

Bulletin

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

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

VOLUME TEN NUMBER ONE 336

TUESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1974

UNION LABEL 6

FIFTEEN CENTS

GM LAYS OFF 86,000 WORKERS



Bay Area construction workers rally to defend their union leaders, who now face prosecution in Federal Court. See our report, page 11.

BY DAVID NORTH
General Motors' announcement Friday that it will lay off 86,000 auto workers this month represents a new stage in the Nixon administration's attack on the living standards and basic rights of the entire working class.

The government has now moved quite deliberately to a policy of large-scale unemployment in order to weaken the trade unions and divide the working class.

This attack can be defeated only through the immediate organization of a massive campaign in the trade unions and among all sections of the working class to force Nixon out and to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies as the alternative to this government.

Of the 86,000 who are being thrown out of work, 38,000 are classified as indefinite layoffs.

Another 48,000 are being told that they will be laid off for no more than 10 days. But no auto worker can forget that GM originally guaranteed that those laid off during the week of December 17 would be back on the job in January.

The entire second shift is being eliminated at GM assembly division plants in Fairfax, Linden, Southgate, St. Louis, Wilmington, Framingham, and the Buick plant in Flint.

Workers with many years' seniority will lose their jobs. Furthermore, the drastic rise in unemployment will quickly eat into the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits.

UAW Vice-President Irving Bluestone blamed the layoffs on "the ineptitude of the Nixon

(Continued On Page 12)

Nixon Refuses To Release Tapes Summary

BY MELODY FARROW

The Nixon administration is making a major shift in its policy on the Watergate tapes and is doing everything possible to keep it quiet.

Plans to go ahead with Phase Two of "Operation Candor" have been scrapped.

White House officials have told The New York Times that Nixon will not release either transcripts or summaries of the seven tapes in the hands of the Senate Watergate Committee as he had originally pledged.

These officials privately admit

that sections of the tapes including another 500 tapes and documents subpoenaed by Judge John Sirica, would show that Nixon knew of the Watergate coverup before March 21, 1972.

Nixon's press aide, Gerald Warren, told reporters that release of the tapes "could lead to confusion in the minds of the American public and further distortion in this matter."

Nixon's officials are conceding that Operation Candor, which began with the release of Nixon's personal finances, was a fiasco. According to these

sources, Nixon will now concentrate not on restoring public confidence, but on avoiding impeachment or resignation.

Two top presidential aides told The Washington Post that they were no longer convinced that Nixon was not involved in the coverup.

Republican Senator Howard Baker of the Watergate Committee stated on television that Nixon has failed to remove public doubts. When asked if there were any more "bombs" he replied:

"There are other things—animals thrashing around in the forest. I can hear them, but can't see them. I do know of other things that I know should be investigated."

Nixon is inevitably heading for another confrontation over the tapes. The 500 subpoenaed tapes and documents must be handed in January 8.

To make matters worse for Nixon, Howard Hughes, who donated \$10,000 to Nixon's campaign, has been indicted on nine counts including fraud and con-

spiracy in his acquisition of Air West airlines. But the extradition treaty with the Bahamas will make it impossible to try him.

At the same time, the United States Court of Appeals let Watergate conspirators Howard Hunt Jr. and Bernard Barker out on bail pending their appeal.

ISOLATED

Nixon is now almost totally isolated. Increasing numbers of Republicans are disassociating themselves from him. While Nixon hangs by a thread, the real power now lies with Henry Kissinger, General Haig and Defense Secretary James Schlesinger.

A special investigation by The New York Times has revealed that virtually all key decisions on foreign policy and defense are now made by Kissinger and Schlesinger. Nixon does not even attend their meetings.

The State Department has virtually ceased to function. During the Middle East crisis Kissinger

(Continued On Page 12)

Building The Bulletin

Sub Drive Tops 5000 Mark

We have gone over the December drive for 5000 Bulletin subscriptions with a grand total of 5319. We went over our goal several days early, even though there were some difficulties during the Christmas holidays.

The branches sold 4137 subs, and the Pittsburgh trailblazers sold 1182 the first two weeks of the month.

Many branches went over their quotas, including Chelsea, Queens, Washington, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Berkeley.

The January trailblazers will be going to Youngstown, Akron, and Canton: the steel and rubber center in northeastern Ohio.

In The Weekend
Edition:

"1886," Part IV of
Radicalism and the
Birth of the American
Working Class, by
Nancy Fields.

Bulletin

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

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

VOLUME TEN NUMBER ONE 336

TUESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

GM LAYS OFF 86,000 WORKERS



Bay Area construction workers rally to defend their union leaders, who now face prosecution in Federal Court. See our report, page 11.

BY DAVID NORTH
General Motors' announcement Friday that it will lay off 86,000 auto workers this month represents a new stage in the Nixon administration's attack on the living standards and basic rights of the entire working class.

The government has now moved quite deliberately to a policy of large-scale unemployment in order to weaken the trade unions and divide the working class.

This attack can be defeated only through the immediate organization of a massive campaign in the trade unions and among all sections of the working class to force Nixon out and to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies as the alternative to this government.

Of the 86,000 who are being thrown out of work, 38,000 are classified as indefinite layoffs.

Another 48,000 are being told that they will be laid off for no more than 10 days. But no auto worker can forget that GM originally guaranteed that those laid off during the week of December 17 would be back on the job in January.

The entire second shift is being eliminated at GM assembly division plants in Fairfax, Linden, Southgate, St. Louis, Wilmington, Framingham, and the Buick plant in Flint.

Workers with many years' seniority will lose their jobs. Furthermore, the drastic rise in unemployment will quickly eat into the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits.

UAW Vice-President Irving Bluestone blamed the layoffs on "the ineptitude of the Nixon

(Continued On Page 12)

Nixon Refuses To Release Tapes Summary

BY MELODY FARROW

The Nixon administration is making a major shift in its policy on the Watergate tapes and is doing everything possible to keep it quiet.

Plans to go ahead with Phase Two of "Operation Candor" have been scrapped.

White House officials have told The New York Times that Nixon will not release either transcripts or summaries of the seven tapes in the hands of the Senate Watergate Committee as he had originally pledged.

These officials privately admit

that sections of the tapes including another 500 tapes and documents subpoenaed by Judge John Sirica, would show that Nixon knew of the Watergate coverup before March 21, 1972.

Nixon's press aide, Gerald Warren, told reporters that release of the tapes "could lead to confusion in the minds of the American public and further distortion in this matter."

Nixon's officials are conceding that Operation Candor, which began with the release of Nixon's personal finances, was a fiasco. According to these

sources, Nixon will now concentrate not on restoring public confidence, but on avoiding impeachment or resignation.

Two top presidential aides told The Washington Post that they were no longer convinced that Nixon was not involved in the coverup.

Republican Senator Howard Baker of the Watergate Committee stated on television that Nixon has failed to remove public doubts. When asked if there were any more "bombs" he replied:

"There are other things—animals thrashing around in the forest. I can hear them, but can't see them. I do know of other things that I know should be investigated."

Nixon is inevitably heading for another confrontation over the tapes. The 500 subpoenaed tapes and documents must be handed in January 8.

To make matters worse for Nixon, Howard Hughes, who donated \$10,000 to Nixon's campaign, has been indicted on nine counts including fraud and con-

spiracy in his acquisition of Air West airlines. But the extradition treaty with the Bahamas will make it impossible to try him.

At the same time, the United States Court of Appeals let Watergate conspirators Howard Hunt Jr. and Bernard Barker out on bail pending their appeal.

ISOLATED

Nixon is now almost totally isolated. Increasing numbers of Republicans are disassociating themselves from him. While Nixon hangs by a thread, the real power now lies with Henry Kissinger, General Haig and Defense Secretary James Schlesinger.

A special investigation by The New York Times has revealed that virtually all key decisions on foreign policy and defense are now made by Kissinger and Schlesinger. Nixon does not even attend their meetings.

The State Department has virtually ceased to function. During the Middle East crisis Kissinger

(Continued On Page 12)

Building The Bulletin

Sub Drive Tops 5000 Mark

We have gone over the December drive for 5000 Bulletin subscriptions with a grand total of 5319. We went over our goal several days early, even though there were some difficulties during the Christmas holidays.

The branches sold 4137 subs, and the Pittsburgh trailblazers sold 1182 the first two weeks of the month.

Many branches went over their quotas, including Chelsea, Queens, Washington, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Berkeley.

The January trailblazers will be going to Youngstown, Akron, and Canton: the steel and rubber center in northeastern Ohio.

In The Weekend
Edition:

•"1886," Part IV of
Radicalism and the
Birth of the American
Working Class, by
Nancy Fields.

Nixon's Conscious Strategy For Mass Unemployment

As we enter 1974, the working class faces a new stage in the government's attack on its living standards.

The new year begins with economists predicting that the worst of the inflation is yet to come. It begins with 86,000 laid off at General Motors and the conscious decision of Nixon to drive up unemployment and create recession.

Millions of workers will soon join the growing mass of unemployed workers in every industry.

The oil crisis is deliberately being used to speed up layoffs and to create a complete panic over the gas shortage.

Nixon is creating the impression that the oil shortage is a "natural" phenomena in order to

rally the middle classes behind him for the good of the "nation."

The object of all this is to divert attention from the Watergate exposures and Nixon's own corruption and stampede support on the basis of a "national emergency."

This is a total fraud. The shortage of oil is not "natural" but is the result of the refusal of the oil companies to invest their capital in new refineries and new drilling.

The real crisis lies in the capitalist system of production itself and its inability to produce the basic commodities needed by the working class while maintaining a high rate of profit.

While this crisis must lead to unemployment, the capitalist class is deliberately accelerating the process to attempt to break the strength of the working class and divide it.

Mass unemployment will now be used to try and stop the developing offensive within the rank and file of the

What We Think



British building workers lobby outside TUC in support of Shrewsbury workers sentenced by Tory government.

labor movement against Nixon's Phase Four wage cuts.

Through unemployment, Nixon hopes to weaken the working class by pitting workers against each other for jobs, driving down wages, and busting the power of the organized labor unions.

They must now increase their rate of profit by drastically slashing the work force and driving those who remain to barbaric levels of speedup and productivity.

What this is leading to can be sharply seen in Britain.

In Britain 400,000 workers have been laid off and the three day work week is now in effect.

This provocation is being combined with a hysterical red scare and panic over the wave of bombings in London that are being blamed without any evidence on the Irish Republican Army.

At the same time, the Tories in Britain are seeking to jail the most militant sections of the working class. Three construction workers in the Shrewsbury trial have been sentenced to up to three years for striking and picketing.

Everything is being done to blame the overtime ban of miners and railwaymen for the oil shortage and the entire economic crisis of British capitalism.

How have the union leaders reacted to this? To a man, every leader of the Trades Unions Congress (British AFL-CIO) has accepted the unemployment.

The leadership of the power workers has capitulated and settled their wage dispute within the limits set by the government. This now isolates the miners to face the brunt of the Tories attack alone.

This is the same path of unemployment that Nixon has set out on here. The policy of unemployment goes hand in hand with new preparations to legally bust the unions and new moves towards destruction of democratic rights. These are preparations for dictatorship.

Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers Union, is following in the footsteps of the British TUC by refusing to take any action to fight the layoffs in the auto industry.

These attacks require a political solution. The working class must now advance its own solution to the economic crisis of capitalism.

The Young Socialists campaign against unemployment to begin this month will demand that the unions unite their forces against Nixon and build a labor party.

Our campaign will demonstrate that the working class has the power to defeat Nixon. Above all, this strength must be united not only industrially, but politically, in a united offensive to force Nixon out and construct a labor party that will be based on socialist policies.

The working class must begin to build a new leadership to carry out this fight in battle against the old trade union bureaucracy.

Ten Workers Leaders Sentenced In Madrid

BY MELODY FARROW

"If you condemn us, it is the working class that you are condemning and also the possibility of peaceful coexistence in Spanish society."

With these words, Marcelino Camacho, one of the ten leaders of the Workers Commissions on trial in Spain spoke out in his defense.

On December 29, the three-man Madrid court, charging that the Workers Commissions sought "to change by force the present structure of the state" sentenced Marcellino Camacho and Eduardo Saborido Galan to twenty years in jail.

Francisco Garcia Salve, a lawyer, received 19 years.

Juan Marcos Munoz Lapico, and Fernando Soto Martin, both metal workers received 18 and 17 years respectively. The other defendants all got 12 years.

These vicious sentences will provoke a wave of rebellion throughout the working class against the hated Franco regime.

The Workers Commissions are illegal in fascist Spain and represent the only democratic unions that exist.

The prosecution contends that the Commissions organized "a large-scale subversive activity throughout the country aiming to promote the general strike through which the Communist Party plans to overthrow the regime by force."

"Their immediate objective is to attack the syndicate (state-run unions) by taking advantage

of the elections within the syndicate and by inciting the workers to hold meetings and stage strikes and walkouts."

The ten leaders were arrested on June 24, 1972 at the Convent of the Oblate Fathers and are charged with "illicit association" for holding a meeting there.

The government sought 20 years for Camacho because he was one of the founders. Camacho was elected to be the representative of the workers at the Perkins factory.

Other defendants defended the Workers Commissions at the conclusion of the trial. Zapico, a metal worker, said:

"From Aviles, my usual residence I had to move to Gijon because I was on the black list of all the factories and under these conditions I could not get any work. But shortly after having settled in this city because of my union activities my name was put on the black list and I was forced to come to Madrid."

Saborido, former vice-president of the official unions in Seville declared that the general strike "is one of the rights of workers."

Camacho explained that he had been arrested in 1967 and spent the next five years in prison. He was only out three months and had not even contacted his coworkers when he was arrested again.

When he declared that: "I am a worker, the son of a worker, because in this country workers' sons have no choice but to be workers," the judge interrupted and prohibited him from making any statements in court.

The day before the trial opened, police in Oviedo arrested 15 people for "spreading social disorder" during a strike of over 10,000 miners.

The 15 are charged with belonging to the "coordinating committee of Valle del Nalon" which organized meetings and distributed strike leaflets. The miners have been on strike since November 3.

The trial of the Carabanchel Ten takes place against a background of increasing threats of fascist violence and provocations.

The fascists are using the assassination of Franco's Premier Carrero Blanco on December 20 to stage a major comeback. Thousands of right-wing supporters demonstrated in Madrid shouting: "Military men, the hour of truth has arrived."

The government has launched a manhunt for six young members of ETA (Basque Nation and Freedom) which allegedly has claimed responsibility for the bombing.

However, the text issued by ETA in Bayonne, France is being questioned by the left-wing organizations in Spain. The President of the Basque government in exile has called the communique a "fraud."

Spain is rapidly approaching a state of civil war. The fascists hope to intimidate the workers' organizations and create a climate in which all those presently on trial will be convicted.

Yet the Chinese minister of foreign affairs Chi Peng-fei and the Chinese vice-minister of exterior commerce declared their sympathies to the Spanish government for Carrero's death and then met with Kissinger who was in Madrid to see Franco.

The Stalinists of both Moscow and Peking cannot claim to defend the Carabanchel Ten while continuing to maintain the closest relations with an openly fascist regime.



Marcelino Camacho, one of the leaders of the Workers' Commissions in Spain who faces 20 year sentence for "illicit association."

Turkey Jails 151 Dissidents

The Turkish military regime of Ferit Melen has convicted 151 workers and students to jail sentences ranging up to 20 years.

The convicted were all members of the Turkish People's Liberation Army, an organization responsible for leading a campaign of bombing and kidnapping against the government.

The trial, which lasted over two years, is the latest attack in the government's campaign of terror against the organizations of the Turkish working class. Political power rests in the hands of four generals who have imposed martial law on the eight most industrialized provinces and three Kurdish areas in Turkey since April 1971.

