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INSTITUTION

# 1974 INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT TO SKYROCKET FORCE NIXON OUT!

## Workers League Political Committee Statement

The working class is entering a new year that will be decisive.

We enter this year at a time when the Nixon government is consciously turning towards a strategy to break down the strength of the working class to prepare for an all-out confrontation.

Workers are now facing a frontal attack on their most basic rights: the right to a job, the right to a decent standard of living, and the right to strike. The most basic democratic rights built up in this country

over 200 years are at stake.

The government's key weapons are inflation and unemployment.

In less than one year, food prices alone have soared astronomically. Fresh foods have risen at least 25 percent since last spring.

Farm prices have gone up again which will produce a new leap in retail food prices in the coming months.

Throughout the country, the electrical and telephone companies have raised their rates and rents are scheduled to rise another eight percent in New York City while conditions deter-

iorate.

Wages, held down to five to seven percent yearly increases, have led to an actual decline in workers real purchasing power.

This attack on living standards is now being combined with a deliberate move to create mass unemployment.

The large corporations welcomed the oil shortage as a convenient justification to proceed with the mass layoffs they have long been seeking in order to restore the profitability of their enterprises.

Over 86,000 workers are being laid off in the auto plants and another 3500 in the airline indus-

try. The shutdown of oil and chemical plants are reverberating in every industry in the country.

By taking the workers by surprise, the billionaire industrialists aim to deliver a "shock blow" and undercut the struggle for wages.

Under conditions of mass unemployment, big business will move to destroy every fundamental right and gain won in decades of union organization. They will use unemployment like a club over the workers head to threaten that anyone who fights for a decent wage will find himself in the street. They will

use it to pit employed against unemployed, Black against white.

The oil shortage has become a green light to sanction the destruction of the most fundamental needs of the workers and their families: schools, housing, hospitals. Shortages of gas and even food are being created to allow the big monopolies to push up their prices.

The whole economic system of capitalism has reached a stage where entire sections of capital, and the workers who produce it, are consciously being wiped out.

The capitalists can only save

(Continued On Page 12)



Tremendous support for Bay Area carpenters wildcat came from all sections of the labor movement. Above is a mass picket at the site of Southern Pacific Building in San Francisco, during the seventh week of the strike. See page 11 for full coverage.

## Truckers Threaten New Strike

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They voted overwhelmingly to shut down trucking the middle of February if their demands are not met.

Two truckers, members of Columbus, Ohio Teamsters Local 413 stated they had been working without a contract for one year. They voted down twice a contract that took a percentage of their pay for health and welfare benefits.

They stated that their three demands are a cut in the price of diesel fuel; raising of the speed limit and getting the "state patrol off our back"; and a rate increase. The truckers say they

will shut down the whole country if they do not get their demands.

The following is an interview with an over-the-road driver, Robert Woodruff, who belongs to the Teamsters and took part in the stoppage on Route 75 at Franklin just south of Dayton.

Woodruff told the *Bulletin* that the stoppage lasted for two weeks and involved 1500 truckers. Between 500 and 600 truckers came to the meeting held at the 76 truck stop and voted to renew the strike the middle of February if nothing is done about the fuel crisis or the new speed limits.

"What I have to say about both Fitzsimmons and Nixon is unprintable. Fitzsimmons is not for the drivers at all. This fuel thing is strictly political. This next strike is going to be for real. We have shown Washington that we mean business and we will have 100 percent from all the drivers.

"It is going to take direct action. This next stoppage will be nationwide.

"Three years ago diesel fuel was 27 cents a gallon. Now it is up to 43 cents. I am getting about

the same amount as three years ago per load, but it costs me about 75 dollars a week more to operate.

"You have to drive in low gear at 55, while you drive in high gear at 70. The lower the speed, the more fuel you use.

"Going from Dayton to Detroit at 60, I use 25 gallons. At 55 I use 30 to 32 gallons and it takes me more time to get there. You multiply that by a million trucks and you see what you have.

"We had quite a bit of trouble with the state patrol. There was no violence until they stepped in. Truckers were letting the company drivers enter the truck stop and were trying to persuade them to join the strike.

"The police made out that we were using force so they could

(Continued On Page 12)

In The Midweek  
Edition

•A new series by David North on "The 50th Anniversary of the Left Opposition."



# Bulletin

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WEEK!

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## Solzhenitsyn's Revelations And The Struggle Against Stalinism

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's latest work, *The Gulag Archipelago*, lays bare in relentless detail the Stalinist terror which destroyed the entire Bolshevik Party and liquidated more than a million Soviet citizens.

Apparently written several years ago, Solzhenitsyn has been forced to release the manuscript now because of the intensification of the Kremlin's campaign against all dissidents. Several months ago, the Stalinist secret police obtained a copy of the manuscript after arresting and torturing a close friend of Solzhenitsyn.

### What We Think

She subsequently committed suicide.

Solzhenitsyn expressed the hope that the publication of *The Gulag Archipelago* would prevent the rearrest of the prison camp survivors mentioned in the manuscript.

In a three-part digest of the book which appeared last week in *The New York Times*, Solzhenitsyn provides new information on the background of the Moscow Trials and the murder of the leaders of the October Revolution.

Dismissing the confession of Lev Kamenev, given at the first show trial in 1936, Solzhenitsyn writes that the physical and mental will of the old revolutionary had been shattered by the Stalinist police.

"The wife of Kamenev," he writes, "received an appointment with her husband before the trial itself and found him retarded in reactions, not himself."

Nikolai Bukharin, a member of the Bolshevik Central Committee in 1917, was terrorized into submission by

Stalin, who "held him in a long death grip and even played with him, like a cat with a mouse."

Yuri Pyatakov, whom Lenin had called one of the most talented of the younger generation of Bolsheviks, was brought before the Stalinist Central Committee in 1937 "with teeth knocked out and not a bit like himself" and forced to deliver "the most repulsive sort of evidence against Bukharin and Rykov."

Solzhenitsyn states that one-quarter of the population of Leningrad was purged in 1934-35 following the assassination of Kirov, which was arranged by Stalin as a pretext for launching a new attack on the surviving cadres of the Bolshevik Party and especially the supporters of Trotsky.

Between the period of the first show trials in August 1936 and January 1, 1939, Solzhenitsyn maintains that 1.7 million were murdered by Stalin.

Further, he documents the devastating effect of Stalin's crimes on Soviet science, scholarship, culture, and on the military. He relates how Stalin's top ministers, like Abakumov and M.D. Ryumin, personally administered horrible beatings with rubber truncheons.

*The Gulag Archipelago* is a powerful indictment of the crimes of Stalinism. However, Solzhenitsyn cannot explain the roots of these crimes of which he himself was a victim.

While defending Solzhenitsyn against his Stalinist persecutors, we totally reject his attempt to link the crimes of the usurping bureaucracy back to Lenin and the October Revolution.

This position simply serves to legitimize Stalinism, and leads oppositionists like Solzhenitsyn to seek the support of the liberals and the imperialists against

Stalinism.

However, Stalin's crimes flowed precisely from his collaboration with imperialism and betrayal of the international working class under the banner of "socialism in one country."

Stalinism can be defeated in the Soviet Union and in the international workers movement only through the fight to build Marxist parties based on the principles laid down by Trotsky in the course of the struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy which began 50 years ago with the founding of the Left Opposition.

Trotsky took up the fight against Stalin under the influence of Lenin himself, who in the last months of his life saw the great dangers posed to the Soviet Union by the bureaucracy.

Many of the crimes documented by Solzhenitsyn were first exposed by Leon Trotsky, whose struggle for the continuity of the Marxist movement and the defense of the gains of the October Revolution culminated in the launching of the Fourth International.

Stalinism consolidated its position in the Soviet Union under conditions of defeat of the working class throughout the world.

This period, however, is marked by the forward movement of an international working class whose strength has not been broken. This strength is what underlies the crisis of Stalinism and drives Brezhnev into an alliance with Nixon against the working class.

We celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Left Opposition under conditions when all the lessons of Trotsky's struggle can be brought forward through the construction of a revolutionary leadership to defeat Stalinism.



