, and the bull pens? In answer, ask yourself what will stop the use of these same weapons against you on the political field if by the political activity of the workers you were able to menace the profits of the capitalists?"

"Turn to the Coeur d'Alene where the military forces of the United States put out of office all officials who would not do the bidding of the mining companies of that region."

"The only power that the working class has is the power to produce wealth. The IWW proposes to organize the workers to control the use of their labor so that they will be able to stop the production of wealth except upon the terms dictated by the workers themselves."

Between 1906 and 1908, the center of activity of the IWW was the fight to organize the hundreds of thousands of

workers in the West who were not represented by any union and who worked under the most brutal conditions.

These western workers represented the dispossessed, homeless section of the American working class forced always to move from one location to another and from one type of job to another. They made possible the operation of lumber, railroad construction, mining, and the agricultural industries.

The IWW developed a method of organizing to reach the vast majority of these men. Their organizers would travel from camp to camp, hopping freights, to cover as wide a territory as possible. The low dues and interchangeable membership cards, which permitted workers to remain in the organization even when making frequent changes in jobs, made membership in the IWW appealing to this section of the working class.

The IWW believed that this western worker represented the most revolutionary section of the American working class and for this reason, it conducted the most widespread recruiting campaign to enlist them as members. Its paper, *Solidarity*, wrote: "The nomadic worker of the West embodies the very spirit of the IWW. His cheerful cynicism, his frank and outspoken contempt for most of the conventions of bourgeois society make him an admirable exemplar of the iconoclastic doctrines of revolutionary unionism."

"His anomalous position, half industrial slave, half vagabond adventurer leaves him infinitely less servile than his fellow worker in the East. Unlike the factory slave of the Atlantic seaboard and the central states, he is most emphatically not 'afraid of his job.'"

The successful strike at the Goldfield mines in Nevada, where the principles of revolutionary, industrial unionism had proved effective, and that of the striking

lumber workers in Portland, made the IWW famous throughout the West and thousands of workers joined the new union. Then came the economic crisis of 1907 which left the majority of workers penniless and without jobs throughout the Northwest. Thousands of workers packed freight trains traveling everywhere looking for work. Out of these conditions and the creation of a large section of workers who became hoboes, the Western Overall Brigade was formed to represent the interests of the western workers at the 1908 IWW Convention. With these workers, the antipolitical element gathered enough strength to defeat the political clause in the constitution: a defeat which ultimately was to move the IWW further and further away from the question of revolution—although in words they always upheld the need for revolution—and more and more onto the level of simple trade union militant activity.

The Overall Brigade traveled in a freight car, labeled the "Red Special" from Seattle, Washington to Chicago to attend the Fourth Convention. At each stop along the way, its 20 members would organize new locals of the IWW. Its organizer, J.H. Walsh, described the impact it had:

"We put the Salvation Army on the bum and packed the streets from one side to the other. The literature sales were good, the collections good, and the red cards containing the songs sold like hot cakes." He went on to note the growing number of homeless, unemployed workers that the "Red Special" encountered along the way: "There are Mulligan Bunches all along the road. We had scarcely gotten out of the city limits of Portland, when we saw the camp fires of the 'boes' along the road, and we have never, as yet, been out of sight of those camp fires. In fact, the further east we get, the more numerous appear to be the boes. On investigation, we find that the Mulligan Bunch is not composed of pick and shovel artists alone, but that all kinds of tradesmen can be found among them."

THE ROLE OF DANIEL DELEON

In the midst of this mass unemployment and with those who had jobs suffering severe wage cuts, Daniel DeLeon opened up a polemic in the pages of the IWW press which was to increase the hostility of the masses of the IWW to political action because they saw the question of political action to be bound up with DeLeon himself.

DeLeon claimed that a rise in wages automatically caused a rise in prices and therefore, the working class should not fight for any wage increases. He held that any attempt to organize workers to improve their standard of living was reactionary and that what all workers must do was to concentrate on the revolutionary overthrow of the wage system itself. How they were to do this, he did not specify except to use the pages of the IWW press to advocate that all workers join the SLP.

This policy of propagandizing for his own organization angered most of the IWW members, including those who agreed with DeLeon on the need for political action. At the same time, the antipolitical element claimed that by filling the pages of their press with political questions they were losing members.

F.W. Heslewood, speaking for the workers of the Northwest, revealed the extreme hostility of the western worker to theory:

"I hope that you won't print any more of that junk about DeLeon, Katz, etc., as the great majority of the members do not belong to the SLP and the continual harping about these things will do more harm than good."

"Tell them there is too much to do to bother with such small matters, and if they don't like it to go to hell, or some other place. It costs more to be eternally getting out these petty charges than the whole bunch of these political fanatics are worth."

"The IWW has no political affiliation and that settles it, and any more of this damn dope about DeLeon or the SLP will be very obnoxious to me and to hundreds of others that are the life of the IWW."

In spite of the hostility received from the western workers, the *Bulletin* defended the need to publish such material. It quoted Marx on the necessity of emphasizing theory in the fight to lead the working class. It held that if devoting the pages of the *Bulletin* to these political questions slowed the growth of the IWW, "it is safer if the slow groundwork is done perfectly and future work thereby secured."

Thus, DeLeon was not the only member of the IWW to advocate political action and to

uphold the need for workers to be educated theoretically. He could have rallied considerable forces in the fight against the antipolitical element if he had abandoned his completely rigid sectarian approach to the question of trade union activity.

DeLeon's open hostility to the western worker was the final step which succeeded in defeating the political action group within the IWW. He called the Overall Brigade burns and stated that all those who favored direct action were uncivilized rabble.

In the face of the mass organization of violence by the capitalists against strikers, DeLeon proclaimed that he would fight "against the advocates of physical force within the organization." He held an openly pacifist position that the American working class could come to power peacefully.

THE SPLIT AT THE FOURTH CONVENTION

When the fourth convention was convened, St. John moved to bar DeLeon from being a delegate. He used a technicality which claimed that DeLeon was not a member of the local of the industry in which he was working. Behind this action, was the desire on the part of St. John and the western delegates to rid the IWW of its most outstanding spokesman for political action in order to ensure their success at this convention of overturning the political action clause.

Following four days of debate, the St. John faction inside the Credentials Committee voted 40 to 21 to bar DeLeon from the convention. They then presented their case to the convention as a whole to have the political action clause removed.

To support his case against political action, St. John and others reported on the activities of the Socialist Party to show that the SP had abandoned its revolutionary principles.

It was noted that at the International Socialist and Labor Congress in Stuttgart, held in 1907, the SP had denounced the IWW and stated that it was neutral on the question of industrial versus craft unionism and on the question of the IWW versus the AFL.

This position was taken even further at the 1908 convention of the SP where the right and center elements condemned the IWW for "extreme radicalism" and refused to endorse the concept of industrial unionism.

In spite of these arguments, St. John barely succeeded in overthrowing the clause. Many delegates who favored the expulsion of DeLeon did not favor the removal of this clause. The division within the organization was so deep and nearly evenly divided that when the vote came, it was 35 to 32.

In addition, following the convention and throughout the history of the IWW, the question of the need for political action was continuously raised. In fact, the majority of its members voted for the Socialist Party and many of its outstanding leaders, such as Bill Haywood, James P. Cannon, etc., participated in the establishment of the Communist Party following the Russian Revolution.

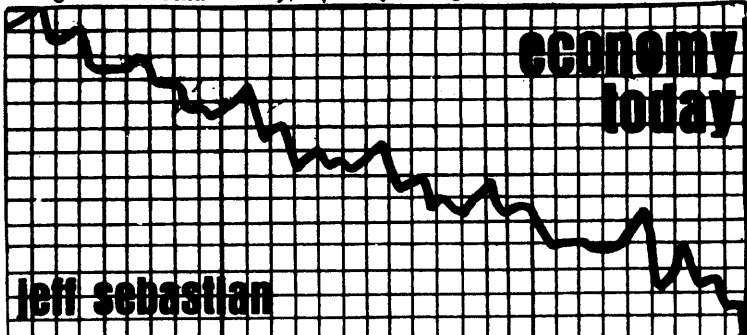
The split did not result in the downfall of the IWW as many people predicted and as many historians today assert. While it did lead to the creation of two rival organizations, one based in Chicago and DeLeon's group based in Detroit, the former continued to grow, while the latter had little influence in the struggles of the working class.

