

# Bulletin

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER NINETY ONE 427

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1974

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TWENTY CENTS

## STATEMENT BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

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Rumors are spreading about a possible devaluation of the pound and the dollar. Last week, the price of gold soared to over \$190 an ounce, as speculators bought up marks and Swiss francs or converted paper money directly into gold.

The enormous slump now developing in the United States must have a devastating impact on the economy of every capitalist country. This is setting the stage for savage trade wars, competitive devaluations, and new wars.

This recession is headed by the enormous crisis of the US auto industry. Last week alone almost 100,000 workers were laid off by the Big Three. Current estimates are that by December, 180,000 workers will have been forced out of the plants. If this figure is added to the more than 50,000 workers permanently laid off since last year, unemployment among auto workers is approaching one-third of the work force.

### SHOCK WAVES

The shock waves are spreading to every sector of the economy. General Motors alone is supplied with parts from more

than 40,000 companies. One-fifth of the nation's steel industry is employed in supplying auto.

The government estimates that at least 400,000 workers will be laid off during the coal strike. Unemployment, already over six percent, is expected to leap to more than seven million by the end of the year.

The Ford administration now admits what everyone has known for months. On Thursday, Secretary of the Treasury Simon announced that the country, "has slipped into an extraordinary mess in our economic affairs," which will "go down in history as a recession."

On the same day, Mayor Beame announced the slashing of the New York City work force by more than 1,500 as part of a plan to lay off 30,000 in the first dismissals of New York public workers since the Great Depression.

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These new developments represent the latest stage in the disintegration of the world capitalist system since the measures inaugurated by Nixon on August 15, 1971.

The August 15 decisions which removed gold backing from the dollar undermined the entire basis for world trade. They set an uncontrolled inflation into motion and set the stage for a whole series of currency devaluations, the quadrupling of oil prices, and worldwide trade war.

### SLUMP

This uncontrolled inflation threatens banks and industries with collapse, leaves entire nations with oil deficits too large to pay and moves irreversibly toward slump.

Recession means a brutal competitive struggle for capitalist survival. The Senate Finance Committee has just cleared a trade bill which will give the president virtual dictatorial powers in determining US trade policy.

Under the bill's provisions, Ford would be empowered to impose import quotas and to retaliate against trade practices of US competitors.

An import surcharge of 15 percent can be levied against any nation running a sustained payments surplus with the US. Provisions in the bill mandate Ford to take discriminatory action against any competitor deemed dangerous to US business interests.

This bill amounts to a death warrant for the economies of countries such as Germany and Japan, directly dependent on sales to the American market for their survival.

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The first shots in this trade war have already been fired. Last Saturday, President Ford signed a measure restricting imports of Canadian live cattle, hogs, dressed beef, and pork. This is expected to cost Canadian exporters about \$110 million a year.

Only a few days later, the Canadian capitalists retaliated with an announcement that Canada would cut oil exports to the US by 100,000 barrels a day in

preparation for a total phaseout of petroleum exports to this country.

### WARNING

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) issued a warning that: "The plain fact is that the world is confronted with the most critical economic situation in the postwar period and is in deep trouble."

"Measures such as export subsidies, as well as import restrictions, could well trigger a general trade war."

Kissinger and Ford are determined to bludgeon Europe and Japan into economic collapse.

Kissinger's recent proposals for an alliance of industrial countries to extend \$25 billion in credits to meet these debts is calculated blackmail.

The US is insisting on drastic cuts in oil imports, as well as savage austerity measures, to pay the loan commitments. The US seeks a stranglehold over the bankrupt nations and wants to line them up behind American preparations for war in the Middle East.

### CONFRONTATION

These plans cannot be carried through without violent confrontations with the American labor movement. Millions of American workers are not going to pay for the crisis through unemployment, a wage freeze, and destruction of their basic rights and conditions.

The fight to defend these conditions means a clash with the capitalist state and poses the revolutionary struggle for power.

Under conditions of economic collapse, wages and jobs can only be defended through the political fight to defeat the Ford government and replace it with a workers government, through the building of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

The demand of the miners for a 20 percent wage increase and

(Continued On Page 11)

## No Detente Despite Summit

BY MELODY FARROW

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The 10-year agreement on strategic arms limitations signed in Vladivostok last weekend will not prevent war.

The only interest that Ford and Kissinger have in such talks is to keep up a fraudulent facade of detente to disarm the Soviet Union and China politically and militarily.

It appears that Brezhnev has agreed to reduce the number of

missile launchers in exchange for a pledge by Ford that the US will now limit bombers and missile launchers, and place a ceiling on the amount of MIRV (multiple independently targeted) warheads.

This agreement hardly costs the US anything, since it already has nearly 10,000 MIRVs, while the USSR is still testing them. The US is also far ahead in production of long range B52 bombers and will soon add the new B-1 plane.

The United States has never made any real concessions in the SALT talks. In 1972, the US got numerically, fewer launchers than the Soviet Union, but had a far greater qualitative advantage, not only in the MIRVs, but in the accuracy of its missiles.

While Ford talks "peace," he sends a Lance battlefield missile with a 1000-pound tactical warhead (that can be interchanged with a nuclear warhead), between 36 and 50 F-15 fighter aircraft and surface to air and anti-aircraft missiles to Israel.

In South Korea, Ford gave his blessing to the bloody dictatorship of Park Chung Hee that has jailed and tortured hundreds of dissidents. While Ford was in Seoul, wives and mothers who gathered at the US embassy to protest the repression were dispersed by riot police.

Ford will provide \$500 million to modernize Hee's army.

The refusal of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR to expose these war plans and to



prepare militarily for an attack by imperialism places the working class in both the Soviet Union and the Middle East in great danger.

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What new deals and assurances did Brezhnev make to Ford in their all day discussion on the Middle East?

The Stalinists are desperate to maintain "peaceful coexistence" with the United States even at the cost of sacrificing millions of workers' lives.

The American working class must demand that all funds to Israel be halted and that the labor leaders break completely with Ford and Kissinger's war propaganda.



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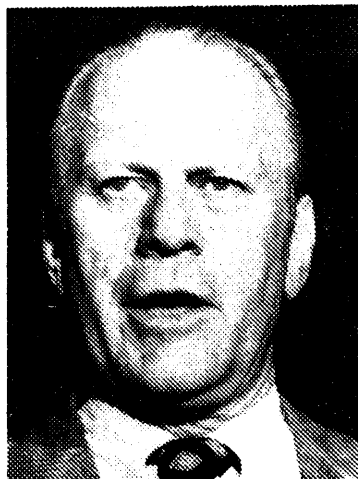
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# For A General Strike In Greece

FROM ROYSTON BULL  
IN ATHENS

**ATHENS, Nov. 18—The vote for the Provisional Government of Karamanlis in the Greek elections was a vote against the military junta which withdrew in July.**

Workers, farmers, and professional people have expressed little confidence that the policies of the "New Democracy" conservatives can solve anything.

But there was a widespread feeling that a vote of no confidence in Karamanlis, who took over from the junta, would bring the colonels back again.

The fear and hatred of the seven-year military dictatorship dominates all other considerations in Greece at this moment.

The demand that the junta people be brought to trial and punished for their tortures, murders, and other crimes is so popular that even their hand-picked successor Karamanlis has had to echo the cry.

But mixed with these feelings for lashing out revengefully at the military clique and their backers in the ruling class is a real dread that the junta will seize power again.

Voting for Karamanlis, however, is the surest way of

preparing a return to military dictatorship.

The Greek ruling class can solve none of the problems which have left the country in virtually a permanent political and economic crisis since the mid-1960s.

Inflation is almost the worst in Europe. The economy is hopelessly unbalanced with little industry and few resources.

The Greek standard of living in the past has depended heavily on tourist income and American aid.

The world capitalist crisis and its disastrous effect on the position of US imperialism has interrupted this flow of dollars.

Also, the important contribution made by repatriated earnings from Greek workers living abroad is now drying up.

Working people in Greece face a catastrophic fall in living standards and increase in unemployment.

The experiences the Greek workers and farmers will be making in the coming period will be important.

Karamanlis can only attack the working class, the peasantry, and professional people to make them bear the burden of the crisis.

The capitalist slump will hit all sections of the population and a political stalemate will quickly develop with the parliamentary majority totally discredited, but this time under Karamanlis.

The previous chaos from 1964 to 1967, which led to the junta's seizure of power was under the other main bourgeois party, the Center Union.

Karamanlis has always been able to claim that things were different under his earlier conservative administrations.

Those were under the boom. The experiences Greek working people will make now will be similar to the period under the 1970 Heath government in Britain, when the Tories returned to office with their "13 years of never had it so good" reputation intact.

Karamanlis will rapidly be obliged to resort to police intimidation of the working class and the peasantry to hamper their struggles for better conditions.

Intimidation has never really disappeared. People are still wary of saying what they think.

Junta people, although they have been chased out of many public posts by popular indignation, still occupy positions of power and influence.

They were prominently celebrating Karamanlis's victory on Sunday night in downtown Athens.

But although intimidated, the workers, farmers, students, and professional people of Greece showed in the insurrectionary events of the occupation of the Polytechnic in Athens last November, which was the beginning of the end for the junta, that things have reached the point of confrontation and they are willing to fight.

This readiness to fight comes across in almost any discussion with workers, students, and mili-

tant sections of the peasantry, all of whom took part in or assisted the three-day occupation which was finally crushed by tanks and followed by savage repression.

But the Polytechnic struggle inspired an enormous resistance to the junta and in the chaos of the failed Cyprus coup this July and the near-mutiny in the Greek army caused by mobilized conscripts refusing to fight the Turks, the junta found itself no longer able to rule.

Behind this lay its failure to solve the economic crisis.

Karamanlis will fail just as comprehensively. There is no solution outside of the socialist revolution. From now on, the bourgeoisie can only drive to war and military rule again.

Oil, the Cyprus question, and the restoration of the monarchy will produce the basis, Karamanlis hopes.

But to repeat this process in Greece today invites a return to civil war. Many see this clearly.

In these circumstances, the nationalist and class-collaborationist policies of the Greek Communist Party have been an utter disaster for the working people.

Starting out from a powerful traditional position within the working class, the Stalinists had the opportunity to bring forward socialist policies and express the demands of the entire working population, professional, working class and peasantry.

Hiding themselves in a United Left Coalition of three organizations, the CP managed to

remain virtually anonymous throughout the campaign.

Their main concern was to agitate against a demonstration being held before election day to commemorate November 17 the day of the Polytechnic, chosen deliberately by Karamanlis to be also election day so that all demonstrations could be banned.

Despite the Stalinists' provocative attacks on the demonstration, which completely exposed their own demagogic opposition to it as being "likely to lead to provocations," a massive march was held on Friday when nearly 15,000 students and workers chanted and demonstrated their hatred of the junta, their defiance of fascism, and their demand for socialist policies.

This the Stalinists have failed to provide, calling merely for a return to democracy in their election propaganda and deliberately avoiding giving the working people any warnings about the danger of a return to military dictatorship following the election of Karamanlis.

The CP even allowed itself to be eclipsed on the left by a rank petty-bourgeois party—the Pan-Hellenic Socialists of Andreas Papandreou, who offered nationalization, but is widely suspected of being much more likely to introduce government by the CIA.

The stage is set for major class struggles against the effects of the crisis in which the policy of a General Strike to bring down the Karamanlis government will be paramount.

## US Building Up Israel For War

BY MELODY FARROW

The failure of Henry Kissinger to win support from Japan and Europe for joint action against the oil producing countries will accelerate the US drive towards war in the Middle East.

At the same time, the powerful resistance of the Arab masses and the diplomatic victories scored by the Palestine Liberation Organization at the UN have thrown the Zionists into a hysterical frenzy.

Following the UN vote on Friday that affirms the Palestinians "right to self-determination" and their right to return to their homes, Israeli ambassador Yosef Tekoah launched into a slanderous tirade against the PLO.

The Israeli regime, facing economic bankruptcy and massive rebellions against soaring prices and a wage freeze is forced to seek a way out of its crisis through war. PLO leader Yassir Arafat has warned that Israel is preparing a preemptive strike and is considering the use of nuclear weapons to totally smash the Arab armies.

The economic and financial crisis of capitalism, now aggravated five-fold by the increase in oil prices, is the driving force behind the imperialist war build-up. The desire of the US to control the oil is the overriding factor determining US strategy in the Middle East.

In a speech on November 14, at the University of Chicago, Kissinger warned that the "most serious and immediate problem" facing the industrialized nations was the \$60 billion a year going to the oil nations. Kissinger said this could lead to a "financial collapse" and political shifts either to the right or left as had happened in the 1920s and 1930s.

But his proposals to Europe and Japan to lower oil imports, not make independent trade deals, and to use other methods to force a lowering of the price, fell on deaf ears. Countries like Britain, Italy, and France with even larger payments deficits than the US are desperately afraid of a total oil cutoff and have made separate deals with the Arab countries.

Any new war in the Middle East would not be a repetition of October, 1973. This time, the US would use any Israeli military attack to attempt a direct occupation of the Arab countries.

The clear signs of splits and the changes in policy within the Ford government towards the Mideast only underlines that the US alliance with Israel has always been based on the defense of imperialist interests. Today, this defense creates more than ever the danger of nuclear war.

Kissinger's strategy is to disarm the PLO and the Arab leaders with phony gestures of good will and talk of negotiations, while the preparations for war go full speed ahead and the Zionists are armed.

The US, far from abandoning Israel, seeks to create condi-



Arab revolutionary fighter.

tions under which a military attack would catch the Arab countries off guard.

The Israeli press has openly accused the US of shifting towards collaboration with the PLO.

Under Secretary of State Joseph Sisco created an uproar in Israel when he declared that "we regard the PLO as the overall umbrella organization of the Palestinians." He later claimed he had been misunderstood.

On October 29, Ford said: "We feel there must be a movement towards settlement of the problems between Israel and Egypt on the one hand, between Israel and Jordan and the PLO on the other."

When Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin created the phony story that 20 Soviet ships were unloading arms in a Syrian port, a Pentagon spokesman openly disputed him. General George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said last month: "It's a heck of a problem to contemplate, but I don't intend to go off to war in the Middle East..."

These splits are created by a tremendous fear that any US invasion would spark revolution in the Arab states.

### COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY

The PLO is playing an openly counterrevolutionary role that opens up the Arab masses for a

surprise attack by imperialism. Arafat acts as an agent of imperialism by holding the Arab masses back from a direct struggle against Zionism and seeking to negotiate a partial solution to the national rights of the Palestinian people.

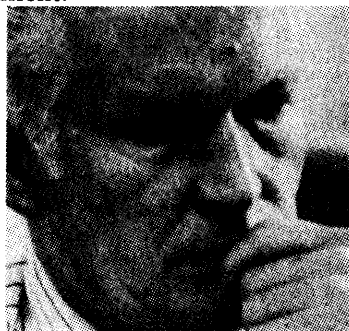
There is already opposition to this betrayal at the same time as the class struggle is openly breaking out in Israel.