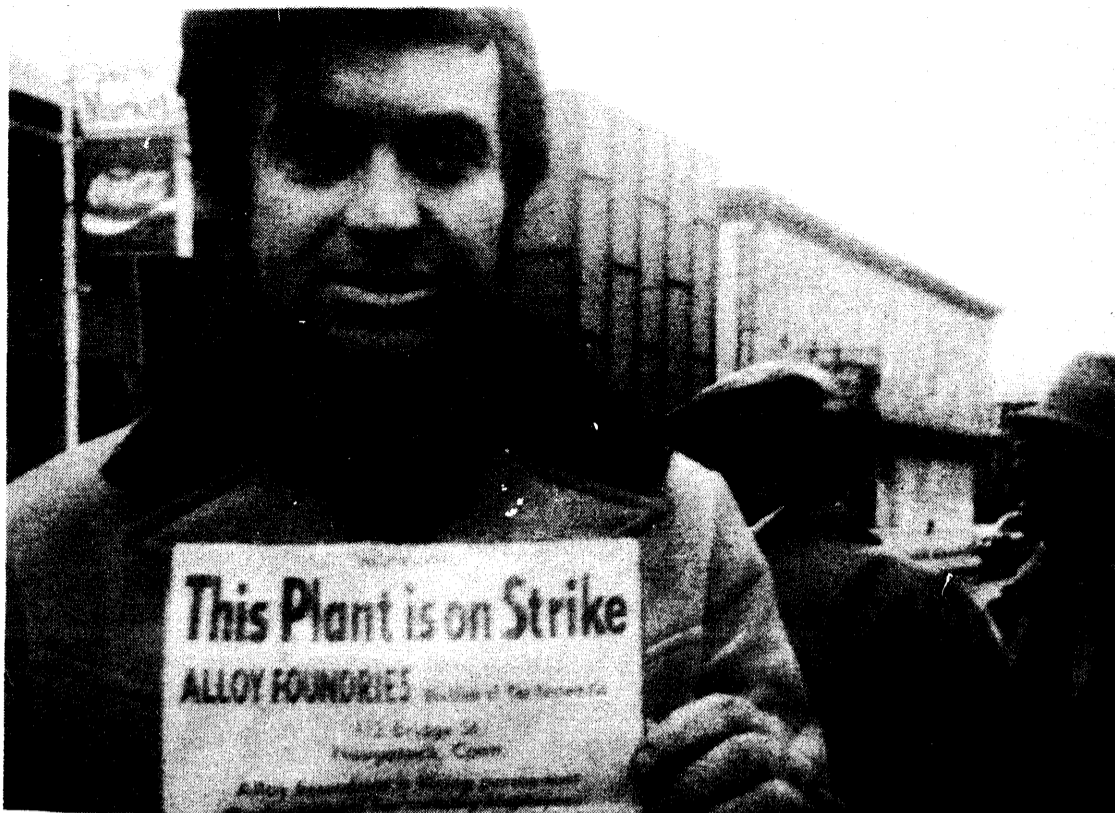
The leaders of the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the Progressive Trades Union Congress (DISK), and teachers and students unions have all been arrested, imprisoned, or exiled.

Over 4000 people were arrested at the time, many of them still waiting trials. Trial by jury has been eliminated and military courts handpicked by the generals make all the verdicts.

The latest trial is the first in a series of mass trials of those jailed in 1971. The defendants refused to cooperate with the military court and throughout the proceedings chanted, "Long live independent Turkey!" and "Down with imperialism!"

EDITOR: Lucy St. John; Labor Editor: David North
Art Director: Jeannie Cooper

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



Workers at Eastern Steel in Naugatuck, Connecticut, are still on strike. The men, members of the United Steel Workers of America, out since October, are determined to win the right to arbitrate grievances.

Food Prices Expected To Keep Soaring

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

Huge increases in the cost of food have been reported by the Consumer Affairs Department in a year end statistical survey documenting price rises in the last eight months.

Since May, 1973 cereal prices have risen 17.1 percent, meat and fish have risen by 6.1 percent, fresh fruits and vegetables have gone up 8 percent, while dairy products have registered a staggering 25.2 percent increase.

The department computes its figures on what it calls a Market Basket. According to this, the cost of feeding a family of four a nutritionally balanced diet in May was \$50.60 per week. In the last eight months the cost of this same market basket has been rising at an annual rate approaching 13 percent.

The cost of three pounds of rice has risen from 72 cents to \$1.38; five pounds of flour has gone from 72 cents to \$1; and a dozen eggs have risen from 70 cents to \$1.01 today.

FERTILIZER

Two months ago the Cost of Living Council removed the fertilizer industry from price controls. The result has been an average increase of 37 percent which will soon be expressed in additional food price rises.

The Journal of Commerce survey of 15 primary industrial materials over the last two months shows prices rising at an annual rate of 71 percent. In the

last month, wholesale prices on commodities have shot up by 9 percent.

BASIC

All of these increases must ultimately be expressed in further large increases in prices of basic consumer goods.

These rises now combine with the latest decisions by the oil producing countries to double the price of crude oil. The most optimistic forecasts estimate that this will mean an increase of at least 10 cents on a gallon of gasoline as well as a huge hike in the US import bill.

At the same time, it has just been revealed that some of the largest corporations are stockpiling millions of gallons of fuel, buying up storage tanks and railroad tank cars. Some industries have even gone so far as to lease abandoned gas stations as storage depots. The effect of all of this will be to shift the cost even more to the working class in terms of lack of fuel for cars and increasing shortages of heating oil.

BALANCE OF TRADE

The favorable US balance of trade in recent months has been accomplished by increasing exports of such scarce materials as chemicals, copper, steel and scrap.

Food exports are up by more than five billion dollars over last year. Attempts now to increase these exports to offset the higher fuel prices will mean increasing shortages and price rises here.

This new round of price increases means that American workers are being forced to pay for the US export drive against Europe and Japan with huge cuts in their standard of living.

Fascist Raids In France

Fascist commandos of **Faire Front**, connected with **New Order**, a banned fascist organization, raided and occupied the headquarters of the **French Socialist and Communist Parties** and the offices of the **General Confederation of Workers (CGT)**, France's largest trade union federation in Paris, on December 19.

This news has been totally suppressed by all the American newspapers. Our report comes from the **Daily World**, newspaper of the **American Communist Party**, which translated the report from the **French CP newspaper**

L'Humanite.

The raids took place after both a fascist demonstration in defense of the dictatorship in Chile and a planned counter-demonstration by all the workers organizations were banned.

These fascist groups were also responsible for the recent bombing of the Algerian embassy that killed four people and other attacks on Algerian immigrants.

It is clear that these fascist attacks were carried out with the full knowledge and approval of the French government of George Pompidou.

Lawyer Charges BLA Is Police Fabrication

BY MITCH PATTERSON

Between 20 and 40 people have been killed or railroaded to jail in major cities across the country because of their alleged membership in the "Black Liberation Army."

There is no such organization. The FBI and local police forces have created the BLA in order to justify their assault against militant Black youth.

"The name of the Black Liberation Army has come up in the press and been circulated by the police but no one that has been accused or indicted has ever said that they were in the BLA."

"The allegations against all the people supposedly in the BLA are fabrications. They are attempts by the police to resolve crimes that are still on the books. They are out to get Black people who are trying to change the social order."

These are statements given to the *Bulletin* by Robert Bloom, who recently defended Fred Hilton, charged with taking part in a bank robbery in New York City and accused of being a member of the BLA. The decision to acquit him and co-defendant Joanne Chesimard, was handed down a few days ago by a New York City jury.

Bloom said that the two witnesses for the prosecution were the people that had actually staged the bank robbery that Hilton and Chesimard were accused of and that they openly admitted it. He said that they were paid to testify and submit evidence that would convict Hilton and Chesimard.



Joanne Chesimard

"We won the case because we exposed their fraud. The jury did not believe them. As long as Black people fight back, the government will label them the BLA or something else. The only thing between the Black militants and the gallows is the jury."

Fred Hilton, Joanne Chesimard, M. Kearney, Robert Hayes, Henry Brown, Anthony Bottom, Herman Bell, A. Washington, Gabriel Torrez, and Francisco Torrez are just a few of the people who still face trial for a variety of alleged crimes. All have been railroaded under the label of the Black Liberation Army.

Sanford Katz, lawyer for Henry Brown, told the *Bulletin* that Brown was charged with the murder of two policemen and being an active member of the BLA.

"Henry Brown is an innocent man. The only reason he is being tried in the first place is because he is Black and political. If you are Black, and found anywhere near a weapon, you are considered 'the nation's most dangerous enemy' and a member of

the Black Liberation Army.

"They are going to use a couple of junkies from New York to try and convict Brown. All this is really a hangover from the pre-Civil War days. Any Black with an ideology against the system is to be feared. Underlying it all is racism. We should have a society without capitalism and imperialism."

The jury selection for Brown's case begins on January 7. The trial itself will begin at the end of the month.



Fred Hilton

Joanne Chesimard awaits a new trial to begin this Wednesday for the alleged murder of a policeman in a shootout on the New Jersey Turnpike last May. She will be tried in Morristown, New Jersey, where the population of Blacks is two percent. The prosecution for that case has already taken steps to insure that there are no Blacks on the jury.

The hysteria being whipped up over the Black Liberation Army by the police and the press is used as a cover to crush any opposition to the attacks that the government is leveling against all youth.



workers league young socialists public meeting

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF LEFT OPPOSITION

martin luther king 310 west 43rd st new york city

speakers:
tim wohlforth
david north

special films

january 23
8 pm

\$1.50 trade unionists \$1.00 youth & unemployed

CWA Plans To Spread Walk Out

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN
NEW YORK—Overseas operators and maintenance men, members of Communications Workers of America Local 1150, went on strike at American Telephone and Telegraph on Friday in solidarity with two craftsmen who were beaten by a supervisor.

The incident took place Christmas Eve. One worker, Declan O'Neil left the job early bleeding and with his shirt ripped. The other worker, Eddie Campbell, went to the hospital for medical treatment.

Since that time, O'Neil has received a day and a half suspension and the company refuses to inform the union what action it intends to take against Campbell. No action has been taken against the supervisor.

An emergency union meeting of Local 1150 voted to strike Friday morning until the suspension is revoked and O'Neil receives full back pay.

Local 1150 is the largest long lines bargaining unit of the CWA and represents workers from

Maine to West Virginia, from Montauk to the Ohio border.

A union spokesman told the Bulletin: "O'Neil is a shop steward. He was suspended for leaving the job after being assaulted by a supervisor. The company claims he was inebriated, but if this was the case he would have been fired according to the contract."

CONTRACT

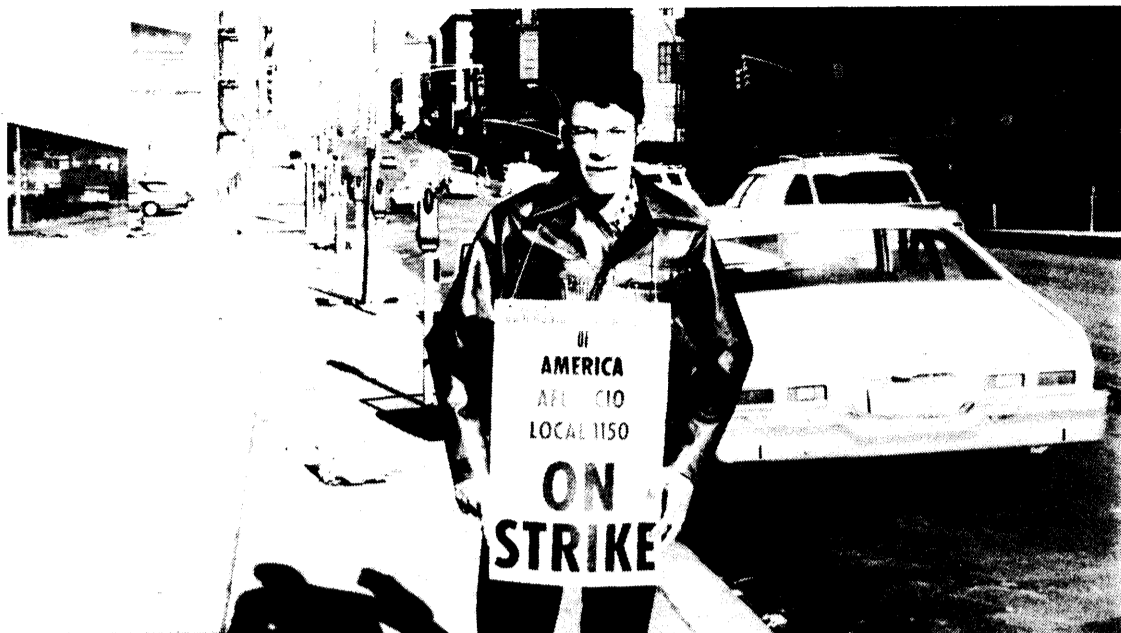
"Negotiations for a new contract are due to begin next month and our contract expires in July. In our opinion, this is a test of our unity and strength."

A worker picketing at the Tenth Avenue AT&T facility told the Bulletin: "I was out on strike during the last contract for over six months and I do not want to go through that again, but this is a question of principle. If they can get away with this, they can do anything."

Local 1150 played a big role in the wildcat that tied up New York phone service for months in opposition to the 1971 national CWA contract.

If the suspension is not revoked, the union is planning to extend picket lines to other locals in New York City.

This strike is a warning of the tremendous explosion that is ahead in the 1974 contract negotiations.



CWA Local 1150 in New York out on strike in solidarity with two craftsmen who were beaten by a supervisor.

Nixon Rations Gas And Cuts Heating

BY A REPORTER

Despite all the promises made by Nixon that there would be no gas rationing, the federal "rationing machinery" is already set to go into action.

Within two months, drivers over the age of 18 will receive coupons allowing them a maximum of 35 gallons of gasoline per month. It will average out to about 8 gallons a week.

The gas rationing system, which has already been allotted \$1.5 billion for the first year, will work as follows. First, licensed drivers throughout the country will receive an "authorization card." This card is then presented to a post office or bank and the driver pays \$1 and receives a one month allotment of coupons which total 32 to 35

gallons. Third, the coupons are collected by the gas station and the driver must pay an additional 75 cents to 99.9 cents for each gallon of gas.

William E. Simon, Nixon's energy chief, announced that all high school students that drive to school must discontinue use of their cars and take public transportation.

Anyone under the age of 18, even though a legal driver, will not be issued ration coupons. The effect will be worse for states like California where the legal age for driving is 16.

The rationing system will establish "appeal boards" in every county in the United States. People who cannot make their ration last through the month must appear at the board to request an increase.

The government is claiming that a great deal of the problems will be resolved by the fact that the coupons themselves can be re-sold by their purchasers on an unrestricted open market.

On the contrary, this will usher in a tremendous black market because no one will have

extra coupons to sell. What will happen can already be seen by the hi-jacking of a Texaco gasoline tanker on its way to the gas stations. The tanker was found the next day completely empty.

This system has already prevented workers from getting to work for lack of gas. Those who have cars will not even be able to use them.

At the same time, Simon has ordered a six-degree cut in home oil heating to start January 15. The reality is that many landlords are already using the energy crisis as an excuse to turn off heat three or four hours a week.

The oil crisis is created by the refusal of the big oil companies to invest their capital in producing the needed oil because they are not assured of enough profit. The working class is now being forced to pay for this crisis.

While workers have to wait hours for gas, Vice-President Gerald Ford had no trouble getting all the fuel he needed to fly on a military plane to his skiing vacation in Colorado.

New Fighting Erupts In Mideast

BY MITCH PATTERSON

The Middle East peace talks now in progress in Geneva, Switzerland between representatives from the Arab countries and Israel are holding together by a thread.

The last session closed with Egypt accusing Israel of stalling the talks and Israel calling Egypt's demands for troop withdrawals too "extravagant."