In fact, DeLeon's group remained nothing more than a propaganda sect for the SLP. It refused to actually lead the struggles of the working class claiming that it stood for "civilized" labor activity as opposed to the direct action methods of the St. John IWW. So removed was DeLeon from the needs of the working class, that he claimed he would rather lose a strike than "have one drop of human blood spilled."

Following the 1908 convention, the IWW led some of the greatest struggles in American labor history. At the same time, it led the fight for democratic rights for workers through its free speech campaigns.

Nevertheless, the split did reflect the dominance of radicalism within the American workers movement, with its anti-theoretical, antipolitical character.

This dominance continued to hold back the development of the American working class. It took the intervention of an international event, the Russian Revolution, to break the grip of middle class radicalism on the workers movement.



Beef Price Explosion

A new crisis in the beef industry is preparing the way for massive shortages and a wave of retail price increases this summer and fall. This will be part of an astronomical leap in all retail prices as the last vestige of price controls are dropped.

The chaos developing in the production of beef is proof of the impossibility of controlling prices under capitalism.

From the Midwest to the Texas grazing country, cattle feeding pens are being shut down. Young cattle scheduled to be put on feed for fattening are down 20 percent over a year ago.

At the same time, cattle now on feed are down only 4 percent over a year ago. At current beef prices, which are forcing a major cutback in consumption, this represents a huge oversupply of fattened cattle.

Thus, simultaneously there are the conditions for oversupply today to be followed by shortages and price increases in a few months time.

Behind this anarchy is the skyrocketing worldwide inflation which is raising prices for feed grains and corn to double and triple the prices of only one year ago. The costs of grain are bid up by massive speculation and by an export drive to realize the higher prices now in effect on world markets outside the United States.

Beef production faces a situation in which young cattle bought in September at 58 cents a pound and fattened at about 54 cents for each pound gained are selling for 51 cents a pound yielding a loss of 61 cents a pound.

Feed costs are now rising so quickly that those producers who attempt to hold their cattle back from market face even more losses because of the expense of simply keeping them alive.

Feed lot operators are the middle men squeezed between the cattlemen and the packinghouses and supermarkets. Completely dependent on grain prices, they are absolutely helpless in this situation and face bankruptcy.

In March 1973, the Nixon administration imposed a freeze on retail beef prices. By summer, the prices being paid by packers for cattle were below the cost of production. Cattle raisers held their beef back from sale and a wave of packing plant closures resulted.

When the freeze on beef prices was lifted in September 1973, a massive glut hit the market driving down prices obtained by cattlemen.

Last summer, while the packing plants were closing, many markets bought and processed the beef themselves and sold it at the government price ceilings, often sustaining a temporary loss.

As wholesale prices declined, there was no corresponding markdown in supermarket prices. The big stores rushed to ring up super profits on the wide gap between wholesale prices and what they were able to gouge from their customers.

Cattle growers are being forced to unload the cattle they have on hand at huge losses, while preparing to hold back on the production of future beef supplies.

The entire process exposes the fraudulent nature of claims that it is possible to have price controls under capitalism, and the criminal role played by the labor bureaucracy in attempting to sustain this illusion.

In the last year, workers real wages have declined by over 4 percent. The controls on wages have been imposed by government intervention which declares increases over 5.5 percent to be illegal.

But price controls under conditions of private ownership of the means of production and production for profit are impossible.

The capitalist's decisions on what or how much to produce are dictated to him by conditions on the market and the potential for realizing a profit.

When government price controls dictate a certain level of prices, the retaliation of the capitalist is swift and effective. Plants are shut down, products are hoarded, less profitable lines are cut back in favor of the more profitable, and in many cases, he resorts to adulteration or false packaging to keep up profits. In the meat industry, many examples of cheaper cuts being marketed as prime cuts have been discovered.

The anarchy in the meat industry demonstrates that even a right so basic as the right to decent food now demands a political struggle by the working class to construct its own labor party committed to putting an end to the speculators and profit gougers by nationalizing the land, industry, and finance under workers control and instituting planned socialist production.



Homes of Harlan, Ky. miners, who have been on strike for eight months.

Miller Meets With Harlan Mine Boss

BY DAVID NORTH
HARLAN, Ky.—The danger of a sell-out of the eight-month-old strike at the Eastover Mines here has been sharply raised by the report that UMW President Arnold Miller will hold private meetings this week with the head of the Duke Power Company, Carl Horne.

Union leaders here have been recently predicting an imminent settlement of the strike. Since Duke Power continues to insist that it will not accept the terms of the national UMW contract for Harlan workers, the talk of compromise may signal a decision by the Miller leadership to sign a contract which does not meet the national standards.

"We won't accept anything less than the same contract every other miner has," de-

clared Harlan organizer Houston Elmore.

However, he admitted that eastern Kentucky organizers had not received permission to shut down all mines in the area supplying the coal needs of Duke Power during the strike, although this is considered crucial to the success of the strike.

"I've always been for shutting down the mines that work for Duke Power and hoping that we'll get sympathy action from the other unions," he declared.

Miller has refused to take this step, and has instead relied exclusively on feeble protest activities and the support of liberal politicians.

New attacks are being prepared against the Harlan miners. In June, last year's National Labor Relations Board elections in which the miners voted to affiliate with the UMW becomes invalid. However, the miners could not vote in a new election because, according to law, they are not considered Duke Power employees while on strike.

At this point, Duke Power would be able to hire scabs and arrange an election in which only the strikebreakers could vote.

TACTIC

Miners have already warned Duke Power not to attempt this tactic. Any attempt to reopen the mines will meet tremendous resistance.

Harlan miners must demand that the UMW prepare for this danger by immediately taking action in defense of the strike by calling national strike action. All supply lines to Duke Power must be cut off by the UMW and the call must be given for action by the entire trade union movement against the Nixon government which stands behind Duke Power and all the corporations seeking to break up the unions.

Sealy Ranks Vote Against Sell-Out

BY JEAN BRUST
ST. PAUL—As their strike entered its third week, the workers at the Sealy Mattress Company turned down a sellout offer recommended by the union officials and voted 17 to 9 to stay out until all workers went back without wage cuts.

As one worker told the Bulletin: "The way the cost of living is going up there is no way we can make it with a wage cut."

REOPENER

"The contract has a wage reopener in two years. We'll all be dead in two years the way things are going if this offer is shoved down our throats."

"I hate to see what conditions will be like in this place if we accept a contract like this. They are already eliminating jobs and replacing union men with part-time help."

The danger is that from the very beginning, the Sealy strike has been fought as an isolated battle, supported only by the other members of Local 61, an amalgamated local. No effort has been made to bring out union support for the men.

An all-out fight by the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly and the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council must be launched to defend the Sealy workers.

Chardon Teachers Stay Out

BY A REPORTER
CHARDON, Ohio—One hundred fifty teachers shut down tight the schools here, ignoring the court order obtained by the school board to force them back to work.

The school board refused to honor the 5.5 percent pay raise that was reluctantly accepted by the teachers last January.

The school board repudiated the contract and walked out on a public school board meeting attended by teachers stating that they would not negotiate with UNISERV, the official bargaining agent of the Ohio Educational Association or with any other "outsiders."

The strike has received enthusiastic support from the students as well. "We have to stand up and fight for what we want," said one of the teachers. "The school board feels they can do whatever they want. They are just a small cog in the works that is driven by Nixon and the rich."

"This is the same kind of thing the unions are facing all across the country."

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midwest news

Court Rules To Uphold Steel Pact

BY DAVID NORTH
PITTSBURGH—The suit filed by the dissident Rank and File Team (RAFT) against the no-strike clause negotiated by United Steel Workers President I.W. Abel was rejected last week in a court decision which dealt a blow against the right to strike.

In a 24-page decision, District Court Judge Hubert I. Teitelbaum declared that workers may be stripped of this basic right without even getting a chance to vote on the matter.