The defense of the Arab masses is more than ever tied up, not only with the building of a revolutionary party in the Middle East to unite the Arab and Jewish workers, but with the building of the revolutionary party in the United States to lead the working classes to power.

# Government Writes UMW Settlement

Miller spent the weekend closeted in secret talks to end the coal miners strike with Treasury Secretary William Simon and chief federal mediator William J. Usery.

He has called the 38-man UMW bargaining council back to Washington, DC, to accept a settlement that has been dictated by the government.



The announcement that a second version of the contract had been accepted by Miller and the coal bosses came at 9:45 pm, Sunday, just 24 hours after the Ford government intervened in the negotiations.

Miller's actions are in open defiance of the instructions which he received from the bargaining council last Friday: that he reopen negotiations with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association to win major increases over the provisions of the first settlement.

The wage package mentioned most frequently by the bargaining council called for 20 percent in the first year and 10 percent in the second and third year.

There are indications that Miller plans to violate the UMW constitution in order to ram through the contract. UMW officials

suggested that they might attempt to shorten the ratification procedures from ten days to seven.

One bargaining council member told the Bulletin, on Monday morning, that he was not certain that Miller was even planning to put the revised contract to a vote on the 38-man board.

"They called up last night from Washington and told us to be there for a one o'clock meeting Tuesday afternoon.

"They also said we'd be able to fly home that night. It doesn't look like Miller's planning to have a long discussion.

"I think Miller is going to tell us that the government has made this new settlement and we have to accept it."

Informed sources also told the Bulletin that the UMW bureaucracy will not call the 830 rank and file delegates from the coal fields to Pittsburgh for a reading of the contract as stipulated in the constitution.

A member of the 38-man bargaining council told the Bulletin: "Miller wasn't too happy to take the contract back to the coal operators."

Miller, in referring to the new wage demands, said: "You wouldn't believe some of the recommendations."

The bargaining council member continued: "We told Miller that we couldn't go back without at least 15 percent in the first year.

"The feeling of the bargaining council is that Miller made a private agreement with the coal operators. He probably told them that he could sell the bargaining council whatever the coal operators gave him.

"The company wrote this contract and Miller accepted it. Now, Miller is going to play around for a while and hopes that



West Virginia coal cars before strike began.

the federal government will use Taft-Hartley to send the miners back to work.

"I think Miller wants the government to send the miners back to work.

"I think Miller wants the government to intervene, because that's the only way he can get himself off the hook."

Now the significance of Miller's membership on Ford's Labor-Management Committee is clear to every miner. He cooked up his deal in secret talks with Ford.

"The bargaining council told Miller that we aren't going to be satisfied with another one or two percent," said the council member.

Discussing the contract, he said: "The cost of living agreement is pitiful.

"This whole contract doesn't even amount to what miners got in 1971."

He said that the opposition to the contract on the bargaining council includes a number of leading Miller supporters, and that quite a few of the old Boyle people are with the contract.

According to this bargaining council member, UMW Treasurer Harry Patrick said that the union will be bankrupt if the strike continues. He said: "I don't know where the union money is going. At the

convention, Miller said that the UMW was prepared to strike six months to win a decent contract.

"Now, we're having the fear of God put into us after 12 days. Personally, I don't believe that the miners are ready to go back to work."

Miller went to West Virginia on Thursday to drum up support for the contract. But he ran into trouble. He met, not with the official welcoming party organized by the District, but with a hand-picked group.

Miller has been claiming that leaders of a movement demanding the right to strike dropped their demand, but this has been denied.

Miller has told the bargaining council that there is no money. According to an informed source, a member of the bargaining council asked Miller what was the point of negotiating if the union couldn't ask for more than the operators are prepared to give. The opposition members of the bargaining council also pointed out the fantastic profits of the coal bosses.

Miller's remark about "you wouldn't believe the recommendations" makes it clear that he is refusing to carry out the demands of his own bargaining council. This is a clear violation of the constitutional decisions of the last UMW convention and

one of the basic principles of trade unionism.

The contract states that the company can fire a committee-man for taking grievances. "Before you know it, the company will be firing everybody that's a union officer."

While the company supposedly promises to provide decent eating conditions for miners, the contract states that miners who operate bulldozers, cabs, or trucks shall eat in their vehicles. This renders the decent eating provision meaningless.

The most pernicious stab in the back to the miners has been Miller's instruction to western strip miners to remain on their jobs and keep mining scab coal.

But the miners have taken matters into their own hands. Eighteen UMW pickets stopped C & K Coal Company, in Clarion County, Pennsylvania from mining coal. Other smaller non-union coal strippers stopped operations after similar visits. According to state police, "a delegation of miners talked with them and that was the end of that."

W.J. Usery, Ford's federal mediator, has stated: "The mounting toll this dispute is inflicting on the nation now makes it imperative that a resolution be reached promptly."

This is the preparation for government intervention that Miller and the coal operators are waiting for. Miners in every local must answer this threat by demanding:

- Break all talks with the government.
- Defiance of Taft-Hartley.
- Stop the scab coal.
- Repudiate Miller's contract and continue the strike for the following demands:
  - An across-the-board 25 percent wage increase and 100 percent escalator clause.
  - The full right to strike over all issues.
  - Rejection of all productivity deals and a \$500 a month pension after 20 years for all miners.
- Millions of workers, particularly in auto and steel, will stand with the miners if they are given the lead. Miller must be forced off Ford's Labor-Management Committee. The UMW must fight for the immediate convocation of a congress of labor to launch a labor party for a workers government that will nationalize the mines and basic industry under workers control.
- This can be taken forward by ruthlessly exposing the Miller bureaucracy and constructing an alternative revolutionary leadership inside the UMW.

## Acquittal Looks Likely for Ehrlichman And Haldeman

BY FRANK MARTIN

Judge John Sirica has announced his intention of dropping two counts concerning lying to the FBI against John Ehrlichman and John Mitchell.

When Ehrlichman and Mitchell were first questioned by the FBI about Watergate, they both claimed that they only knew what they had seen in the papers.

According to Sirica, the prosecutors failed to prove that Mitchell and Ehrlichman's information was not published in any newspaper.

While "Honest John" Sirica is recommending acquittal on two counts, he is allowing Ehrlichman's lawyer to argue that the other counts should be dropped because Ehrlichman thought he was working on national security matters.

In this connection, Frates revealed that the Plumbers: "were instructed by the president of the United States that

under no circumstances were they to discuss many, many other things that can't be discussed and haven't been released yet about what the Plumbers' unit did."

So only the tip of the iceberg has been revealed on the real activities of the Plumbers. And, while Sirica has claimed he wants the truth about Watergate to come out, he is making no attempt to find out what these activities were.

Meanwhile, virtually all attempts to get Nixon to testify at the trial have been dropped. He sits at home in San Clemente immune from prosecution because of President Ford's convenient pardon.

The four White House tapes played at the trial cover conversations between Nixon, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman in mid-April, 1973, just after John Dean defected from the White House and agreed to testify against Nixon.

### LIAR

The tapes reveal Nixon in his true light, as a total liar from beginning to end. He is hysterical over Dean's defection:

"Don't know what that son of a bitch is going to say. I don't know what you do with the Dean (unintelligible). He's obviously very upset. He's just lashing out. Goddammit."

Haldeman and Nixon next discuss how to counter Dean's testimony, and Haldeman proposes the following scenario.

### MILLION DOLLARS

Haldeman: You're trying to see how far it goes. You said, 'Is that your recommendation?' That's, you do that all the time. You ask people questions on the basis of—, try and see what direction they're going. But it doesn't mean that your statement to (unintelligible).

President: I said a million dollars. With a million dollars clemency. You couldn't do it till after the '74 elections. That's an incriminating thing. His, his word against the president's (unintelligible)..."

Nixon then raises the question of whether Dean has his own tape recorder on him. President: Let me say it's got to be you, Ehrlichman, and I have got to put the wagons up around the president on this particular

conversation. I just wonder if the son of a bitch had a recorder on him. I didn't notice any, but I wasn't looking (unintelligible).

### CONTEMPT

As the conversation ends, Nixon adds one final note that reveals his complete contempt for working and middle class people in the US.

President: "...We'll survive and some people you'll even find (unintelligible) in Mississippi. You'll find a half dozen people that will be for the president. Who knows?"

Haldeman: (laughs) Be a lot more than that.

President: (Unintelligible) No, we do still have some support in the country, I hope... Despite all the polls and all the rest, I think there's still a hell of a lot of people out there, and from what I've seen, they're—you know, they, they want to believe, that's the point, isn't it?"

At this point, laughter broke out in the courtroom. Sirica hit his gavel several times and sternly instructed the court to avoid any further laughter.

## What We Think

# The Battle At UPS Is Just Beginning

The massive layoffs in auto, steel, textiles, electronics, and among city workers raise before the American labor movement the issues posed by the recent strike of Teamsters Local 804 against United Parcel Service.

The defense of jobs at UPS now enters a new stage. Nothing has been resolved. The fight must begin against UPS attempts to implement the agreement that will allow them to impose harassment and speedup and to slash full-time jobs at the rate of 180 a year.

Into this fight, the UPS workers bring all the strength of their 85-day strike, maintained in the face of the murder of a business agent on the picket line and the betrayal of IBT President Frank Fitzsimmons.

Just three days before the settlement, the local unanimously mandated their leadership to fight to protect every job in the local, despite the company's threat to close down operations in New York City.

Yet Local 804 head Ron Carey was able to reject this mandate out of hand and return to Washington meetings with Ford's chief mediator, William Usery.

Workers will not accept the conditions dictated in this agreement. But militancy and a hatred of UPS are not enough.

To fight the November 20 agreement requires a political fight and the construction of a new leadership in the union.

Carey's role expresses the total bankruptcy of the trade union leadership today, which bases itself on the old traditions of negotiation and compromise, under new conditions of economic crisis.

The ruling class seeks to defend its system of private property and production for profit by breaking up the trade unions. It is backed up by the political machinery of the government—the laws, the courts, and the police.

This means that the fight to defend jobs in every industry is immediately a political fight.

This requires the construction of an independent political party, based on the trade unions and committed to socialist policies. In answer to the skyrocketing prices, we demand full cost of living protection in every contract.

In answer to the policies of unemployment, we demand a thirty hour week at forty hours pay, protecting every job and creating thousands of new jobs. To guarantee these policies, the labor party must be committed to nationalize finance and basic industry, without compensation and under workers control.

From the first day of the strike, Carey fought to prevent these issues from being raised and fought out. The demand to audit UPS books was the cover for his open collaboration with the company, revealed in secret correspondence with UPS.

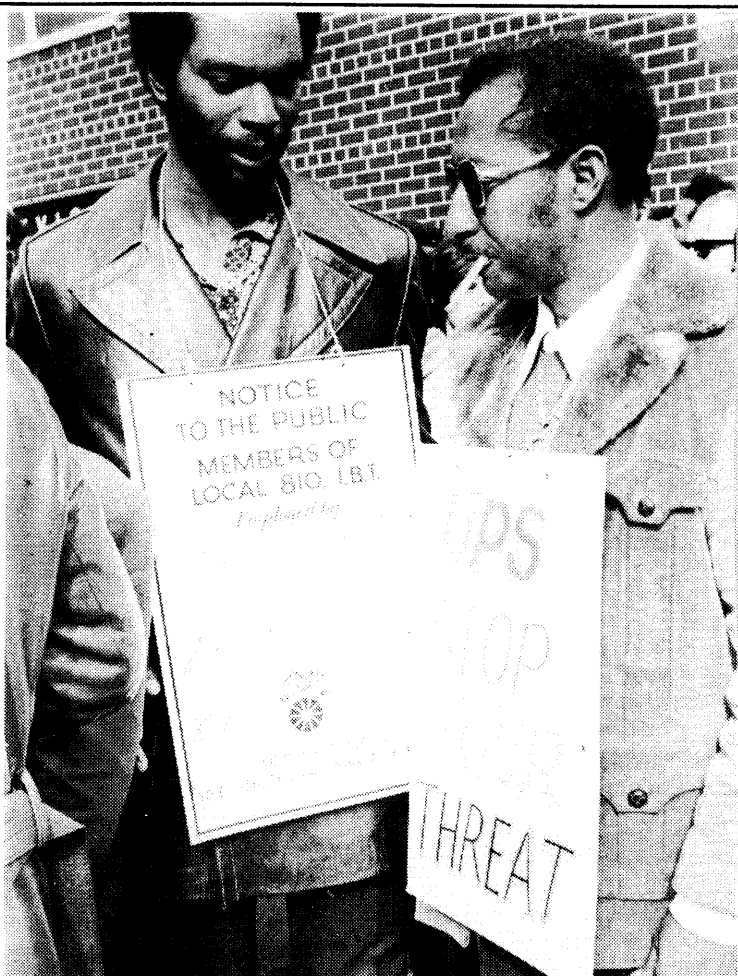
Faced with UPS management's need to deal with the economic crisis, Carey sided with UPS against the ranks. He was trained for this in labor-management relations classes; he as much as Fitzsimmons occupies a class position of compromise between the ruling class and the workers.

Pushing the settlement worked out by Usery, Carey expressed this compromise position:

"...The main issue was not a demand by the union for 'more', but a demand by the company to take away and deprive us of job security and union strength.

"I believe we must measure our gains in what we have preserved."

This is followed up with the classic cry of the bankrupt bureau-



cracy that refuses to wage a real battle: "We believe that while this is not perfect, it is a contract we can live with."

Carey seeks a way to "live with" the crisis, to avoid the confrontation between classes. Workers, on the other hand, are being asked to "live with" the dispersal of the most militant workers through reorganization into satellite centers, the breakdown of work rules and tremendous speed-up.

Workers will not accept these conditions. At UPS and in every industry, tremendous battles lie ahead against the recession imposed by the ruling class and the betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy.

But militancy alone is not enough. The working class requires socialist policies to beat back these attacks, and a political leadership to give direction to this fight.

Now is the time to organize this alternative leadership. In Local 804, it will be developed in the course of campaigning for no cooperation with the agreement drawn up between Carey, the government, and UPS.

In every union, this new leadership must be built in concrete action against Ford's unemployment drive.

The role of Carey and Fitzsimmons shows urgently the need to demand the trade union leadership break all ties with this government. Workers must demand an end to all government intervention in negotiations, an end to union participation in Ford's corporatist Labor-Management Committee and no submission to anti-labor laws.

A congress of labor must be called to formulate socialist policies and launch a labor party to implement the nationalization of basic industry under workers control.

The construction of this new leadership is the task of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, the industrial arm of the Workers League.