The Geneva talks are taking place under conditions where fighting is continuing in the Middle East. Fighting has occurred on a daily basis along almost all the front lines near Suez City.

A small arms battle took place for five hours at Kilometer 101 on the Cairo-Suez road last week and a tank-gun battle raged for two and one-half hours on the

Sinai. An Israeli plane was shot down over the southern section of the Suez.

WITHDRAWAL

The first point on the agenda at the Geneva talks, agreed to previously by both sides, was that of troop withdrawal. This discussion had broken down a month ago at the Kilometer 101 checkpoint on the Suez-Cairo road because of Israel's refusal to agree to the Arabs' demand that all Israeli forces be withdrawn from territory occupied since 1967.

The "revised" proposal Israel presented at the talks is that Israeli troops on the West Bank of the Suez Canal and inside Egypt should move back to the East Bank, switching places with Egypt's Third Army. Israel claims this would put an end to

the isolation of the Third Army.

Syria's announcement that it would not attend the Geneva talks weakened the already tenuous basis for discussion between the two sides. However, it also poses certain dangers to Syria.

Israel will attempt to make a "peace deal with Egypt and Jordan, leaving Syria out of it. They would like nothing better than to split and divide the Arab forces. Such an agreement would leave Syria wide open for another military attack by Israel.

OIL SHEIKS

While the talks are nearing a stalemate, the Arabian oil sheiks have made certain policy changes. First and foremost, they are doubling the price of crude oil per barrel which will have a devastating effect on the countries that receive the bulk of their oil from the Arab countries. They have also announced a loosening of their oil embargo to all countries except the United States and a few smaller countries.

Japan is one of the countries slated for an increase in oil. Prior to the announcement for an increase, Japan had scheduled massive cuts in energy usage, and declared a national emergency to begin on January 1. Some of the cuts have been postponed but the national emergency will still go into effect as planned.

Once again the head of the Saudi Arabian Oil Ministry has called for the nationalization of all US oil holdings in the Arab countries.

James Earl Ray Demands New Trial

BY A REPORTER

Martin Luther King Jr. was the victim of an assassination conspiracy by a group of white southerners headquartered in New Orleans who plotted the killing at least a year before it took place.

This is the claim of James Earl Ray, convicted assassin of Dr. King. He is opposing his transfer from the Nashville, Tennessee state prison where he has been serving a life sentence to a federal penitentiary reportedly for "security reasons."

Ray has also filed suit to demand his release from prison and payment of \$500,000 in damages on the grounds that his lawyer in 1969, Percy Foreman of Houston, sabotaged his defense by overlooking or suppressing evidence.

Ray specifically contends that he gave Foreman the names and phone numbers of two Louisiana residents to be investigated in connection with the conspiracy and that nothing had been done with the information.

Ray is reportedly ready to give names, dates, and places if given a new hearing and has sent a document with details of the conspiracy to the federal court

in Tennessee.

The actual facts of the 1968 assassination have been clouded in secrecy.

After the murder, Ray was able to make his way to Canada. From there he travelled on a phoney passport to Portugal and finally to England where he was apprehended with a great deal of money.

The organization of the assassination and the escape indicated that it was part of the conspiracy and not the work of one man.

Ray was persuaded to plead guilty and agreed to accept full responsibility for the murder in order to avoid the electric chair.

At his trial, Ray refused to say that there had been no conspiracy, but because of his guilty plea no evidence was ever made public.

Since his sentencing, Ray has continually filed motions for a new trial, each of which has been summarily turned down.

In light of the Watergate investigations and the growing evidence of government involvement in a whole series of criminal conspiracies, a retrial for James Earl Ray could very well bring a number of explosive revelations out into the open.

subscribe now to the twice-weekly!

Bulletin

NEW RATES! \$1.00 for 2 months
 \$3.00 for 6 months
 \$6.00 for 1 year

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

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

TWO NATIONS AND TWO CLASSES

Heath and Wilson have declared a "national crisis" and called upon everyone to rally to the "nation."

They are urging small business people, wage and salaried workers to accept short-time working, unemployment, wage cuts and soaring increases in the cost of living.

But this "one nation" argument is a complete fraud. Britain is divided into classes. There are in fact "two nations."

Heath's and Wilson's nation is owned by the lords and ladies of the titled aristocracy, the bankers, property speculators, building societies and landlords, the stockbrokers and investors who operate from the City of London.

Their "national crisis," in fact, is the crisis of the capitalist system.

The nation in which the working class live is propertyless. Apart from houses for which they are paying blood-sucking mortgages to building societies, the majority of the working class live in rented accommodation subject to soaring rents.

The Heath government has turned the building societies and the landlords loose on the working class in a way no other government has done in history.

Propertyless and virtually owning only the clothes they wear, the working class has only its labor power to sell.

But because of the international crisis of capitalism, workers are now being told that they can work only three days a week, which is only a step away from wholesale closures and mass unemployment.

To pay for the bankruptcy of capitalism it is workers who will lose their jobs and thereby lose the means to keep themselves and their families properly housed, clothed and fed.

To defend his nation Heath has declared a national lock-out as of January 1, 1974. The three day week means that 30 million work days will be lost each week—the equivalent of 6 million unemployed.

Millions of workers will have their wages halved as Heath cuts



The Founding Conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

production in all the basic industries—steel, chemicals, car manufacturing, textiles and engineering.

To impose this unprecedented recession on the backs of the working class is the foremost consideration of the Tory government. Heath has declared class war with the miners and railwaymen being set up as "Public Enemies No. 1."

Since the end of the strike in February 1972 the government has pursued a strategy to smash the miners. Plenty of coal and fuel has been amassed but it is being held in reserve while Tory propaganda whips up terror in the middle class and intimidation and division among the working class.

The oil blockade has hastened the international capitalist crisis blowing off course Heath's plan to inflict a crushing defeat on the miners.

He not only has to take on the miners, but the working class as a whole who are being roused by the Tory lock-out threat.

The Heath government is in a weak position to carry out this enormous frontal attack on the British working class.

Its main support lies with the Labour and trade union leaders who are doing everything in their power to restrain the miners, railwaymen, engineers and ambulancemen from a fight for decent wages.

In his speech on the crisis last Friday, Wilson called into play the Tories' own bogus argument for "national unity" when he said:

"Needed above all, if everyone in this country is going to put the national interest first, is an all-out, one-nation effort to conquer our problems."

In other words, Wilson is calling on the labor movement to scab on the miners and railwaymen so that Heath's nation of speculators, share sharks and bucketshop bankers can carry on their parasitic lives of luxury and privilege.

The Tory government desperately needs a coalition with the Labour leaders, but this is not possible to proclaim publicly right now because of the strength of the working class.

Conditions for coalition can only be created if the working class is divided and defeated. That is why the biggest danger

facing the working class today is Tory-managed provocations as a prelude to a "scare" General Election.

If they win such an election, the Tories will go forward to coalition with the Jenkinsites, who are already being groomed for a national government.

This conspiracy against the working class can only be exposed and halted if the working class goes into action now.

The Tory plan to use police and troops against the miners and the preparations of the witch-hunters can be unmasked if workers immediately demand a General Strike to force the Tory government out of office.

Workers must resolutely reject all attempts to impose three-day working. Not only does it mean a crippling attack on wages, but it is only the thin edge of the wedge for no week at all!

The Stalinists, reformists and revisionists who have persistently refused to mobilize the working class against the government bear the responsibility for the continued existence of this hated government and the provocations it has in store.

The Workers Revolutionary Party is the only force that has campaigned for the building of the strength of the working class in action through:

- The triple alliance of miners, railmen and engineers against Phase Three and the Tory government.

- The immediate occupation of all factories threatened with closure by the Tory recession.

- The building of Councils of Action in every area to meet Heath's catastrophe on the working class.

Building up the strength of the working class is more important than the winning of an election. The most important single task facing all trade unionists is recruitment to the Workers Revolutionary Party on the widest possible scale.

Every trade unionist concerned about the dangers of Heath's provocations, unemployment and the skyrocketing increase in the cost of living must immediately join the Workers Revolutionary Party as the only force which puts forward a socialist answer to Heath's violence and intimidation.

December 16, 1973

Free José Ballón!

The Peruvian military dictatorship has arrested José Carlos Ballón, a leader of the Trotskyist organization Liga Comunista, and subjected him to torture.

The Liga Comunista is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International and has waged a determined struggle against the regime.

The president, Juan Velasco Alvarado, is supported by the Stalinists, who favor the complete dissolution of the trade unions and workers' organizations into the corporatist state-run bodies.

His regime is the result of a military coup d'état on October 3, 1968, which overthrew the Popular Action government headed by Fernando Belaunde.

The regime carried out certain expropriations of foreign companies and diplomatically recognized the USSR and the other Stalinist countries.

The dictatorship was glorified by the Communist Parties, which claimed to detect "revolu-

tionary" characteristics and became its most fervent apologists.

The arrest of José Ballón is the second time this year that Trotskyists have been imprisoned by the Velasco regime.

Sergio Barrio and José Carlos Ballón were imprisoned on May 8 and held until mid-July on charges of "plotting against state security, against the nation, the constitution and the law of freedom of the Press." The final charge against them was "outrage to the nation and patriotic symbols."

WORKERS KIDNAPPED

The charges were cynical even by the standards of the Velasco regime, which is not noted for its devotion to legal formalities. Indeed as the Liga Comunista comrades wrote to Workers Press on May 28, their arrest "amounted to kidnapping" because it had been carried out without any legal authorization and they had been held incommunicado.

"Our relatives were told we were not arrested and that they

didn't know anything about us.

"This kidnapping, which is being practiced regularly also against workers and trade unionists, serves the purpose of making time for torturing.

"Young university students, militants of the Young Socialists who had been arrested and tortured before us, were brought to us at 3 a.m. or 4 a.m. in the morning.

"They could hardly walk and had to be dragged by State Security agents to be forced to point to us as members of the Liga Comunista.

"The second night of arrest, and after non-stop interrogation and violence, one of us—Sergio Barrio—had his hands handcuffed at the back and was hung with ropes round his arms from a stick tied to the roof ceiling. This torture is known as the "roast chicken."

"His head was covered with a black mask so that he could not recognize his torturers. José Carlos Ballón had the fortune of fainting after non-stop tortures, checked only by his constant political defense of the right to

statement of the workers revolutionary party

have ideas, revolutionary ideas against dictatorship.

"With these tortures and additional threats to our relatives to be 'cooled' (that is to be murdered) they forced us to sign 'confessions.'

"We did not hesitate from the beginning of our arrest in stating clearly our political ideas, in denouncing all the military dictators' violations of democratic rights and their attacks on the most basic rights of the workers and peasants.

WITHOUT CONCESSION

"The recent assassination of a workers' son in Chimbote, and the shots that have paralyzed half the body of the Press secretary of the CGTP, the Communist Party-led Central Union, confirm what we denounced in front of our torturers.

"We condemn and shall fight without any concession the military-corporatist attack against the working class and the peasantry, we shall fight to construct the alternative leadership of the working class, we shall defend the Communist

Party as an independent workers' organization, we shall defend the unity and strength of the CGTP.

"As we told our torturers, as soon as we were freed, whatever the means and however it happened, we were going back to do the same, to fight also for a revolutionary newspaper."

These comrades carried out the promise to return to the fight for the paper. When he was re-arrested, José Carlos Ballón was selling the bi-weekly *Comunismo* among the workers in the fishing industry. These workers have a history of struggle against the domination of their unions at gunpoint by a state-sponsored "mafia."

The Workers Press and the Workers Revolutionary Party demand the immediate release from Velasco's torture chambers of José Carlos Ballón and the other courageous Peruvian revolutionaries "kidnapped" by his regime.

Letters demanding the release of José Ballón should be sent to the Peruvian Consulate, 10 Rockefeller Plaza, NY, NY.

Workers Against Policies Of Middle Class

The development of the American workers movement from 1866 to 1877 was dominated by two essential elements: first, and most important, by a sharp struggle within the movement against the traditional domination of the working class by the policies of the middle class radicals and, second, by the violent eruptions of class warfare that occurred first on the Pennsylvania coal field and then in the civil war action on a nationwide scale by the railroad workers in 1877.

These developments in the labor movement occurred within the framework of massive speculation by the capitalists following the Civil War which ended in the Panic and Depression of 1873-1879. From 1866 onward, all types of business enterprise were based completely on wild gambling and fraudulent financial deals. The heart of the corruption was in the railroad industries, which had been operating on a transcontinental basis only since 1867.

An investigation into the Credit Mobilier Scandals in 1869 revealed widespread fraud in railroad construction: a fraud perpetuated by a conspiracy of Congressmen and corporation heads. In his book *American Labor Struggles*, Samuel Yellen described the extent of the fraudulent dealings of capitalism at that point:

"By means of fake companies, improper consolidations, premium bonds and certificates, stock dividends, and other financial maneuvers, the railroads had succeeded in erecting tremendous capitalizations, as much as seven-ninths water, upon which they demanded their 'just and reasonable dividends.'"

This wild and fraudulent expansion of capital was not limited to the railroad industries, but dominated the general development of all business enterprise during this period. It was within this framework that the first national organization of workers, the National Labor Union, rose and declined and that the early development of the Marxist movement in America occurred. It was during this period that the international Marxist movement, the First International, was located in New York and that the first struggle against the domination of middle class radicalism within the workers movement took place.

The first section of the International in America was founded by F.A. Sorge in October of 1867 and by 1872 there were more than 30 sections located throughout the country.

By 1869, Section One of the First International, led by Sorge, was formed out of the powerful German General Working Men's Union of New York. Earlier, in 1868, this Union had merged with the New York Communist Club to become the Social Party of New York.

For a brief period from 1868 to 1869, the Social Party was a member of the National Labor Union as Labor Union Number 5 of New York. While in the NLU, the role of these German-American Marxists was extremely critical, for it was through their intervention that a real understanding of the international nature of class struggle—and the international character of capitalism itself—was brought into the American working class movement.

In fact, it was through the work of the leaders of the German socialist trade unions and their labor papers, which devoted much space to news of European labor affairs and the decisions of the General Council of the First International, that men like Sylvis of the NLU became aware of the I.W.A. and understood the need for international labor unity.

It was during this period that the NLU, which represented the nationwide workers movement of the day, almost affiliated with the International. The International was in communication with the NLU, issuing its "Address of the General Council," written by Marx to Sylvis. At one point, in fact, the NLU actually passed a resolution which asserted that: "The National Labor Union declared its adherence to the principles of the International Working Men's Association, and expects to join the said organization in a short time."

Because of the NLU's complete break with working class politics in its turn to the middle class greenbackism of the day, however, Sorge had broken all connections with the NLU by 1870. Nevertheless, it is



Starving unemployed demonstrate at Tompkins Square in New York City.

From The First International To The 1877 Railway Strike

Part III of
**Radicalism And The Birth
Of The
American Working Class**
by Nancy Fields

extremely important to note that from the very beginning of the Marxist movement in America, it sought to intervene in the actual life of the working class movement and its influence was extremely critical during this period.

In a later period, the Marxist movement was wracked by two contradictory tendencies: one, to remain outside the actual struggle of the working class and to seek to preserve a "pure" circle of "orthodox" Marxists; the other, to adapt to the existing labor movement and eventually to liquidate into the developing labor bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor. But in its formative stage, the Marxist movement was very much at the center of the struggle to develop an independent American labor movement.

Sorge And The Fight Against American Radicalism

From the very outset of the founding of the North American section of the International Working Men's Association, it became the center of the sharpest theoretical struggle which raised all the funda-

mental issues that had dominated, and were to continue to dominate, the life of the American workers movement.

It is for this reason that an understanding of the early battles within the American Marxist movement—battles centered on questions of principle, internationalism and the independent political action of the working class—becomes critical today as the development of the crisis within capitalism now requires a complete break with pragmatic, middle class traditions of American radicalism within the workers movement in the fight to construct an independent party of labor.