Referring to RAFT's contention that Abel had acted without consulting the union membership, Teitelbaum wrote: "If the unspoken premise behind their thinking is that a union's legally recognized right to strike is so important, so hard-won, that no one, not even the union's representative leadership, nor even the membership themselves can give it up, this court disagrees." Teitelbaum praised the no-strike clause as an "evolu-

tionary step forward in labor."

The aim of the judge's decision is to establish a legal foundation for attacking the right to strike not only in steel, but in every section of industry.

RAFT spokesman John Barbero, an officer of USWA Local 1462, told the Bulletin that there may be an appeal to a higher court to overturn the decision.

Abel's no-strike deal—worked out behind the scenes between the union bureaucracy, steel industry, and Nixon—cannot be fought through the very courts that exist only to uphold the interests of the corporations.

RAFT turned to the courts only in order to avoid fighting to mobilize steel workers politically against the no-strike deal and the government's wage laws through the fight to force Nixon out and build a labor party.

RIGHTS

RAFT's appeal to the courts helped create the conditions for further attacks on the basic rights of steel workers in the form of this decision by Teitelbaum.

RAFT has not called for a national strike on August 1, the date the steel contract expires, or fought in any way to bring forward the strength of the union's ranks against Abel.

Dow Chemical Strikers Jailed

BY JANE JACKSON
MIDLAND, Mich.—Arrests of striking members of Steel Workers Local 12075 of the Dow Chemical Company plant at Midland, Michigan continue with one more arrested today after 38 pickets were hauled off to jail on Monday by the Midland police.

James Clark, one of those arrested, told the Bulletin: "They won't remove the cap

on the cost of living. We can't live with an 8 cent cost of living increase for the next 3 years with the way prices are going up. What we need is a percentage. The company is just testing the union."

COURT

This strike, the first since 1948 at the Dow plant, has been met with court injunctions allowing only 30 pickets at any one gate and an order by Judge Frazer that the negotiating committee appear in his court of appeals today after a breakdown in negotiations on Saturday.

The company, which reported

Agents In Illegal Raids Go Free

BY A REPORTER
ALTON, Ill.—Seven federal agents and three St. Louis cops have gotten off scot free for their illegal actions in six midnight raids last April.

The raids, in several small Southern Illinois towns, were made without search warrants. Two were at the wrong addresses, and one in the wrong town.

Witnesses at the grand jury hearing testified that entire families were terrorized at gunpoint during the searches.

The officers, assigned to the Federal Drug Abuse Law Enforcement Program in St. Louis, were charged with entering without search warrants and holding one person in jail without charges.

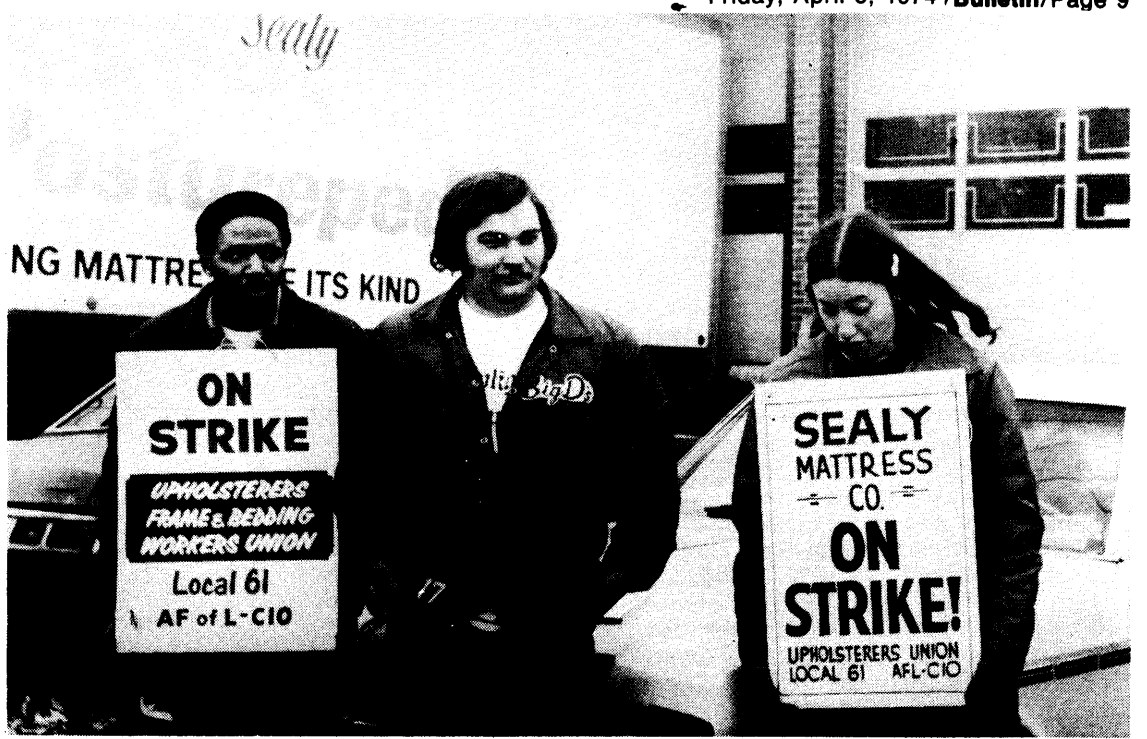
Ever since April, the defense has tried to establish the guilt of these families, in spite of the fact that no one was ever formally charged and no drugs were found.

One family was forced to move when the father was fired because of all the publicity surrounding the case.

DISMISSED

At the trial itself, the defense demanded that charges be dismissed. They claimed that the victims only had the right to file a civil suit to recover money for damages done to their homes.

The actual charges were made under provisions of the 1968 no-knock drug laws. Recent Supreme Court rulings wiping out the right to defense from



Sealy Mattress workers have voted to continue their strike against wage cuts. See story page 8.

Chicago Business Leaders Honor 'Muhammad Day'

BY A REPORTER
CHICAGO—Mayor Richard Daley and Illinois Governor Daniel Walker declared March 29 "the Honorable Elijah Muhammad Day" and the city's business community joined in the celebrations by throwing a \$50-a-plate dinner for the 76-year-old Black Muslim leader Friday night.

Keynoting the numerous tributes paid to Muhammad was the vice chairman of the Board of Exchange National

Bank of Chicago, Robert A. Wallace.

"I found out that the Black Muslims treat financial obligations with the highest priority—as a matter of pride," he declared. "I believe that the Black Muslim's record should make all banks and financial institutions want to do business with them."

PRAISE

The effusive praise for the Black Muslims exposes the utterly reactionary role of these nationalists who seek to tie working class youth to the capitalist politicians. The master of ceremonies at the dinner was one of Illinois' leading Democrats, State Senator Cecil Partee.

Among those at the speaker's table with Wallace were Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Rev. Jesse Jackson, national president of Operation PUSH, Floyd McKissick, former national director of CORE, and Gus Adair, executive director of the Black Congressional Caucus.

The alliance being forged among all nationalist groups with big business comes precisely at the time when economists are predicting riots and burning cities as unemployment figures skyrocket this summer.

As Muhammad is toasted by Mayor Daley, the man who played a major role in the police terror against the Black Panthers during the 1960s, Richard Hatcher and NAACP leaders are touring the country and calling for a police crackdown on crime by minority youth.

Edward T. Sexton Jr., a consultant to the Office of Minority Business Enterprise and one of Nixon's leading Black supporters in 1972, praised the Muslims for the large real estate holdings in Chicago, the farm land investments in Alabama and Michigan, and other small business holdings.

Dow is determined to continue its record profits at the expense of the workers salaries and is using any means to end the strike quickly. Meanwhile support is growing every day from other unions who are honoring the steel workers' picket lines.

Clark, who has worked at the plant for 19 years, told the Bulletin: "It's not true. They can't possibly continue the same production for any length of time. If they could, they wouldn't have had us working in the first place.

The police picked me out of a group. They were grabbing certain men. They knew who they were after."

unreasonable search and seizure removed the legal basis for the charges.

The federal grand jury deliberated only three hours before clearing the cops of every charge, saying that they had every right to invade homes at random in order to round up suspects and close off their seven months of investigation.