British railwaymen join the miners in wages struggle against Tories.

## Yorkshire Miners Demand General Strike In Britain

BY MELODY FARROW

As the three day work week goes into effect in Britain, miners are calling on their leadership to extend their overtime ban to all-out nationwide strike action against the Heath government.

Heath's slanderous attacks on the miners and railwaymen and his attempts to blame them for the economic crisis have only united miners and hardened their determination to win their wage demands.

Miners see this as a first step towards rallying all sections of the working class in England against the Tories Phase Three pay laws.

The North Yorkshire miners have issued a call to force the Tories to resign and to mobilize the miners, engineers, and railwaymen in a "triple alliance" for a general strike.

This resolution has been officially approved by the panel representing 20 coal pits in the north Yorkshire area.

British miners are clear on one thing. If they back down now, Heath will have won a victory and miners would be forced to renew the struggle later under more unfavorable conditions.

British workers face not just an attack on their wages, but mass unemployment. The three day work week will force many industries to close completely.

There is bitter disgust with the policies of the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers. Instead of facing the confrontation ahead, NUM President Lawrence Daly has been searching for a deal.

He has already held talks with Employment Secretary William Whitelaw and the Coal Board. Miners fear he will follow the path of the power workers leadership and give in on the wages.

As one miner said: "The workers are stronger than the government as they

were in 1926. We've got a 1926 situation with the ingredients of a 1939-1945 situation, that is, a General Strike and a war.

"Whitelaw would use the army, the police and the intelligence services in a situation with the possibility of civil war and revolution.

"The NUM executive is mandated to refuse everything except the full claim. But smashing Phase Three means bringing down the Tory government.

"The Labour leaders don't want this because they don't want to take over. Both parties are moving towards coalition. In the past, we've always been sold down the river, but now we must get the whole working class behind us."

The showdown between the miners and the Tories is decisive for the future of the whole working class. The Workers Revolutionary Party of Britain is the only organization that has put forward a clear and fighting policy in this struggle.

The WRP is fighting to forge a "Triple Alliance" to prepare a general strike to force Heath out, the establishment of factory committees to initiate immediate occupations against closures, Councils of Action to unite all sections of workers against Phase Three, and the construction of the revolutionary party.

These policies are being widely debated and are gaining support throughout the coal fields.

## Meir Loses Votes In Israel Election

The results of the election in Israel mark a new stage in the political crisis of the government. No party has been able to gain a majority, and the coalition government of Golda Meir has suffered a big setback.

The breakdown, up to this point, for the 120 seats of Parliament is: 51 seats for the Labor Party; Likud, a union of rightist opposition parties, 38; National Religious Party, 11; Independent Liberals, 4; and five other seats distributed among three minority parties. The votes of the soldiers stationed in the Sinai Peninsula are still to be tallied.

The calling of a new election and the possible ousting of the Meir government within three or four months cannot be discounted. The discussion on troop disengagement now taking place at the Geneva talks has created a further crisis for the government.

When the new Parliament convenes its first session in a few weeks, Meir will try to patch

together the old coalition that has enabled her to rule thus far.

This coalition has included the Labor Party, the National Religious Party, and the Independent Liberals.

This will be virtually impossible because the right-wing National Religious Party completely opposes any troop withdrawal at all. Meir's representatives at the Geneva talks have been forced to make certain concessions.

What has become clear is that the balance of power has swayed to the military and Moshe Dayan. If Dayan left the Labor Party and joined the opposition forces, he would take several elected members of Labor with him. Dayan will have veto power over all decisions made by the Cabinet.

For the first time in 25 years, Israel is being wracked by an internal political crisis. The vote reflects the dissatisfaction of Israeli workers with a government that has placed the financial burden of the war, through taxation and inflation, on their backs.

## Rockets Strike Cambodia Capital

Cambodian liberation forces have successfully routed government troops at three military outposts along Route 7, one of the main roads leading into Phnom Penh.

A section of Route 1, which connects Saigon to Phnom Penh, is held by the liberation forces. This has forced the Cambodian government of Lon Nol to fly almost all supplies into and out of the capitol.

Throughout the past week, the liberation troops, the Khmer Rouge, have been launching rockets from the east bank of the Mekong River into Phnom Penh. On December 30, one rocket directly struck the government palace compound of Lon Nol. It is estimated that there are

1000 Khmer Rouge soldiers on the bank of the Mekong River.

They have just seized two towns, Kroch-Soeuch and Prek-Ampil, approximately 15 miles from the capitol.

### PRECARIOUS

Due to the precarious state of the puppet regime in Cambodia, Nixon is covertly stepping up American military aid. The total figure for 1973-1974 will be \$350 million. Tanks and light and heavy vehicles were delivered on December 21. In addition, \$204.5 million in food and commercial imports will be provided.

The appointment of Long Boret as the new Cambodian premier will do nothing to save the rapidly disintegrating Lon Nol regime.

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Communication workers in New York during their strike in defense of a suspended steward. See page 4.

# Corporations Hoard Fuel In Storage Tanks

BY A REPORTER

While millions of workers are denied a few gallons of gas to drive their cars or enough heating oil to warm their homes, the major corporations are hoarding vast supplies of oil.

In fact, the big monopolies have welcomed the oil shortage as an opportunity to wipe out their competitors and increase their power.

Information that is leaking out shows that plenty of oil is available for the powerful industries and that the "crisis" is only being felt by the average worker or the small businessman.

## TANKS

Companies like Union Carbide, the Aluminum Company and General American Transportation have built storage tanks and leased tank cars to hold millions of gallons of fuel oil.

John De Lorean, former vice-president of General Motors and now leader of the National Alliance of Businessmen admits that hoarding is going on all over the country and some companies are even leasing abandoned gas stations.

J.R. Scanlin, president of General American Transportation told *The New York Times*:

"The oil shortage has been a bonanza for us." His company is storing 23 million barrels of crude oil for the refineries at special tank farms and has leased out thousands of tank cars.

## REVEALED

What has also been revealed is that these corporations knew about the shortage at least 10 months ago. This allowed them to make advance arrangements to insure a steady supply and stockpile the oil.

Techniques such as "doubling up," that is, placing duplicate orders for fuel with separate companies are now commonplace. The large companies have made deals to only do business with each other, thus eliminating the smaller competitors.

## AIRLINES

The major airlines are getting all the fuel they need directly from the oil companies. The 1.5 million barrels of military fuel allotted by the Federal Energy Office for the airlines has not even been touched.

Despite the hoarding, companies like Sun Oil of Philadelphia are charging three times as much to their distributors.

The President of Mobil Oil, William Tavoulaareas, tried to replace a 500 gallon capacity tank at his home with a 4000 gallon tank. He was forced to drop the project when it became public.

## LEGAL

William Simon, Nixon's energy chief, claims that these practices are "legal" but it is illegal for the worker to keep a few gallons of extra gas or obtain more than 35 gallons a month.

Thus, not only is the working class being forced to shoulder the entire burden of the crisis, but the major industries' claim that they must lay off because of the shortage is a fraudulent lie.

The shortage is deliberately being manipulated in order to increase the profits of these companies and to drive down the living standards of the worker and the small owner who have power to grab oil reserves.

This is why the working class must reject Nixon's gas rationing program, step up the fight to break the wage guidelines, and build a campaign to force Nixon out of office.

# Airlines Project Total Of 30,000 Layoffs

BY A REPORTER

A wave of year end layoff announcements has just added another 6000 airline employees to the 9500 already laid off in the last two months.

Trans World Airlines just resumed service after a six week strike of flight attendants, led the way with 3000 layoffs including nearly 1000 flight attendants.

American Airlines sent out 2300 layoff notices last Friday and announced that this brought the total to 3100 since November.

According to the Air Transport Association, as many as 30,000 layoffs are to be expected in the entire industry.

These layoffs expose the fraudulent claim of the airlines that cutbacks in scheduled flights and jobs have been forced on the industry by the fuel crisis.

The fact is that the industry is consciously using this situation to liquidate permanently vast areas of service.

The latest layoffs take place right after the government partially restored previously announced fuel cuts to the airlines.