The struggle within the American sections of the I.W.A. centered on an all-out conflict between Section One of the International, led by Sorge, and Section Twelve, led by Victoria Woodhull. This battle was a fundamental one, one of Marxism against American radicalism and it was this struggle—along with Sorge's break from the NLU—which reveals that Marxism began in America with a sharp break from the middle class and American radicalism.

Woodhull's section represented the middle class "dogooder" tendency in America which had continuously intervened within the workers movement to derail it both from the fight to build trade unions and to create its own independent political party. This section, to become Section Twelve, grew out of the Andrews

group, which included Woodhull, her sister Tennessee Claflin and William West. They had been organized as a group called the *New Democracy*—or *Political Commonwealth* in 1869—when they sought affiliation to the International.

Section Twelve was dominated by everything except the cause of labor; that is, by spiritualism, women's suffrage, free love, etc. They stood completely against the struggle to organize workers as a class, instead expounding "the scientific reconciliation of workers and employers to be achieved by overcoming unequal distributions of the products of labor." Their paper, *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, stated: "Let the various producing and exchanging classes exist as they do, but let their relations be governed by such a rule of law as shall render them equal."

Sorge's Section One took up a sharp fight against these radicals, whom he denounced as "intruding themselves into the ranks of labor either for intellectual purposes or for advancing some hobbies of their own by the aid of the working people."

Following publication of a denunciation of Marx in *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, Sorge wrote to Woodhull that: "Your paper professedly sustains the I.W.A., and is read by a not inconsiderable number of members and friends of the International. Hence it should not give publicity to anything regarding the International Working

Men's Association except authentic information."

In fact, Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly, which occasionally contained some news of importance to labor, was largely devoted to articles on free love, sexual freedom, spiritualism and their theory of universological science.

During this time, Sorge wrote the General Council of the I.W.A. that: "The intention of politicians and others is now pretty clear—to identify the I.W.A. in this country with the woman's suffrage, free love, and other movements, and we will have to struggle hard for clearing ourselves from these imputations."

The battle against American radicalism came to a head at the Fifth General Congress of the First International in 1872, when Sorge appealed to the Congress to expel Section Twelve. In his speech to the Congress, Sorge fought for Marxist principles and an understanding of the need to intervene in the actual life of the American workers in order to construct a party to lead the struggle against capitalism. He declared:

"They (Section Twelve) have engaged in backhanded intrigues, have demanded supreme leadership of the I.W.A. in America from the General Council, have shamelessly laid bare all dissensions before the public; they have failed to pay dues for the current year and have impudently declared adverse decisions of the General Council to be in their favor.

"They have come out against the French Communists and German atheists; we demand discipline, submission not to persons but to principle, to the organization; we need the cooperation of the Irish in America, but we cannot win them unless we rid ourselves of all connection with Section Twelve and the free lovers. The working class in America consists: 1. of Irishmen, 2. of Germans, 3. of Negroes, and only 4. of Americans. Give us free play and a free field, so that we can make something decent out of the International in America."

At this Congress, Marx noted that Section Twelve consisted almost entirely of members of the ruling class whose central preoccupation was over the question of the women's franchise and that they took exception to the fact that the I.W.A. was a workmen's association.

West, representing Section Twelve, revealed the completely middle class, anti-Marxist position when he declared that:

"The labor question is also a women's question, and the emancipation of women must precede that of the workers. Woodhull and others are spiritualists and free lovers? Can you forbid it? Can you command love where there is none? (General laughter) That is none of your business.

"First we are men before we are workers or bourgeoisie. The development and isolation of the social question takes the following course: first man is a commodity, then he becomes a wage worker, then he becomes a bourgeois-middle class man, etc., and then man, who had advanced to bourgeois status by means of his higher intelligence, enters into general cooperation; that is, the substitution of society for individual work. The bourgeoisie have and acquire the necessary experience and intelligence which we need in the movement."

Thus, the complete contradiction between Sorge's Section One, which was fighting to develop an actual movement in the working class based on Marxist principles and on internationalism, and Section Twelve, which sought to create some sort of radical sect among middle and upper class liberals, was sharply revealed before the Fifth Congress. It voted to expel Section Twelve.

It was also at the Fifth Congress that Marx proposed that the General Council be moved to New York because the struggle against the anarchists - led by Bakunin - had created such sharp factional conditions in London that the very existence of the International was at stake.

Marx declared that because of the internal conflict raging in all the sections in Europe, "no other place remains than New York. There our papers are safe, there we have a loyal, strong organization, there our party is truly international as nowhere else in the world. One should, for instance, look at the New York Federal Council, consisting of Irish, Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, and Swedes, and soon it will count among its members native Americans also."

Thus, not only did Sorge play an extremely critical role in the fight to develop the political independence of the working

class but he actually fought to maintain and construct the international movement itself. It was through the activities of Section One of the I.W.A. that the principles of internationalism were first fought for on a mass scale in the American workers movement. They organized support for the Irish freedom fighters and sponsored demonstrations in support of the Communards in Paris, and after the Commune was defeated, extended their support to the fugitive Communards.

The First International's Role In The American Labor Movement

Following the decisive defeat of Section Twelve, new life was put into the activities of the American sections of the I.W.A. In 1873, the Federal Council of the American sections declared:

"The ground is prepared for cultivation

played a major role in leading the struggles of the unemployed. During this period, the country was gripped by the severe Panic and Depression resulting from the fantastic speculation and the feverish development of capital following the Civil War. In 1873 the largest financial house in the country closed because of overinvestment in the Northern Pacific Railroad and a complete panic seized the capitalist class.

The Panic and Depression created conditions of abject poverty, unemployment, starvation and homelessness for the majority of the working class. At the same time, those who remained employed had their wages cut in half. The few trade unions which did exist were virtually wiped out both because no one could afford dues and because of the vicious assaults of the employers on their existence.

As the effects of the Depression deepened, there were tremendous outbreaks among the unemployed in city after city throughout the country. The rallying force in these outbreaks was the Federal Council of the North American Federation of the I.W.A. It organized mass demonstrations to demand relief and the institution of a shorter working day to create more jobs. In



Striking railroad workers.

and it is now the duty of the pioneers of the labor movement not to waste time and work, as often has been done, in experiments or odious quarrels, but to organize the workingmen as a class, and to create that class feeling which never will allow the laborer to leave the organization which leads to the great aim of the International Working Men's Association—the Emancipation of Labor."

The theoretical struggle against American pragmatic radicalism had laid the groundwork for the actual intervention of the I.W.A. into the struggles of the working class, struggles which were organized and led by the Marxist movement. Furthermore, it is important to note that the theoretical struggle within the First International was not simply an internal battle among two contending radical sects, but rather it reflected the central, fundamental issues that confronted the workers movement as a whole at the time.

It was because the German-American Marxists actually fought out these issues that they were able to play a leading role in the fight to organize unions, to lead the struggle for the eight hour day. At the same time, they sought to bring politics into the working class movement.

From 1873 to 1876, the International

Chicago, it rallied 20,000 unemployed workers, carrying banners which read "Eight Hours, Peaceably if We Can, Forcibly if We Must," to march on the City Hall.

The fight to organize the unemployed was the high point in the development of the First International, and together with its theoretical contributions, marks the major significance of the First International in America.

Political Struggle Within The Marxist Movement

Following 1874, the Marxist movement was torn apart by two contending factions: the Lassalleans, who rejected any struggle to organize trade unions in favor of political action only; and the Marxists who did not reject the political struggle but held that, at the same time, the trade unions were "the cradle of the labor movement" and therefore it was the duty of the movement both to

revive existing trade unions and to help organize new ones.

While this political struggle raged within the workers movement, the vicious assault of the employers were creating the conditions for the violent eruption on a Civil War scale of masses of workers who struck the railroads in 1877. What began as a spontaneous, elementary struggle by railroad workers against a 10 percent reduction in wages led almost overnight to a general strike situation with the nation's transportation system paralyzed and civil war conditions prevailing in the major cities across the country.

It was in Pittsburgh that the strike reached its height. In fact, so widespread was the rebellion that the capitalist press of the day declared: "It is wrong to call this a strike, it is a labor revolution." During the rebellion, pitched battles occurred throughout major cities in the US.

Following an attack by federal troops in Pittsburgh, the strikers, joined by miners, mill hands and factory workers, returned their attack with arms seized from nearby gun shops. Foster Rhea Dulles, in Labor in America, describes the scene:

"As night fell, freight cars were set afire and pushed into the roundhouse until it too was blazing. The troops, surrounded by flames and nearly suffocated by smoke, fought their way out amid a hail of bullets and retreated across the Allegheny River."

It was at this point that the masses actually seized Pittsburgh, claiming the goods and property which the employers had been robbing from them. One contemporary description reveals the determination of workers to get what is rightfully theirs:

"Here a brawny woman could be seen hurrying away with pairs of white kid slippers under her arms; another carrying an infant, would be rolling a barrel of flour along the sidewalk, using her feet as the propelling power; here a man pushing a wheelbarrow loaded with white bread. Boys hurried through the crowd with large-sized family Bibles as their share of the plunder, while scores of females utilized aprons and dresses to carry flour, eggs, dry goods, etc. Bundles of umbrellas, fancy parasols, hams, bacon, leaf lard, calico, blankets, laces and flour were mixed together in the arms of robust men, or carried on hastily constructed handbarrows."

These strikes were leaderless and spontaneous and were eventually defeated, yet they expressed the tremendous power and determination of the American working class to fight back against the brutal exploitation of capitalism. The explosion of 1877 was actually a reaction to the ruthless expansion of capital—an expansion which was made possible only by driving workers into conditions of abject poverty—but it was still an abortive movement. Labor was not yet prepared to go beyond capitalism because capitalism itself was still in a stage of development. Engels noted that the working class in America at this point could not yet create its own party because:

"Only when the land—the public land—is completely in the hands of the speculators, and settlement on the land thus becomes more and more difficult or falls victim to gouging—only then, I think, will the time come...for a third party. Land is the basis of speculation, and the American speculative mania and speculative opportunity are the chief levers that hold the native-born worker in bondage to the bourgeoisie. Only when there is a generation of native-born workers that cannot expect anything from speculation any more, will we have a solid foothold in America."

Nevertheless, the violent eruptions of workers throughout the country and their actual brief seizure of power in areas like Pittsburgh revealed the civil war nature of the class struggle in America. This explosiveness was again to erupt in 1886 on a far sharper level: as an organized battle.

Following the spontaneous rebellion of 1877, the Marxist movement came together to create a new political party, the Socialist Labor Party, which was to play a major role in the development of the American workers movement during the next decade. It was through the sharp break with American radicalism, fought through by American sections of the First International, that the basis was laid for the establishment of the SLP and for the growing movement among masses of workers to create their own political party: a movement which was to culminate in the Labor Party campaign of Henry George in 1886.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

Workers Against Policies Of Middle Class

The development of the American workers movement from 1866 to 1877 was dominated by two essential elements: first, and most important, by a sharp struggle within the movement against the traditional domination of the working class by the policies of the middle class radicals and, second, by the violent eruptions of class warfare that occurred first on the Pennsylvania coal field and then in the civil war action on a nationwide scale by the railroad workers in 1877.

These developments in the labor movement occurred within the framework of massive speculation by the capitalists following the Civil War which ended in the Panic and Depression of 1873-1879. From 1866 onward, all types of business enterprise were based completely on wild gambling and fraudulent financial deals. The heart of the corruption was in the railroad industries, which had been operating on a transcontinental basis only since 1867.

An investigation into the Credit Mobilier Scandals in 1869 revealed widespread fraud in railroad construction: a fraud perpetrated by a conspiracy of Congressmen and corporation heads. In his book American Labor Struggles, Samuel Yellen described the extent of the fraudulent dealings of capitalism at that point:

"By means of fake companies, improper consolidations, premium bonds and certificates, stock dividends, and other financial maneuvers, the railroads had succeeded in erecting tremendous capitalizations, as much as seven-ninths water, upon which they demanded their 'just and reasonable dividends.'"

This wild and fraudulent expansion of capital was not limited to the railroad industries, but dominated the general development of all business enterprise during this period. It was within this framework that the first national organization of workers, the National Labor Union, rose and declined and that the early development of the Marxist movement in America occurred. It was during this period that the international Marxist movement, the First International, was located in New York and that the first struggle against the domination of middle class radicalism within the workers movement took place.

The first section of the International in America was founded by F.A. Sorge in October of 1867 and by 1872 there were more than 30 sections located throughout the country.

By 1869, Section One of the First International, led by Sorge, was formed out of the powerful German General Working Men's Union of New York. Earlier, in 1868, this Union had merged with the New York Communist Club to become the Social Party of New York.

For a brief period from 1868 to 1869, the Social Party was a member of the National Labor Union as Labor Union Number 5 of New York. While in the NLU, the role of these German-American Marxists was extremely critical, for it was through their intervention that a real understanding of the international nature of class struggle—and the international character of capitalism itself—was brought into the American working class movement.

In fact, it was through the work of the leaders of the German socialist trade unions and their labor papers, which devoted much space to news of European labor affairs and the decisions of the General Council of the First International, that men like Sylvius of the NLU became aware of the I.W.A., and understood the need for international labor unity.

It was during this period that the NLU, which represented the nationwide workers movement of the day, almost affiliated with the International. The International was in communication with the NLU, issuing its "Address of the General Council," written by Marx to Sylvius. At one point, in fact, the NLU actually passed a resolution which asserted that: "The National Labor Union declared its adherence to the principles of the International Working Men's Association, and expects to join the said organization in a short time."

Because of the NLU's complete break with working class politics in its turn to the middle class greenbackism of the day, however, Sorge had broken all connections with the NLU by 1870. Nevertheless, it is



Starving unemployed demonstrate at Tompkins Square in New York City.

From The First International To The 1877 Railway Strike

Part III of Radicalism And The Birth Of The American Working Class by Nancy Fields

extremely important to note that from the very beginning of the Marxist movement in America, it sought to intervene in the actual life of the working class movement and its influence was extremely critical during this period.

In a later period, the Marxist movement was wracked by two contradictory tendencies: one, to remain outside the actual struggle of the working class and to seek to preserve a "pure" circle of "orthodox" Marxists; the other, to adapt to the existing labor movement and eventually to liquidate into the developing labor bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor. But in its formative stage, the Marxist movement was very much at the center of the struggle to develop an independent American labor movement.

Sorge And The Fight Against American Radicalism

From the very outset of the founding of the North American section of the International Working Men's Association, it became the center of the sharpest theoretical struggle which raised all the funda-

mental issues that had dominated, and were to continue to dominate, the life of the American workers movement.

It is for this reason that an understanding of the early battles within the American Marxist movement—battles centered on questions of principle, internationalism and the independent political action of the working class—becomes critical today as the development of the crisis within capitalism now requires a complete break with pragmatic, middle class traditions of American radicalism within the workers movement in the fight to construct an independent party of labor.

The struggle within the American sections of the I.W.A. centered on an all-out conflict between Section One of the International, led by Sorge, and Section Twelve, led by Victoria Woodhull. This battle was a fundamental one, one of Marxism against American radicalism and it was this struggle—along with Sorge's break from the NLU—which reveals that Marxism began in America with a sharp break from the middle class and American radicalism.

Woodhull's section represented the middle class "dogooder" tendency in America which had continuously intervened within the workers movement to derail it both from the fight to build trade unions and to create its own independent political party. This section, to become Section Twelve, grew out of the Andrews

group, which included Woodhull, her sister Tennessee Claflin and William West. They had been organized as a group called the New Democracy—or Political Commonwealth in 1869—when they sought affiliation to the International.

Section Twelve was dominated by everything except the cause of labor; that is, by spiritualism, women's suffrage, free love, etc. They stood completely against the struggle to organize workers as a class, instead expounding "the scientific reconciliation of workers and employers to be achieved by overcoming unequal distributions of the products of labor." Their paper, Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly, stated: "Let the various producing and exchanging classes exist as they do, but let their relations be governed by such a rule of law as shall render them equal."