With the officers cleared in this test case, and the Supreme Court's new rulings, federal and city governments have been given the go-ahead to terrorize whole neighborhoods with "random" drug raids.

In addition, this threatens every trade unionist and youth with new dangers of frame-up raids, trials, and murders.

JUST OUT

Exposes empirical method behind Mandel's and the revisionist United Secretariat's theories of neo-capitalism.

This second 112-page edition includes a new introduction by Alex Steiner and Dennis O'Casey assessing Mandel's philosophical methods and reactionary policies in view of the new stage of the economic crisis.

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FILM

by Collette Windsor

The Great Gatsby

F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* has been transformed into a motion picture that merely skims the obvious settings of grandeur from the novel, uses the dialogue and narration verbatim and in so doing intentionally destroys the life, the class lines, and the portrayal of a period hell-bent for disaster.

The film is set in the 1920s and "The Great Gatsby" refers to Jay Gatsby, a mysterious nouveau riche bootlegger who owns a palatial mansion in West Egg on Long Island Sound. Across the small bay lies East Egg, where Daisy Buchanan lives, for whom Gatsby has nurtured an undying love since the war separated them five years earlier.

Gatsby throws endless extravagant parties which he rarely attends, but watches from his study, hoping someday Daisy will wander in. She never does.

Maneuvering through Nick, Daisy's second cousin, Gatsby finally is reunited with Daisy. Their romance throughout the summer climaxes in a confrontation with Daisy's husband Tom. Racing back to Long Island, Daisy, driving Gatsby's unmistakable car, runs over and kills, unknown to her, Tom's mistress.

While Gatsby lies about in his pool, the woman's husband sneaks up and shoots Gatsby. Daisy, who had never waited for Gatsby to return from the war because "Rich girls don't marry poor boys," does not even send flowers to his funeral.

Robert Redford, as Gatsby, gives perhaps the most wooden performance of all. His Gatsby is neither mysterious nor is there any trace of desperate love to be found in glances to Daisy. Mia Farrow both overplays and underplays Daisy at precisely the wrong times. Neither portray any feeling or depth; they simply float through vast stage sets.

Their summer affair is presented through a gauze of misty camerawork, used extensively throughout, supposedly to heighten the already too long and far too preposterous romantic scenes (a kiss reflected in an indoor goldfish pond, etc).

The only actor worthy of the title is Sam Waterston, portraying Nick Carraway, involved in the events but outside of them by his class position, a bonds salesman renting the cottage next door to Gatsby's preposterous mansion. The emotions of the characters reflect themselves on his face and he is perhaps the only reason one is not bored to death.

The technical recreation of the 1920s is done to perfection from the clothes and hairstyles and the glittering automobiles to the garbage dumps of Queens. The entire film is based on this recreation of appearance.

The strength of any film which attempts to reflect a certain historical period through the lives of a few characters lies in recreating not only cars and clothes, but in imbuing the film with historical perspective, with a sense of what is to come.

The film has been lauded as faithfully following Fitzgerald's novel, but only on the surface is this true. The film has robbed Fitzgerald's Gatsby of his excellent characterizations which made up the plot and gave both psychological insight into the

people and historical insight into the period.

But why does the director of such box office blockbusters as *Love Story* and *The Godfather* fail so miserably with *Gatsby*?

Why is Robert Redford, whose easy acting talents seemed almost second nature in other films, incapable of portraying the complexities, mysteriousness, and desperation of Fitzgerald's *Gatsby*?

The answers lie not in Fitzgerald's poetic prose being unsuited for a screenplay as the majority of the capitalist press reviewers have suggested, for Frank Coppola could have taken considerably more time to ensure a decent adaptation than the three weeks he took to knock out the script.

1920 & 1974

The answer lies in the relationship of the period of the 1920s to the 1970s, particularly to 1974.

The 1920s was a period of boom, the money flowing from the spoils of Europe after World War One. It was a period gripped by a fervent over-reaction to Victorianism where money was to be made overnight on the stock market, where the social relations and moral codes cracked up. Mysticism was rampant, homosexuality and perversions the norm for the old and nouveau riche as well.

Society was in a fever banking on tomorrow being just another gay party. The mood of abandon permeated everything.

The past decade has seen the same occurrences; the same economic contradictions of capitalism deepened by its 40 years of time borrowed by inflation and credit have brought about a more serious and undermining breakup of society. The middle and upper classes, under the spectre of the gravity and the much more fundamental economic breakup take the same escape roads as the twenties, but it is fear and desperation and not gay abandonment which is evident on the surface.

From the hippies and gurus, to the satan worshippers, to the women's and gay liberation movements, all are tinged with the seriousness of decay that capitalism has reached economically.

For Hollywood to make a film of the twenties in historical perspective, while certainly not impossible, is completely undesirable. Hollywood's role readily admitted by the studios, is to provide escape, not reality, and the 1920s is just too close to reality. For the twenties was the prelude to the thirties, and for Hollywood to even hint at the movement of history is a danger to capitalist society.

Robbing Fitzgerald's novel of his sense of what is to come and his subtle indications of the breakup of class relations leaves but a hollow shell of a plot that floats from cliché to romantic cliché.

This then is the essence of a historical period we are to derive from *The Great Gatsby*, which is a shallow and terribly acted film, and despite the millions spent on publicity, it is a flop and will not erase the fact that the thirties came after the twenties and that most people today are aware we stand on the brink of the thirties.

1934 General Strike In San Francisco



San Francisco, 1934. Police attacked striking workers, firing into the crowds and killing and wounding workers. These attacks brought out the whole labor movement into the San Francisco General Strike.

BY ANN LORE

In an editorial on the recent city workers strike in San Francisco, the Peoples World, West Coast paper of the Communist Party, hails the "impressive victory" won by city workers in achieving a raise of \$45 a month.

This deal was arranged because the Service Employees International Union leadership feared that the prolonging of the strike and the possible arrest of strikers would lead to a full-scale general strike of all trade unionists in the city. The wage increase won was nearly half of what the workers were fighting for.

It was deliberately ended just at the point when the union was forced into collision with the very politicians, such as Democratic Mayor Joseph Alioto, who are supported by the union.

In their editorial, the Stalinists wrote: "Not since 1934, has working class solidarity and unity found a better expression.

The drama and the lesson of the 1974 city strike was not in the nature of the opposition that opposed city workers, or even its power, but that rank and file public workers, in alliance with the rest of labor, soundly defeated this opposition."

The truth is that the 1934 strike and the recent municipal strike were defeated, despite the militancy of the workers, because the leadership refused to carry the fight all the way through and ordered the strikers back to work to prevent the strike from spreading.

CIO

The lessons of the 1934 strike, which was instrumental in paving the way for organization of the Congress of Industrial Unions (CIO), must be studied in light of the recent experiences of San Francisco city workers and other struggles.

The 1934 general strike in San Francisco began as a strike of 10,000 to 15,000 longshoremen, later to grow to 25,000, all along the West Coast ports. They were rebelling against intolerable conditions where most longshoremen earned less than \$12 and more than 50 percent were on relief.

The demands were union control of the hiring hall, and a

closed shop, rather than the practice of being forced to shape up every morning at the dock and be chosen by company foremen. The dockers also demanded a \$1 an hour wage and a 30 hour week.

Each morning of the strike, 1500 to 2000 men marched in a picket line along the length of the waterfront. The strike spread rapidly to other seamen's unions and Teamsters refused to handle any freight to and from the waterfront.

ROCKS

The police repeatedly attacked the strikers, first with billy clubs, while the longshoremen fought back with rocks and sticks. Soon the police were ordered to "show no quarter to the strikers" and long range guns, short shells, volumes of gas and riot guns were brought in and used daily.

From the beginning, the paper of the Communist Party, *Western Worker*, disarmed the strikers by stressing that the workers militancy would guarantee victory. Early in the strike, they wrote: "The way things are shaping up, the longshoremen cannot lose. Solidarity will win."

BUSINESS

As the strike escalated, the business community launched one of the most vicious red scare campaigns to be conducted against labor, aimed at strike leader Harry Bridges who was under the influence of the Communist Party.

On July 5, 1934, a day known as "Bloody Thursday," the police shot into a crowd of workers seeking to prevent the ports from opening. Two men, Nicholas Caunderakis, a member of the Communist Party, and Nick Bordoise were killed and 109 were wounded.