A spokesman for American Airlines claimed that the government decision still does not assure that its suppliers will have the fuel available.

Another industry official claimed that air flights cannot be "turned on and off like a spigot whenever someone in Washington comes up with a new fuel edict."

All major airlines are now in deep financial crisis and are determined to use the fuel situation to achieve major rationalizations, mergers and demands for government assistance.

In 1973 the airlines bought 60

jumbo jets which cost twice as much to run and have been operating at a loss because most are flying at under 50 percent capacity.

## DEBT

All the airlines are now deeply in debt. Leasing bills for jets run as high as \$3 billion and stock values have been plummeting. Today the total stock value of Delta, one of the smaller competitors, is greater than that of the four largest lines combined.

All the major lines now look to Delta, where everyone is non-un-

ion except the pilots and air controllers, as a model. On Delta, mechanics help load luggage and even the pilots and flight crews help clean the planes during busy times.

There is no doubt that the present layoffs are intended to be permanent and are only the beginning. The airline unions must prepare to shut down the entire industry in defense of their jobs and to answer government intervention with a fight for a labor party pledged to nationalize the industry under workers control.

# Oil Price Rise Hits Trade

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The recent decision by the oil producing countries to double the price of crude oil is the latest in a series of increases that has raised the price of a barrel of crude oil by 470 percent since the end of 1972.

The latest increases will have enormous impact on the development of inflation and will create conditions for a new outbreak of worldwide monetary chaos.

While the US which imports six percent of its oil from the Middle East and nine percent from Venezuela will be hit by the increases, the impact on Europe and Japan is staggering.

France is expecting a balance of payments deficit of nearly three billion dollars largely because of the higher prices on oil imports.

Germany will have her im-

port bill for oil raised to nearly six billion dollars. A massive slump is already underway in the auto industry and officials are predicting a nine to ten percent rate of inflation in the coming year.

Japan, whose inflation is already approaching 13 percent and imports 80 percent of its oil from the Middle East, expects an import bill of \$16 billion. This will wipe out its entire foreign currency reserves in the next year.

## DOUBLED

These new increases come on top of runaway inflation in the commodities markets which has doubled the price of dozens of basic commodities.

These increases express the collapse in the value of paper money. The dismal prospects for the European economies must fuel speculation in commodities and gold and drive prices up further.

Europe and Japan can only pay the added oil import bills by driving to expand exports in direct conflict with the US and

each other. This requires a brutal drive to beat back the wages and conditions of their own working classes by holding down imports and introducing massive unemployment.

## CRITICISM

"We are well aware that our international export efforts will invite criticism from competitors especially in the European Community and in the US but we are willing to risk this," said an executive of the Japanese steel industry.

The Japanese automobile industry is setting a goal of increasing exports to the West by 20 percent for 1974.

The need to export means that new devaluations of European currencies and particularly of the yen are on the agenda. The pressure for such action will intensify as the world recession begins to take hold.

This means a new surge of protectionism and trade war measures that will make a shambles of all the coming trade and monetary reform negotiations slated for 1974.



workers league young socialists public meeting

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# CWA Ends Six Day Walkout

NEW YORK—The 4000 member Communications Workers of America Local 1150 have returned to work after a six day walkout against American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

The strike was ended when the union and the company agreed that both versions of a dispute between a shop steward and a supervisor would be entered in the steward's file.

The walkout began on December 28 following the suspension of Declan O Neil, a craftsman and union shop steward.

O'Neil walked off the job after being physically beaten up by a superintendent. Another worker, Eddie Campbell, was also attacked.

The union demanded that O'Neil be immediately reimbursed for pay lost during his suspension, and that the supervisor involved be fired.

One striker, Chet, told the **Bulletin**: "We want O'Neil to get his money back. If the company refuses, the men over at Local 1101 and the overseas operators are just waiting for our word to come out with us."

"If Kandopolis gives in to the company, we will have big trouble in July with our contract. We want the cost of living readjusted every three months instead of every year."

## SCABS

Ed Farley said that the supervisors and the scabs ran the whole operation by themselves working in 12 hour shifts.

"The union has all newly elected officials, so the company wants to see how far they can push us."

"They want to know what they are going to be up against in July. I thought that the days when a supervisor beats up one of his workers went out with the sweatshop."

While the suspension has not been revoked, the sharpness of the struggle over this incident is a warning of the explosive contract negotiations coming in July.

One worker on the picket line said: "If this did not happen, we might have been able to avoid a strike in July. Now I am sure that we will all be out when the contract comes up."



Cab drivers have to wait as long as two hours in line for gas. See article, below.

## Allegheny Says No Recall

BY HAL STANTON  
PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Despite the announcement by Nixon's energy czar, William E. Simon, that the major airlines would receive almost all

of the fuel needed to maintain the services, the massive layoffs are continuing.

Allegheny Airlines, which used the energy crisis as a pretext for cutting 1288 of its 8000 employees, has said that no recall will begin until at least March.

According to a spokesman for the airlines, David Shipley: "While it is too late to change the curtailed schedule beginning January 7, our officials are reviewing the schedule with the hope of restoring some flights in March."

The **Bulletin** spoke with some of the workers employed by Allegheny at Greater Pittsburgh Airport. According to one flight attendant: "We are not clear on anything that is happening now."

"All of the part-time help was laid off last Friday, but I heard that some were called back."

"Last week, I heard that the government announced that oil exports exceeded imports over

the last year. The oil companies do not care what happens to us. They are just out to make a buck. This whole system is corrupt."

Bob Reed, who represents the Allegheny mechanics in Pittsburgh, members of the Potomac Lodge of the IAM, said: "We definitely know that 290 mechanics will be laid off, 133 from Greater Pittsburgh alone."

"The company told us that they are committed to the present schedule of layoffs, and I am skeptical that any of the men will be recalled in March."

"No one believes that there really is a fuel shortage. The oil companies are not producing oil here in America."

"It has been more profitable to invest in other countries since they lowered the oil depletion allowance here. I think that there is a refining shortage."

"This whole energy crisis is adversely affecting everything. It is typical of Nixon."

## Gas Crisis Hits Cab Drivers

BY MITCH PATTERSON

NEW YORK—Taxicab drivers here are being particularly hit by the gasoline shortage.

Taxi drivers are spending one-half hour, an hour, and sometimes over two hours just driving around looking for gas or waiting in long lines to get gas.

The **Bulletin** spoke to Luiz Climaco, an owner-driver in New York City. He was waiting to get gas in a line that was almost three blocks long. Luiz said:

"This whole thing is a coverup

for Nixon and his troubles with Watergate. You do not believe that the United States has run out of gas, do you?"

"I am sure that Nixon drives his car without waiting an hour to get gas. I think that the oil companies have been working with the government to arrange this whole thing. When I have to wait an hour to get gas, that is one hour's worth of money that I do not bring home."

"If things get any worse, we are going on strike. They will not see a single cab on the streets. We have already started talking

about going on strike."

When Luiz finally reached the gasoline pumps in the station, the attendant told him that there was no more regular gas, only supreme. Luiz was forced to pay far more than he expected.

## GAS

Another driver was just trying to get five gallons of gas so that he could complete his shift.

"I am not going to wait two and one-half hours. I do not care even if this is the only open station. When I run out of gas, I will just go home and tell my wife that I made no money today."

## Federal Funds Bail Out Slumlords

WASHINGTON, DC—Thousands of DC families exist in dilapidated, decaying housing, victim of the city's biggest slumlords, the federal and district governments.

These unsafe, garbage filled, leaking, rat and roach infested buildings sprawl for miles along the riot corridors of the Northwest, Northeast and Southeast sections of the city.

Mrs. Viola Foster, whose family lives in a monstrous slum owned by the Redevelopment Land Agency called the "Fairmount," told the **Bulletin**:

"We have been without heat and hot water. We have to boil water for washing and keep the oven going for heat."

"The electricity on this side of the building goes out. The lights in halls are always out and the junkies have taken over the front of the building. I carry the box opener I use at work with me when I leave in the mornings. I have to walk down these five flights of stairs where one

morning there was absolutely no light. I was a nervous wreck by the time I got to the first floor."