## Child Welfare Bureau Under Attack

The Bureau of Child Welfare has been undergoing an almost continuous reorganization for the past few years. Changes have been introduced in various sections of BCW, sometimes slowly and almost imperceptibly, the net effect of which has been to seriously undermine the rights of BCW workers through speedup, attacks on titles and job specifications, victimization, and the undermining of civil service protection.

The reorganization has only been possible because of the complete collaboration of the Knight leadership of SSEU-371. Beginning with the 1970 contract, the union leadership had negotiated away rights over workload limitations and job specifications and allowed the city to "farm out" BCW cases to private agencies.

The new contract gives the city the right to implement any changes in BCW (as well as in other agencies). The city is obliged only to "discuss" these changes with the union.

The Knight leadership carries on their discussions with the city behind the scenes, at labor-management meetings which are rarely reported to the ranks.

Caseload guidelines are now set by New York State and are no longer negotiated between the union and the city. The city has assigned caseloads in excess of the state's guidelines. The union leadership has completely gone along with this practice, maintaining only that workers have a right to use the grievance procedure against excess caseloads.

The latest estimates put the average caseload at 167 percent in excess of state guidelines.

### REORGANIZATION

The city's reorganization of BCW is breaking down job categories and specifications, as well as forcing BCW to do work formerly reserved for other city and state agencies. Some of the reorganization measures which have been recently implemented both before and on October 1 include:

1. Intake Units are now forced to take in some protective and preventive cases and "court ordered investigations and reviews." The latter function used to be performed by Probation Officers, whose jobs are now under attack by the city.

2. Certain cases that were formerly assigned to Protective Services are now being assigned to Preventive Services.

3. In 2 Lafayette in January, the city merged Shelter Boarding Home (which placed children in short-term foster homes) with the Division of Foster Home Care (which placed children in long-term foster care). A Knight supporter sanctioned this merger because there was "a lack of staff" that made it impossible to maintain both units.

### from the committee for new leadership

The increasing attacks on BCW workers may soon lead to a confrontation with the city. Carol Parry, the new director of the Agency for Special Services is threatening BCW workers that the administration will not allow the pending action, a limit of four new cases a month, to continue.

BCW workers must not be intimidated into abandoning this action. They must at the same time repudiate those who call for a local walkout and fight for the SSEU to defend their action. A local action will only result in isolating and weakening militants in BCW.

The CNL demands that Knight inform the city that if any workers are victimized as a result of the pending action, the SSEU will back them up, including citywide strike action.

We furthermore demand that the Knight leadership break off all talks with the city on any further reorganization.

The continuing deterioration of social services lies in the economic crisis of the capitalist system. The city's attempt to place the burden of this crisis on the working class must be fought politically by the entire labor movement through the construction of a labor party with socialist policies.

**Next CNL Meeting:**  
Thurs., Dec. 5  
6:30 pm  
135 W. 14 St.  
7th Floor

## Beame Fires 1,510

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, NY—The \$100 million city budget cut will lead to the biggest layoff in civil service workers since the depression.

Mayor Abraham Beame announced that the city would begin a total hiring ban and severe restrictions on overtime immediately.

On December 1, layoffs will begin for 510 civil service workers and 1,000 provisional employees.

Two thousand city workers, all provisionals, have already been fired since the new budget was approved July 1.

The budget cuts will involve closing down 12 fire stations, two medical substations, and cutbacks in rush-hour schedules on the Staten Island Ferry. Services in the Human Resource Administration and Addiction Services Agency will be cut back as well.

Full cutbacks have not yet been announced for the Department of Education, which was asked to slash \$74.1 million. Cutbacks have also not been finalized for the Health and Hospitals Corporation.

Civil service cutbacks include Environmental Protection Administration drivers, Corrections Department aides, 140 positions in Health Services Administration, 50 in Municipal Service Administration, and 13 ferry crewmen.

The firing of provisional workers will most effect the Social Services Department, the Health Services Department, the Board of Education, City University staff members, and the Transportation Department.

Victor Gotbaum, Executive Director of District 37, AFSCME, met with Beame for a briefing before the cuts were released to the press. DC 37 organizes almost one-third of the city's 350,000 workers.

Gotbaum did nothing to defend the provisionals laid off earlier in the year. He has blocked every attempt to raise a program against Beame's well-publicized plans to impose further slashes.

Workers in every city employees union must demand immediate local meetings to draft a program of action to defend jobs and services.

A proposal for a general strike against job cuts will be put forward at the November 25 DC 37 delegates by supporters of the SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership.

They will demand, in addition, that Gotbaum call for a congress of labor to launch a labor party in order to unite the entire labor movement.

### The Miners' Strike & the Fight for a Labor Party

Saturday, November 30  
7:30 p.m.  
Lawson YMCA  
30 West Chicago Ave.  
Chicago, Ill.

\$2 for trade unionists' \$1 for youth

Speaker: Fred Mazelis  
Workers League  
National Secretary

### Call an Emergency UAW Conference

December 4, 7:30 pm  
St. Phillip Aeri Church  
Dickerson & Charlevoix  
Detroit

Speaker: Fred Mazelis,  
Workers League  
National Secretary

# SUGAR

BY  
JEFF  
SEBASTIAN

"The supply situation is so tight that if a guy in Reston, Virginia, spills a five-pound bag, it has a bullish effect on the market."

This was the comment of an official of the US Cane Sugar Refiners Association on the hysterical speculation that has gripped the world sugar markets.

For those who control the production and refining of sugar, the times have never been so sweet. The sugar barons are racing to cash in on the greatest profit spree in the history of the industry.

Sugar prices have soared more than 300 percent in the last year and 30 percent in the last month alone. Amstar, the largest sugar refiner, which produces Domino and controls the Spreckels beet sugar operation, has raised its prices for refined sugar 19 times in the last 11 months.

The latest earnings reported by the major sugar companies show that they are raking in the largest profits since World War Two.

Amstar's profits were up 250 percent in the September quarter. The Great Western United Corporation, which produces sugar beets, has recorded a 1,200 percent leap in profits so far this year.

## SUPER PROFITS

Even these figures underestimate the cash that is pouring in. The figures are computed with a new accounting procedure designed to disguise the super profits obtained from selling off inventories at the current market price.

Companies such as the California and Hawaiian Sugar Company, which also own the sugar plantations, are not only hiking their refining charges, but are benefitting from the increase in raw sugar from 9¢ a pound last year to more than 30¢ now.

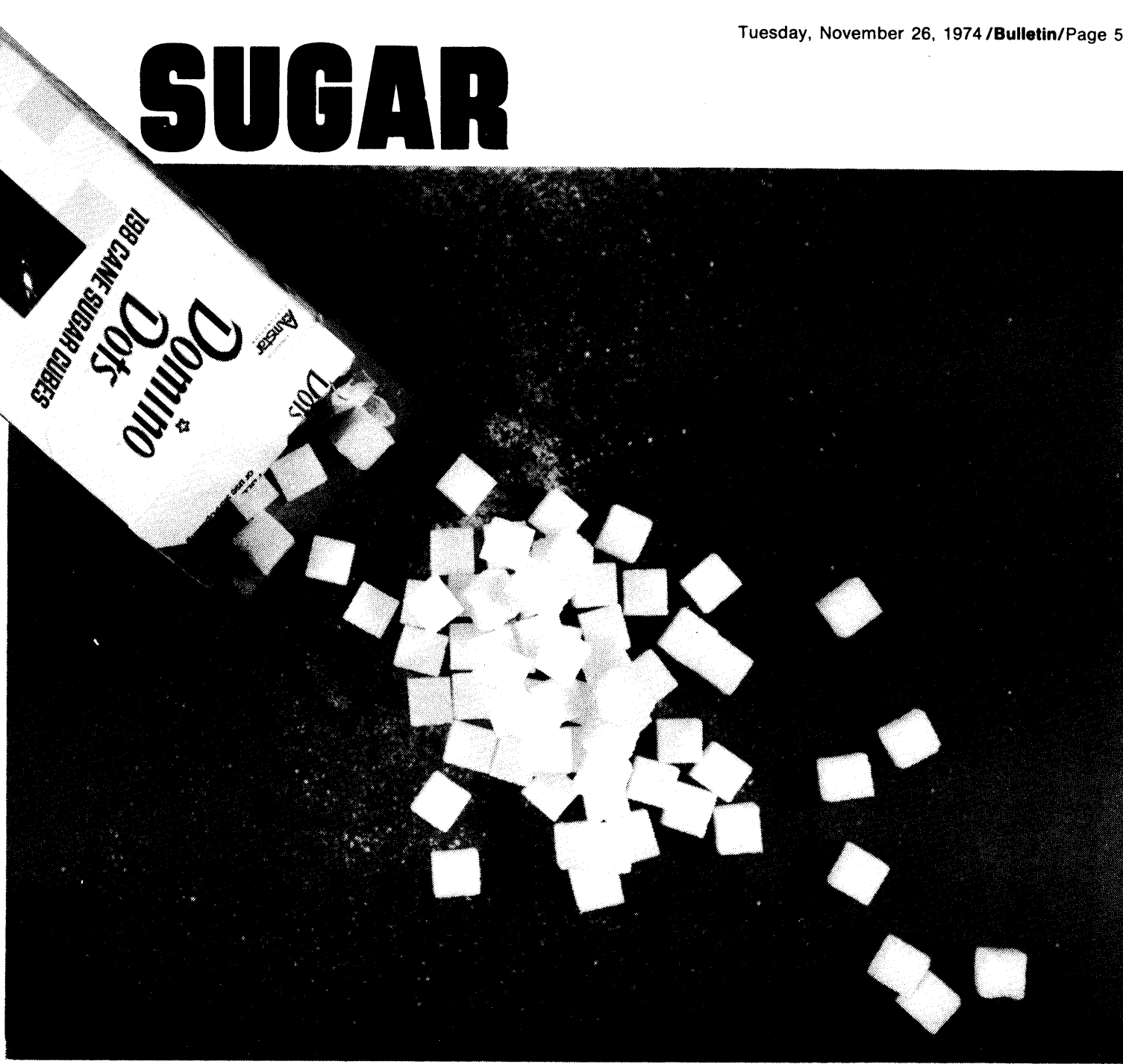
It is, of course, the working class which must foot the bill. More than half of sugar production turns up in processed foods. The five pound bag of sugar that last year cost 88¢ is now \$3.00. Soft drinks are up more than 40 percent since last year. Glazed doughnuts have almost doubled. Chocolate bars have risen 44 percent.

The sugar price boom is the latest in a series of speculative orgies that have swept the world's commodities markets.

The present world shortage of sugar is created by the completely unplanned and anarchistic nature of capitalist production.

It began not as a shortage, but as a glut. In the 1960s, the United States suspended its purchases of Cuban sugar. A worldwide rush began to increase sugar production in order to replace the Cuban share of the American market.

Dozens of countries from the Dominican Republic to the Philippines expanded production.



# Profits Have Never Been So Sweet

The result was overproduction of sugar, falling prices, and a decision by the sugar producers to limit growth.

The curtailment of production began to have an impact in the 1970s. In 1970 to 1971, production lagged 1.7 million tons behind world consumption.

Since that time, production has continued to lag behind demand. This year, estimates are that 81.5 million tons will be consumed, while 81.1 million tons are expected to be harvested.

## DEFICITS

Throughout this period, the deficits were made up through sales from world stocks which are estimated to have dwindled from more than 21 million tons in 1970 to less than 15 million tons today.

Even this may underestimate the tightness of supply. Recent reports reveal that the Soviet Union, which normally exports sugar, has been buying instead. Poland is holding back normal exports; the Philippines have cancelled many exports due to massive crop destruction from typhoons; and the European production of beet sugar has been slashed 30 percent by disease and bad weather.

But not even this severe limitation of supplies can explain the astronomic price increases.

If the production and distribution of sugar was planned, there would still be adequate supplies during the year or two necessary to increase world production.

## SPECULATORS

But the price of sugar, like that of all commodities, is de-

termined on the commodities markets by the activities of the brokers and speculators.

The present sugar shortage is the fulfillment of every speculator's dream.

Sugar is bought and sold on the commodity markets often before it is even grown. The sugar grower contracts to sell his product to a merchant at a certain fixed price before the harvest.

## MERCHANT

The merchant must take care that the price of this sugar will not be lower than the price he has agreed to pay when it is delivered.

He, therefore, protects himself by selling his contract to a broker who hopes to profit from higher prices when the delivery date comes due. If the price goes up, the broker sells the contract at a tidy profit.

In this way, the brokers obtain the supplies, acting as middlemen between the farmers and the companies who ultimately buy the sugar.

When capitalist conditions are relatively stable, the brokers actually enable merchants and others to plan on fairly regular prices by absorbing the risks of any price fluctuations.

But in times of crisis and shortages, the speculators can dictate huge increases by hoarding commodities in demand. The rising prices increase the speculation, which feeds on itself to produce price rises far beyond the original shortage.

Under present conditions, with world stocks depleted, control over even a tiny amount of sugar is enough to send prices skyrocketing.

The president of Cott Corporation, the soft drink manufacturer, estimates that current speculation in sugar has caused prices to at least double.

Of course, speculation is an integral part of the capitalist system. The recent rush to grab up sugar supplies is the reflection of the breakdown of the international monetary system.

With world currencies no longer backed by gold, and a massive currency crisis once again shaking the money markets, holders of paper money are more than anxious to protect themselves by hoarding commodities in the hopes of quick profits. The sugar crisis is the reflection of the same process that has caused oil prices to more than quadruple.

## TRADE

The worldwide scramble for sugar reveals how rapidly all international agreements on trade are breaking down into a dog eat dog competitive war.

Arab oil producing countries anxious to protect their dollar incomes have been speculating massively in sugar. Algeria and Kuwait alone have purchased more than five million tons. A recent announcement that the Soviet Union has purchased 400,000 tons was enough to send raw sugar prices up 2.5 cents.

On December 31, the US Sugar Act will expire. This was an act which sets quotas on sugar imports from 31 producing nations. It provided the quota nations with a guaranteed market, while protecting US sugar growers from cheap competition.

A similar agreement between

Britain and the Commonwealth sugar producing countries will expire at the same time.

The expiration of these agreements expresses the impossibility of maintaining any sort of stable trading relations under conditions of monetary chaos.

The sugar producers are no longer willing to provide cheap sugar to Britain or the US in return for depreciating currency, at a time when windfall profits are to be made on the world markets. Britain faces a situation of virtually no access to any guaranteed supply of sugar.

The US Sugar Act is now to be replaced with legislation that will enable US companies to buy on the world markets. Its effect will be even higher sugar prices at home and an intensification of the international fight to monopolize precious sugar supplies.

## GOUGING

The recent announcement that the US government intends to investigate the sugar industry for possible price fixing and profit gouging arrangements is a fraud.