The general strike was on. A few days later, over 40,000 workers massed at the International Longshoremen's Association hall in one of the most massive funeral processions in labor's history.

During the entire strike, Bridges, supported by the Communist Party, refused to conduct a fight against the right-wing leadership of the AFL or against Joseph Ryan, the ILA leader in New York.

SPLIT

Ryan's strategy was to split each port and force them back one by one. First, Seattle dockers went back and soon San Francisco strikers were iso-

lated.

After 11 weeks on strike, the longshoremen's strike went back with only an agreement that the issues would go to arbitration.

Yet just before this, the Stalinist press told workers: "Don't yield to arbitration. When they find they cannot bully us into submission, they will grant the demands."

The Communist Party refused to oppose President Franklin Roosevelt who had set up a mediation board and public hearings to bring pressure on the strikers.

The AFL leadership represented the most conservative right-wing outlook that wanted to maintain the trade unions as craft unions for skilled workers and bitterly opposed organization of industrial workers.

SOLIDARITY

Bridges, supported by the Stalinists, never took up a fight against the right-wing leadership and instead kept insisting that solidarity alone would bring victory.

The fight to organize industrial workers in one union federation and to organize an independent labor party out of this struggle was never raised by Bridges or the Communist Party. The policy of the CP was to support Roosevelt.

Today, the revisionists of the SWP join the Stalinists in saying that what matters is not what was won, but how much unity was demonstrated, and spread the same illusions created in the 1934 strike.

The 1934 strike and the city-wide strike last month demonstrate the burning need of all workers for a new leadership that will link the fight for wages and for basic rights to the political fight against Nixon.

SOLUTION

It is not enough to fight for a general strike as the magical solution to the struggle. Unless revolutionary leadership is built in the course of these struggles, the militancy and determination of workers will be dissipated and betrayed.

It is even more criminal to spread such illusions today when the capitalist class, faced with a far greater economic crisis, cannot make any concessions and will use every retreat to plan further attacks on the unions.

San Francisco workers, as well as workers in every union, can go forward by building a leadership based on the fight for a labor party, to prepare for the next stage of struggle.

Sun Valley Strike In 13th Month

BY SHEILA BREHM
SUN VALLEY, Cal.—“It’s a war. It’s getting pretty close to a civil war.”

“And they have all the weapons. How can you fight a bullet with a picket sign?”

For one year and one month 750 rubber workers have been on strike against R & G Sloane Co. The strikers, mostly Spanish-speaking, say this has been the most vicious strike in the area since the 1930s.

Nearly all the plant’s windows have been broken, mainly by company goons, and blamed on the strikers. One of the plant entrances is scarred by the spray of a shotgun blast that was aimed at unarmed pickets. Over 100 strikers have been arrested over the past months, and nearly every striker has been harassed.

KNIFED

Felix, a young worker, was knifed so badly by five scabs that his chances for living were only 20 percent six months ago.

His spine has been permanently damaged. Jesse Ramirez was run over by a truck the first day of the strike.

Victor Quesada told the Bulletin: “All we want is a 25 cent raise, a full cost of living, and right to a union shop.”

“For this, the company is out to break us, but we aren’t going to break.”

SUNK

R & G Sloane, before the strike, was the biggest plastic fittings firm in the world, with plants in Ohio, Texas, Nevada, Mexico, Canada, and Jamaica. Since the strike, the company’s rating has sunk to twelfth place.

The plant is being run by nearly 400 scabs, about half of them Mexican workers without legal immigration papers. Their wages begin at \$1.87 an hour.

When the strike first began, scabs were paid a \$25 “bounty” for every other scab they could recruit.

UNION

The United Rubber Workers won the right to a union in 1970.

One picket said: “We won that vote by 85 percent, and since that time, this company has been out to destroy us.”

“They want us to work a 12 hour day for three days and then six hours the fourth day, and no overtime pay until after forty hours. Besides this, they wanted to reduce every worker’s wage by \$42.”

“We built this company, every brick in it, with our toil and our sweat.” Danny Gallardo recalled how his father actually gave up a week’s pay every month so the company could “get on its feet in the beginning.”

Della Robinson, 52, has worked at the plant for eight years. “They take everything from us to build this company and then they throw us on the

streets to die.

“As far as I’m concerned, they forced this strike on us. We have been locked out. We have been denied all our rights to unemployment and welfare benefits.

“The National Labor Relations Board is with the company. No matter how many unfair labor practices we charge the company with, we can’t win. Watergate is right here.”

INJUNCTION

Mrs. Robinson, her husband and her house, were hit with an injunction after she opened her house, which is across the street from the plant, to strikers for coffee breaks and bathroom facilities.

“My house was called the ‘strike house’ and all my rights as a homeowner have been taken away.”

“This company wants to be a dictator, but we won’t be slaves. Since the injunction, I have been on this picket line every day.”

“In my whole life, I never would have believed that such conditions exist in the United States of America.

“This is all a political attack. It’s like the 1930s.”

“If working people don’t unite, we’ll soon be on the picket line for a loaf of bread.”

Victor Quesada said: “Every worker faces this. If it’s happening to us, it can happen to everyone.”

“The corporations are trying to get more out of their products, even if they have to sacrifice employees. They don’t want us to have a union.”

Because the strike has dragged on for so long, many workers are beginning to question the ability of their leadership to conduct the fight.

“Maybe somebody sold out,” said one striker. “How else could this go on for so long?”

AFL-CIO

The AFL-CIO in the area has done very little to support the strike. Although the leaders of the URW claim it is illegal, the strikers feel the company’s other plants should be struck.

“This company has done everything illegal, so what’s illegal about fighting back?”

Beginning this week, the union has launched a boycott campaign against the company’s products. This campaign is patterned after the Farah boycott and farm workers’ boycott and is a diversion from the struggle to mobilize the mass of trade unionists in the Los Angeles area in the political offensive to force the hated Nixon government out.

LABOR

The only answer to these vicious union busting tactics is a government run by labor.

As one strike said: “Nixon’s behind this. He’s trying to build up a dictatorship.”

“If it gets worse, they’ll call a state of emergency and then he’ll stay up there. And everyone up there is helping to keep him up there.”



2000 workers attended the District No. 115 IAM meeting last Friday and ratified a 3-year contract. Wages will be increased 10 percent this year, 7 percent in 1975, and 7 percent in 1976.

8 Hour Day Threatened

BY MARTY MORAN
SAN FRANCISCO—The State Industrial Welfare Commission (IWC) has issued a series of orders relaxing the eight hour day rule for most California workers and permitting employers to require ten hours work a day before

overtime is paid. The orders, published in full March 29, cover five million workers in all manufacturing, personal service, professional, technical, clerical, mercantile, transportation, recreation, and broadcasting.

The only industries still under the mandatory eight hour day are food processing and motion pictures.

Farm workers and domestic helpers have no limit on hours and no provision at all for overtime pay.

In addition, health and safety provisions enforced through IWC orders since 1916 will be abandoned in favor of the new California Occupational Safety and Health Act. Officials of Cal-OSHA claim they have neither the staff nor the funds to carry out this work.

Instead of the mandatory ten minute coffee break every four hours, employers are permitted instead to establish personal privilege time.

Workers taking time out to go to the bathroom or make emergency phone calls would have this time charged against their breaks.

These decisions are the opening wedge to taking away the legal protection for basic rights won by workers more than fifty years ago. Although the IWC has so far maintained the requirement for overtime pay after forty hours a week, the commission is claiming virtually unlimited power to change every employment and safety rule, under bills passed last year to allow it to equalize the protection of different groups of workers.

SUPPOSEDLY

These bills were supposedly to extend to men job safety and health provisions previously applying only to women and children and to bring farm workers and other poorly paid workers up to the average level.

Instead, the IWC has done the opposite—the conditions of the whole working class are to be driven down to or below the worst that now exists.

The labor bureaucracy has done absolutely nothing to stop this destruction of workers rights. Teamster official Mike Elorduy, the only labor member of the IWC, said plaintively: “When I accepted the honor of appointment to this commission, I never dreamed that I would be a party to taking away rights previously granted to thousands of employees.”