Sorge's Section One took up a sharp fight against these radicals, whom he denounced as "intruding themselves into the ranks of labor either for intellectual purposes or for advancing some hobbies of their own by the aid of the working people."

Following publication of a denunciation of Marx in Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly, Sorge wrote to Woodhull that: "Your paper professedly sustains the I.W.A., and is read by a not inconsiderable number of members and friends of the International. Hence it should not give publicity to anything regarding the International Working

Men's Association except authentic information."

In fact, Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly, which occasionally contained some news of importance to labor, was largely devoted to articles on free love, sexual freedom, spiritualism and their theory of universal-spiritual science.

During this time, Sorge wrote the General Council of the I.W.A. that: "The intention of politicians and others is now pretty clear—to identify the I.W.A. in this country with the woman's suffrage, free love, and other movements, and we will have to struggle hard for clearing ourselves from these imputations."

The battle against American radicalism came to a head at the Fifth General Congress of the First International in 1872, when Sorge appealed to the Congress to expel Section Twelve. In his speech to the Congress, Sorge fought for Marxist principles and an understanding of the need to intervene in the actual life of the American workers in order to construct a party to lead the struggle against capitalism. He declared:

"They (Section Twelve) have engaged in backhanded intrigues, have demanded supreme leadership of the I.W.A. in America from the General Council, have shamelessly laid bare all dissensions before the public; they have failed to pay dues for the current year and have impudently declared adverse decisions of the General Council to be in their favor.

"They have come out against the French Communists and German atheists; we demand discipline, submission not to persons but to principle, to the organization; we need the cooperation of the Irish in America, but we cannot win them unless we rid ourselves of all connection with Section Twelve and the free lovers. The working class in America consists: 1. of Irishmen, 2. of Germans, 3. of Negroes, and only 4. of Americans. Give us free play and a free field, so that we can make something decent out of the International in America."

At this Congress, Marx noted that Section Twelve consisted almost entirely of members of the ruling class whose central preoccupation was over the question of the women's franchise and that they took exception to the fact that the I.W.A. was a workingmen's association.

West, representing Section Twelve, revealed the completely middle class, anti-Marxist position when he declared that:

"The labor question is also a women's question, and the emancipation of women must precede that of the workers. Woodhull and others are spiritualists and free lovers? Can you forbid it? Can you command love where there is none? (General laughter) That is none of your business.

"First we are men before we are workers or bourgeoisie. The development and isolation of the social question takes the following course: first man is a commodity, then he becomes a wage worker, then he becomes a bourgeois-middle class man, etc., and then man, who had advanced to bourgeois status by means of his higher intelligence, enters into general cooperation; that is, the substitution of society for individual work. The bourgeoisie have and acquire the necessary experience and intelligence which we need in the movement."

Thus, the complete contradiction between Sorge's Section One, which was fighting to develop an actual movement in the working class based on Marxist principles and on internationalism, and Section Twelve, which sought to create some sort of radical sect among middle and upper class liberals, was sharply revealed before the Fifth Congress. It voted to expel Section Twelve.

It was also at the Fifth Congress that Marx proposed that the General Council be moved to New York because the struggle against the anarchists - led by Bakunin - had created such sharp factional conditions in London that the very existence of the International was at stake.

Marx declared that because of the internal conflict raging in all the sections in Europe, "no other place remains than New York. There our papers are safe, there we have a loyal, strong organization, there our party is truly international as nowhere else in the world. One should, for instance, look at the New York Federal Council, consisting of Irish, Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, and Swedes, and soon it will count among its members native Americans also."

Thus, not only did Sorge play an extremely critical role in the fight to develop the political independence of the working

class but he actually fought to maintain and construct the international movement itself. It was through the activities of Section One of the I.W.A. that the principles of internationalism were first fought for on a mass scale in the American workers movement. They organized support for the Irish freedom fighters and sponsored demonstrations in support of the Communards in Paris, and after the Commune was defeated, extended their support to the fugitive Communards.

The First International's Role In The American Labor Movement

Following the decisive defeat of Section Twelve, new life was put into the activities of the American sections of the I.W.A. In 1873, the Federal Council of the American sections declared:

"The ground is prepared for cultivation



Striking railroad workers.

and it is now the duty of the pioneers of the labor movement not to waste time and work, as often has been done, in experiments or odious quarrels, but to organize the workingmen as a class, and to create that class feeling which never will allow the laborer to leave the organization which leads to the great aim of the International Working Men's Association—the Emancipation of Labor."

The theoretical struggle against American pragmatic radicalism had laid the groundwork for the actual intervention of the I.W.A. into the struggles of the working class, struggles which were organized and led by the Marxist movement. Furthermore, it is important to note that the theoretical struggle within the First International was not simply an internal battle among two contending radical sects, but rather it reflected the central, fundamental issues that confronted the workers movement as a whole at the time.

It was because the German-American Marxists actually fought out these issues that they were able to play a leading role in the fight to organize unions, to lead the struggle for the eight hour day. At the same time, they sought to bring politics into the working class movement. From 1873 to 1876, the International

played a major role in leading the struggles of the unemployed. During this period, the country was gripped by the severe Panic and Depression resulting from the fantastic speculation and the feverish development of capital following the Civil War. In 1873 the largest financial house in the country closed because of overinvestment in the Northern Pacific Railroad and a complete panic seized the capitalist class.

The Panic and Depression created conditions of abject poverty, unemployment, starvation and homelessness for the majority of the working class. At the same time, those who remained employed had their wages cut in half. The few trade unions which did exist were virtually wiped out both because no one could afford dues and because of the vicious assaults of the employers on their existence.

As the effects of the Depression deepened, there were tremendous outbreaks among the unemployed in city after city throughout the country. The rallying force in these outbreaks was the Federal Council of the North American Federation of the I.W.A. It organized mass demonstrations to demand relief and the institution of a shorter working day to create more jobs. In

revive existing trade unions and to help organize new ones.

While this political struggle raged within the workers movement, the vicious assault of the employers were creating the conditions for the violent eruption on a Civil War scale of masses of workers who struck the railroads in 1877. What began as a spontaneous, elementary struggle by railroad workers against a 10 percent reduction in wages led almost overnight to a general strike situation with the nation's transportation system paralyzed and civil war conditions prevailing in the major cities across the country.

It was in Pittsburgh that the strike reached its height. In fact, so widespread was the rebellion that the capitalist press of the day declared: "It is wrong to call this a strike, it is a labor revolution." During the rebellion, pitched battles occurred throughout major cities in the US.

Following an attack by federal troops in Pittsburgh, the strikers, joined by miners, mill hands and factory workers, returned their attack with arms seized from nearby gun shops. Foster Rhea Dulles, in Labor in America, describes the scene:

"As night fell, freight cars were set afire and pushed into the roundhouse until it too was blazing. The troops, surrounded by flames and nearly suffocated by smoke, fought their way out amid a hail of bullets and retreated across the Allegheny River."

It was at this point that the masses actually seized Pittsburgh, claiming the goods and property which the employers had been robbing from them. One contemporary description reveals the determination of workers to get what is rightfully theirs:

"Here a brawny woman could be seen hurrying away with pairs of white kid slippers under her arms; another carrying an infant, would be rolling a barrel of flour along the sidewalk, using her feet as the propelling power; here a man pushing a wheelbarrow loaded with white bread. Boys hurried through the crowd with large-sized family Bibles as their share of the plunder, while scores of females utilized aprons and dresses to carry flour, eggs, dry goods, etc. Bundles of umbrellas, fancy parasols, hams, bacon, leaf lard, calico, blankets, laces and flour were mixed together in the arms of robust men, or carried on hastily constructed handbarrows."

These strikes were leaderless and spontaneous and were eventually defeated, yet they expressed the tremendous power and determination of the American working class to fight back against the brutal exploitation of capitalism. The explosion of 1877 was actually a reaction to the ruthless expansion of capital—an expansion which was made possible only by driving workers into conditions of abject poverty—but it was still an abortive movement. Labor was not yet prepared to go beyond capitalism because capitalism itself was still in a stage of development. Engels noted that the working class in America at this point could not yet create its own party because:

"Only when the land—the public land—is completely in the hands of the speculators, and settlement on the land thus becomes more and more difficult or falls victim to gouging—only then, I think, will the time come...for a third party. Land is the basis of speculation, and the American speculative mania and speculative opportunity are the chief levers that hold the native-born worker in bondage to the bourgeoisie. Only when there is a generation of native-born workers that cannot expect anything from speculation any more, will we have a solid foothold in America."

Nevertheless, the violent eruptions of workers throughout the country and their actual brief seizure of power in areas like Pittsburgh revealed the civil war nature of the class struggle in America. This explosiveness was again to erupt in 1886 on a far sharper level: as an organized battle.

Following the spontaneous rebellion of 1877, the Marxist movement came together to create a new political party, the Socialist Labor Party, which was to play a major role in the development of the American workers movement during the next decade. It was through the sharp break with American radicalism, fought through by American sections of the First International, that the basis was laid for the establishment of the SLP and for the growing movement among masses of workers to create their own political party: a movement which was to culminate in the Labor Party campaign of Henry George in 1886.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

Political Struggle Within The Marxist Movement

Following 1874, the Marxist movement was torn apart by two contending factions: the Lassalleans, who rejected any struggle to organize trade unions in favor of political action only; and the Marxists who did not reject the political struggle but held that, at the same time, the trade unions were "the cradle of the labor movement" and therefore it was the duty of the movement both to

editor's notebook

Nixon Rally Flops

An attempt by Nixon's southern California friends to rouse some support for the President went down to ignominious defeat in San Diego.

\$3067 was spent on billing a "Support President Nixon" rally and preparations were made for 1500 people.

Only 75 showed up and the rally's sponsors went home with a \$2910 hole in their pockets.

But Nixon is grateful for any support he can get these days. He sent the rally a telegram to express gratitude for the "confidence and friendship expressed by your presence here."

Equal Sacrifice

In order to prove to the mass of American people that he would not consume fuel for his own holiday during the energy crisis, Mr. Nixon flew to his "West Coast White House" in San Clemente via a commercial airliner: United Air Lines.

Apparently, he was not too sure of himself, for not only was the trip kept top secret until the last minute, but in addition to Ronald Ziegler, a doctor, a personal aid, the infamous Rose Mary Woods, and family, Nixon had 18 military and secret service persons with him as well. These 18 men ranged in rank from FBI agents to Lieutenant Colonel John Brennen, a military advisor.

But White House officials say that the trip was designed not to save 60,000 gallons of fuel but as a public relations gimmick. It proved, according to Nixon's aides, that Nixon is really a man of the people."

Who Got The Aid?

On December 23, 1972, one of the worst earthquakes in history demolished the capital city of Managua, Nicaragua. It killed more than 10,000 people, thousands more were injured, and over 300,000 were left homeless.

Now, over one year later, despite the \$162 million in foreign aid for reconstruction, \$32 million in emergency supplies and services, and a loan from the United States totalling \$15 million, the levelled city remains virtually the same.

Almost no reconstruction has taken place since the disaster. Nearly all of the 300,000 people whose homes were destroyed still remain without homes.

The Finance Ministry of Nicaragua released a statement a few weeks ago in response to criticism of its handling of the foreign aid money. The jist was that "there had been tremendous confusion earlier in sorting out the various types of aid pouring in from abroad."

The aid was obviously sorted out by going into the pockets of Nicaragua's politicians and functionaries.

American economic specialists have stated "that a detailed plan of reconstruction takes time to formulate."

One specialist stated: "It will be well into 1974 before the reconstruction program gets into high gear."

The question of where the millions of dollars have gone still remains unanswered. A city still remains in ruins, and hundreds of thousands still remain homeless.

The French Watergate

The conspiratorial methods employed by the Nixon administration in the Watergate affair are methods that are not confined only to the US.

Recently a Watergate incident took place in France which exposed the police-state nature of the Pompidou regime.

The office of Le Canard Enchaîné, a weekly satirical magazine, was bugged by agents under the auspices of Raymond Marcellin, France's Interior Minister.

Marcellin's men were caught redhanded by a staff journalist in the process of installing sensitive electronic equipment in the ceiling of the newly rented offices of Canard.

In true Nixon style, Marcellin responded to the charges made by Canard by placing himself above the law:

"The only question which is posed is: are we strong enough to fight against all forms of subversion? At the bottom of all this business there is a political vendetta which has been waged against me for the past three years."

Already, conservative and liberal forces throughout France are calling for the resignation of Marcellin, following the statements of other witnesses that they can identify the "plumbers" who installed the bugging devices.

Repentant

Ex-special counselor to President Nixon, Charles W. Colson, has done some very strange things over the past period. Shortly before his resignation, Colson was involved in a very hot scandal that never quite came to the surface that connected Colson and Nixon to the Mafia.

Colson had agreed to intervene in a case involving a union official who supposedly had very close connections with the Mafia. The official was in the process of being indicted for extortion activity in the New York area.

Within less than a week after Colson intervened, the case was dropped, there was no indictment, and the Justice Department prosecutors claimed that no pressure had been placed on them.

As the Watergate revelations began to expose more and more of the activities of the members of the White House staff, Charles Colson gracefully resigned to his private law practice.

Now, television reporters tell us that Colson has suddenly discovered Jesus Christ and will devote himself to religion.

We are happy that Colson has finally found himself.



Young Highway Department workers in St. Paul discuss unemployment and the oil crisis with the Bulletin.

Minnesota Plans 5% State Layoffs

BY J. NELSON

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Following the shutdown of all state offices on December 24 and December 31 ordered by Minnesota Governor Wendal Anderson, the state is preparing to lay off permanently five percent of all state employees.

Paul Goldberg, executive director of Council 6 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, told the Bulletin: "The excuse for the two day shutdown is the fuel crisis. And like anything else the working man always catches it in the neck. The state is already discussing a

four day work week, and we're expecting layoffs in the Highway Department. The state college system is also threatening shutdowns. Mankato State College has already extended the Christmas vacation by about a week, and St. Cloud State College is talking about a six or seven week shutdown."

Gail Effie, a Highway Department worker, told the Bulletin: "Closing our offices is really a rip off. There isn't a fuel shortage; the oil companies are just holding back. Somebody, is getting fat."

"They're turning all the heat off over the holidays. The few people that will be working here

will have to sit in the cold.

"Nixon is in with the oil men. "I think we should get Nixon out of there. What do we have to lose? The election was a fraud anyway."

Judy Grolla, another Highway Department worker, said: "The people in the Licensing Department are really getting hurt. Their supervisor told them that they had to put the days they lose over the holidays on their vacation time. The union made them give us overtime to make up for some of the money we are going to lose. But who wants to stay here for an extra two hours a day with what we have to do? I think we should start some demonstrations at the capitol."

Teamsters Defy Fitzsimmons

MADISON—James Marketti, fired organizer for Teamsters Local 695, five other members, and Teamsters for Democracy, have filed suit in Federal Court asking that the trusteeship imposed by the International November 2 be dissolved and new election of officers be held immediately.

The election was cancelled indefinitely by the International under the 18 month trusteeship. Marketti is also asking \$50,000 in damages and for reinstatement in his job with back pay and interest. The suit is aimed at Frank Fitzsimmons and local and regional trustees and directors of the Teamsters union.

In the December 18 general membership meeting, the new leadership declared that, "Unity has now been achieved and the local can get on with its business." However, the men were told that no financial report was necessary under trusteeship.

No transcript copies of the November 27 hearings concerning duration of the trusteeship will be prepared and a decision is still pending. No perspective or report was put forward for the local and after a 45 minute question and answer period, the meeting was adjourned.

GRIEVANCES

The ranks responded sharply to the new administrator, Jesinsky. A general beverage worker demanded action on 71 backed up grievances, and another driver asked: "Has there been any pro-

gress under the trusteeship?"