The sugar crisis is a symptom of the capitalist system in mortal crisis. Its solution can only come through the elimination of this bankrupt system and its replacement with a planned socialist society.

Only such a society, by eliminating the profit motive and destroying speculation, can guarantee agreements with the workers of the sugar producing countries that will eliminate shortages, provide economic prosperity in these countries, and assure adequate supplies at reasonable prices.



Left: Tro  
Above: F  
the Rev

The uncontrollable economic and political crisis of world capitalism is now placing the struggle for working class power on the agenda in every capitalist country.

The events in Portugal reflect the revolutionary upsurge throughout Europe and mark the beginning of the world socialist revolution.

The only solution to the crisis is for the working class to organize politically to take state power. For this, a revolutionary party must be built.

In this period, we must turn particularly to the history of the Bolshevik Party which led the first successful proletarian revolution 57 years ago this month.

We commemorate this anniversary of the Russian Revolution, made possible only through the most implacable struggle for Marxist principles, by an intensified struggle to construct Trotskyist parties internationally in the working class against the trade union bureaucracy and its Stalinist and reformist hangers on.

The recent publication of *The History of the Bolshevik Party: From the Beginnings to February 1917* by Grigori Zinoviev is an important contribution in educating workers and youth, now entering the revolutionary party, in this history.

Zinoviev's book is a collection of six lectures commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Bolshevik Party. The lectures show how the party was able to build up and to maintain, under the most difficult conditions, the iron discipline that is needed for the victory of the working class.

#### FOUNDATION

At the heart of this strength was the firm foundation of the party in the theory of Marxism and the continuous struggle for its principles against all those forces who sought to revise them.

The struggle for principle over many years centered on the historical role of the working class as the revolutionary force in society. Zinoviev states: "The whole history of Bolshevism is nothing other than

the struggle for the realization of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat."

This question dominated the early period of the Russian revolutionary movement, in the struggle between Marxism and populism.

Zinoviev points out that the early populists, the Narodniks, could not help being weak and vague about the role of the working class because in that period in Russia "the working class was just being born and still lay in diapers." This of course, could not be said about the later followers of Narodism nor about the Mensheviks.

The Narodniks contended that the development of Russia would not proceed along the same lines as other capitalist countries, but would be able to leap directly from the primitive relations of small production to socialism. They rejected the revolutionary role of the working class, substituting for it the peasantry, and called for the building of a "peoples party."

The Marxists insisted in this struggle that parties represent specific classes, that there could not be a "peoples' party." The revolutionary party must be a party which is not only working class in its composition, but in its orientation, program, and policy.

Lenin and Plekhanov took the lead in the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat. Plekhanov at the First Congress of the Second International, in 1889, stated: "The Russian revolution will either triumph as a revolution of the working class or it will not triumph at all."

In 1894, Lenin published "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social Democrats."

#### METHOD

In this polemic with the liberal-Narodnik Mikhailovsky, Lenin states that what divides the Marxists from the petty bourgeois socialists is the scientific method of social science, dialectical materialism.

"What Marx and Engels called the dialectical method—as against the metaphysical—is nothing else than the scientific method of sociology, which consists in

regarding society as a living organism in a state of constant development (and not as something mechanically concatenated and therefore permitting all sorts of arbitrary combinations of separate social elements), an organism the study of which requires an objective analysis of the production relations that constitute the given social formation and an investigation of its laws and functioning."

The Narodniks refused to make such an analysis. They proceeded on the basis of idealism and subjectiveness. They denied that capitalism existed in Russia.

They clung to impressions of Russia's past and dreams of the economic independence of the small proprietor. Claiming that oppression in Russia was not a product of capitalist exploitation, they sought to slur over the class divisions in society.

Az Zinoviev points out, not only did Lenin dismantle the Narodniks' misconceptions stone by stone, but he outlined the basic strategy which was to lead the October revolution:

"Lenin said approximately the following: 'Today, Russian workers do not yet understand the role of the working class as hegemonic, or only individual sections understand it; but the time will come when all advanced workers of Russia will understand it. And when this happens, the Russian working class will, by leading the peasantry behind it, take Russia to the communist revolution.'"

For Lenin, the revolutionary role of the working class as the organizer of communism comes not from faith or desire, but as he put it is the "corollary of Marx's economic theory."

#### PRIMACY

The question of the primacy of the working class and the necessity to construct a Marxist party as part of that class was fought out continuously throughout the period prior to the October Revolution.

Zinoviev states that this is what actually led to the split in the Russian Social Democracy in 1903 between the Bolsheviks (the majority) and the Mensheviks (the minority).

This is what lay behind the struggle over the wording of the party rules. Lenin had formulated the rule of party membership as follows: a party member is one who accepts the discipline of the party and fights to build it financially, politically, and in every way possible.

Martov, who became one of the leaders of the Mensheviks, formulated it: a party member is one who works under the direction of the party and provides assistance to party organizations.

The future Mensheviks argued that "any striker" should be a member of the party. Martov emphasized that Lenin's formulation would prevent the students, professors, and the petty bourgeoisie from joining.

Lenin said that to simply say that "any striker" should be considered a member of the party would deny the necessity for the party to be the conscious organization of the class fighting at every point against bourgeois consciousness within the working class.

In answer to Martov's concern over the petty bourgeoisie, Zinoviev describes Lenin's report:

"Comrade Lenin energetically objected to such a formulation of the question:

'Your argument threatens the party with doom', he said. 'In the party, we need not students, not professors, nor petty-bourgeoisie, we need workers.'

"We are prepared to make use of the student and academic movements; we do not reject the services of Prince Obolensky, or the very eminent Petr Struve or anyone whom we meet along our way; but we must remember that the leading class is the proletariat and its party must be a proletarian one."

This difference, as Zinoviev reports, was brought out sharply over the resolution on the party's attitude toward the liberal bourgeoisie. Martov proposed a motion which said that the party should go along with the liberals, but set conditions for them to accept if they were not counterrevolutionaries.

Lenin and Plekhanov argued that the lib-

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## 57th anniversary of the Russian Revolution

a review by  
**Lucy St. John**

# HISTORY OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

Left: Trotsky, Lenin, Kamenev.  
Above: Russian peasants before  
the Revolution. Right: Zinoviev.

erals would agree to any conditions only to trick the working class the next day. The Bolsheviks refused to accept the perspective of the Mensheviks, for the party to abandon the independence of the working class in order to form alliances with sections of the capitalist class.

This fight within the revolutionary party and the resulting split were crucial to the October Revolution. Lenin was forced to wage the sharpest battle against comrades with whom he had collaborated for many years.

But he recognized the future of the revolution depended upon the decision of the Bolsheviks to build a party of professional revolutionaries trained in principle and theory.

In 1904, only a year after the split and a year before the revolutionary uprising of the Russian working class, the Mensheviks advocated the "zemstvo campaign."

### PETITIONS

They told the workers to send representatives to the provincial meetings of the liberal zemstvos (local government bodies), which discussed the situation in Russia and addressed petitions to the Tsar.

The workers' representatives were to inform the noblemen and liberal bourgeoisie that the workers would support them if they continued their campaign of petitions. The Mensheviks told the workers that they were not to intimidate the liberals with their excessively proletarian demands.

Zinoviev describes the Mensheviks' position: "...the Mensheviks' plan emerges with exceptional clarity: the working class as an independent force must be erased from the account, and only two forces must be kept in mind: the Tsar and the liberal bourgeoisie. Which of them is the better one? The liberal bourgeoisie of course.

"If this is so, then let us support it. In this formulation of the question, the Mensheviks' opportunism spoke, and their course was revealed: toward a bloc and an alliance with the bourgeoisie and not

towards an independent role for the working class."

During the 1905 events, all the warnings of the Bolsheviks at the 1903 Congress were borne out as the liberals—seeing the massive movement of the working class—ran to the Tsar and made a deal.

Not only did the Bolsheviks have to fight this out with the Mensheviks, but with almost the entire leadership of the Second International. With the approach of World War One, they abandoned any independent struggle of the working class against imperialist war and advocated support to their own bourgeoisie.

Revision of Marxism has always taken the form, no matter how disguised, of the rejection of the revolutionary role and independence of the working class, forsaking the construction of the revolutionary party for alliances with the capitalist class.

The position so vividly outlined by Zinoviev above was revived by Stalin under the name of "socialism in one country." This was not a new theory developed by Stalin, but a return to the perspective of the Mensheviks.

Socialism in one country meant the rejection of the independent struggle of the working class in every country for power. Instead, the Communist International was to ally with the so-called "progressive" section of the capitalist class.

Under the slogan of the popular front, the working class was led to defeat in France and Spain in the 1930s, and more recently, in Chile. This policy now poses the greatest danger to the revolutionary movement of the working class in Portugal.

The Pabloites, who broke from the Trotskyist movement and now make up the United Secretariat, have claimed in the last 20 years that the working class is no longer the revolutionary force in society and have turned to the petty bourgeoisie. Zinoviev's lectures make clear that this perspective is completely hostile to Lenin's fight for Bolshevism.

The Bolsheviks were able to win the confidence of the working class because



V.I. Lenin during the Russian Revolution.

they fought for principles and these principles were actually checked in practice in the class struggle. It was the fight for principle, together with the rich experience of the party that prepared it for the leadership of the revolution.

The Mensheviks said after the 1905 revolution that the revolution was finished and defeated because the workers had raised their "excessive" demands. Against this, the Bolsheviks saw 1905 as the dress rehearsal and fought for an understanding in the working class of its lessons.

Having arisen on a granite theoretical basis, Bolshevism then passed through 15 years of practical history which, in wealth of experience, had no equal. The movement went through a rapid and varied succession of different forms, legal and illegal, peaceful and stormy, parliamentary and terrorist, parliamentary and nonparliamentary.

Lenin in 1921, in his struggle within the Third International, against the left-wing communists, warned against taking the Bolshevik's victory for granted and thinking one can simply repeat it without an understanding of the long struggle that made that victory possible.

He particularly directed his remarks to the sections in Western Europe and America where he said the struggle would be incomparably more difficult because the bourgeoisie was stronger and bourgeois democratic traditions in the working class

were stronger. This is why we must turn to these lessons today, under conditions of new revolutionary struggles.

The long struggle against Menshevism which Zinoviev correctly outlines in this book was always reflected in the Bolshevik Party itself. This fight against revisionism reached its highest point in 1917, when Zinoviev and Kamenev and a whole section of the Old Guard of the party opposed Lenin's "April Theses" that laid down perspectives for opposing the Provisional Government and preparing the socialist revolution.

### PRINCIPLES

The long struggle for principles in which the party was built and trained enabled Lenin to rally the Bolsheviks for the revolution in a struggle with the Old Guard.

Zinoviev's lectures leave off with February, 1917. This is not accidental, as Zinoviev was unable to deal objectively with the actual preparation of the revolution. The book, published at a time when Trotsky's struggle against Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev was reaching a sharp point in 1923, contains certain distortions of Trotsky's role in the 1905 revolution and his theory of the permanent revolution.

Despite these weaknesses, the lectures are of enormous value to us. Zinoviev, who participated in the construction of the party from the beginning with Lenin, is able to provide a unique contribution to understanding the struggle for principle which was the very foundation of the Bolshevik Party. It was, in fact, through this struggle that comrades like Zinoviev were held in the party and enabled to make invaluable contributions.

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The uncontrollable economic and political crisis of world capitalism is now placing the struggle for working class power on the agenda in every capitalist country.

The events in Portugal reflect the revolutionary upsurge throughout Europe and mark the beginning of the world socialist revolution.

The only solution to the crisis is for the working class to organize politically to take state power. For this, a revolutionary party must be built.

In this period, we must turn particularly to the history of the Bolshevik Party which led the first successful proletarian revolution 57 years ago this month.

We commemorate this anniversary of the Russian Revolution, made possible only through the most implacable struggle for Marxist principles, by an intensified struggle to construct Trotskyist parties internationally in the working class against the trade union bureaucracy and its Stalinist and reformist hangers on.

The recent publication of *The History of the Bolshevik Party: From the Beginnings to February 1917* by Grigori Zinoviev is an important contribution in educating workers and youth, now entering the revolutionary party, in this history.

Zinoviev's book is a collection of six lectures commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Bolshevik Party. The lectures show how the party was able to build up and to maintain, under the most difficult conditions, the iron discipline that is needed for the victory of the working class.

#### FOUNDATION

At the heart of this strength was the firm foundation of the party in the theory of Marxism and the continuous struggle for its principles against all those forces who sought to revise them.

The struggle for principle over many years centered on the historical role of the working class as the revolutionary force in society. Zinoviev states: "The whole history of Bolshevism is nothing other than

the struggle for the realization of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat."

This question dominated the early period of the Russian revolutionary movement, in the struggle between Marxism and populism.

Zinoviev points out that the early populists, the Narodniks, could not help being weak and vague about the role of the working class because in that period in Russia "the working class was just being born and still lay in diapers." This of course, could not be said about the later followers of Narodism nor about the Mensheviks.

The Narodniks contended that the development of Russia would not proceed along the same lines as other capitalist countries, but would be able to leap directly from the primitive relations of small production to socialism. They rejected the revolutionary role of the working class, substituting for it the peasantry, and called for the building of a "peoples party."

The Marxists insisted in this struggle that parties represent specific classes, that there could not be a "peoples party." The revolutionary party must be a party which is not only working class in its composition, but in its orientation, program, and policy.

Lenin and Plekhanov took the lead in the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat. Plekhanov at the First Congress of the Second International, in 1889, stated: "The Russian revolution will either triumph as a revolution of the working class or it will not triumph at all."

In 1894, Lenin published "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social Democrats."

#### METHOD

In this polemic with the liberal-Narodnik Mikhailovsky, Lenin states that what divides the Marxists from the petty bourgeois socialists is the scientific method of social science, dialectical materialism.

"What Marx and Engels called the dialectical method—as against the metaphysical—is nothing else than the scientific method of sociology, which consists in

regarding society as a living organism in a state of constant development (and not as something mechanically concatenated and therefore permitting all sorts of arbitrary combinations of separate social elements), an organism the study of which requires an objective analysis of the production relations that constitute the given social formation and an investigation of its laws and functioning."

The Narodniks refused to make such an analysis. They proceeded on the basis of idealism and subjectiveness. They denied that capitalism existed in Russia.

They clung to impressions of Russia's past and dreams of the economic independence of the small proprietor. Claiming that oppression in Russia was not a product of capitalist exploitation, they sought to slur over the class divisions in society.

Az Zinoviev points out, not only did Lenin dismantle the Narodniks' misconceptions stone by stone, but he outlined the basic strategy which was to lead the October revolution:

"Lenin said approximately the following: 'Today, Russian workers do not yet understand the role of the working class as hegemonic, or only individual sections understand it; but the time will come when all advanced workers of Russia will understand it. And when this happens, the Russian working class will, by leading the peasantry behind it, take Russia to the communist revolution.'"