The labor leaders maintained right to the end that the commission would not do what it did. In fact, they criticized it for being too slow in carrying out its great work of reform.

Now they are appealing the decision and threatening to go to court. The commission’s decision will become final on June 1.

The IWC decision is a declaration of war. It shows the complete bankruptcy of the labor leadership’s policy of pressure on the capitalist politicians and government bureaucrats.

The California labor movement must immediately issue a call for a national Congress of Labor to build a labor party to defend basic rights.

Beans Up 400% In San Jose

BY ALLEN SALTER
SAN JOSE—Massive inflation of almost 400 percent in products such as pinto beans and corn is now driving many families in San Jose’s East Side to near starvation.

These prices are forcing some unemployed workers to rummage through the garbage bins behind grocery stores to find enough food to feed their families.

Chicano families are especially hard-hit. Pinto beans, which many families have to live on, recently wholesaled for \$12 to \$14 for a 100-pound sack. The price has now risen over 400 percent to \$70 over the last year.

Cornflour has gone up \$4.50 or \$5.50 per pound to almost \$10.

A nutritionist interviewed recently by the San Jose Mercury said: “I can’t tell people to stop buying beans, although they have skyrocketed, because we have no nutritious substitutes.”

The prices of other basic foods, such as sugar, flour, and rice have also gone up tremendously.

Ramiro Fernandez is a farm laborer who supports four children on \$200 a month supplemented by food stamps. Fernandez was quoted by the Mercury as saying: “Corn flour is very expensive so we eat less tortillas than we used to and of course we rarely eat meat.”

HUNGRY

“I’m thankful that no one in my family is going hungry, but I’m afraid of what might happen later in the year. I recently paid \$40 for 50 pounds of beans and after they run out, I don’t know what I’ll do next.”

Victor Mendoza, a 38-year-old unemployed short order cook, said: “I can’t bring myself to steal food, so I use what people throw away.”

Since Nixon’s removal of the gold backing from the dollar, the capitalists have been unloading mountains of worthless dollars in exchange for anything of real value, such as food, thereby driving up the prices.

The speculators have amassed spectacular profits in this way.

MILLIONAIRES

A Chicano auto worker interviewed by the Bulletin said: “Nixon is for the millionaires. The poor have to work to eat, but the rich don’t have to. They own everything.”

“I earn \$5.35 an hour, and it’s hard for me. I have friends who only make \$2.35 an hour. I know that some people are eating garbage.”

Officials from the US Department of Agriculture have predicted that the overall food prices will rise another 12 to 14 percent before 1974 is out.

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

lucha obrera

lucia rivera Hacia La Segunda Conferencia Nacional De La JS



El dieciseis de marzo la Juventud Socialista llevó a cabo una serie de marchas en contra del desempleo envolviendo a cientos de jóvenes a través de todo el país. Un numeroso contingente de jóvenes hispanos y trabajadores participaron en las marchas en San Francisco, Chicago, y Washington D.C.

Estas marchas a diferencia de las llevadas a cabo en los años sesentas, protestas de clase media, marcharon a través de los vendedores obreros bajo las demandas de trabajos para todos, y la construcción de un partido obrero como alternativa en contra de los demócratas y los republicanos.

Estas protestas de los años sesentas estaban basadas en presionar al gobierno por migajas. Nuestra marcha fue una de movilizar a la clase obrera y la juventud en contra del alto costo de vida y el desempleo, requiriendo esto una lucha política en contra del gobierno.

Estas marchas representan la demostración más numerosa que hasta el presente se ha llevado en contra de Nixon y las políticas de su gobierno. La participación de la juventud hispana conjuntamente con otros sectores de jóvenes, señala un rompimiento con el nacionalismo y presenta la bancarrota de las políticas de protestas en dar alguna alternativa en contra de Nixon y de los capitalistas que él representa.

Cerca de un 50, por ciento de la juventud hispana en la ciudad de Nueva York esta desempleada. Muchos de ellos luego de completar la escuela superior o al abandonar los estudios para poder conseguir un trabajo, se enfrentan a trabajos de fábricas que pagan el salario mínimo.

El constante flujo de jóvenes hispanos a los Estados Unidos de toda Latinoamérica, debido a las condiciones de miseria que se enfrentan en sus países, se ven perseguidos constantemente por las agencias del gobierno. Los jóvenes dominicanos, de suramérica y en particular de Mejioco se enfrentan a la amenaza diaria de ser deportados.

Los patronos utilizan la situación de ilegalidad de estos jóvenes para pagarle una miseria y obligarlos a trabajar horas extras sin paga debida.

Los programas que en el pasado permitían que la juventud obrera obtuviese una educación superior han sido sus fondos drásticamente cortados destruyendo el derecho de los jóvenes a una educación ya que no pueden pagar los altos costos de la matrícula.

Todos estos ataques en los derechos basicos de la juventud obrera estan basados en la crisis política y económica del capitalismo. Hay que luchar en contra de esto movilizando a la clase obrera en una lucha política en contra del gobierno a través de la construcción de un partido revolucionario de masas.

El Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP) y su movimiento juvenil en los Estados Unidos, Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña (FUSP) ve la lucha de la juventud hispana como una cuestión de más protestas. Al frente de los ataques en la educación ellos proponen "luchar por reformas universitarias, particularmente por medidas que permitan más participación estudiantil en la toma de decisiones."

El PSP no puede proveer una alternativa a la juventud hispana ya que esta basado en el nacionalismo, acepta las divisiones que los capitalistas han impuesto en la clase obrera.

El nacionalismo como así también el racismo son fomentados por el gobierno para mantener dividida a la clase obrera y que cada sección de trabajadores luchen unos en contra de otros por migajas del gobierno.

Esta nuevo periodo de crisis capitalista es visto como la continuación de los ataques que en el pasado se enfrentaban los jóvenes. Ellos proponen los mismos métodos del pasado, protestas, presiones que tienen como fin desarmar a los jóvenes hispanos.

Con oficiales del gobierno pronosticando un verano de motines en las comunidades, inflación incontrolable y el desempleo sobre un diez por ciento y mucho más alto para la juventud, el PSP no tiene nada que ofrecer sino más presión al gobierno por reformas.

La Segunda Conferencia Nacional de la Juventud Socialista, que se celebrará los días 4 y 5 de mayo, sentará las bases para una campaña nacional en contra del desempleo. Preparará a través de esta conferencia un nuevo liderato de la juventud que sea capaz de construir un movimiento revolucionario masivo de la juventud, que defienda a los jóvenes de los ataques del gobierno.

8000 Quebec Workers Protest Police Attacks

BY DAVID ALBERT
MONTREAL — Eight thousand workers and students marched through the streets of Longueuil, in suburban Montreal, to the United Aircraft plant No. 1 last Friday night.

The demonstration was held in solidarity with United Westinghouse workers, after the brutal police attacks on striking workers throughout the province.

Workers on strike in the Quebec town of Joliette, mine workers from the Dennison mines in Sherbrooke, and gas and postal workers were among the workers participating in the demonstration.

The workers shouted: "Cournoyer is a scab," "Hang Bourassa! Hang Trudeau!" and "Down with the bosses' government!" demonstrating their bitter hatred of the regimes of Quebec Premier Bourassa and Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau. Cournoyer is the Quebec Labor Minister.

At United Aircraft, where the demonstration took place, workers have been outnumbered 20 to 1 by police because of

court orders prohibiting mass picketing and have faced constant harassment and arrests.

Clothing workers have occupied their union headquarters and staged massive walkouts. Workers in Joliette have organized a rotating general strike, closing the entire town down and holding demonstrations every Friday.

CONSTRUCTION

Two weeks ago, 900 construction workers at the massive James Bay hydro project blew up their campsite in rebellion against the most brutal working conditions.

This explosive strike movement has met with savage police repression. Union militants have been arrested, held for days without being charged and then framed-up on fabricated charges.

The upsurge in the Quebec labor movement threatens the continued existence of the Bourassa and Trudeau regimes. Trudeau's Liberal Party, which only has a minority of seats in Parliament, survives solely on the basis of support from the NDP, Canada's labor party.