The breakup of the real estate boom was felt first and hardest by the small corporate realtors. To maintain profits, these landlords began to milk tenants of rents while providing little if any maintenance of the dwellings. As workers organized and fought back through suits and rent strikes, the landlords retreated by dumping the property on one speculator after another. Each attempted the same milking process.

## CUT

As the president of the tenant's association at the privately owned Ambassador Square "Luxury" Apartments stated: "No matter what management does, they are not going to cut into their profits."

Mr. Smith informed the **Bulletin** that the tenants went on a rent strike in March. They were fighting the consistent decline in maintenance and a

rent increase that ranged from 5 to 10 percent.

Those tenants who participated in the strike and are still active in the tenant's association now get the services they request. The other tenants just suffer. This is a deliberate act of management to use the tenant association to hold back any full-scale strike action against it.

The tenant association in this month's meeting will "prepare" the tenants for the rent increase scheduled for the first of the year and inform them of the recent takeover of the property by Metropolitan Properties, an agency handling several slums in the area.

Still, many of the private realty owners and corporations have already been bailed out from financial loss on these properties by the Federal and DC governments.

Programs under such agencies as the Redevelopment Land Agency, the Housing and Urban Development Agency, Federal Housing Administration, and the

National Capital Housing Authority have poured millions into the pockets of these slumlords.

Designed in 1949 to buy up slum dwellings for rehabilitation and resale in urban renewal areas, the Redevelopment Land Agency now owns 1705 buildings and maintains slumlordship to some 13,000 families in the District. While tenants suffer under these deplorable conditions, most of RLA's \$117 million budget of the past three years has been used as welfare for these slumlords.

Last year only \$750,000 of its \$45 million budget was spent on maintenance. Again, for this year most of its \$50 million budget will be spent to buy more slums.

Reinvestment in the city's housing has been limited to rehabilitating individual units on Capitol Hill for sale at prices such as \$30,000 to \$70,000 and construction of luxurious apartments and condominiums such as the now famous Watergate in

the Southwest area of the city.

Workers who wanted to fight the department of Housing and Urban Development and the Federal Housing Administration formed an organization called Citizens Against Substandard Housing in 1971. Many of these families with moderate incomes made tremendous sacrifices to save enough money for downpayments to purchase these homes.

They purchased their houses through FHA and HUD programs only to find the houses studded with DC housing code violations such as gas leaks, flooding basements, weak floors, just to name a few. A family bought a house through FHA this year with code violations that put the house in the condemned category by the DC housing authorities.

Since the workers have become "home" owners they are held responsible for bringing the houses up to standard. CASH has some 400 homeowner members fighting for redress for these frauds.





# African Gold Miners Strike Back

BY P. MARTIN

Owners of South African gold mines have reaped enormous profits by driving African miners beyond human endurance.

African workers newly recruited to work in the gold mines begin their training in a "heat acclimatization" program. The new workers exercise four hours daily for four days in a steam-filled room where the temperature hovers near 90 degrees.

As a metronome sets the pace the men monotonously step up and down on a platform, beginning at 12 steps a minute and working up to 24 steps a minute—a grueling prelude to a life in the mines.

The deliberate use of inflation by the world capitalist class to beat back the living standards of the working class has found one of its sharpest reflections in South Africa, where for the past several months African workers have taken the offensive for better wages and working conditions.

What began slowly with one strike in Johannesburg, where 160 African bus drivers went out for higher wages soon spread throughout the major industrial cities of South Africa. Durban was the scene of a labor upsurge where 1200 night watchmen went out and were quickly followed by 1500 brick and tile workers striking for higher wages and improved working conditions.

African and Indian textile workers, tea workers, and long distance truck drivers followed next. Other striking workers included such diverse areas of employment as furniture movers, canvas and rubber workers, women woolworkers, engineering workers, millers, and concrete pipe manufacturing workers, agricultural workers in the sugar industry, spinners, toy makers and weavers.

The police killing of 12 African mine workers at the Western

Deep Levels gold mine was the government's reaction to these massive strike waves that shook South Africa.

Western Deep Levels is owned by the Anglo-American Corporation, part of the Oppenheimer Empire.

Anglo-American and Oppenheimer are household words in South Africa and the corporation is one of the largest gold mining companies. Since South Africa, as the world's largest gold producer, is the principal supplier of the currency base of the international monetary system, gold mining has always been the goose that lays the golden egg for the South African economy.

Anglo-American was not in the gold rush of the 1880s. It arrived on the scene after the basic structure of the gold mining industry had already been built. The rush of small independent producers was over, and by the end of the nineteenth century, the gold mining industry was highly centralized, complex, and technically advanced.

## CENTRALIZED

The centralized organization and strong capitalization of the mining houses arose out of the special nature of the gold resources on the Witwatersrand, among the world's richest gold mines. In order to make the mines pay handsome profits, enormous quantities of ore had to be processed. This meant the mining companies needed heavy investment so they built tight links with British and European finance capital.

It also meant that the need for high profits demanded vast quantities of unskilled and cheap labor. The search for this unskilled mining labor tells much of the economic history of South Africa.

In 1889 the mining companies formed the Chamber of Mines. In this Chamber all the mining companies agreed not to compete in the recruitment of labor, but instead to channel evenly distributed labor quotas from a central pool.

Two gigantic labor recruiting

agencies were set up. One was to comb South Africa for African mining recruits. The other established recruiting stations and agents throughout the subcontinent, from Botswana and Lesotho to Malawi; including Zambia, Tanzania and all territories in between in South and Central Africa.

Of the 12 African miners that died at Western Deep Levels, seven were from other African countries, bearing witness to the part played by these territories in building the prosperity of the South African mines.

Today, three-quarters of the half-million migrant workers in the South African mines are drawn from neighboring countries, although since independence, Tanzania and Zambia have banned recruiting in their countries. This labor recruitment system, or contract labor system as it is called in neighboring Namibia (Southwest Africa), is used to take political activists from their homelands and force them into labor in the mines.

For 80 years the labor recruitment system has forcibly kept wages so low that until last year the real wage of African gold miners was no higher than it had been in 1911.

## NARROWED

The gap that exists between the earnings of white miners and Black miners is now being narrowed by the drive for productivity. In the 1960s wage agreements with the powerful white mining unions were linked directly to increased productivity.

The breakup of the boom and the massive inflation that is creating sharp divisions within the capitalist class cause each ruling class to try to push the crisis off on one another. The very policy of apartheid which has held South Africa so tenuously is being broken apart by the economic crisis.

This drive for productivity will now reduce the white trade unionist's standard of living to that of his African class brother creating a revolutionary situa-

tion reminiscent of the Civil War in the US when the northern industrial worker saw his very living standards held down by the enslavement of Black workers. The conditions are ripe for the unity of Black and white workers.

Several leaders of the mining industry have made it clear that they want to go much further in breaking down the industrial color bar. They say that dramatic increases in Black workers' wages will not come until this happens. In essence this is a move on their part to get much needed skilled labor at unskilled wage levels.

It is at this point that the international labor bureaucracy, and the Trades Union Council (TUC) of Britain in particular, move in to head off the workers' struggle for unity. The TUC along with other international labor unions met last June in Geneva at a conference on apartheid set up by the International Labor Organization (ILO).

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)—the former representing the western countries and the latter the communist countries—came together to call for all governments to sever political, commercial, and diplomatic ties with South Africa, to recommend that trade unions put pressure on their governments to deny South Africa arms and to boycott commodities to and from South Africa. The TUC gave full support to the decisions made by this body and stated that the British labor movement would commit itself to a much wider policy of opposition to apartheid including a program of radical action.

## SACTU

The South African delegation was represented at the congress by the non-racial South African Confederation of Trade Unions (SACTU), the only body which makes any attempt to fight for African workers' demands. SACTU was formed in 1954 when

the Trade Union Council South Africa (TUCSA) excluded Africans from membership.

Between 1960 and 1965 more than 160 SACTU officials were imprisoned, banned, put under house arrest or detained, forcing SACTU underground.

Although the TUC refused to recognize TUCSA in Geneva, within four months the TUC accepted TUCSA's invitation as a fact finding mission against the opposition of SACTU.