A cement truck operator asked, "Is this the substance of the meeting? What's the purpose of our meeting here if there are no financial reports, and grievances are handled by agents?"

The suit filed against this bureaucracy threatens the independence of the union and opens the union to direct governmental intervention in its affairs. In a period of police provocation, decertification proceedings and injunctions leveled against the Teamsters nationally by the government, this suit will open the door to

increased government control of the unions.

Especially dangerous is the request that rescheduled elections be conducted under control of the court and for a restraining order prohibiting the International from interfering in the internal administration of union affairs and political action.

The trusteeship has to be fought by building a new leadership nationally in the Teamsters to throw out Fitzsimmons. This will open the way forward to unite truck drivers in a campaign against Nixon's wage cuts and to organize a nationwide strike for a new contract.

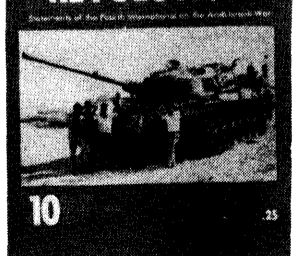
Just Out!



DEFEND THE CHILEAN WORKING CLASS. Statement of the International Committee on the events that led to the overthrow of Allende in Chile. A thorough assessment of the counterrevolutionary role of the Communist Party. .25

Order from: Labor Publications, 135 W. 14 St., 7th Fl., N.Y., N.Y.

HANDS OFF THE ARAB REVOLUTION



HANDS OFF THE ARAB REVOLUTION. Statements of the world Trotskyist movement on the struggle for the victory of the Arab revolution. Demonstrates how the fight for the Leninist principles of self-determination leaves only the International Committee able to understand and provide an alternative leadership in the Middle East. .25

midwest news

'We Need A Nationwide GM Strike'

BY HOWARD WEST
ST. LOUIS, Dec. 30—GM workers here, members of UAW Local 25, called for national and international strike action against GM to answer layoffs announced Friday.

Earl, one of the workers interviewed by the Bulletin, said: "The present union leadership we've got now hasn't done anything for years and I don't see them doing anything now. We need nationwide and international strike action against GM across the world."

"Woodcock should have been fighting for a 30 hour work week at full pay to keep these jobs, but he has been spending his time talking with the management."

Frank, another UAW Local 25 member, called for action from the union leadership to fight the layoffs. "I think all production should be shut down rather than let GM fire 2000 workers here. They hired about 1000 new

workers in the last few months and now with this layoff, these will be the first to go.

Over 3500 workers will be laid off from the GM plant here when all assembling of passenger cars is shut down in early 1974.

The second shift of the passenger line is scheduled to be eliminated and all production of passenger cars will be shut down for about 10 days. Over 2200 men will be terminated indefinitely.

SHORTAGE

The oil shortage has knocked the bottom out of the market and thousands of 1973 models are still at the plant, although production ceased over six months ago.

Another 5000 workers at the plant are involved in the Corvette and truck assembly line. Local GM spokesmen claim that production on the Corvette assembly line and the Chevrolet truck and GMC truck assembly lines would not be affected. However, it has been reported to the Bulletin that already a shortage of essential parts for Corvettes such as steering wheels are slowing down production.

Social Service Union Files Discrimination Suit

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
CHICAGO, Dec. 25—The Illinois Union of Social Service Employees, newly affiliated with AFSCME, filed suit today against the Cook County and Illinois Departments of Public Aid,

charging them with violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The union charges "concerted action" to force case aides and caseworker trainees to do the work of regular caseworkers at lower pay, and barring them from promotion by discriminatory testing practices and a hiring freeze.

The 1000 caseworkers in Cook County are paid about \$742 a month, according to AFSCME Local 2000 President Max Liberles. While close to 500 jobs have been destroyed through attrition in the last 18 months, almost 500 aides and trainees have not been able to win promotion.

According to Liberles, most of the lower paid workers are Black, and the union plans to file "a number of suits like this."

"We saw state plans where caseworkers would continue to be reduced through attrition, and aides and trainees would be hired, according to some kind of formula," Liberles told the Bulletin.

THREATENED

"We've been threatened not to push this. The state has said that they'll downgrade the caseworkers in order to even out the pay scale. But we can get an injunction against that, I think, because that would be retaliating against the suit."

The union is seeking an immediate end to the different wage scales, and back pay for the aides and trainees. They are also demanding a new caseworker test, and that all trainees and aides who desire promotion be promoted at once.



Sears workers vigil in San Francisco Civic Center. ???

Foundry Strike In Third Month

Local 768 AFL-CIO members are entering the third month of a strike against the Kunhs Brothers Foundry in Dayton, Ohio.

The central issues are wages and a new medical program. The first wage offer from company officials was an insulting two cents an hour for the first two years of a three year contract and a one cent raise for the third year, plus a cost of living formula which gives Kunhs workers 30 percent less than most Dayton area workers.

Robert Hummons, a young Kunhs worker, told the Bulletin: "If we accepted the company offer, I would have to live on bread and water for the next three years."

The Local 768 union leaders have taken a page out of Woodcock's sellout book and made 30 and out a big issue, but the company has now countered with what they call 40 and out.

Striking workers have shown the greatest of courage despite the cold weather and the inadequate \$20 a week strike benefits given them by the union.

Robert Hummons said he will never accept the contract and that "the company is trying to

starve us out. The only answer seems to be a labor party."

In the last month, the company has sent letters to the striking workers with all kinds of insinuations such as "Do these men represent you or themselves?" referring to the union officials.

The last letter put out by the company told workers: "Men with low seniority will be laid off and those with higher seniority should make their own guess as to how the loss of customers will affect them."

Hank, a young worker who has joined the Young Socialists said: "I am coming to realize now that you cannot just holler loud, you must fight for power and there is no other way for the working people to make it."

The latest company offer of 50 cents an hour over a three year period has been rejected by the Local 768 membership. The morale of the workers remains very high.

The Dayton section of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party calls on all UAW, IUE, and AFL-CIO locals to give full backing to the fight of Local 768 and urges all trade unionists to join TUALP.

Lay Offs At Northwest

BY MIKE JAMES

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Northwest Airlines has laid off 129 pilots as a direct result of flight cutbacks due to the fuel shortage.

Tom MacIntyre, a pilot, told the Bulletin: "There are already 400 guys walking the streets from the strike last year and this will make it more than 500."

Airlines have cut back 25 percent of their fuel and this has led to the cancellation of hundreds of flights. "This is completely unjustifiable. Why are we being socked like this?"

Last year the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks closed Northwest for nearly a year in a wage dispute. Hundreds of pilots were laid off. One flight officer told the Bulletin: "There are men who have not been back to work for more than six months and are getting thrown out again."

A stewardess reported: "A guy I know really well, who I flew with just last night, told me that he was number 80 and was

going to get laid off as soon as he landed. He has house payments and two kids. What is he going to do?"

Northwest is notorious in the industry for grinding work loads and overworking its staff. One pilot reported that flight crews have been continuously undermanned for a year.

"There is no fat around here. Management says that it utilizes its staff to the fullest."

"The only reason that there are no mechanics or service crew being laid off is because Northwest have never hired enough anyway. Around here you fly a full month. Now it will get even worse."

A group of pilots called the whole fuel cutback a "government contrived deal."

"The only thing that we can do now is to raise some Cain," said one man.

The Airline Pilots Association which represents all pilots and stewardesses at Northwest has issued no statements and has not called a meeting.

YOUNG SOCIALIST REGIONAL CONFERENCES

\$2 Conference & Dance

All conferences begin at noon

Speakers: Tim Wohlforth, Workers League National Secretary, Adele Sinclair, Young Socialist editor.

MIDWEST

MADISON
(Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, St. Paul)
SAT., JAN. 26
Univ. of Wisconsin YMCA
306 North Brooks
608-251-7622

CLEVELAND
(Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Dayton, Detroit)
SAT., FEB. ?
Cleveland State Univ.
Euclid & 21 St.
216-851-8822



WEST COAST

LOS ANGELES
SUN., JAN. 20
Embassy Auditorium
839 S. Grand Ave.
213-678-3528
LIVE BAND

SAN FRANCISCO
SAT., JAN. 19
Mission YMCA
4080 Mission
415-824-4096



PERSPECTIVES FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Speaker:
Tim Wohlforth,
National Secretary,
Workers League

BETHLEHEM
THURS., JAN. 10
7:30 pm
Hotel Bethlehem
Lehigh Valley
Suite East
Admission 75 cents

CLASSES IN MARXISM "What is To Be Done - Today"

WASHINGTON, DC
FRI., JAN. 11
All Souls Church
(16th & Harvard,
Northwest)
7:30 pm

BALTIMORE
SAT., JAN. 12
Christ United Methodist Church
(Chase & Washington)
7 pm
Lecturer: Tim Wohlforth
\$1; 50¢ unemployed & youth

IT IS TIME TO RENEW

if the number 1 is after your name on the address label.

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

twice-weekly BULLETIN

\$3.00 for 6 months

\$6.00 for 1 year

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

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

books

Conspiracy Against The IWW

by Bill Vann

On November 11, 1919, following an Armistice Day parade, the loggers union hall of the International Workers of the World in Centralia, Washington was attacked by a mob made up of members of the American Legion and a vigilante group formed by local bankers and lumber barons.

Four of the attackers were shot by loggers defending their hall. Before the long night was over, scores of loggers had been beaten, imprisoned and tortured. Wesley Everest, a young IWW member, was brutally maimed and lynched by the mob.

The republication of *The Centralia Conspiracy* comes now at a most important moment in the development of the American labor movement. In the recent wave of strikes across the country, workers have brought forward the methods of struggle which formed the CIO in the 1930s, methods of militant unionism.

The IWW in an earlier period pioneered these methods and first grappled with the problems posed by the development of monopoly capitalism in America and the organization of industrial unions. In those early days, the IWW clearly expressed both the most revolutionary aspects of industrial unionism as well as its limits.

The period with which the book deals, 1919 to 1920, was the high water mark for the IWW. It was a period dominated by the postwar economic crisis in which inflation and unemployment were combined. These conditions produced an enormous leap in strike activity with over four million workers walking out between 1919 and 1920 alone.

In this situation, the IWW became a real force, organizing the unorganized and most oppressed sections of the working class largely in the West, but also in the East during strike struggles such as those of the Patterson, New Jersey and Lawrence, Massachusetts textile workers.

The great strike wave and the development of trade union consciousness among masses of American workers produced tremendous fear in the ruling class.

Wilson's government worked overtime in attempting to break up the unions while a hysterical anticommunist witch-hunt was whipped up against the organizations of all workers, particularly the foreign-born. This was the time of the Palmer Raids and the Sacco and Vanzetti frameups.

The Centralia Conspiracy concerns the attack on the IWW loggers. It was part of a nationwide attack which resulted in the death, imprisonment, or exile of hundreds of leading IWW members. The book was written in 1920 by Ralph Chaplin, an IWW member who himself was out on bond awaiting a 20 year sentence in a Chicago IWW "es-

pionage trial."

Chaplin's purpose in writing the book was to tell what really happened in Centralia, against all of the lies and distortions of the capitalist press and particularly to defend his comrades from the subsequent frameup trials.

Chaplin begins by exposing the Centralia incident, not as an isolated outburst of criminal violence, but rather as an "outgrowth of a struggle between organized capital and organized labor."

The development of the lumber industry in the Northwest came at a time of the most tremendous growth of capitalism in America and the rise to dominance of the monopolies. In the pioneer days, logging took place as a cooperative effort on the part of the settlers seeking to clear the soil and fell the lumber needed to construct their houses, and later for the towns which grew up in the region. When rapid industrialization in the East made it clear that new sources of lumber would be needed, the lumber industry was established in the Northwest through much the same methods as those of the railroad barons. Huge tracts of forests were either bought or stolen and the giant lumber monopolies emerged.

The lumberjacks and saw mill workers who worked for these monopolies were composed largely of the descendants of the pioneers, unable in the new situation to survive on small farms, and of young workers fleeing high unemployment in the eastern cities. These men faced the worst conditions. Chaplin writes:

"The long hours of labor were unendurably long, ten hours being the general rule...A ten hour stretch of arduous labor in a climate where incessant rain is the rule for six months out of the year was enough to try the strength of even the strongest. The wages were pitifully inadequate.

"The camps themselves were more or less temporary affairs, inferior to the cow shed accommodations of a cattle ranch. The bunk houses were overcrowded, ill smelling, and unsanitary."

It was against these conditions that the loggers first began to organize. The first major strike broke out in 1912 over the demand for a \$2.50 daily wage and improved conditions in the camp. Mass arrests were made on the picket line and when the strikers' wives attempted to take their places, they were met with high pressure fire hoses.

At one point in the strike, mobs of armed businessmen dragged some 400 strikers from their homes and loaded them into sealed box cars for deportation, only to be stopped at the last moment. Despite the ferocity of the employers, the strike was won.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE



Carpenters union leaders are now being fined in Federal Court for wildcat in the Bay Area. See page 11.

Layoffs Hit Electric Plants

BY WENDY LAWRENCE
ONTARIO, Calif.—The fuel crisis will have an enormous effect on the GE Flat Iron Company here, and the other small electrical appliance industries owned by Westinghouse, Hamilton Beach, Sunbeam and Singer.

Drastic electrical cutbacks for industrial products pose massive layoffs in Ontario, especially for those departments in GE which now run second and third shifts. The corporation is already talking about a straight 50 hour week, which would cut in half the present 1200 workers.

PSA Mechanics Back To Work

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Pacific Southwest Airlines (PSA) mechanics and maintenance workers returned to work this week, ending their six week strike, the first in PSA's history.

Marvin Griswold, spokesman from Teamsters Local 2707, told the *Bulletin* that the union won the basic demands it was fighting for.

"We are now very close to parity with other air line workers." The union won the cost of living clause, but wages are within government guidelines. The union kept their four day week, which PSA had attempted to rescind. According to the settlement, PSA is prevented from subcontracting work for the L1011 to other mechanics and PSA workers have priority for training for this plane.

The strike won the full support of cargo and ticket agents who are in the same union, but in a different bargaining unit. The agents' contract is up January 31.

Speaking on their upcoming contract, agent Jose Gomez said, "We are not asking for anything rowdy. We just want a full cost of living and a four day week."

TOTAL SUPPORT

Griswold said he did not expect a strike over the agents' contract: "PSA will want to settle this one peacefully, I think. But if they do strike they will get our total support."

The PSA strike cut flights by an average of 35 percent with flights in four cities halted completely.

Although PSA has given in to the strikers' major demands, layoffs now threaten hundreds of

workers. Service has not yet resumed in Ontario, Long Beach, Fresno or Stockton. During the strike workers feared that these stations would at least be cut substantially. So far over 100 workers from these four stations have been laid off for at least a month.

Because of the Congressional deadlock, PSA has not received any fuel allocations for the month of January. Unconfirmed rumors are circulating of a possible five percent layoff.

Wednesday morning Pan Am announced layoffs beginning the first part of January, affecting 44 ticket agents and 67 mechanics on the West Coast.

Like the national leadership,

the local UE union officials have no strategy to defend electrical workers from these attacks and actually misled them about their source.

Mary McDaniels, president of Local 1012, is a supporter of the Stalinist dominated Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy. Like the American Communist Party, which still has some influence in the national union, she seeks to channel the struggles of the workers into support for the Democratic Party.

McDaniels says the GE Ontario workers should protest the threat to their jobs and standard of living by writing the very same legislators who just almost unanimously hand-picked labor hater Gerald Ford.

The May 1973 local contract with GE will not protect workers from the staggering rises in living costs now running 12 percent a year in southern California, where food prices are 20.2 percent higher than they were a year ago.

After deductions, GE workers are left with \$.78 of the \$2.00 per hour wage increase which began in November.