RESIGN

With an intensification of the economic crisis in Canada and the mounting strike wave, the government may be forced to re-

sign within the next few months, if not weeks.

GENERAL STRIKE

In the face of this political crisis, the trade union leaders have refused to take any action to force out Trudeau or Bourassa. The CNTU, the Quebec-based labor federation, has called for a one day general strike on May 1, but has refused to raise any political demands. At the same time, the QFL and the teachers' unions have even opposed this demand.

But the most treacherous position of all has been that of the NDP and CLC (Canada's AFL-CIO) leaders. Their silence on the strike struggles in Quebec and their refusal to defend jailed union members is an open attempt to isolate Quebec workers from the rest of the Canadian labor movement.

Meanwhile, with the open support of the trade union leaders, the NDP is in all but open coalition with the Liberals in Parliament.

The Canadian labor movement must demand an immediate convening of a Congress of Labor to demand an end of the NDP-Liberal government pledged to carry out a socialist program. This is the program the Workers League of Canada is fighting for.

Nixon...

(Continued From Page 1)
exemptions owed to them by the government, it is revealed that Nixon amassed a fortune by evading taxes.

The investigators said that no attempt had been made "to draw any conclusions whether there

was, or was not, fraud or negligence involved in any aspect of the returns, either on the part of the president or his personal representatives."

But the facts speak for themselves. The report found:

•The charitable deduction of \$428,000 which Nixon took for a

structure are saying that democratic rights cannot continue to exist under conditions where the working class will fight back to defend its wages and jobs.

High government officials are now coldly debating these "solutions" that would destroy the livelihoods of millions of people and mean conditions of slavery in the plants.

The "Social Contract" of Meany cannot defend workers from these plans. The cooperation of the trade union bureaucracy to curb wages is only a temporary measure that Nixon will use to prepare for the most brutal attacks on basic rights.

The working class will not pay for the inflation which is the product of the capitalists' own decaying economic system.

What is required is a wage offensive by the trade unions to demand major wage increases to make up for inflation.

At the same time, every union must demand a cost of living escalator clause, such as the New York City transit workers won, to keep up with prices.

Inflation cannot be halted as long as the two parties who defend big business and the profit system control the government.

The Workers League is fighting for the unions to construct a labor party pledged to a socialist program to nationalize all industries under workers control as the only way to bring down prices and provide full employment.

We have no illusions in the George Meany's and other bureaucrats. We must build a revolutionary leadership in the unions and rally the forces that will lead this fight and build the revolutionary party.

Wages...

(Continued From Page 1)
danger exists that the government will go over to a policy of mass unemployment to use as a club to drive down wages.

The banks would sharply restrict the money supply, whole industries would go bankrupt, production would be slashed and millions would be unemployed.

This would be used to divide the workers from the unemployed, smash up the unions and the power to strike for higher wages.

The thinking of the most right-wing section of government economists is expressed by University of Chicago professor Milton Friedman who proposes a plan to stop inflation modelled after Brazil.

Brazil reduced its rate of inflation by making trade unions illegal, and using mass unemployment to cut real wages 18 percent between 1964 and 1967.

Friedman knows that these policies could only be introduced in this country, as they were in Brazil, by a ruthless military dictatorship and through civil war against the working class.

John Sheehan, a governor of the Federal Reserve System declared recently that a cut in money supply "would result in 15 to 20 percent unemployed by the year's end, with 35 to 40 percent Black unemployed and zero employment for Black teenagers." He warned that riots would erupt and cities would burn.

The warning of leading economists and Nixon officials, such as Treasury Secretary George Schultz, that inflation will lead to a major change in the political

gift of his vice-presidential papers was illegal.

•Nixon failed to report \$117,835 in capital gains realized through the sale of San Clemente acreage.

•Nixon failed to report as taxable income the \$92,298 in improvements made for his pleasure palaces in San Clemente and Key Biscayne.

In a White House statement, Nixon said that he would pay the back taxes, but insisted that the illegal deductions were made "without his knowledge and without his approval."

Nixon's willingness to pay back taxes is part of a deal worked out by Congressional Democrats to avoid prosecution for his blatant criminal tax evasion.

Furthermore, he will pay the taxes not out of his own pocket, but through loans already being worked out with big business friends like Robert Abplanalp and Bebe Rebozo.

The Congressional committee released a letter from White House adviser John Ehrlichman to Nixon, dated February 6, 1969, in which Ehrlichman sketched the elaborate scheme to obtain tax deductions through so-called "charitable contributions."

On the bottom of the letter, there are notes from Nixon—in his own handwriting—which read, "(1) good (2) Let me know what we can do on the foundation idea."

At the same time, Nixon obtained the services of a gang of top-notch tax lawyers who whittled his taxes down to practically nothing.

Among the items which Nixon failed to report as taxable income, which the investigators uncovered are:

•\$5391 for a 1969 "masqued ball" held for daughter Tricia;
•\$27,015 worth of personal airplane travel.

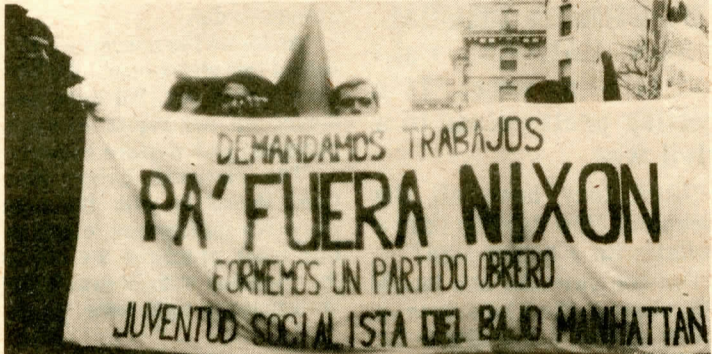
A fight must be taken up in every local for industrial action by the entire trade union movement to force Nixon out and for the calling of a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

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lucha obrera

lucia rivera

Hacia La Segunda Conferencia Nacional De La JS



El dieciséis de marzo la Juventud Socialista llevó a cabo una serie de marchas en contra del desempleo envolviendo a cientos de jóvenes a través de todo el país. Un numeroso contingente de jóvenes hispanos y trabajadores participaron en las marchas en San Francisco, Chicago, y Washington D.C.

Estas marchas a diferencia de las llevadas a cabo en los años sesentas, protestas de clase media, marcharon a través de los vecindarios obreros bajo las demandas de trabajos para todos, y la construcción de un partido obrero como alternativa en contra de los demócratas y los republicanos.

Estas protestas de los años sesentas estaban basadas en presionar al gobierno por migajas. Nuestra marcha fue una de movilizar a la clase obrera y la juventud en contra del alto costo de vida y el desempleo, requiriendo esto una lucha política en contra del gobierno.

Estas marchas representan la demostración más numerosa que hasta el presente se ha llevado en contra de Nixon y las políticas de su gobierno. La participación de la juventud hispana conjuntamente con otros sectores de jóvenes, señala un rompimiento con el nacionalismo y presenta la bancarrota de las políticas de protestas en dar alguna alternativa en contra de Nixon y de los capitalistas que él representa.

Cerca de un 50, por ciento de la juventud hispana en la ciudad de Nueva York esta desempleada. Muchos de ellos luego de completar la escuela superior o al abandonar los estudios para poder conseguir un trabajo, se enfrentan a trabajos de fábricas que pagan el salario mínimo.

El constante flujo de jóvenes hispanos a los Estados Unidos de toda Latinoamérica, debido a las condiciones de miseria que se enfrentan en sus países, se ven perseguidos constantemente por las agencias del gobierno. Los jóvenes dominicanos, de suramérica y en particular de Mejico se enfrentan a la amenaza diaria de ser deportados.

Los patronos utilizan la situación de ilegalidad de estos jóvenes para pagarle una miseria y obligarlos a trabajar horas extras sin paga debida.

Los programas que en el pasado permitían que la juventud obrera obtuviese una educación superior han sido sus fondos drásticamente cortados destruyendo el derecho de los jóvenes a una educación ya que no pueden pagar los altos costos de la matrícula.