## "FACTS"

SACTU representatives in Britain opposed the TUC delegation visiting South Africa because the "facts" would simply be gathered from the officially approved sources rather than from the workers' true leaders.

The real meaning of the TUC fact finding mission was not just to gather "officially approved facts." Its fundamental task was to give credibility to the TUCSA policy of organizing African workers and fighting for the policy of "the rate for the job." Both these policies are designed to preserve the policy of apartheid. The former would be able to prevent Africans from competing with whites by organizing them into "safe" unions; the latter, equal pay for equal work, leaves out the fact that all non-white workers demand that they should have equal opportunities as well.

Apartheid cannot be defeated unless capitalism is overthrown and this means an international struggle against imperialism. Apartheid is not a purely South African question. The developments in the Black working class are important signs that its most conscious elements are searching for a way forward.

This is shown in the wage struggles, the strikes of the mine workers in Namibia, and the strikes which led to the shooting down of 12 African miners at Western Deep Levels, Carletonville, last September.

There are now great opportunities for the building of a revolutionary party in South Africa which will have its roots in the Black working class.



## Turning Point For American Labor

The 1877 railroad strikes marked the end of an era in the development of capitalism and sharply posed a fundamental change in the nature of class relationships in America.

The spontaneous eruptions of railway workers, joined by thousands of other strikes which reached civil war proportions throughout the major cities of the country, had to be crushed through the massive mobilization of federal troops.

The US government intervened directly to put down the rebellion and, as one worker noted: "We were shot back to work." It was following this first national strike wave that the capitalist class began to consolidate its state. A system of national armories was constructed and the National Guard established for one sole purpose: to repress, through violence, the upsurge of the working class. Immediately following 1877, state militias were centralized and conspiracy laws enacted against the unions.

Thus, the 1877 rebellion signaled the turning point in the development of the American labor movement. Up until that point, capitalism, which was still in its formative, expanding stage, had not yet consolidated a powerful state apparatus to deal with the working class.

In fact, the 1877 movement actually took both the capitalist class and the working class by surprise in both its intensity and its widespread character. No nationwide workers organization existed to lead the struggle forward and no centralized state apparatus yet existed to effectively crush the rebellion at once.

It had been possible, because of the very loose-knit structure of the capitalist state, to pose the fight of workers as one involving the reform of capitalism rather than one requiring its violent overthrow.

From 1877 onward, the capitalist class moved more and more toward the establishment of monopolies. Along with this, came their open recognition of the necessity to create a centralized state to provide the force necessary to allow them to continue their ruthless exploitation of the working class.

As Engels noted, a state "is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel."

With this development, the idea of reforming capitalism had to be dispelled. From 1877, the American working class would only go forward through the most violent confrontations with the capitalist class and the question of the need for revolution was to become sharply posed. It was from this period onwards that the middle class radicals who continued to enter the workers movement were to play an absolutely reactionary role.

Out of the defeat of the 1877 strike wave, and the growth of the class forces of repression, American workers recognized that what was required was the creation of centralized organizations and the development of a leadership in order to resist the vicious onslaught of the employers.

## The Knights of Labor

Although the Knights of Labor had existed since the end of the Civil War as a secret society, it really developed as a nationwide organization as a result of the 1877 strike wave.

Thousands of workers, who had been drawn into spontaneous struggle, moved to join the K of L and by the end of 1877, 11 new districts in the Northeast were established.

The K of L's program was aimed at organizing the entire working class and, at the Constitutional Convention in 1878, they established a centralized, national leadership to carry out that task.

Up until 1882, the membership of the Knights grew slowly because it still remained a secret society, which its leadership held was a protective screen against the attacks of employers on its members. But, during this period, the continuous strike struggle of workers throughout the country brought more and more workers into the organization, 57,000 by 1882, and the K of L began to play an open role in the American workers movement. By the time of the great labor upsurge of 1885 to 1886, it had a membership of over 600,000.

The growth of the K of L was a response to

the increasingly vicious attacks of the robber barons of the period. Between 1878 and 1882, the Carnegies, Rockefellers, Goulds, and Mellons made huge fortunes by developing giant trusts and monopolies and increasing the exploitation of workers. The average annual wage in 1883 was lower than in 1870.

Samuel Gompers, then president of the Federation of Trades' and Labor Unions, estimated that the annual living cost of a working class family in 1882 was \$754, while the income of a worker was \$558.

In response to this vicious exploitation, the K of L broke from the limited craft union traditions of the times and sought to organize both skilled and unskilled workers.

In this action, it represented the first step toward mass industrial unionism which was to culminate in the formation of the CIO in the 1930s.

The K of L's method of organization was extremely important for, up until that time, local craft unions were continuously being crushed because there were not enough workers engaged in one trade to provide sufficient support for the union.

In the K of L, any number of trades could be brought together in the mixed assemblies that they established in each city and rural community. The motto of the K of L was "an injury to one is the concern of all," and hundreds of thousands of unskilled and semiskilled workers were rallied to the organization because of this policy.

During the depression years of 1883 to 1887, the K of L became involved in the growing strike struggles and it was this involvement which both led to the tremendous growth of the organization and brought about a bitter conflict within it.

In 1883, there were walkouts by the glass workers unions, telegraph operators, cotton spinners in Fall River, Philadelphia shoemakers and carpet weavers, miners in Ohio and Pennsylvania, iron molders and shopmen on the Union Pacific. The K of L participated in each of these and in four of them—most importantly the railroad workers strike—played a leading role. While other strikes were being crushed, those led by the K of L resulted in decisive victories for the workers.

It was the strike against Gould's railway system that marked the high point of the activity of the K of L. Through their organizing efforts, they were able to cripple the entire transportation system, forcing the most ruthless of Clay's robber barons to negotiate with them.

The negotiations between the K of L and the largest railway system marked a new stage in the relations between capital and labor. It was the first time the employers were actually forced to capitulate to the demands of a national labor organization.

Following this victory, hundreds of thousands of workers rushed to join the Knights and their membership grew more in the next few months than it had in the previous 16 years. At the end of 1883, their membership stood at 702,924 with over 6000 local assemblies.

However, it was actually the fantastic influx of new members that brought about the sharpest crisis within the organization and was to lead to its decline by 1887 to 1888.

The Knights were dominated in their national leadership by essentially the same philosophy of American radicalism which had gripped their earlier predecessor: the National Labor Union.

Its leaders, especially Terence Powderly, held that the solution to the problems confronting workers lay in the establishment of an industrial commonwealth, joining together both employers and their employees, and that the way to attain such a commonwealth was through the long-term process of education and agitation.

The founding platform of the K of L, like that of the NLU, called for the establishment of cooperatives, the reservation of public lands for actual settlers, and a green back currency system.

Above all, Powderly rejected strike action as an effective means to fight the capitalist class. Powderly said: "Strikes at best afford only temporary relief and members should be educated to depend upon thorough education, cooperation, and political action, and through these the abolition of the wage system."

Powderly greatly dissipated the funds of the K of L in cooperative ventures which could in no way meet the competition of the capitalists and these ventures played an important role in the eventual collapse of the Knights.

Nevertheless, in spite of its leadership, the K of L repeatedly led strikes, both with and without the approval of the governing



Artist's conception of the Haymarket bombing.

# 1886

Part IV of

## Radicalism and the Birth of the American Working Class by Nancy Fields

body. The victory of the early strikes between 1883 and 1885 must be attributed to the fact that workers had, for the first time in their history, a nationwide body to coordinate and lead these actions.

In spite of their radical, utopian platform, the Knights' major activity was leading industrial action against the employers and it was this that marked its major contribution to the development of the American labor movement.

The formation of the K of L signaled a new stage in the American workers movement: a stage marked by nationwide organizing in an attempt to establish industrial unionism. From this time on, the working class fought increasingly for this goal, gaining in power with each struggle as the isolated, local craft-union battles of the earlier period became a thing of the past.