GE workers must realize that the Nixon administration Wage Control Board poses directly the need to build a labor party pledged to nationalize both the fuel and appliance industries under workers control. This is the basis of the GE Ontario Caucus for a Labor Party in Local 1012 that is demanding the UE take action to halt the layoffs and campaign to force Nixon out of office.

San Quentin Inmates Tear Gassed In Cells

BY BARRY GREY

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 30 inmates in the adjustment center at San Quentin went into the tenth day of a hunger strike. The prisoners are protesting against a lockdown at San Quentin, Soledad, Folsom, and Deuel Vocational Institution.

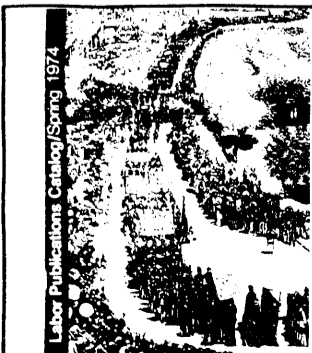
State Corrections Director Raymond K. Procnier ordered the indefinite lockdown early in December. The inmates are not allowed to leave their cells except for meals and visits. All vocational and rehabilitation programs have been suspended.

The lockdown has been accompanied by a reign of terror against the inmates, and a well-organized campaign to single out political leaders among the

inmates for solitary confinement.

San Quentin authorities confirmed that six prisoners were tear gassed and moved into "management cells" last Saturday and Sunday. These "management cells" are actually strip cells which were declared unconstitutional by a federal judge several years ago.

A class action suit has been filed in US District Court in behalf of seven convicts, all of whom have been thrown into solitary confinement under a program called "Director's Designation." This classification is used by the warden to pick out inmates suspected of leading "subversive" prisoners' organizations, particularly Blacks and Chicanos, and isolating them in solitary confinement.

**Send Today!**

Labor Publications Spring 1974 Catalog. Contains a full listing and descriptions of all titles published by Labor Publications, Inc. in the US and by New Park Publications in England. These editions are available only through Labor Publications.

Write to: Labor Publications, 135 W. 14 St., 7 Fl., N.Y., N.Y. 10011

Carpenters Hit For Picketing

BY TIM NELSON

SAN FRANCISCO—Business agents A. J. Melton, Sam Garcia and Carpenter Locals 34, 1408 and 22 are now being prosecuted in Federal Court for alleged violation of a restraining order and injunction issued by Judge Lloyd Burke against a wildcat of northern California carpenters against the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC).

The court is moving to enforce an order from the CISC to cut 50 cents an hour from carpenters' wages. On order from the judge, federal marshalls have cited over 30 pickets in the same action. One picket reported:

"A marshall came up and threw a guy against the wall. He stuffed the papers in his pocket and left. If they try that with me, I'll break them in half."

The union leadership is re-

sponsible for this brutality and bears responsibility for every fine and jail term meted out by Burke. They have refused for six full weeks to sanction the strike and organize the necessary political fight to beat the court.

In spite of this leadership, the strike has spread, with an "underground District Council" including over 12,000 northern California carpenters. These men must fight for immediate strike sanction by calling special meetings where members can vote. They must further fight for joint strike action throughout the labor movement to defend every carpenter, business agent and local against the courts as part of the fight for a labor party.

ENDANGERED

This struggle is endangered by the leaders of the strike committee who are telling carpenters to ignore the injunction in-

stead of preparing to fight. They organized a protest demonstration December 26 which only served to split the fight against the government by turning against other trades men. Behind the slogan "rank and file power," they chanted "scabs out" against the trades, who have been ordered to work because the strike is not sanctioned.

DISTRICT COUNCIL

The district council meeting Wednesday must take the strike forward with the following policies: immediate special meetings of all carpenters to vote sanction; prepare joint strike action throughout the labor movement to defend every local and every member against the courts; demand that Sidell refuse to cooperate with the Wage Board; and, call for a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party.

SWP Candidate Framed By FBI

BY MARTY MORAN
SAN DIEGO, Calif.—New revelations have shown that the prosecution of Salm Kolis, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, is the product of a police-FBI conspiracy.

Kolis was convicted December 17 of perjury for allegedly claiming a false address when filing under oath as SWP candidate for San Diego City Council. The conviction could bring a 14-year jail sentence.

Two weeks ago the SWP's weekly newspaper, *The Militant*, revealed that John Hollowell, an SWP member in San Diego, had been an FBI informer for 12 years. Kolis moved for dismissal of the case against her since Hollowell had sat in on meetings at which her defense and legal strategy were planned.

Judge Woodworth denied the motion to dismiss, denied a motion that the prosecution turn over to the defense any documents in its possession relating to FBI surveillance of the SWP, and barred the jury from hearing about the FBI informer. The judge then imposed a gag rule on the defense attorney and Kolis, from speaking publicly on the case, after a press conference was held exposing the FBI informer.

Despite the obvious effort by the government to infiltrate and sabotage Kolis's defense, the judge accepted the assurances of District Attorney Kazimanis that he was unaware of any FBI involvement in the case.

These assurances have now been exposed as lies. The latest issue of *The Militant* reveals that police photographs of an April 1973 antiwar demonstration were used by the prosecution to browbeat two major witnesses into testifying.

Both Marcia Marshall, Kolis's roommate, and John Gamber, Marshall's father and owner of the house, were pressured to testify because they feared that evidence of Marshall's association with SWP members would be used to threaten Gamber's job.

The entire apparatus of the government has been mobilized to railroad Kolis into prison. A District Attorney who normally prosecutes murders was brought in to handle the case, while the City of San Diego refused to prosecute 22 Democratic and Republican candidates who violated the new election financing law.

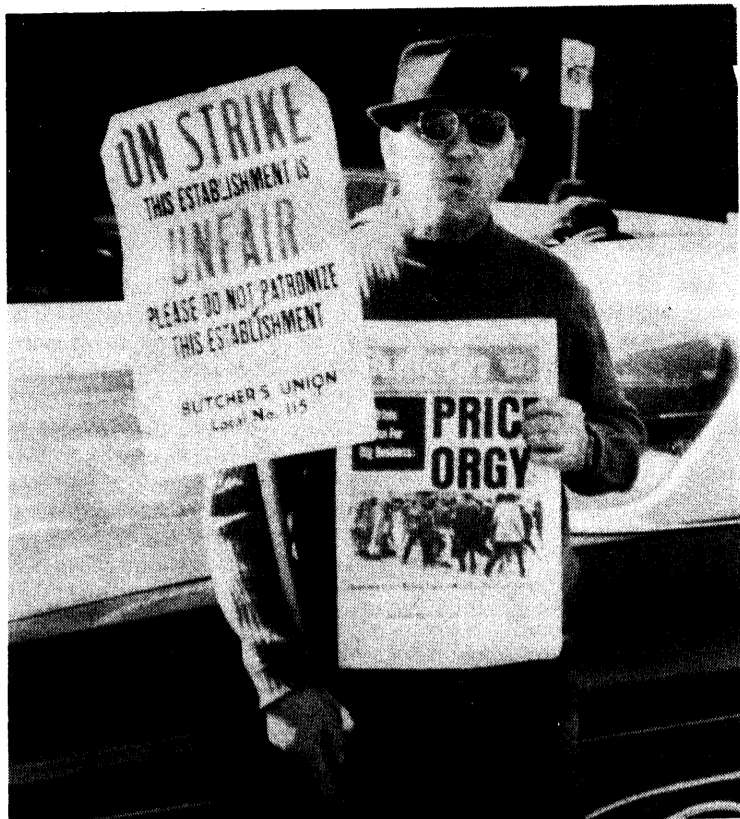
The Workers League unconditionally defends Salm Kolis and will give every assistance to the efforts of the Socialist Workers Party and the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis to clear her of charges.

What is at stake here is not the technicalities of election forms but the determination of the government to jail working class militants, using any means of provocation, spying, and frameup.

The government is turning towards police state methods because of their fear of the strength of the working class. They seek to behead the working class politically by breaking up its political organizations, in preparation for an all-out assault on the unions.

The SWP's policy of "suing" Nixon in the courts for harassment and spying will not defend democratic rights. This is a political fight to mobilize and unite workers to throw Nixon out.

Kolis and every worker or socialist who is under attack by the government can only be defended by the working class and the power of the unions. A fight must be launched throughout California to demand support from the unions and all rank and file workers against the conviction.



Butchers in southern California continue their strike.

Cut Power 10% Or Pay A Fine

BY ANN LORE

LOS ANGELES—City ordinances requiring a mandatory electrical cutback took effect just after midnight December 27.

The city-owned Department of Water is now legally empowered to severely penalize those who surpass their monthly allotments.

The laws call for a 10 percent cutback for residences and industrial consumers, and 20 percent for commercial users. This proposal was passed by the city council after considering a plan to cut the work week for all plants and stores to a maximum of 50 hours.

Most exterior business lighting in downtown LA is either dimmed or eliminated. Street lights are temporarily spared until Mayor Bradley's plan to reduce them 26.8 percent goes into effect.

Homes that do not show the 10 percent reduction from the base of the 12 months ending August 31 will be charged a 50 percent surcharge.

Additional violations will be met with increasing penalties of two day suspensions, then five days, up to thirty days.

DWP had contracted for 48 percent of its supply from Arab nations which is now totally cut off by the Arab boycott of oil to the US.

Last week, the government ordered a tanker of 500,000 barrels of oil belonging to Union Oil diverted from southern California to Guam. This was authorized under the new mandatory fuel allocation program that allows Nixon to order oil for the military bases on Guam which were running dry.

This curtailment is just a taste of what the working class is facing this winter. Already plans have been made for phase two to

increase the reductions. The decision will be made January 15.

Mayor Bradley has appealed to Governor Reagan to declare a statewide emergency so that LA can borrow power from other parts of the state. He said that without additional supplies of oil, the city faces rolling blackouts by spring.

Call To Widen Butchers Strike

BY BARRY GREY

LOS ANGELES—Food industry employees in the month-old strike lockout have widened the strike against supermarket chains in southern California, after the meat cutters in the north ratified an agreement with the Food Employers Council.

The decision by the meat cutters leadership of northern California to press for separate settlement was a stab in the back of southern California butchers, Teamsters, machinists, and operating engineers who are locked in a bitter fight against the food chains.

PAY HIKE

The northern California settlement was far from a victory. The pay hike was set at only 5.5 percent and there was no outright ban on centralized meat cutting, a rationalization plan by

the big chains which would eliminate thousands of jobs.

In southern California, negotiations have gotten nowhere. The Food Employers Council is refusing to offer the same terms agreed upon in the north.

PICKET LINES

The striking unions announced that the picket lines would be extended to all southern California Boys markets, Hughs markets, and Von's Shopping Bag chain in San Diego.

Meanwhile, Ralph's grocery and Boys markets were granted preliminary injunctions restricting picketing to two at each entrance.

STRIKE

Sigmund Arywitz, head of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, is calling an emergency meeting this Wednesday of southern California union leaders to "commit the entire force of organized labor to strike."

Arywitz said management "still refuses to bargain and we will call on all unions to support the Teamsters, meat cutters, machinists, and operating engineers by all means within the law."

Poison Gas Kills Steel Worker

FONTANA, Calif.—A worker with 27 years seniority at the huge Kaiser Steel complex in Fontana was killed last week by poison gas in the furnace at mill No.2.

Joseph W. Rogone, 57, was found unconscious near the furnace by a coworker and

taken to the company's on-site hospital, where he died.

Rogone had recently been appointed to the job of "stove tender." The company is blaming Rogone, saying he forgot to switch on the fans which propel the gas into the

blast furnaces.

But Kaiser has been the scene of massive speedup, as the company, in league with the local steel workers leadership, have allowed working and safety conditions to be destroyed in the interests of profits.

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

lucha obrera

lucía rivera

Desde El Centro Del Vestuario

La crisis energética esta afectando las industrias básicas del país como es el caso con la industria automotriz. En esta industria los despidos masivos se han llevado a cabo, cerrando en algunos casos plantas enteras.

La industria del vestuario, donde trabajan miles de obreros en su gran mayoría hispanos, se ha visto afectada al igual. El gobierno ha de utilizar estas escases de combustible para llevar a cabo lo más viciosos ataques en contra del derecho a un trabajo.

La burocracia sindical ha aceptado la situación y apesar de que habla de una peor situación para los trabajadores del centro del vestuario, no ha presentado ningún plan para defender la misma existencia de su unión.

El creciente aumento en los despidos de obreros del centro de costura, acompañado con el cierre de fábricas ha creado una situación en la cual el obrero trabaja de un día a otro bajo la amenaza ser despedido.

LUCHA OBRERA entrevisto a una serie de jovenes hispanos trabajadores del centro de costura en Manhattan. Alejandro, un joven de 23 años de edad, perteneciente al Distrito 65 fue el primer joven entrevistado.

L.O. ¿Desde cuando trabajas en el centro de la costura?

Alejandro: "Hace cuatro meses, empujando carros de mercadería. Pero yo creo que me van a botar hoy, porque no acepto lo que no me gusta. La excusa que la compañía da es, que por la escases de energia tiene que despedir a alguien. Me han escogido a mi por ser militante en el trabajo. En la fábrica muchos de los trabajadores no hablan porque tienen miedo a que los despidan."

Hay un trabajador hispano que tiene 5 años trabajando en la fábrica. Hace un mes y medio que le ofrecieron un aumento de \$8.00 dólares. De acuerdo con la unión, Distrito 65, él se supone que gane \$175.00 a la semana. La compañía le negó el aumento por que de acuerdo con ellos el trabajo estaba lento y el obrero no sabia expresarse bien en inglés. La unión no hizo nada, ellos trabajan conjuntamente con la compañía. Tienen un organizador para cubrir más de 60 fábricas en la industria de la costura. El viene a la fábrica cada tres meses y siempre esta de prisa.

L.O. ¿Cuales son las condiciones de trabajo?

Alejandro: Yo gano \$106.00 dólares a la semana por cuarenta horas de trabajo. No nos dan sobretiempos en esta época, que es cuando más lo necesitamos, el trabajo esta bien lento. El trabajo es fuerte, uno se confronta con muchos problemas en la calle, la gente, los elevadores etc... La carga que nos dan es para dos personas, pero solo mandan una persona con el carro de mercaderías. La carga por lo general es de 400 libras. A veces uno tiene que llevarla desde la calle 35 hasta la 18. Cuando nieva o llueve solo nos proveen protección para la mercadería, pero no para el trabajador.

L.O. ¿Cual ha sido tu experiencia previa tratando de conseguir un trabajo?

Alejandro: Estuve buscando trabajo por un año, no pude conseguir ni siquiera uno que pagase \$80.00 dólares. Las cosas se van a poner peores. Están cerrando muchas fábricas. La compañía busca cualquier excusa, en particular aquellos trabajadores que esperan un aumento, para despedirlos así él puede emplear a otra persona por menos dinero. Últimamente están trayendo muchos polizontes para que velen a los trabajadores en las fábricas en particular a aquellos que llevan la mercadería.

L.O. ¿Que tu crees de la campaña de la Juventud Socialista en contra del desempleo. En particular a la luz del creciente desempleo que se enfrenta la industria del vestuario.

Alejandro: Estoy de acuerdo con la campaña de la Juventud Socialista. Como te dije antes, aún no se si tengo un trabajo cuando regrese del almuerzo. Ellos me dijeron que consiguiera mi diploma de cuarto año, que así podía conseguir un buen trabajo. Ahora me estoy rompiendo la espalda en esta industria, que con lo que gano apenas puedo sobrevivir. Tenemos que hacer algo y esta campaña es el principio.

Luego nos encontramos con Al, tiene 24 años de edad y lleva trabajando en la industria un año como encargado de contar la mercadería que llega al almacén. No pertenece a ninguna unión.

L.O. ¿Cuanto tiempo estuviste buscando trabajo antes de comenzar a trabajar aquí?