Todos estos ataques en los derechos básicos de la juventud obrera estan basados en la crisis política y económica del capitalismo. Hay que luchar en contra de esto movilizando a la clase obrera en una lucha política en contra del gobierno a través de la construcción de un partido revolucionario de masas.

El Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP) y su movimiento juvenil en los Estados Unidos, Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña (FUSP) ve la lucha de la juventud hispana como una cuestión de más protestas. Al frente de los ataques en la educación ellos proponen "luchar por reformas universitarias, particularmente por medidas que permitan más participación estudiantil en la toma de decisiones."

El PSP no puede proveer una alternativa a la juventud hispana ya que esta basado en el nacionalismo, acepta las divisiones que los capitalistas han impuesto en la clase obrera.

El nacionalismo como así también el racismo son fomentados por el gobierno para mantener dividida a la clase obrera y que cada sección de trabajadores luchan unos en contra de otros por migajas del gobierno.

Esta nuevo periodo de crisis capitalista es visto como la continuación de los ataques que en el pasado se enfrentaban los jóvenes. Ellos proponen los mismos métodos del pasado, protestas, presiones que tienen como fin desarmar a los jóvenes hispanos.

Con oficiales del gobierno pronosticando un verano de motines en las comunidades, inflación incontrolable y el desempleo sobre un diez por ciento y mucho más alto para la juventud, el PSP no tiene nada que ofrecer sino más presión al gobierno por reformas.

La Segunda Conferencia Nacional de la Juventud Socialista, que se celebrará los días 4 y 5 de mayo, sentará las bases para una campaña nacional en contra del desempleo. Preparará a través de esta conferencia un nuevo liderato de la juventud que sea capaz de construir un movimiento revolucionario masivo de la juventud, que defienda a los jóvenes de los ataques del gobierno.

8000 Quebec Workers Protest Police Attacks

BY DAVID ALBERT
MONTREAL — Eight thousand workers and students marched through the streets of Longueuil, in suburban Montreal, to the United Aircraft plant No. 1 last Friday night.

The demonstration was held in solidarity with United Westinghouse workers, after the brutal police attacks on striking workers throughout the province.

Workers on strike in the Quebec town of Joliette, mine workers from the Dennison mines in Sherbrooke, and gas and postal workers were among the workers participating in the demonstration.

The workers shouted: "Cournoyer is a scab," "Hang Bourassa! Hang Trudeau!" and "Down with the bosses' government!", demonstrating their bitter hatred of the regimes of Quebec Premier Bourassa and Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau. Cournoyer is the Quebec Labor Minister.

At United Aircraft, where the demonstration took place, workers have been outnumbered 20 to 1 by police because of

court orders prohibiting mass picketing and have faced constant harassment and arrests.

Clothing workers have occupied their union headquarters and staged massive walkouts. Workers in Joliette have organized a rotating general strike, closing the entire town down and holding demonstrations every Friday.

CONSTRUCTION

Two weeks ago, 900 construction workers at the massive James Bay hydro project blew up their campsite in rebellion against the most brutal working conditions.

This explosive strike movement has met with savage police repression. Union militants have been arrested, held for days without being charged and then framed-up on fabricated charges.

The upsurge in the Quebec labor movement threatens the continued existence of the Bourassa and Trudeau regimes. Trudeau's Liberal Party, which only has a minority of seats in Parliament, survives solely on the basis of support from the NDP, Canada's labor party.

RESIGN

With an intensification of the economic crisis in Canada and the mounting strike wave, the government may be forced to re-

sign within the next few months, if not weeks.

GENERAL STRIKE

In the face of this political crisis, the trade union leaders have refused to take any action to force out Trudeau or Bourassa. The CNTU, the Quebec-based labor federation, has called for a one day general strike on May 1, but has refused to raise any political demands. At the same time, the QFL and the teachers' unions have even opposed this demand.

But the most treacherous position of all has been that of the NDP and CLC (Canada's AFL-CIO) leaders. Their silence on the strike struggles in Quebec and their refusal to defend jailed union members is an open attempt to isolate Quebec workers from the rest of the Canadian labor movement.

Meanwhile, with the open support of the trade union leaders, the NDP is in all but open coalition with the Liberals in Parliament.

The Canadian labor movement must demand an immediate convening of a Congress of Labor to demand an end of the NDP-Liberal government pledged to carry out a socialist program. This is the program the Workers League of Canada is fighting for.

Nixon...

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exemptions owed to them by the government, it is revealed that Nixon amassed a fortune by evading taxes.

The investigators said that no attempt had been made "to draw any conclusions whether there

Wages...

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danger exists that the government will go over to a policy of mass unemployment to use as a club to drive down wages.

The banks would sharply restrict the money supply, whole industries would go bankrupt, production would be slashed and millions would be unemployed. This would be used to divide the workers from the unemployed, smash up the unions and the power to strike for higher wages.

The thinking of the most right-wing section of government economists is expressed by University of Chicago professor Milton Friedman who proposes a plan to stop inflation modelled after Brazil.

Brazil reduced its rate of inflation by making trade unions illegal, and using mass unemployment to cut real wages 18 percent between 1964 and 1967.

Friedman knows that these policies could only be introduced in this country, as they were in Brazil, by a ruthless military dictatorship and through civil war against the working class.

John Sheehan, a governor of the Federal Reserve System declared recently that a cut in money supply "would result in 15 to 20 percent unemployed by the year's end, with 35 to 40 percent Black unemployed and zero employment for Black teenagers." He warned that riots would erupt and cities would burn.

The warning of leading economists and Nixon officials, such as Treasury Secretary George Schultz, that inflation will lead to a major change in the political

was, or was not, fraud or negligence involved in any aspect of the returns, either on the part of the president or his personal representatives."

But the facts speak for themselves. The report found:

•The charitable deduction of \$428,000 which Nixon took for a

structure are saying that democratic rights cannot continue to exist under conditions where the working class will fight back to defend its wages and jobs.

High government officials are now coldly debating these "solutions" that would destroy the livelihoods of millions of people and mean conditions of slavery in the plants.

The "Social Contract" of Meany cannot defend workers from these plans. The cooperation of the trade union bureaucracy to curb wages is only a temporary measure that Nixon will use to prepare for the most brutal attacks on basic rights.

The working class will not pay for the inflation which is the product of the capitalists' own decaying economic system.

What is required is a wage offensive by the trade unions to demand major wage increases to make up for inflation.

At the same time, every union must demand a cost of living escalator clause, such as the New York City transit workers won, to keep up with prices.

Inflation cannot be halted as long as the two parties who defend big business and the profit system control the government.

The Workers League is fighting for the unions to construct a labor party pledged to a socialist program to nationalize all industries under workers control as the only way to bring down prices and provide full employment.

We have no illusions in the George Meany's and other bureaucrats. We must build a revolutionary leadership in the unions and rally the forces that will lead this fight and build the revolutionary party.

gift of his vice-presidential papers was illegal.

•Nixon failed to report \$117,835 in capital gains realized through the sale of San Clemente acreage.

•Nixon failed to report as taxable income the \$92,298 in improvements made for his pleasure palaces in San Clemente and Key Biscayne.

In a White House statement, Nixon said that he would pay the back taxes, but insisted that the illegal deductions were made "without his knowledge and without his approval."

Nixon's willingness to pay back taxes is part of a deal worked out by Congressional Democrats to avoid prosecution for his blatant criminal tax evasion.

Furthermore, he will pay the taxes not out of his own pocket, but through loans already being worked out with big business friends like Robert Abplanalp and Bebe Rebozo.

The Congressional committee released a letter from White House adviser John Ehrlichman to Nixon, dated February 6, 1969, in which Ehrlichman sketched the elaborate scheme to obtain tax deductions through so-called "charitable contributions."

On the bottom of the letter, there are notes from Nixon—in his own handwriting—which read, "(1) good (2) Let me know what we can do on the foundation idea."

At the same time, Nixon obtained the services of a gang of top-notch tax lawyers who whittled his taxes down to practically nothing.

Among the items which Nixon failed to report as taxable income, which the investigators uncovered are:

•\$5391 for a 1969 "masqued ball" held for daughter Tricia;

•\$27,015 worth of personal airplane travel.

A fight must be taken up in every local for industrial action by the entire trade union movement to force Nixon out and for the calling of a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.