In response to the consolidation of power by the capitalists, workers turned to a national organization and the Knights represented the first successful attempt to bring together all workers as a class united to fight the employers. As Engels noted in 1887:

"The Knights of Labor are the first national organization created by the American working class as a whole; whatever be their origin and history, whatever their shortcomings and little absurdities, whatever their platform and their constitution, here they are, the work of practically the whole class of American wage workers, the only national bond that holds them together, that makes their strength felt to themselves not less than to their enemies, and that fills them with the proud hope of future victories..."

"Whether the Knights of Labor will then retain their present name or not, makes no different, but to an outsider it appears evident that here is the raw material out of which the future of the American working class movement, and along with it, the future of American society at large, has to be shaped."

The Knights eventually were dominated by the Populist movement as the agrarian, radical elements within it came to dominate. Populism represented the final gasp of American radicalism because it emerged in a period when its material base,



that is, the frontier and the expansion of capitalism, was destroyed.

It appeared at a time when America was becoming an imperialist power and, as such, was entering its death agony. Nevertheless, in spite of its eventual submergence into middle class radicalism, the Knights played a major role in the American workers movement.

## The Eight Hour Day Movement

The bitter strike struggle, the growth of a national labor organization, and the beginning turn to political action by the working class culminated in the year 1886 in three events which were to shake American society to its foundations. Engels, writing in 1887, noted that during 1886:

"A revolution has been accomplished in American society such as, in any other country, would have taken at least ten years. In February 1885, American public opinion was almost unanimous on this one point: that there was no working class, in the European sense of the word, in America; that consequently no class struggle between workmen and capitalist, such as tore European society to pieces, was possible in the American Republic, and that, therefore, socialism was a thing of foreign importation which could never take root on American soil. And yet, at that moment, the coming class struggle was casting its gigantic shadow before it in the strikes of the Pennsylvania coal miners, and of many other trades, and especially in the preparations, all over the country, for the great eight hour movement which was to come off and did come off in the May following."

The eight hour day movement was led by German-Americans who had split from the Marxist movement, that is, from the Socialist Labor Party in 1883, to found the International Workingmen's Party.

The split off was actually a reaction to the growing conservative reformism of the SLP and its turn away from the economic struggles of the working class. Led by August Parsons, Michael Schwab, Adolph Fischer, and August Spies, these German-Americans combined a mixture of anarchism and trade union militancy which came to be known as the "Chicago idea."

Parsons and Spies held, in opposition to the SLP, that the trade union was the "embryonic group of the future society and the sole fighting unit against capitalism." They did not view the tasks of the unions within the limits of capitalism: that is, to negotiate the terms of the workers exploitation.

Rather, they believed that direct action through the unions would lead to the "complete extinction of capitalism." They rejected any political action to win anything for the working class and in the platform of the International, they declared:

"The laborers can look for aid from no outside source in their fight against the existing system, but must achieve deliverance through their own exertions. Hitherto, no privileged class have relinquished tyranny, nor will the capitalist of to-day forego their privilege and authority without compulsion... It is therefore self-evident that the fight of proletarianism against the bourgeoisie must have a violent revolutionary character."

The "Chicago idea" actually foreshadowed the Western industrial radicalism which was to dominate the development of the Industrial Workers of the World 20 years later. In spite of the revolutionary, civil war character of the struggles led by the Haymarket men, and then the IWW, these organizations failed to lead the workers forward in their struggles and actually represented the continued domination of American radicalism within the workers movement.

For all their militancy, they actually reflected the radical side of the bread and butter, conservative, trade unionism developed by Samuel Gompers in the American Federation of Labor.

Through their refusal to confront the questions facing the working class politically, that is, by fighting to construct an independent party of labor, they left workers tied to the parties of capitalism and under the domination of the middle class politically.

These traditions of pure and simple trade union militancy—leaving workers dominated by the parties of their employers—continued throughout the history of all the struggles and remain today the

major obstacle in the fight against the attacks of the capitalists.

The fight for the eight hour day was centered in Chicago. There, the German-Americans controlled the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions which consisted of 22 unions, among which were the 11 largest in the city. The Federation later became the Central Labor Union and had 20,000 members. They also published five papers in English, German, and Bohemian and, through these, they rallied the entire Chicago working class in the fight for a shorter work week.

In addition, the German-Americans were also members of the Knights of Labor and participated in the broadest way in all the struggles of the working class. Two of their papers, *Alarm* and *Arbeiter Zeitung*, had the largest circulation of any labor papers in the country.

At this point, the employers launched an all-out offensive to halt this movement. As a contemporary writer noted, the "Chicago industrialists were famed for their savagery and the police department was long used as if it were a 'private force in the service of the employers.'"

They centered their first attack on the McCormick Harvester workers who had been locked out since the winter and the plant run by scabs. On May 3, over 6000 of them gathered in a peaceful rally addressed by Spies.

When the scabs began filing out of the plant, a violent confrontation occurred. The police arrived and opened fire into the backs of the workers. According to one witness: "boys and men were killed as they ran."

Spies rushed to his office and issued his now-famous "revenge" leaflet calling on all workers to a mass meeting on May 4 in Haymarket Square. The rally was entirely peaceful but, as it was about to break up, an agent provocateur threw a bomb. Thus, the police were given the necessary excuse to open fire hysterically killing several workers and injuring over 200.

The Haymarket incident was used by the capitalist class to launch a ruthless witch-hunt against the leadership of the eight hour movement. It used its press to create the atmosphere necessary to carry out a systematic attempt to destroy all the organizations of the working class. A virtual reign of terror, directed at trade union leaders, spread throughout the major cities.

In the weeks following Haymarket, the entire executive board of the Knights of Labor in Milwaukee was arrested for conspiracy, four officers of the K of L in Pittsburgh were jailed, while in New York the executive board of District Assembly 75 of the K of L was arrested as they were directing the Third Avenue Elevated strike. Labor editor John Swinton declared that New York workers were "living under a reign of terror. Corrupt judges and police who are slaves of monopoly, are now dragging citizens to prison by the wholesale."

The labor papers of the German-Americans in Chicago were raided, the employees arrested, and subscription lists confiscated so that further arrests could be made. The eight men singled out and held responsible for the Haymarket bombing were: August Spies, Albert Parsons, Michael Schwab, Adolph Fischer, George Engels, Oscar Neebe, Samuel Fielden and 20-year-old Louis Lingg. All were members of the International Workingmen's Party.

The working class of the world rallied to demand the release of these leaders. In fact, the fight for the eight hour day had been an international movement begun simultaneously with a resolution passed by the First Congress of the First International in Geneva and the General Congress of Labor in Baltimore.

Marx noted, at the time these resolutions were passed, that they indicated "the growing solidarity of workers internationally."

Workers in 26 countries went out on strike to demand the release of the Haymarket martyrs. However, the ruling class was determined to carry out their execution and on November 11, 1887, Parsons, Spies, Fischer and Engels were hanged.

At their funeral, 275,000 workers marched behind the coffins. Determined to show their strength and their dedication to the construction of an international workers movement, they sang the "Marseillaise," battle song of the Paris Commune.

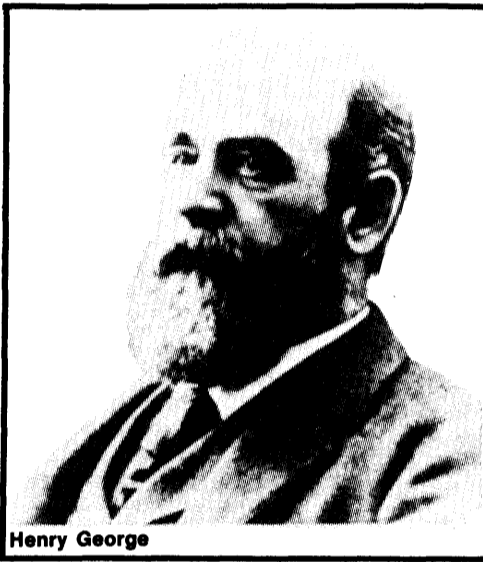
The explosive development within the American workers movement and the actual civil war battles that were waged throughout the country in the fight for the eight hour day was accompanied by the growth of the socialist movement and 1886 actually marked a high point in the develop-

ment of the American Marxist movement. During the year, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Eleanor Marx Aveling, and Edward Aveling toured the country under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party.