For Lenin, the revolutionary role of the working class as the organizer of communism comes not from faith or desire, but as he put it is the "corollary of Marx's economic theory."

#### PRIMACY

The question of the primacy of the working class and the necessity to construct a Marxist party as part of that class was fought out continuously throughout the period prior to the October Revolution.

Zinoviev states that this is what actually led to the split in the Russian Social Democracy in 1903 between the Bolsheviks (the majority) and the Mensheviks (the minority).

This is what lay behind the struggle over the wording of the party rules. Lenin had formulated the rule of party membership as follows: a party member is one who accepts the discipline of the party and fights to build it financially, politically, and in every way possible.

Martov, who became one of the leaders of the Mensheviks, formulated it: a party member is one who works under the direction of the party and provides assistance to party organizations.

The future Mensheviks argued that "any striker" should be a member of the party. Martov emphasized that Lenin's formulation would prevent the students, professors, and the petty bourgeoisie from joining.

Lenin said that to simply say that "any striker" should be considered a member of the party would deny the necessity for the party to be the conscious organization of the class fighting at every point against bourgeois consciousness within the working class.

In answer to Martov's concern over the petty bourgeoisie, Zinoviev describes Lenin's report:

"Comrade Lenin energetically objected to such a formulation of the question:

'Your argument threatens the party with doom,' he said. 'In the party, we need not students, not professors, nor petty-bourgeoisie, we need workers.'

"We are prepared to make use of the student and academic movements; we do not reject the services of Prince Obolensky, or the very eminent Petr Struve or anyone whom we meet along our way; but we must remember that the leading class is the proletariat and its party must be a proletarian one."

This difference, as Zinoviev reports, was brought out sharply over the resolution on the party's attitude toward the liberal bourgeoisie. Martov proposed a motion which said that the party should go along with the liberals, but set conditions for them to accept if they were not counterrevolutionaries.

Lenin and Plekhanov argued that the lib-



## 57th anniversary of the Russian Revolution

a review by  
**Lucy St. John**

# HISTORY OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

Left: Trotsky, Lenin, Kamenev.  
Above: Russian peasants before  
the Revolution. Right: Zinoviev.

erals would agree to any conditions only to trick the working class the next day. The Bolsheviks refused to accept the perspective of the Mensheviks, for the party to abandon the independence of the working class in order to form alliances with sections of the capitalist class.

This fight within the revolutionary party and the resulting split were crucial to the October Revolution. Lenin was forced to wage the sharpest battle against comrades with whom he had collaborated for many years.

But he recognized the future of the revolution depended upon the decision of the Bolsheviks to build a party of professional revolutionaries trained in principle and theory.

In 1904, only a year after the split and a year before the revolutionary uprising of the Russian working class, the Mensheviks advocated the "zemstvo campaign."

#### PETITIONS

They told the workers to send representatives to the provincial meetings of the liberal zemstvos (local government bodies), which discussed the situation in Russia and addressed petitions to the Tsar.

The workers' representatives were to inform the noblemen and liberal bourgeoisie that the workers would support them if they continued their campaign of petitions. The Mensheviks told the workers that they were not to intimidate the liberals with their excessively proletarian demands.

Zinoviev describes the Mensheviks' position: "...the Mensheviks' plan emerges with exceptional clarity: the working class as an independent force must be erased from the account, and only two forces must be kept in mind: the Tsar and the liberal bourgeoisie. Which of them is the better one? The liberal bourgeoisie of course."

"If this is so, then let us support it. In this formulation of the question, the Mensheviks' opportunism spoke, and their course was revealed: toward a bloc and an alliance with the bourgeoisie and not

towards an independent role for the working class."

During the 1905 events, all the warnings of the Bolsheviks at the 1903 Congress were borne out as the liberals—seeing the massive movement of the working class—ran to the Tsar and made a deal.

Not only did the Bolsheviks have to fight this out with the Mensheviks, but with almost the entire leadership of the Second International. With the approach of World War One, they abandoned any independent struggle of the working class against imperialist war and advocated support to their own bourgeoisie.

Revision of Marxism has always taken the form, no matter how disguised, of the rejection of the revolutionary role and independence of the working class, forsaking the construction of the revolutionary party for alliances with the capitalist class.

The position so vividly outlined by Zinoviev above was revived by Stalin under the name of "socialism in one country." This was not a new theory developed by Stalin, but a return to the perspective of the Mensheviks.

Socialism in one country meant the rejection of the independent struggle of the working class in every country for power. Instead, the Communist International was to ally with the so-called "progressive" section of the capitalist class.

Under the slogan of the popular front, the working class was led to defeat in France and Spain in the 1930s, and more recently, in Chile. This policy now poses the greatest danger to the revolutionary movement of the working class in Portugal.

The Pablistes, who broke from the Trotskyist movement and now make up the United Secretariat, have claimed in the last 20 years that the working class is no longer the revolutionary force in society and have turned to the petty bourgeoisie. Zinoviev's lectures make clear that this perspective is completely hostile to Lenin's fight for Bolshevism.

The Bolsheviks were able to win the confidence of the working class because



V.I. Lenin during the Russian Revolution.

they fought for principles and these principles were actually checked in practice in the class struggle. It was the fight for principle, together with the rich experience of the party that prepared it for the leadership of the revolution.

The Mensheviks said after the 1905 revolution that the revolution was finished and defeated because the workers had raised their "excessive" demands. Against this, the Bolsheviks saw 1905 as the dress rehearsal and fought for an understanding in the working class of its lessons.

Having arisen on a granite theoretical basis, Bolshevism then passed through 15 years of practical history which, in wealth of experience, had no equal. The movement went through a rapid and varied succession of different forms, legal and illegal, peaceful and stormy, parliamentary and terrorist, parliamentary and nonparliamentary.

Lenin in 1921, in his struggle within the Third International, against the left-wing communists, warned against taking the Bolshevik's victory for granted and thinking one can simply repeat it without an understanding of the long struggle that made that victory possible.

He particularly directed his remarks to the sections in Western Europe and America where he said the struggle would be incomparably more difficult because the bourgeoisie was stronger and bourgeois democratic traditions in the working class

were stronger. This is why we must turn to these lessons today, under conditions of new revolutionary struggles.

The long struggle against Menshevism which Zinoviev correctly outlines in this book was always reflected in the Bolshevik Party itself. This fight against revisionism reached its highest point in 1917, when Zinoviev and Kamenev and a whole section of the Old Guard of the party opposed Lenin's "April Theses" that laid down perspectives for opposing the Provisional Government and preparing the socialist revolution.

#### PRINCIPLES

The long struggle for principles in which the party was built and trained enabled Lenin to rally the Bolsheviks for the revolution in a struggle with the Old Guard.

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# Scientists Say Atomic Plants Are Unsafe

The Oklahoma State medical examiner has officially ruled that the death of Karen Silkwood, a technician for the Kerr McGee nuclear facility in Cimmaron, Oklahoma, was due to a traffic accident.

Silkwood's car went off the road last week while she was bringing documents to a reporter and an official of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union that detailed the violation of safety standards at the plant.

The medical examiner's autopsy report said she was under the influence of a "sedative, hypnotic drug, methaqualone," and that there was no trace of radioactivity in her body.

In a recent accident at the plant, Silkwood was exposed to a large amount of radiation.

The state is also upholding police claims that a dent in the rear of the car was made by the towtruck, despite the car being towed from the front.

## INVESTIGATION

The OCAW has demanded a governmental investigation of the death, charging that there is evidence that her car was pushed off the road.

Despite the fact that documents were not found in the car, Steve E. Wodka, OCAW legislative aide, stated: "I still believe she would have had in her possession more extensive documents of the quality control program."

Just as state and Kerr McGee officials were trying to put over this blatant whitewash, a group of scientists warned that a major accident at any nuclear reactor could kill or injure at least 126,000, and not the 7,600 the

Atomic Energy Commission report has estimated.

The report, prepared by the Union of Concerned Scientists and the Sierra Club, a conservation group, dispute the AEC findings that a nuclear reactor accident is unlikely.

First, the methods used by the AEC were rejected by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in testing rocket engines.

In theory, the methods showed that the engines would fail once in every 10,000 starts, but in practice they failed 4 times out of every 100 starts.

Secondly, the AEC casualty estimates are based on a successful evacuation of the entire population within 20 miles of the reactors.

The scientists wrote that at the Indian Point reactor in New York, "Plans or no plans, one would not expect to be able to evacuate such a population as is around this site. Moreover, no plans to our knowledge have been subject to test or drill..."

To be effective, such an evacuation would mean that thousands of people "surely must be moving with the precision and velocity of Patton advancing on the Ruhr."

## PLUTONIUM

Thirdly, the scientists charge that the AEC underestimates the lethal effects of large amounts of plutonium that are used in the reactors.

Instead of appealing to government agencies, the OCAW must conduct its own investigation and shut these plants and reactors until there is full safety protection for the workers.



Installing a nuclear reactor in an atomic plant.

# Steel Workers Suspended For Wildcat

BY A REPORTER  
YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—  
Twenty-eight USWA members who participated in a wildcat at Commercial Shearing four weeks ago may be suspended from their jobs.

The company is waiting for Christmas season before springing the suspensions, in an attempt to prevent a renewed walkout.

The wildcat, fully supported by all the workers, took place when the company tried to fire a shop steward for not making rate. This harassment has been continuous since the introduction of Universal Scheduling, a time and motion study company.

A company photographer took pictures of the men after the company lawyer had deliberately provoked a fight on the picket line.

Commercial Shearing has begun a vicious red-baiting attack, claiming a handful of militant "trouble-makers" instigated the strike. As soon as the strike was over, all shifts were

broken up, and men dispersed throughout the plant.

This has had relatively little effect on the militancy of the workers who had maintained the strike despite court injunctions and District USWA pressure to abandon the steward.

Ken told the Bulletin: "Since Universal Scheduling came in, it's been real speedup. Guys who used to be through at 2:30 or 2 pm, now are working all the way through, with no break.

"Every hour, the lady will come by from Universal and check you.

"The foreman has to fill out a slip for every time that you didn't make rate. He's got to say either the workers is incompetent, negligent, goofing off, or the work is too hard.

"Then, if you would really work and put it out, they raise the rate and say the job is too easy. So people turn their counters back. Some jobs are bonus and some aren't, but Universal Scheduling demands rate for them all.

"The safety is terrible there.

In some departments, men are missing hands, fingers, arms, everything. The company will deliberately block the electric eye from machines, so that instead of automatically shutting off the press when your arm or hand is in there, they have it blocked so that the press will come down no matter what.

"That way, it will operate faster and they can make more money."

In the wildcat, the local leadership capitulated to the pressure of the USWA President, I.W. Abel, and demanded that the membership return to work and submit the steward's job to binding arbitration. They have refused to prepare any fight to defend the 28 threatened with suspension.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party at Commercial Shearing demands official strike action to defend all jobs and to defend the 28.

Commercial Shearing workers must fight to force the union leadership to halt all cooperation with time and motion studies.

# Baltimore Hospitals Face Strike Action

BY LARRY SYMONS  
BALTIMORE, Md.—  
Hospital workers are set to strike five major hospitals on December 2 if no contract settlement has been reached.

"We are not making any progress anywhere," Fred Punch told a press conference on November 21. He is president of District 1199E, National Union of Hospital and Health Care workers.

Punch was reporting on the status of negotiations with Johns Hopkins, Lutheran, Provident, Maryland General, and the Greater Baltimore Medical Center.

Workers at Sinai Hospital in northwest Baltimore will vote on Tuesday, November 26, on a proposed contract.

After starting out by demanding a wage increase of 20 percent the first year and 15 percent the second year, Punch settled for 45 cents an hour (12 percent) and 25 cents (7 percent), and a limited cost of living increase in the second year.

The central feature of the Sinai pact is a "most favored nation" clause. According to 1199, this provision allows Sinai to reduce agreed upon pension, health, and welfare benefits if they are not matched by the contracts signed at the other hospitals.

While Punch insists that this clause only applies to fringe benefits, Sinai management claims it includes "all economic issues."

John G., a worker at Hopkins, said: "After Punch's last speech to the ranks, I thought he was the man for me. But when you think about it, he was just saying what we wanted to hear.

"He wasn't saying what he would do about the conditions. Most workers at Hopkins don't even know the demands. Punch isn't a true leadership."

Sinai workers must throw this contract back, just as coal miners have done, and demand that the 1199 leadership fight for the full 20 percent, and 100 percent cost of living protection. Instead of isolating the Sinai workers, 1199 must unite all hospital workers under a single contract.

# Bethlehem Lays Off 2,300

BALTIMORE, Md.—  
Bethlehem Steel has begun the indefinite layoff of 2,300 steel workers at the Sparrows Point complex near here.

David Wilson, president of Steel Workers Local 2609, said: "I think after Thanksgiving you're going to get some massive cutbacks. Things are grinding to a halt. The week after next, Sparrows Point will be just about dead."

The layoffs immediately affect workers in the coke ovens and the blast furnaces, but will soon spread to departments involved in latter stages of steel production.

Bethlehem officials claim that the layoffs are necessary because of the coal strike, but workers have heard reports that enough coal is stored to continue production until January.

Bethlehem and other steel

companies will not pay supplementary unemployment benefits to those laid off on the grounds that steel workers are involved in the coal strike. This is based on the fact that Bethlehem owns some coal mines.

Without the SUB, steel workers will just get unemployment compensation, which is only one-third of their present pay.

The layoffs are being accompanied by an attack on seniority rights with the full collaboration of I.W. Abel, the president of the United Steel Workers union. The company wants department seniority, not plantwide seniority.

Decisions on seniority are being dictated by the government through a tripartite committee that includes one union official, one company official and a government spokesman.

## MINERS STRIKE AND THE FIGHT FOR A LABOR PARTY

Mon., Dec. 2  
7:30 pm  
Downtown YMCA  
30 S. 9th St.  
Mpls.

\$1.00 trade unionists  
.50 youth & unemployed  
Speaker: Fred Mazelis,  
Workers League  
National Secretary

## ECONOMIC SLUMP, THE FIGHT FOR A LABOR PARTY AND THE TASKS OF STUDENTS

Coffman Union  
University of Minnesota  
Room 351  
Tues., Dec. 3  
12 noon

Speaker: Fred Mazelis,  
Workers League  
National Secretary

# THE SWP AND THE WORKING CLASS



**BY DAVID NORTH**  
**In the current issue of the International Socialist Review, theoretical journal of the Socialist Workers Party, Carol Lipman has written an article entitled "New Moods in the Working Class."**

This article is a crass defense of the trade union bureaucracy, and shows the deep hostility of revisionism to the movement of the working class and the principled fight for the building of a revolutionary party.