AL: Luego que salí del ejército estuve buscando trabajo por espacio de seis meses. A pesar de ser un veterano de la Guerra de Vietnam, era casi imposible conseguir un trabajo decente para poder mantenerme. Mira, solo gano \$115.00 dólares por cuarenta horas de trabajo.

L.O. Si trabajas en el almacén, ¿que haces empujando un carro de mercaderías?

AL: La persona que tenía este trabajo lo despidieron la semana pasada porque el trabajo estaba lento. El trabajo se esta poniendo bastante malo debido a la escases de la energia, cuando comencé a trabajar tenía demasiado trabajo, ahora no hago casi nada porque no llega mucha mercadería.

L.O. ¿Que tu crees de la campaña de la Juventud Socialista en contra del desempleo?

AL: Creo que es muy bueno, para mejorarnos a nosotros mismos. Tiene que ser una lucha de todo el mundo, dos o tres solos no lo pueden hacer.

Piers To Close In Baltimore

Baltimore, Md.—The Steamship Trade Association here has announced a possible shutdown of both Harpers Field and Locust Point piers due to the oil shortage.

This closure will mean the loss of several hundred jobs on the Baltimore waterfront.

The reverberations from the closure will hit all industries in Baltimore. Steamship Association leaders have said they will unload only those ships whose cargo is most essential to Baltimore industry. This means that other industries will face cutbacks and closures.

Baltimore longshoremen must now prepare strike action against any closure.

Men interviewed on the docks were angry but confident they could stop this closure. "This crooked government is behind the oil shortage. They could care less if we have jobs."

"They cannot close this port. We must have shipping here."

COMPLACENCY

The militancy of the dockers is contrasted to the complacency of the leaders of the International Longshoremen's Association who at every turn have sought to aid the companies in cutting jobs.

Willis Schonowski, co-president of ILA Local 333, was convicted of taking bribes to allow nonunion laborers to work a union warehouse.

The central issue in the ILA

Local 333 meeting scheduled for January 8 at the Baltimore Civic Center is the need to prepare strike action in defense of the jobs.

International ILA President Teddy Gleason has made it clear that he will fight to derail any struggle against the companies. This is why he has blocked the by-laws passed by the ranks, has supported the corrupt Schonowski regime, and is now sending his vice-president to Baltimore to run the meeting.

The Baltimore Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party will be fighting for the passage of the by-laws, including the removal of Schonowski and an election of a leadership pledged to strike action against any port closure.

GM LAYOFFS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

administration's economic policies." He added that the layoffs "are indicative of a rapidly increasing plunge toward recession."

The fact is that Bluestone, who along with Woodcock personally negotiated that GM contract which prepared these layoffs, and the entire UAW leadership has supported Nixon every step of the way and refuses to fight to defend auto workers jobs.

Furthermore, to pass off these layoffs on Nixon's "ineptitude" amounts to nothing more than deliberately covering up the fact that unemployment is the conscious policy of this government.

Nixon is pushing unemployment far beyond the immediate consequences of the fuel shortage. By creating a panic through the deliberate exaggeration of the extent of the shortage, Nixon is seeking to intimidate the working class, create divisions between the employed and unemployed and in this way force the trade unions to accept lower wages and higher productivity (speedup) for those who remain in the plants.

This policy is now being tested in Britain, where the government has resorted to massive layoffs and a shorter work week to beat back the movement of the working class over wages. The layoff of more than 400,000 workers was announced last week.

Massive layoffs are spreading to every section of industry. In the airline industry, more than 14,000 workers have been fired

during the past two months. American Airlines and TWA announced Friday the layoff of 2300 and 2900 respectively.

The Air Transport Association predicted another 25,000 layoffs in 1974, even though the government announced that it will substantially increase fuel allocations.

The downturn in auto production will be reflected in a sharp rise in unemployment in the steel industry.

Auto workers were demanding action after hearing the news.

Oliver Ussery, a worker at the Southgate plant where 3275 men will be laid off for 10 days starting January 21 and the entire second shift shut down, told the Bulletin:

"Nixon's got to go, but impeachment is no good. Anybody else would do the same old stuff, like Ford who is worse than Nixon."

"The next thing for us to do is a general strike. Woodcock should say: If you are going to lay off, I'll pull all the workers out and you'll get no cars."

"Nixon is going toward dictatorship. Woodcock could have done something long ago, and we would not be in this situation now."

The Woodcock bureaucracy has openly declared that it will not take action to defend jobs. The fight for jobs must be taken forward in a struggle against Woodcock through the building of a new leadership in the union.

We urge all workers to join the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, which is leading the campaign to unite all

workers in the fight to force the Nixon government to resign and construct the labor party as the alternative to it.

A great step forward in this fight is being prepared by the marches and rallies against unemployment being organized by the Young Socialists in cities throughout the country on the basis of a fight to construct the political alternative to Nixon.

NIXON . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

circumvented it by communicating with Arab leaders through the Central Intelligence Agency.

These recent developments expose the extreme weakness and disintegration of Nixon's government.

Any attempt by the trade union leadership to claim that the government is too "powerful" to fight, that Nixon cannot be forced out, are lies to cover their own cowardice.

All Nixon can do is keep up a facade of normalcy to hide the crisis and vulnerability of his government.

The danger is that as Nixon's power weakens, a small but ruthless clique of military figures and officials around Kissinger is consolidating its power in preparation for Nixon's removal. This group would like nothing better than to impose dictatorship on the working class.

The working class must seize the opportunity now and demand the trade unions take immediate action to force Nixon out and build a labor party as the only alternative.



Perfect for Gifts A Pictorial History of American Labor

By William Cahn. Contains over 750 illustrations, including woodcuts, drawings, documents, portraits and photographs. Traces the development of the American labor movement from colonial times to the present. Detailed text and many rare pictures document the struggles of the National Labor Union, Knights of Labor, AFL and the CIO. \$12.50

Labor Publications
135 W. 14 St.
N.Y. 10011

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

lucha obrera

— lucía rivera —

Desde El Centro Del Vestuario

La crisis energética esta afectando las industrias básicas del país como es el caso con la industria automotriz. En esta industria los despidos masivos se han llevado a cabo, cerrando en algunos casos plantas enteras.

La industria del vestuario, donde trabajan miles de obreros en su gran mayoría hispanos, se ha visto afectada al igual. El gobierno ha de utilizar esta escasez de combustible para llevar a cabo lo más viciosos ataques en contra del derecho a un trabajo.

La burocracia sindical ha aceptado la situación y apesar de que habla de una peor situación para los trabajadores del centro del vestuario, no ha presentado ningún plan para defender la misma existencia de su unión.

El creciente aumento en los despidos de obreros del centro de costura, acompañado con el cierre de fábricas ha creado una situación en la cual el obrero trabaja de un día a otro bajo la amenaza ser despedido.

LUCHA OBRERA entrevisto a una serie de jovenes hispanos trabajadores del centro de costura en Manhattan. Alejandro, un joven de 23 años de edad, perteneciente al Distrito 65 fue el primer joven entrevistado.

L.O. ¿Desde cuando trabajas en el centro de la costura?

Alejandro: "Hace cuatro meses, empujando carros de mercancía. Pero yo creo que me van a botar hoy, porque no acepto lo que no me gusta. La excusa que la compañía da es, que por la escasez de energia tiene que despedir a alguien. Me han escogido a mi por ser militante en el trabajo. En la fábrica muchos de los trabajadores no hablan porque tienen miedo a que los despidan."

Hay un trabajador dispano que tiene 5 años trabajando en la fábrica. Hace un mes y medio que le ofrecieron un aumento de \$8.00 dólares. De acuerdo con la unión, Distrito 65, él se supone que gane \$175.00 a la semana. La compañía le negó el aumento por que de acuerdo con ellos el trabajo estaba lento y el obrero no sabía expresarse bien en inglés. La unión no hizo nada, ellos trabajan conjuntamente con la compañía. Tienen un organizador para cubrir más de 60 fábricas en la industria de la costura. El viene a la fábrica cada tres meses y siempre esta de prisa.

L.O. ¿Cuales son las condiciones de trabajo?

Alejandro: Yo gano \$106.00 dólares a la semana por cuarenta horas de trabajo. No nos dan sobretiempo en esta época, que es cuando más lo necesitamos, el trabajo esta bien lento. El trabajo es fuerte, uno se confronta con muchos problemas en la calle, la gente, los elevadores etc... La carga que nos dan es para dos personas, pero solo mandan una persona con el carro de mercancías. La carga por lo general es de 400 libras. A veces uno tiene que llevarla desde la calle 35 hasta la 18. Cuando nieva o llueve solo nos proveen protección para la mercancía, pero no para el trabajador.

L.O. ¿Cual ha sido tu experiencia previa tratando de conseguir un trabajo?

Alejandro: Estuve buscando trabajo por un año, no pude conseguir ni siquiera uno que pagase \$80.00 dólares. Los cosas se van a poner peores. Estan cerrando muchas fábricas. La compañía busca cualquier excusa, en particular aquellos trabajadores que esperan un aumento, para despedirlos así él puede emplear a otra persona por menos dinero. Últimamente estan trayendo muchos polizontes para que velen a los trabajadores en las fábricas en particular a aquellos que llevan la mercancía.

L.O. ¿Que tu crees de la campaña de la Juventud Socialista en contra del desempleo. En particular a la luz del creciente desempleo que se enfrenta la industria del vestuario.

Alejandro: Estoy de acuerdo con la campaña de la Juventud Socialista. Como te dije antes, aún no se si tengo un trabajo cuando regrese del almuerzo. Ellos me dijeron que conseguiria mi diploma de cuarto año, que así podía conseguir un buen trabajo. Ahora me estoy rompiendo la espalda en esta industria, que con lo que gano apenas puedo sobrevivir. Tenemos que hacer algo y esta campaña es el principio.

Luego nos encontramos con Al, tiene 24 años de edad y lleva trabajando en la industria un año como encargado de contar la mercancía que llega al almacén. No pertenece a ninguna unión.

L.O. ¿Cuanto tiempo estuviste buscando trabajo antes de comenzar a trabajar aquí?

AL: Luego que salí del ejército estuve buscando trabajo por espacio de seis meses. A pesar de ser un veterano de la Guerra de Vietnam, era casi imposible conseguir un trabajo decente para poder mantenerme. Mira, solo gano \$115.00 dólares por cuarenta horas de trabajo.

L.O. Si trabajas en el almacén, ¿que haces empujando un carro de mercancías?

AL: La persona que tenía este trabajo lo despidieron la semana pasada porque el trabajo estaba lento. El trabajo se esta poniendo bastante malo debido a la escasez de la energia, cuando comencé a trabajar tenía demasiado trabajo, ahora no hago casi nada porque no llega mucha mercancía.

L.O. ¿Que tu crees de la campaña de la Juventud Socialista en contra del desempleo?

AL: Creo que es muy bueno, para mejorarnos a nosotros mismos. Tiene que ser una lucha de todo el mundo, dos o tres solos no lo pueden hacer.

Piers To Close In Baltimore

Baltimore, Md.—The Steamship Trade Association here has announced a possible shutdown of both Harpers Field and Locust Point piers due to the oil shortage.

This closure will mean the loss of several hundred jobs on the Baltimore waterfront.

The reverberations from the closure will hit all industries in Baltimore. Steamship Association leaders have said they will unload only those ships whose cargo is most essential to Baltimore industry. This means that other industries will face cut-backs and closures.

Baltimore longshoremen must now prepare strike action against any closure.

Men interviewed on the docks were angry but confident they could stop this closure. "This crooked government is behind the oil shortage. They could care less if we have jobs."

"They cannot close this port. We must have shipping here."

COMPLACENCY

The militancy of the dockers is contrasted to the complacency of the leaders of the International Longshoremen's Association who at every turn have sought to aid the companies in cutting jobs.

Willis Schonowski, co-president of ILA Local 333, was convicted of taking bribes to allow nonunion laborers to work a union warehouse.

The central issue in the ILA

Local 333 meeting scheduled for January 8 at the Baltimore Civic Center is the need to prepare strike action in defense of the jobs.

International ILA President Teddy Gleason has made it clear that he will fight to derail any struggle against the companies. This is why he has blocked the by-laws passed by the ranks, has supported the corrupt Schonowski regime, and is now sending his vice-president to Baltimore to run the meeting.

The Baltimore Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party will be fighting for the passage of the by-laws, including the removal of Schonowski and an election of a leadership pledged to strike action against any port closure.

GM LAYOFFS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

administration's economic policies." He added that the layoffs "are indicative of a rapidly increasing plunge toward recession."

The fact is that Bluestone, who along with Woodcock personally negotiated that GM contract which prepared these layoffs, and the entire UAW leadership has supported Nixon every step of the way and refuses to fight to defend auto workers jobs.

Furthermore, to pass off these layoffs on Nixon's "ineptitude" amounts to nothing more than deliberately covering up the fact that unemployment is the conscious policy of this government.

Nixon is pushing unemployment far beyond the immediate consequences of the fuel shortage. By creating a panic through the deliberate exaggeration of the extent of the shortage, Nixon is seeking to intimidate the working class, create divisions between the employed and unemployed and in this way force the trade unions to accept lower wages and higher productivity (speedup) for those who remain in the plants.

This policy is now being tested in Britain, where the government has resorted to massive layoffs and a shorter work week to beat back the movement of the working class over wages. The layoff of more than 400,000 workers was announced last week.

Massive layoffs are spreading to every section of industry. In the airline industry, more than 14,000 workers have been fired

during the past two months. American Airlines and TWA announced Friday the layoff of 2300 and 2900 respectively.

The Air Transport Association predicted another 25,000 layoffs in 1974, even though the government announced that it will substantially increase fuel allocations.

The downturn in auto production will be reflected in a sharp rise in unemployment in the steel industry.

Auto workers were demanding action after hearing the news.

Oliver Ussery, a worker at the Southgate plant where 3275 men will be laid off for 10 days starting January 21 and the entire second shift shut down, told the Bulletin:

"Nixon's got to go, but impeachment is no good. Anybody else would do the same old stuff, like Ford who is worse than Nixon."

"The next thing for us to do is a general strike. Woodcock should say: If you are going to lay off, I'll pull all the workers out and you'll get no cars."

"Nixon is going toward dictatorship. Woodcock could have done something long ago, and we would not be in this situation now."

The Woodcock bureaucracy has openly declared that it will not take action to defend jobs. The fight for jobs must be taken forward in a struggle against Woodcock through the building of a new leadership in the union.

We urge all workers to join the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, which is leading the campaign to unite all

workers in the fight to force the Nixon government to resign and construct the labor party as the alternative to it.

A great step forward in this fight is being prepared by the marches and rallies against unemployment being organized by the Young Socialists in cities throughout the country on the basis of a fight to construct the political alternative to Nixon.

NIXON . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

circumvented it by communicating with Arab leaders through the Central Intelligence Agency.

These recent developments expose the extreme weakness and disintegration of Nixon's government.

Any attempt by the trade union leadership to claim that the government is too "powerful" to fight, that Nixon cannot be forced out, are lies to cover their own cowardice.

All Nixon can do is keep up a facade of normalcy to hide the crisis and vulnerability of his government.

The danger is that as Nixon's power weakens, a small but ruthless clique of military figures and officials around Kissinger is consolidating its power in preparation for Nixon's removal. This group would like nothing better than to impose dictatorship on the working class.

The working class must seize the opportunity now and demand the trade unions take immediate action to force Nixon out and build a labor party as the only alternative.



Perfect for Gifts A Pictorial History of American Labor

By William Cahn. Contains over 750 illustrations, including woodcuts, drawings, documents, portraits and photographs. Traces the development of the American labor movement from colonial times to the present. Detailed text and many rare pictures document the struggles of the National Labor Union, Knights of Labor, AFL and the CIO. \$12.50

Labor Publications
135 W. 14 St.
N.Y. 10011