Throughout their tour, they were greeted by thousands of workers who the Avelings found to be living in conditions worse than English wage earners in the 1840s. The consolidation of capital between 1877 and 1886, accomplished by the most brutal exploitation of workers, was noted by Eleanor Aveling who wrote: "American factory girls were far more worn-looking than their English counterparts. As to the children, I cannot trust myself to speak of them."

Throughout their tour, the Avelings spoke to rallies of thousands of workers turning to the question of independent political action and to socialism. In meeting after meeting, 30,000 to 50,000 workers gathered to hear the program of the SLP. Engels wrote at this time that, if the American socialist movement would break with "every remnant of their foreign garb," they now had the opportunity to develop a mass base in the working class because of the turn by workers to the creation of labor parties in many major cities.

The socialist movement played the primary role in urging the New York City Central Labor Union to create an independent workingmen's party which led to the first large-scale serious campaign by a workers party for political office.



Henry George

## The Henry George Campaign

The Socialist Labor Party engineered the formal founding of the United Labor Party which marked a leap in the development of the American workers movement. The violent class eruptions of May had led, by November, to an understanding of the need for political action. As Engels wrote, concerning the rapidity of developments in America:

"In European countries, it took the working class years and years before they fully realized the fact that they formed a distinct and, under the existing social conditions, a permanent class of modern society; and it took years again until this class consciousness led them to form themselves into a distinct political party, independent of, and opposed to, all the old political parties, formed by the various sections of the ruling classes. On the more favored soil of America, where no medieval ruins bar the way, where history begins with the elements of the modern bourgeois society as evolved in the Seventeenth century, the working class passed through these two stages of development within 10 months."

The Henry George mayoralty campaign in New York marked the high point in the events of 1886. A labor party which had only been established for two months was able to win 67,000 votes and, perhaps would have actually won the election had it not been for the corruption of the capitalist politicians of Tammany Hall, which reportedly dumped thousands of George ballots in the East River. As the *Workmen's Advocate* noted: "These 67,000 votes are a standing menace to the monstrous capitalistic system which not only robs labor but corrupts laborers."

The success of the George campaign provided the impetus for the formation of united labor parties all around the country. This development signified that a new stage in the workers movement had been reached in America, which, despite the reformist program of Henry George, was the most important single step the working class had yet taken. As Engels wrote:

"The first great step of importance for

every country newly entering into the movement is always the constitution of the workers as an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers party. That the first program of this party is still confused and extremely deficient, that it has raised the banner of Henry George, these are unavoidable evils, but also merely transitory ones."

The importance of this turn to political action was that it marked the creation of the workers own movement, which as Engels explained, could provide the arena for the working class to learn and develop as long as it was their own movement. Thus, 1886 marked the real beginning of the development of the independent political action of the American workers movement, but it was still just a beginning.

The Henry George labor party campaign represented a far different development than that of the establishment of the early Workingmen's Parties in the 1820s.

In the 1820s, the working class was a minority and was weak and isolated in a country dominated still by the small farmers because of the agrarian nature of the economy.

By 1886, the working class was maturing and developing as a national force, with nationwide organization to give it real strength in the fight against capital.

Thus, by 1886, the working class had developed to a point where the creation of a national political organization of workers and a break with the middle class radicalism, which had dominated the early development of the American workers movement, could be posed.

However, even though the material basis for the radical, utopian politics of the past had passed, the labor parties that were established in 1886 were almost immediately taken over by the middle class and turned into Populist protest movements.

Following his mayoralty campaign, Henry George immediately moved to expel the socialists from his party and dropped all working class demands from the party's program.

Two major factors contributed to the ability of the middle class to retain its control politically over the workers movement. The first was that American workers were dominated by the thinking of their own ruling class: that is by the philosophy of pragmatism. This tendency to simply "do what works" and scorn theory contributed to the tremendous political backwardness of the working class and led to its continued inability to break from simple militancy.

The second factor holding back the independent political action of workers was the ability of American capitalism to still realize some limited growth in the midst of the decline of capitalism internationally. In fact, America was only able to grow in this period because of the growing collapse of Europe: a collapse which culminated in World War One.

The explosions of 1886, like those of 1877, were still abortive in that they did not result in the question of political power being posed to the working class. Nevertheless, the year 1886 marks the critical turning point in the development of the workers movement and out of these struggles, the mass trade union movement began and the American Federation of Labor was born.

The next step in the creation of a national labor party remains to this day to be taken. In 1887, Engels insisted that the central task of the American Marxist movement was to fuse the various elements—the national trade union movement, the local labor parties, and the socialist movement—into one national party with a completely working class platform.

Today, in the period of the complete decline of capitalism, it is critical to return to these historical developments in the American workers movement because as workers enter this new period they do so with their history strapped to their backs.

Thus, the first historical development of independent political action by workers must now be brought forward into the trade union movement in the fight to construct a labor party.

This battle to turn the working class to the necessary task of forming its own party requires above all the development of Marxist forces in the trade unions: forces trained to fight the revisionists and Stalinists who at all points seek to keep workers tied to the same middle class protest politics which have dominated their development.

CONCLUDED



## Turning Point For American Labor

The 1877 railroad strikes marked the end of an era in the development of capitalism and sharply posed a fundamental change in the nature of class relationships in America.

The spontaneous eruptions of railway workers, joined by thousands of other strikers which reached civil war proportions throughout the major cities of the country, had to be crushed through the massive mobilization of federal troops.

The US government intervened directly to put down the rebellion and, as one worker noted: "We were shot back to work." It was following this first national strike wave that the capitalist class began to consolidate its state. A system of national armories was constructed and the National Guard established for one sole purpose: to repress, through violence, the upsurge of the working class. Immediately following 1877, state militias were centralized and conspiracy laws enacted against the unions.

Thus, the 1877 rebellion signaled the turning point in the development of the American labor movement. Up until that point, capitalism, which was still in its formative, expanding stage, had not yet consolidated a powerful state apparatus to deal with the working class.

In fact, the 1877 movement actually took both the capitalist class and the working class by surprise in both its intensity and its widespread character. No nationwide workers organization existed to lead the struggle forward and no centralized state apparatus yet existed to effectively crush the rebellion at once.

It had been possible, because of the very loose-knit structure of the capitalist state, to pose the fight of workers as one involving the reform of capitalism rather than one requiring its violent overthrow.

From 1877 onward, the capitalist class moved more and more toward the establishment of monopolies. Along with this, came their open recognition of the necessity to create a centralized state to provide the force necessary to allow them to continue their ruthless exploitation of the working class.

As Engels noted, a state "is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel."

With this development, the idea of reforming capitalism had to be dispelled. From 1877, the American working class would only go forward through the most violent confrontations with the capitalist class and the question of the need for revolution was to become sharply posed. It was from this period onwards that the middle class radicals who continued to enter the workers movement were to play an absolutely reactionary role.

Out of the defeat of the 1877 strike wave, and the growth of the class forces of repression, American workers recognized that what was required was the creation of centralized organizations and the development of a leadership in order to resist the vicious onslaught of the employers.

## The Knights of Labor

Although the Knights of Labor had existed since the end of the Civil War as a secret society, it really developed as a nationwide organization as a result of the 1877 strike wave.

Thousands of workers, who had been drawn into spontaneous struggle, moved to join the K of L and by the end of 1877, 11 new districts in the Northeast were established.

The K of L's program was aimed at organizing the entire working class and, at the Constitutional Convention in 1878, they established a centralized, national leadership to carry out that task.

Up until 1882, the membership of the Knights grew slowly because it still remained a secret society, which its leadership held was a protective screen against the attacks of employers on its members. But, during this period, the continuous strike struggle of workers throughout the country brought more and more workers into the organization, 57,000 by 1882, and the K of L began to play an open role in the American workers movement. By the time of the great labor upsurge of 1885 to 1886, it had a membership of over 600,000.