In the face of the greatest economic crisis in the history of capitalism, which now throws the working class into conflict against the government and employers in order to defend every fundamental right, the SWP emerges as the attorney for the very bureaucracy which is presently engaged in unprecedented collaboration with the government in order to drive the working class back.

Lipman explicitly rules out the struggle to expose and politically smash the bureaucracy, constructing the revolutionary leadership of the working class through this fight.

Instead, the ISR article proposes the most cynical adaptation to the bureaucracy, going so far as to leave the door open for soliciting positions on their payroll.

The justification for this collaboration with the bureaucracy which Lipman gives is the utterly reactionary argument that the official leadership of the unions is too powerful to challenge.

Lipman writes:  
 "Trying to organize a fight directly against the bureaucrats—that is, around demands like 'Dump I.W. Abel' or 'Down with Leonard Woodcock'—is a near-hopeless cause. A small number of militants can be rallied to support such slogans, but the bureaucrats generally find it a simple task to isolate and defeat them. Such an orientation, then, leads nowhere

except into the labor fakers' hands...

"What approach should revolutionary socialists take toward the unions? As mentioned previously, our job now is not to launch a direct, show-down confrontation with the union leadership, however crass and bureaucratic it is. One good reason for this is that the present relationship of forces is not favorable to such an approach. It would be suicidal."

Nothing more clearly exposes the bankruptcy of revisionists than the statement by a member of the SWP national committee that a fight against the bureaucracy is the equivalent of suicide. This feeble prostration before the officials of the AFL-CIO, UAW, UMW and teamsters is the reaction of middle class radicals overwhelmed by the class struggle and completely incapable of grasping the strength of the working class.

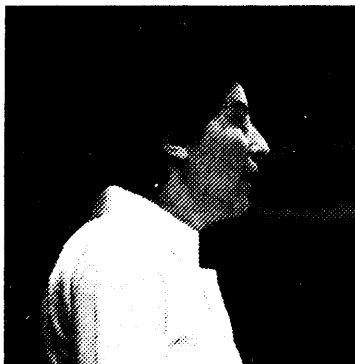
In place of an objective understanding of the crisis and of the revolutionary battles that must flow from this, the SWP is paralyzed by impressions of the strength of the bureaucracy. The revisionists conclude their activities must be directed toward seeking out progressive elements in the bureaucracy and advising them toward a "left-wing class-struggle" orientation.

The SWP is blind to the enormous transformation in class relations arising from the economic crisis. Proceeding as idealists, the SWP cannot grasp this crisis—which now threatens the living standards, jobs and basic rights of every worker—is the fundamental factor transforming the thinking of millions being forced into struggle.

In order to check the new "moods," Lipman cites a survey taken by the pollster Daniel Yankelovich—financed, incidentally, by the Mellon and Rockefeller foundations—and notes that he found big changes in the attitudes of young workers toward marriage, sex and the family. She also points out that the Yankelovich poll discovered that 94 percent felt that "business is too concerned with profits and not with public responsibility."

Lipman then points out that Yankelovich found support for a "Bill of New Rights" which includes better medical care, participation in job decisions and free college education.

"If it is not already obvious to young workers, they will soon learn that it will take a massive and decisive social upheaval to make this 'Bill of New Rights' a reality."



Carol Lipman

These statements assume a grotesque quality when placed against the background of the actual crisis which the working class now must confront.

During the month of November, tens of thousands of auto workers have been thrown out of their plants. Skyrocketing inflation continues to drive down the living standards of every worker and his family.

The inability of the capitalists to resolve the crisis through the mechanisms of controlled inflation now produces ruthless trade wars which must intensify the tendency toward slump. The United States barely conceals its war aims in the Middle East and, as in the 1930s, each local war carries with it the seeds of a world conflagration.

But, as in every country of the world, the chief obstacle confronted by the American bourgeoisie is the strength of the undefeated working class within its borders. It cannot resolve the crisis unless it defeats this working class and imposes upon it mass unemployment and drives it into poverty.

However, what characterizes the present period internationally and in the United States is the fierce resistance of the working class to these plans. The attempts of the capitalists to resolve the crisis through the destruction of the working class will produce a revolutionary situation.

In the US, the chief agency of the ruling class within the workers movement is the trade union bureaucracy.

As they enter into secret talks with the government and join—like Woodcock of the UAW, Miller of the UMW, Meany of the AFL-CIO—Ford's Labor-Management Committee, the bureaucracy stands absolutely opposed to the political mobilization of the working class against the government.

The bureaucracy desperately resists the development of an independent labor party which would open before masses of workers the perspective of a political struggle for power around a socialist program.

It is this situation that creates the necessity for the building of a Marxist leadership in the working class. While the working class comes into collision with the bureaucracy, it is only through the conscious struggle of the Marxist vanguard in conflict with the spontaneous bourgeois consciousness of the working class that the revolutionary leadership can be built.

This perspective is opposed by the SWP. All its activities are now directed toward defending the bureaucracy and preventing the development of revolutionary leadership.

Lipman claims that there exist tendencies within the bureaucracy which are capable of leading the struggles of the working class.

"Now it so happens that the union bureaucracy is shifting and maneuvering in response to the new situation. Even though the employers have not yet attempted to smash the big unions like the UAW, Steelworkers, and others, they no longer have the same cozy relationship that prevailed before 1971."

## PRESSURE

Furthermore, Lipman gives an example to show how the bureaucracy can lead a struggle under "pressure" from the ranks. Referring to the San Francisco SEIU strike last March, Lipman narrates how the union bureaucracy planned to delay the outbreak of the strike.

"One of the union leaders," she writes, "walked into the meeting close to midnight to announce the two-day moratorium on the strike. But after a long look at the rank and file, who were holding up signs and cheering 'Strike! Strike!' he shelved his planned excuses and shouted, 'Let's go! Get those pickets out!' At midnight, the pickets were out across the city and the city was shut down tight."

Lipman says nothing about the outcome of the strike—how the bureaucracy sabotaged it and eventually settled without winning any of the city workers' demands. The wage settlement fell within the unofficial guidelines established by Nixon and the bureaucracy maintained its political alliance with Democratic Mayor Alioto.

The glorification of the militancy of the working class is used by the SWP to cover its opportunist refusal to fight the bureaucracy and to completely abandon Trotsky's assessment of the role of the bureaucracy in the trade unions during the epoch of imperialism.

Lipman detects in the

"shifting and maneuvering" of the bureaucracy a movement to the left. In fact, since 1971, the bureaucracy—from Meany to Woodcock—have been engaged in unprecedented collaboration with the government. The crisis opened up by the August 15 decision to remove the dollar from gold backing set the stage for the direct backing of the bureaucracy for wage controls.

## TROTSKY

Lipman's claim that the bureaucracy moves left under the impact of the crisis is in direct conflict with the position of Trotsky. In his writings on trade unions in the epoch of imperialist decay, Trotsky clearly explained that the capitalists seek to smash the independence of the trade unions and use the bureaucracy to accomplish this task.

"Monopoly capitalism," wrote Trotsky, "is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of the trade unions. It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy who pick the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class."

Trotsky explained how the reformist position of the bureaucracy is bound up with its parasitic social existence, and how this makes it impossible for the bureaucracy to lead the working class in struggle against capitalism:

"In the eyes of the bureaucracy of the trade union movement, the chief task lies in 'freeing' the state from the embrace of capitalism, in weakening its dependence on trusts, in pulling it over to their side. This position is in complete harmony with the social position of the labor aristocracy and the labor bureaucracy, who fight for a crumb in the share of superprofits of imperialist capitalism. The labor bureaucrats do their level best in words and deeds to demonstrate to their 'democratic' state how reliable and indispensable they are in peace-time and especially in time of war."

Whereas Trotsky concluded that trade unions can be defended only by "reconstituting" them under a Marxist leadership and transforming them in this way into organs of the proletarian revolution, Lipman makes collaboration with the bureaucracy the axis of SWP policy inside the trade unions, as we shall see in the next article.

TO BE CONTINUED

# SLAUGHTER IN THE PLANTS



## MUSCLE & BLOOD, by Rachel Scott, E.P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1974.

BY ESTHER GALEN

There are at least 100,000 deaths per year from occupationally caused disease and at least 390,000 new cases of disabling occupational diseases a year.

Muscle and Blood was written by Rachel Scott "about the continuing carnage which can be found hidden beyond the most modern factory facade."

Scott told the *Bulletin*: "I began investigating industrial disease and hazards after learning that 100,000 textile workers had Brown lung disease, in North Carolina where I was working as a reporter. This state produces about 25 percent of the nation's textiles."

"Workers may have had expectations to get their kids out of the factories. So they send them to college."

"But the kids find out that the 'unlimited opportunities' are a myth. So they have no choice but to go back and work in the factory."

"Since safety doesn't lead to profit, corporations cut this back."

"I found that no one really knew what was going on in the factories, not the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration."

"The more financial trouble a company is in, the more concerned it will be in cutting costs. The only effective counterforce is workers who refuse to work under those conditions."

Scott went throughout the country, to chemical plants, auto, mines, explosives factories, speaking to workers and examining the plant conditions. The book, the sum total of her research, is an exceptional account of the hazards workers face and how they and their families are affected.

### BERYLLIUM

The first chapter on beryllium offers an excellent example of what workers face from the companies, company doctors, and the government.

Beryllium does not occur in its element form in nature, but is found in many minerals. Because of its low atomic weight, it is lighter than aluminum. It is stronger than steel and more heat resistant.

In the 1960s, industrial uses for it developed as an alloy for contacts and connectors in IBM computers, microswitches manufactured by Honeywell for aircraft, vending machines, and machine tool control.

It is also used in the temperature control mechanism of household appliances, such as refrigerators and electric ranges. The alloy molds are used in the plastics industry for dolls and other toys.

At the end of the 1950s, Beryllium Corporation, looking for a site, settled in Hazelton, Pennsylvania. The coal industry had long since left Hazelton, leaving the city with great unemployment. The new company offered what was needed—job opportunities. "As it happened, the new metal was far more dangerous to the workers than the coal dust that gave their fathers miner's asthma."

"Exposure to beryllium dust, as to coal dust, can disable the lungs, causing coughing, chest pain, and shortness of breath. But beryllium disease is also systemic, affecting the heart, the liver, and other organs."

The toxicity of beryllium was recognized in 1933 in Germany and 1936 in Russia. The studies were deliberately ignored by American companies. Companies used "trade secrecy" to prevent inspection of beryllium-using operations. They tried to deny beryllium was the cause of any disease.

One case that worried workers at the Beryllium Company was that of Clarence Culp. Culp had shortness of breath, cough, and extreme weight loss. "One fellow worker said that before Culp died, he was so thin 'you could have touched your thumb and index finger together around his ankle'."

Robert Ferdinand, another Beryllium employee, said: "When it gets dark, that's when I dread. I get so much pain—all over—my legs, my arms, my back, my neck, my head. It's hard to describe."

"Jesus, they're gnawing, grabbing. They just pull like I'm being pulled apart."

"Then a lot of times, I get blurred vision and I can't see. I get dizzy a lot."

"And when I get these coughing spells, I spit up blood. And I get chills and sweats."

April 19, 1968 was the last time Ferdinand worked. He received compensation for a while. Then the company sent him to their doctor, who denied beryllium poisoning.

The company discontinued



Left, Robert Ferdinand and son Robbie. He is permanently disabled and in great pain from exposure to a toxic ore at Kawecki Berylico, Hazelton, Pennsylvania.

compensation. Ferdinand fought first with his own doctors and then a lawyer. The lawyer was just interested in delaying the case so he could get more money.

The beryllium dust affects not only the workers but the community and families as well. One worker reported that the fallout over the cars is so bad that the 350 men working there all had to replace their windshields at least once, they became so pitted.

Federal officers cited the plant for 26 safety violations and 5 "serious" violations and fined the company \$928. In 1970, they made \$1.5 million profit. They could pay the money out of petty cash.

Besides the slow death of working with chemicals, other workers face constant danger in auto and steel plants.

Scott reports information given to her by Ken Bellet, a chief steward at Bethlehem's steel plant in Buffalo.

"A couple of weeks ago I saw a man wrapped up in a steel bar. A cobble (an irregular slab of red-hot steel), when it flies off the rollers, loops in the air—it will wrap around anything. It wrapped right around the man. He was burned bad."

"I seen one accident where a piece of flying steel split a guy's head open and cauterized the wound in the same instant."

"A couple of weeks after I started working there, a foreman was killed. A lift fell on his head and squashed him like a bug."

"One guy had a heart attack near the furnaces and died waiting for the car to take him to the dispensary."

"There's an Arab we call Snake. One day he had his arm on a pile of steel bars. The crane set a load down on his arm and his arm ended up like a waffle."

"Tony Balom got his fingernail ground off in the grinder. He went to the dispensary. They took bone clippers and clipped

off his finger. They did get the doctor dismissed—and they gave Tony \$150 for the finger he lost."

Scott reports the details of the single largest industrial disease during 1971, which received scant press coverage.

On February 3, 1971, 55 workers were in Thiokol Chemical Corporation's building M-132, making trip flares to be used by the army in Vietnam.

"Suddenly, from perhaps under the conveyor belt, flames shot into the air around them. The fire bolted from die to die, down the line...it spread to highly flammable materials stacked near the line and throughout the crowded building, racing down the corridor toward the curing room."

Less than one minute after the fire began, 29 were dead and 55 wounded, some missing an arm or leg.

Scientists measure explosions in pounds per square inch. Three psi causes death from concussion. It was later estimated that at the center, the explosion was 500 to 1,000 psi.

Sixteen federal and state agencies sent officials to the site. Not one conducted an investigation of the explosion.

With the conditions that existed in the plant, the disaster was no accident: tremendous speedup, no fire drills, doors and passageways blocked with supplies, the two largest doors in the building were many times locked, fire extinguishers did not work, huge amounts of explosives in the building with the workers.

Not only do workers confront industry and the government, but they also face supposedly neutral foundations which do "scientific" research. The Industrial Health Foundation was first founded as the Air Hygiene Foundation by the Mellons.

By 1940, there were 225 member companies, including Johns-Manville, Ford Motor Company, General Motors,

General Electric, Mobil Oil, Dow Chemical, and General Mills.

Owens-Corning, for example, has made good use of this foundation. Carl G. Staelin candidly stated: "We occasionally hear complaints or accusations that under certain conditions or in certain situations, glass fibers present a health hazard."

"We learned long ago that the only practical defense against such accusations is to offer proof that our fiber glass products do not present a health hazard. In this respect, we have made considerable use of the Industrial Health Foundation."

Through distortion and incomplete research, IHF's conclusions are complete lies.

Scott shows very clearly how the companies let plant conditions deteriorate with no maintenance, and allow deadly conditions to exist because it is cheaper to pay workman's compensation than fix up the plants.

From 1936, for 20 years, injury rates began to drop. Then in 1958, accident rates throughout industry began to climb again. By the end of the 1960s, injury rates had increased 20 percent.

Today, with the breakdown in capitalism, the companies seek to return workers to conditions that they have not seen since the eighteen hundreds. They seek to impose deadly conditions on the workers either through slow poisoning or "accidents" and disasters to ensure their profit, to milk each worker for production and then bury him.

"I'm not a problem solver, I'm a muckraker. But maybe my next step will be to work on solving the problems," Scott told the *Bulletin*.

The only way workers can have control over safety, over their very survival, is by taking the factories away from the murderers, and nationalizing them without compensation.



New Jersey State College teachers walked out to back up their fight to reopen their contract.

# NJ Teachers Defend Right To Pay Talks

BY A REPORTER

JERSEY CITY, NJ—Governor Byrne has indicated that court injunctions might be used to break the week-old strike by 2,800 state college faculty members.

Members of the Council of State College locals, affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers, walked off the job after the state refused to discuss a wage reopener clause in the union's contract.

The professors are demanding a cost of living raise and the inclusion of an escalator clause for the duration of the three-year contract.

State officials have refused to bargain before the legislature presents its final budget proposals December 1.

According to faculty members at Jersey City State College, one of eight campuses the union is picketing, the budget itself is actually the central strike issue. Over six percent was slashed from last year's budget and new cuts are expected in every department.

An English Department member said that big cuts would be made in the Library and the budget for new equipment has also been slashed.

"The Business Office informed us in the middle of the quarter that orders we had made under an approved budget had just been cancelled," a biology lecturer said. "This is an expendable budget, for laboratory animals, cell tissue cultures, things you can't just order and store. I don't know how we'll be able to teach under these conditions."

## FUNDS

New Jersey has the third highest personal taxes in the country, but ranks forty-sixth for funds spent on higher education.

"You can't negotiate adequate funding in a union contract," one picket captain said. "But that question, a political question, is what this strike is about."

The state chancellor has proposed raising tuition and admission standards in order to cut enrollment because of a study which claims that 40 percent of college students are "frivolous students" or "rebellious attenders."

"That is what we are up against. This is an attack on the sons and daughters of the working people.

"Our union passed a resolution demanding that the state colleges provide a place for every student who meets the qualifications in effect September, 1974 and demanding abolishing tuition charges.

"Because of this, we have received terrific support for our strike, both among faculty members who are on their first strike ever, and from other unions."

"I don't think the state thought we were union kind of people," another English Department member said. "But six of the eight campuses are totally crippled and we're getting stronger day by day.

"These legislators will find out a lot about working people if they keep cutting budgets the way they're doing now."

## DOLLAR CRISIS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

control over safety conditions immediately poses this fight. Miners are in the forefront of a head-on confrontation with the Ford government and all its attempts to smash up the unions and destroy the right to strike.

This government knows full well that the miners struggle can bring forward an offensive of the entire labor movement against Ford's "anti-inflation" program.

In this situation, the entire labor leadership seeks to prevent the defeat of this government. They act more and more openly as agents of the employers within the unions, defending the profits of the capitalist class.

### DICTATED

Miners' leader Arnold Miller tries to push through a contract that was dictated by the government. Leonard Woodcock, of the United Auto Workers, accepts the layoffs and proposes a nationwide advertising campaign financed by union funds to boost sales of American cars.

George Meany, AFL-CIO president, correctly warned that wage controls are in the works, but refuses to lift a finger to fight back.

There is now the greatest opportunity to construct a new leadership in the unions that does not accept the capitalist system, but fights consciously for socialist policies and for the smashing of the union bureaucracy.

Workers must immediately begin the fight to rally the entire labor movement behind the miners. Any attempt to break the strike through a Taft-Hartley injunction or the use of troops must be met with a general strike.

Auto workers will not be driven out of the plants. A mass campaign must be launched in the union to demand an emergency UAW conference to map out plans to occupy any plant that threatens to close.

Every struggle over wages and jobs must be linked to the fight for a congress of labor to launch an independent labor party to throw out the Democrats and Republicans.

In every local, the demand must be raised for a 20 percent wage increase, a 100 percent

cost of living escalator clause, jobs for all, and the nationalization of basic industry, the banks, and food monopolies under workers control. Workers must fight for a labor party based on this program.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, industrial arm of the Workers League, is leading the fight for these policies in the unions. As thousands of workers confront political struggle in their daily experiences, tremendous support can be won for this fight.

This struggle can only be developed by building a revolutionary party. The tremendous speed with which this crisis is developing must spur us forward to recruit hundreds of new members to the Workers League. We call on all our readers and supporters who agree with this fight to take the step of joining the Workers League today.

## Uruguay Factory Turned Into Jail

The Swift meat-packing plant in Uruguay has been turned into a prison because the jails are overflowing with dictator President Juan Maria Bordaberry's political opponents.

Since Bordaberry took power with the help of the military two years ago new jails have been built for political prisoners and others have been improvised like the El Cilindro sports stadium, the former Dr. Nery nurses' school and most military and airforce barracks and military training establishments.

The "refitting" of an old ship called the "Tacoma" into a prison ship and the establishment of a prison colony on the isle of Flores were only abandoned because of the cost.

Crowded in the prisons are

members of all the opposition parties, active trade unionists and Tupamaros guerrillas. Many are held without trial, but the courts uphold the arbitrary acts of the dictatorship and hand out the sentences asked for by the state prosecutors without demur.

Uruguay was once held up as a democratic showpiece in Latin America. Today its reputation is more sinister: it holds the record for opening more prisons and adding more cells.

The ruling clique around Bordaberry does not feel safe as long as a single opponent is not behind bars. Its power is based exclusively on repression and persecution.

At the same time the regime promotes itself as a haven for foreign investment. Ministry of Economy and Finance advertisements guarantee there will be no state takeover and that foreign firms will be able to remit profits and capital abroad as they wish.

The advertisements say that "in Uruguay there have never been expropriations without satisfactory compensation" and enterprises taken over by the state in the past were no longer profitable to their owners.

With its opponents under lock and key the Bordaberry government is out to attract foreign capital at all costs in an attempt to prop up the crisis-stricken economy.

## 681 Votes For Workers Party

NEW YORK, NY—Workers League candidates won a total of 681 votes in the congressional election campaign in Brooklyn.

Running under the ballot name Workers Party, Terry Delgado won 309 votes in the 12th Congressional District and Helen Halyard won 372 in the 14th Congressional District.

Throughout the campaign, the Workers League and Young Socialists emphasized the political issues facing the working class in Brooklyn and across the country in fighting unemployment, inflation, and deteriorating conditions in the neighborhood.

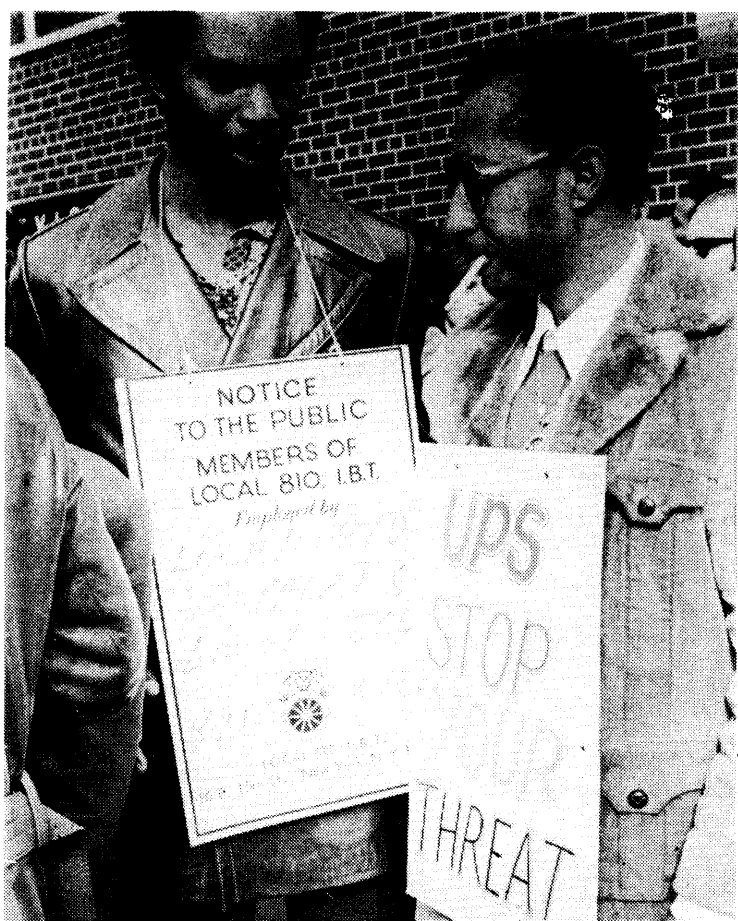
The campaign call for a congress of labor to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies won support from workers in many trade unions and in the communities.

The Socialist Workers Party candidate running in the 12th CD, Maxine Williams, polled 125 votes.



Arnold Miller and Guy Farmer, chief negotiator for the coal bosses, when they announced original settlement.

# LUCHA OBRERA



## MINEROS DEBEN RECHAZAR CONTRATO

POR CESAR UCO

Miller, presidente de la unión de mineros, se ha pasado en fin de semana en conversaciones secretas con secretario tesorero William Simon y el mediador federal William J. Usery con el propósito de terminar la huelga de los mineros.

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Esta movida de Miller esta en abierto desafío a las intrucciones que recibió del consejo de negociaciones el viernes: reabrir negociaciones con las Asociación de Operadores del Carbón para luchar por mayores aumentos sobre lo estipulado en el primer contrato.

El consejo de negociaciones ha mencionado que sus demandas son por un 20 por ciento de aumento el primer año y 10 por ciento en el segundo y tercer año.

Hay indicaciones de que Miller piensa violar la constitución de la unión para que se acepte la nueva versión del contrato.

La UMW debe demandar que la clase obrera se una políticamente, para defender la huelga contra la intervención del gobierno y contra los despidos masivos que cubren toda la industria básica, llamando a un Congreso de los Trabajadores para construir un Partido Obrero basado en las uniones y decidido a luchar por la nacio-

nalización de la industria del auto, carbón y la industria básica bajo el control de la clase obrera.

Uno de los representantes de la UMW en las negociaciones declaró al Bulletin:

"En el equipo de la UMW pensamos que Miller llegó a un acuerdo en privado con los dueños del carbón. Probablemente les dijo que él podría vendernos cualquier propuesta de contrato que los dueños quisiesen."

"Ahora, Miller va a 'jugar' por un rato pensando que el gobierno de Ford usará la ley Taft-Hartley para obligar a los mineros a volver."

"Yo creo que Miller quiere que el gobierno intervenga porque esa es la única manera de poder mantener su posición."

El miembro del equipo de la UMW también dijo que la oposición al contrato incluye miembros que apoyaron a Miller y los que apoyaron a Boyle, el anterior presidente de la UMW.

Mientras que Miller ha ordenado a los mineros del oeste que continúen trabajando para seguir produciendo carbón, los mineros de Appalachia están ahora viajando al oeste para cerrar las minas oponiéndose abiertamente a las órdenes de Miller.

La determinación y la fortaleza de los mineros debe de llevarse adelante demandando:

- Romper todo trato con Usery, el representante del gobierno federal en las negociaciones.
- Desafiar la ley Taft-Hartley.
- Cerrar las minas del oeste.
- Repudiar el contrato de Miller y continuar la huelga por las siguientes demandas:
- 25 por ciento de aumento salarial. 100 por ciento de escalada en el costo-de-vida.
- Defender el derecho a la huelga.
- Rechazar todos los tratos de productividad. Pensión de \$500 mensuales para todos los mineros con más de 20 años de antigüedad.

# BATALLA EN UPS RECIEN COMIENZA

POR LOS EDITORES

El despido masivo en las industrias del auto, vestuario, electrónica y entre los trabajadores de la ciudad, presenta a la clase obrera los mismas cuestiones que enfrentaron los trabajadores de la local 804 de los tronquistas en su reciente huelga en contra de la United Parcel Service (UPS).

La defensa de los trabajos en UPS entra en una nueva etapa. Nada ha sido resuelto. La lucha debe comenzar ahora en contra de los planes de UPS de implementar el acuerdo que le permite imponer el aceleramiento e intimidación, para destruir posiciones de tiempo completo.

En esta lucha, los obreros de la UPS traen consigo toda la fortaleza de sus 85 días de huelga, mantenida a pesar del asesinato del representante de la unión y de la traición del presidente de los tronquistas, Frank Fitzsimmons.

Tres días antes del acuerdo ser aceptado, la local unánimemente demandó a su liderato a que luchase por cada empleo en la local a pesar de la amenaza de la compañía de cerrar sus operaciones en la ciudad de Nueva York.

El presidente de la local 804, Ron Carey, a pesar de esto fue capaz de echar a un lado el mandato de su membresía y regresó a conversar con el mediador principal de Ford, William Usery.

La clase gobernante, trata de defender su sistema de propiedad privada y producción de ganancias a través de la destrucción de las uniones. Estos ataques tienen el apoyo de la maquinaria política del gobierno, las leyes, las cortes y la policía.

Esto significa que la lucha para defender los trabajos en cada industria es una lucha política. Esto requiere de la construcción de un partido político de la clase obrera, basado en las uniones y con un programa de demandas socialistas.

En contra del alto costo de vida, nosotros demandamos una cláusula escalatoria completa (cada vez que suba el costo de vida suban nuestros salarios) en cada contrato.

En respuesta al desempleo, nosotros demandamos 30 horas de trabajo por 40 de paga, creando así empleos para todos.

Para garantizar estas políticas, el partido obrero debe de estar comprometido a nacionalizar los bancos y las industrias básicas, sin compensación y bajo control obrero.

Desde el primer día de la huelga, Carey luchó para prevenir que estas demandas fuesen presentadas. La demanda de abrir los libros de la UPS fue una cubierta para colaborar abiertamente con la compañía.

Enfrentada a la necesidad de UPS de tratar con la crisis económica, Carey se alineó con UPS en contra de la membresía. El fue entrenado en relaciones obrero-patronales; él, tanto como Fitzsimmons, ocupa la misma posición de compromiso entre la clase gobernante y la clase obrera.

Empujando el acuerdo dise-

ñado por Usery, Carey declaró: "...la cuestión principal no fue una demanda de la unión por más, pero la demanda por la compañía de quitarnos la seguridad de un trabajo y de la fortaleza de la unión. Yo creo que tenemos que medir nuestras ganancias en lo que hemos preservado."

Carey trata de "vivir" con la crisis para prevenir una confrontación entre clases. A los trabajadores, por otra parte, les es pedido que "vivan" con la dispersión de los obreros más militantes que han sido reorganizados en centros satélites, la violación de las reglas de trabajo y el tremendo aceleramiento.

Los trabajadores no aceptarán las condiciones. En la UPS y en cada industria, grandes luchas se presentan en contra de la recesión, impuesta por la clase gobernante, y las traiciones de la burocracia sindical.

Ahora es el momento de organizar un liderato revolucionario.

En la local 804 se desarrollará a través de la campaña de no-cooperación con el contrato entre Carey, el gobierno y la UPS.

El papel de Carey y Fitzsimmons presenta la necesidad urgente de demandar que el liderato de la unión rompa todas sus relaciones con el gobierno. Los trabajadores deben de demandar el fin de la intervención gubernamental en las negociaciones, y el fin a la participación del comité corporatista obrero-patronal de Ford. Ninguna aceptación de las leyes anti-obreras.

Un congreso de trabajadores debe ser convocado para formular políticas socialistas y construir un partido obrero para implementar la nacionalización de las industrias básicas bajo control obrero.

La construcción de este liderato revolucionario es la tarea de la Alianza Sindical por un Partido Obrero (TUALP), brazo industrial de la Liga Obrera.

## ECONOMIA

### PARTE 1

¿QUE SIGNIFICA LA CRISIS ECONOMICA PARA LA JUVENTUD Y LA CLASE OBRERA EN TODO EL MUNDO?

El sistema capitalista mundial, basado en ganancias privadas, está al borde de un desastre total. Los políticos y hombres de negocios han expresado abiertamente su miedo a que toda una cadena de bancos e industrias en quiebra económica nos están guiando hacia el colapso mundial del sistema.

Lo que enfrentamos no es solo la bancarrota de grandes compañías, cierre de fábricas y desempleo masivo como en la depresión de 1930, sino la total bancarrota del Estado, en la cual el gobierno es incapaz de pagar sus deudas.

El gobierno de Inglaterra está en deuda con bancos extranjeros y presenta una balanza de pagos en déficit tan grande, que le es imposible mantenerse solvente por mucho tiempo bajo las presentes condiciones.

Si el gobierno británico no paga sus deudas, la Libra Esterlina dejará de ser un medio de pago aceptable y el costo de vida aumentaría astronómicamente.

La clase obrera se vería en la miseria, la clase media sería despojada de sus ahorros y los grandes monopolios estarían tratando de comprar a sus rivales al precio más barato. La nacionalización de la industria básica bajo control obrero y sin compensación, sería la alternativa que se presentaría para millones de obreros.

La actual crisis económica significa que todos los países capitalistas enfrentarán estas características en un futuro muy cercano y que la clase obrera y la juventud deben organizarse ahora, construyendo el partido revolucionario que derrocará al capitalismo.

¿COMO SE HA DESARROLLADO LA CRISIS DESDE LA SEGUNDA GUERRA MUNDIAL?

El capitalismo europeo terminó la guerra en un estado de completa bancarrota, enfrentando en muchos países una clase obrera armada que presionaba hacia la toma del poder. Pudo reimponer sus reglas solo con la colaboración de los burócratas stalinistas y social-demócratas que han traicionado por décadas el movimiento revolucionario de la clase obrera.

Los Estados Unidos, el más poderoso país capitalista, se vio forzado a auxiliar a sus rivales europeos para mantenerlos con vida. Este es el real significado del Acuerdo de Bretton-Woods en 1944.

Con tremendas reservas de oro, calculadas en más de \$30,000 millones, los Estados Unidos garantizó la venta del oro a \$35 la onza en todo el comercio. "El dólar es tan bueno como el oro," se decía en esa época.

Para ayudar a Europa, los Estados Unidos implementó el plan Marshal y otros esquemas similares, y las compañías americanas usaron papel moneda para comprar las industrias de Europa y Japón. Al mismo tiempo, Estados Unidos respaldó las responsabilidades coloniales de los antiguos poderes imperialistas como Francia e Inglaterra, en particular en Indo-China.

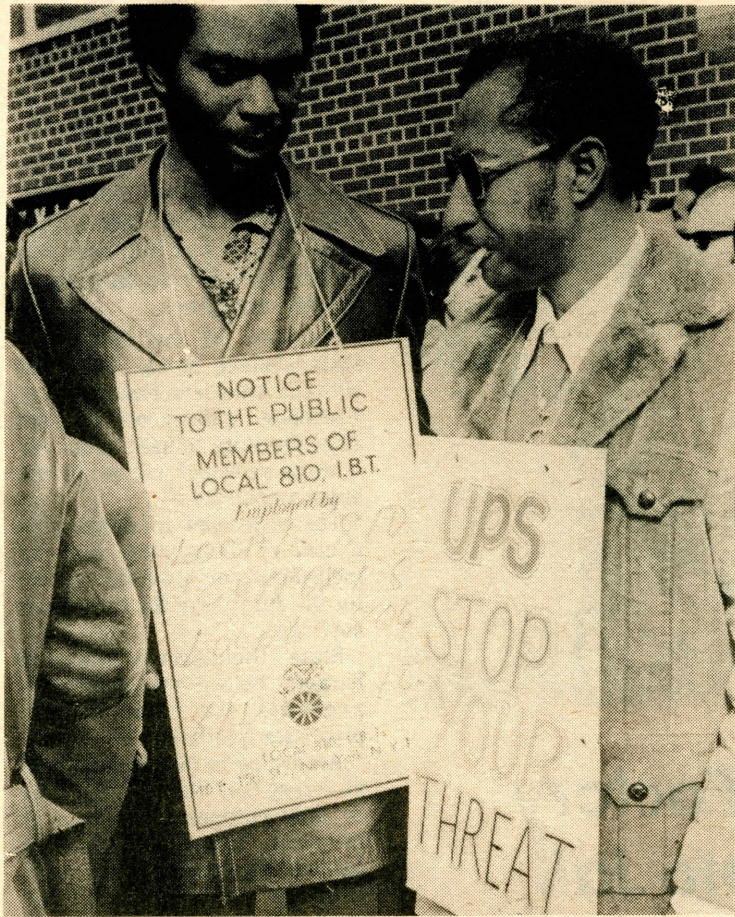
El flujo de dólares de los Estados Unidos hacia afuera, originó reclamos de las reservas de oro de Fort Knox, que empezaron a reducirse cuando los dólares se usaban para comprar oro.

La primera gran crisis fue en Marzo de 1968 cuando la pérdida de reservas en oro de los Estados Unidos forzó que Washington finalizara la venta del oro a europeos privados—este fue el inicio de la decisión que se tomara en agosto de 1971 de finalizar todas las ventas de oro de Fort Knox.

Esta decisión dejó al dólar sin ningún respaldo en oro, a pesar que las reservas del Banco Central aún fueran "oficialmente" evaluadas en \$35 primero, luego \$38 y ahora \$42 la onza.

La última decisión de los ministros de finanzas que se reunieron en Washington, pone fin a los últimos vestigios del precio oficial, permitiendo a los bancos centrales usar sus reservas de oro como garantía por préstamos internacionales al precio del mercado libre.

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# BATALLA EN UPS RECIEN COMIENZA

**POR LOS EDITORES**  
El despido masivo en las industrias del auto, vestuario, electrónica y entre los trabajadores de la ciudad, presenta a la clase obrera los mismas cuestiones que enfrentaron los trabajadores de la local 804 de los tronquistas en su reciente huelga en contra de la United Parcel Service (UPS).

La defensa de los trabajos en UPS entra en una nueva etapa. Nada ha sido resuelto. La lucha debe comenzar ahora en contra de los planes de UPS de implementar el acuerdo que le permite imponer el aceleramiento e intimidación, para destruir posiciones de tiempo completo.

En esta lucha, los obreros de la UPS traen consigo toda la fortaleza de sus 85 días de huelga, mantenida a pesar del asesinato del representante de la unión y de la traición del presidente de los tronquistas, Frank Fitzsimmons.

Tres días antes del acuerdo ser aceptado, la local unánimemente demandó a su liderato a que luchase por cada empleo en la local a pesar de la amenaza de la compañía de cerrar sus operaciones en la ciudad de Nueva York.

El presidente de la local 804, Ron Carey, a pesar de esto fue capaz de echar a un lado el mandato de su membresía y regresó a conversar con el mediador principal de Ford, William Usery.

La clase gobernante, trata de defender su sistema de propiedad privada y producción de ganancias a través de la destrucción de las uniones. Estos ataques tienen el apoyo de la maquinaria política del gobierno, las leyes, las cortes y la policía.

Esto significa que la lucha para defender los trabajos en cada industria es una lucha política. Esto requiere de la construcción de un partido político de la clase obrera, basado en las uniones y con un programa de demandas socialistas.

En contra del alto costo de vida, nosotros demandamos una cláusula escalatoria completa (cada vez que suba el costo de vida suban nuestros salarios) en cada contrato.

En respuesta al desempleo, nosotros demandamos 30 horas de trabajo por 40 de paga, creando así empleos para todos.

Para garantizar estas políticas, el partido obrero debe de estar comprometido a nacionalizar los bancos y las industrias básicas, sin compensación y bajo control obrero.

Desde el primer día de la huelga, Carey luchó para prevenir que estas demandas fuesen presentadas. La demanda de abrir los libros de la UPS fue una cubierta para colaborar abiertamente con la compañía.

Enfrentada a la necesidad de UPS de tratar con la crisis económica, Carey se alineó con UPS en contra de la membresía. El fue entrenado en relaciones obrero-patronales; él, tanto como Fitzsimmons, ocupa la misma posición de compromiso entre la clase gobernante y la clase obrera.

Empujando el acuerdo dise-

ñado por Usery, Carey declaró: "...la cuestión principal no fue una demanda de la unión por más, pero la demanda por la compañía de quitarnos la seguridad de un trabajo y de la fortaleza de la unión. Yo creo que tenemos que medir nuestras ganancias en lo que hemos preservado."

Carey trata de "vivir" con la crisis para prevenir una confrontación entre clases. A los trabajadores, por otra parte, les es pedido que "vivan" con la dispersión de los obreros más militantes que han sido reorganizados en centros satélites, la violación de las reglas de trabajo y el tremendo aceleramiento.

Los trabajadores no aceptarán las condiciones. En la UPS y en cada industria, grandes luchas se presentan en contra de la recesión, impuesta por la clase gobernante, y las traiciones de la burocracia sindical.

Ahora es el momento de organizar un liderato revolucionario.

En la local 804 se desarrollará a través de la campaña de no-cooperación con el contrato entre Carey, el gobierno y la UPS.

El papel de Carey y Fitzsimmons presenta la necesidad urgente de demandar que el liderato de la unión rompa todas sus relaciones con el gobierno. Los trabajadores deben de demandar el fin de la intervención gubernamental en las negociaciones, y el fin a la participación del comité corporatista obrero-patronal de Ford. Ninguna aceptación de las leyes anti-obreras.

Un congreso de trabajadores debe ser convocado para formular políticas socialistas y construir un partido obrero para implementar la nacionalización de las industrias básicas bajo control obrero.

La construcción de este liderato revolucionario es la tarea de la Alianza Sindical por un Partido Obrero (TUALP), brazo industrial de la Liga Obrera.

## ECONOMIA

### PARTE 1

**¿QUE SIGNIFICA LA CRISIS ECONOMICA PARA LA JUVENTUD Y LA CLASE OBRERA EN TODO EL MUNDO?**

El sistema capitalista mundial, basado en ganancias privadas, está al borde de un desastre total. Los políticos y hombres de negocios han expresado abiertamente su miedo a que toda una cadena de bancos e industrias en quiebra económica nos están guiando hacia el colapso mundial del sistema.

Lo que enfrentamos no es solo la bancarrota de grandes compañías, cierre de fábricas y desempleo masivo como en la depresión de 1930, sino la total bancarrota del Estado, en la cual el gobierno es incapaz de pagar sus deudas.

El gobierno de Inglaterra está en deuda con bancos extranjeros y presenta una balanza de pagos en déficit tan grande, que le es imposible mantenerse solvente por mucho tiempo bajo las presentes condiciones.

Si el gobierno británico no paga sus deudas, la Libra Esterlina dejará de ser un medio de pago aceptable y el costo de vida aumentaría astronómicamente.

La clase obrera se vería en la miseria, la clase media sería despojada de sus ahorros y los grandes monopolios estarían tratando de comprar a sus rivales al precio más barato. La nacionalización de la industria básica bajo control obrero y sin compensación, sería la alternativa que se presentaría para millones de obreros.

La actual crisis económica significa que todos los países capitalistas enfrentarán estas características en un futuro muy cercano y que la clase obrera y la juventud deben organizarse ahora, construyendo el partido revolucionario que derrocará al capitalismo.

**¿COMO SE HA DESARROLLADO LA CRISIS DESDE LA SEGUNDA GUERRA MUNDIAL?**

El capitalismo europeo terminó la guerra en un estado de completa bancarrota, enfrentando en muchos países una clase obrera armada que presionaba hacia la toma del poder. Pudo reimponer sus reglas solo con la colaboración de los burócratas stalinistas y social-demócratas que han traicionado por décadas el movimiento revolucionario de la clase obrera.

Los Estados Unidos, el más poderoso país capitalista, se vio forzado a auxiliar a sus rivales europeos para mantenerlos con vida. Este es el real significado del Acuerdo de Bretton-Woods en 1944.

Con tremendas reservas de oro, calculadas en más de \$30,000 millones, los Estados Unidos garantizó la venta del oro a \$35 la onza en todo el comercio. "El dólar es tan bueno como el oro," se decía en esa época.

Para ayudar a Europa, los Estados Unidos implementó el plan Marshal y otros esquemas similares, y las compañías americanas usaron papel moneda para comprar las industrias de Europa y Japón. Al mismo tiempo, Estados Unidos respaldó las responsabilidades coloniales de los antiguos poderes imperialistas como Francia e Inglaterra, en particular en Indo-China.

El flujo de dólares de los Estados Unidos hacia afuera, originó reclamos de las reservas de oro de Fort Knox, que empezaron a reducirse cuando los dólares se usaban para comprar oro.

La primera gran crisis fue en Marzo de 1968 cuando la pérdida de reservas en oro de los Estados Unidos forzó que Washington finalizara la venta del oro a europeos privados—este fue el inicio de la decisión que se tomara en agosto de 1971 de finalizar todas las ventas de oro de Fort Knox.

Esta decisión dejó al dólar sin ningún respaldo en oro, a pesar que las reservas del Banco Central aún fueran "oficialmente" evaluadas en \$35 primero, luego \$38 y ahora \$42 la onza.

La última decisión de los ministros de finanzas que se reunieron en Washington, pone fin a los últimos vestigios del precio oficial, permitiendo a los bancos centrales usar sus reservas de oro como garantía por préstamos internacionales al precio del mercado libre.