The growth of the K of L was a response to

the increasingly vicious attacks of the robber barons of the period. Between 1878 and 1882, the Carnegies, Rockefellers, Goulds, and Mellons made huge fortunes by developing giant trusts and monopolies and increasing the exploitation of workers. The average annual wage in 1883 was lower than in 1870.

Samuel Gompers, then president of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, estimated that the annual living cost of a working class family in 1882 was \$754, while the income of a worker was \$558.

In response to this vicious exploitation, the K of L broke from the limited craft union traditions of the times and sought to organize both skilled and unskilled workers.

In this action, it represented the first step toward mass industrial unionism which was to culminate in the formation of the CIO in the 1930s.

The K of L's method of organization was extremely important for, up until that time, local craft unions were continuously being crushed because there were not enough workers engaged in one trade to provide sufficient support for the union.

In the K of L, any number of trades could be brought together in the mixed assemblies that they established in each city and rural community. The motto of the K of L was "an injury to one is the concern of all," and hundreds of thousands of unskilled and semiskilled workers were rallied to the organization because of this policy.

During the depression years of 1883 to 1887, the K of L became involved in the growing strike struggles and it was this involvement which both led to the tremendous growth of the organization and brought about a bitter conflict within it.

In 1883, there were walkouts by the glass workers unions, telegraph operators, cotton spinners in Fall River, Philadelphia shoemakers and carpet weavers, miners in Ohio and Pennsylvania, iron molders and shophmen on the Union Pacific. The K of L participated in each of these and in four of them—most importantly the railroad workers strike—played a leading role. While other strikes were being crushed, those led by the K of L resulted in decisive victories for the workers.

It was the strike against Gould's railway system that marked the high point of the activity of the K of L. Through their organizing efforts, they were able to cripple the entire transportation system, forcing the most ruthless of Clay's robber barons to negotiate with them.

The negotiations between the K of L and the largest railway system marked a new stage in the relations between capital and labor. It was the first time the employers were actually forced to capitulate to the demands of a national labor organization.

Following this victory, hundreds of thousands of workers rushed to join the Knights and their membership grew more in the next few months than it had in the previous 16 years. At the end of 1883, their membership stood at 702,924 with over 6000 local assemblies.

However, it was actually the fantastic influx of new members that brought about the sharpest crisis within the organization and was to lead to its decline by 1887 to 1888.

The Knights were dominated in their national leadership by essentially the same philosophy of American radicalism which had gripped their earlier predecessor: the National Labor Union.

Its leaders, especially Terence Powderly, held that the solution to the problems confronting workers lay in the establishment of an industrial commonwealth, joining together both employers and their employees, and that the way to attain such a commonwealth was through the long-term process of education and agitation.

The founding platform of the K of L, like that of the NLU, called for the establishment of cooperatives, the reservation of public lands for actual settlers, and a green back currency system.

Above all, Powderly rejected strike action as an effective means to fight the capitalist class. Powderly said: "Strikes at best afford only temporary relief and members should be educated to depend upon thorough education, cooperation, and political action, and through these the abolition of the wage system."

Powderly greatly dissipated the funds of the K of L in cooperative ventures which could in no way meet the competition of the capitalists and these ventures played an important role in the eventual collapse of the Knights.

Nevertheless, in spite of its leadership, the K of L repeatedly led strikes, both with and without the approval of the governing



Artist's conception of the Haymarket bombing.

# 1886

## Part IV of Radicalism and the Birth of the American Working Class by Nancy Fields

body. The victory of the early strikes between 1883 and 1885 must be attributed to the fact that workers had, for the first time in their history, a nationwide body to coordinate and lead these actions.

In spite of their radical, utopian platform, the Knights' major activity was leading industrial action against the employers and it was this that marked its major contribution to the development of the American labor movement.

The formation of the K of L signaled a new stage in the American workers movement: a stage marked by nationwide organizing in an attempt to establish industrial unionism. From this time on, the working class fought increasingly for this goal, gaining in power with each struggle as the isolated, local craft-union battles of the earlier period became a thing of the past.

In response to the consolidation of power by the capitalists, workers turned to a national organization and the Knights represented the first successful attempt to bring together all workers as a class united to fight the employers. As Engels noted in 1887:

"The Knights of Labor are the first national organization created by the American working class as a whole; whatever be their origin and history, whatever their shortcomings and little absurdities, whatever their platform and their constitution, here they are, the work of practically the whole class of American wage workers, the only national bond that holds them together, that makes their strength felt to themselves not less than to their enemies, and that fills them with the proud hope of future victories..."

"Whether the Knights of Labor will then retain their present name or not, makes no difference, but to an outsider it appears evident that here is the raw material out of which the future of the American working class movement, and along with it, the future of American society at large, has to be shaped."

The Knights eventually were dominated by the Populist movement as the agrarian, radical elements within it came to dominate. Populism represented the final gasp of American radicalism because it emerged in a period when its material base,

that is, the frontier and the expansion of capitalism, was destroyed.

It appeared at a time when America was becoming an imperialist power and, as such, was entering its death agony. Nevertheless, in spite of its eventual submergence into middle class radicalism, the Knights played a major role in the American workers movement.

## The Eight Hour Day Movement

The bitter strike struggle, the growth of a national labor organization, and the beginning turn to political action by the working class culminated in the year 1886 in three events which were to shake American society to its foundations. Engels, writing in 1887, noted that during 1886:

"A revolution has been accomplished in American society such as, in any other country, would have taken at least ten years. In February 1885, American public opinion was almost unanimous on this one point: that there was no working class, in the European sense of the word, in America; that consequently no class struggle between workmen and capitalist, such as tore European society to pieces, was possible in the American Republic, and that, therefore, socialism was a thing of foreign importation which could never take root on American soil. And yet, at that moment, the coming class struggle was casting its gigantic shadow before it in the strikes of the Pennsylvania coal miners, and of many other trades, and especially in the preparations, all over the country, for the great eight hour movement which was to come off and did come off in the May following."

The eight hour day movement was led by German-Americans who had split from the Marxist movement, that is, from the Socialist Labor Party in 1883, to found the International Workingmen's Party.

The split off was actually a reaction to the growing conservative reformism of the SLP and its turn away from the economic struggles of the working class. Led by August Parsons, Michael Schwab, Adolph Fischer, and August Spies, these German-Americans combined a mixture of anarchism and trade union militancy which came to be known as the "Chicago idea."

Parsons and Spies held, in opposition to the SLP, that the trade union was the "embryonic group of the future society and the sole fighting unit against capitalism." They did not view the tasks of the unions within the limits of capitalism: that is, to negotiate the terms of the workers exploitation.

Rather, they believed that direct action through the unions would lead to the "complete extinction of capitalism." They rejected any political action to win anything for the working class and in the platform of the International, they declared:

"The laborers can look for aid from no outside source in their fight against the existing system, but must achieve deliverance through their own exertions. Hitherto, no privileged class have relinquished tyranny, nor will the capitalist of to-day forego their privilege and authority without compulsion... It is therefore self-evident that the fight of proletarianism against the bourgeoisie must have a violent revolutionary character."

The "Chicago idea" actually foreshadowed the Western industrial radicalism which was to dominate the development of the Industrial Workers of the World 20 years later. In spite of the revolutionary, civil war character of the struggles led by the Haymarket men, and then the IWW, these organizations failed to lead the workers forward in their struggles and actually represented the continued domination of American radicalism within the workers movement.

For all their militancy, they actually reflected the radical side of the bread and butter, conservative, trade unionism developed by Samuel Gompers in the American Federation of Labor.

Through their refusal to confront the questions facing the working class politically, that is, by fighting to construct an independent party of labor, they left workers tied to the parties of capitalism and under the domination of the middle class politically.

These traditions of pure and simple trade union militancy—leaving workers dominated by the parties of their employers—continued throughout the history of all the struggles and remain today the

major obstacle in the fight against the attacks of the capitalists.

The fight for the eight hour day was centered in Chicago. There, the German-Americans controlled the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions which consisted of 22 unions, among which were the 11 largest in the city. The Federation later became the Central Labor Union and had 20,000 members. They also published five papers in English, German, and Bohemian and, through these, they rallied the entire Chicago working class in the fight for a shorter work week.

In addition, the German-Americans were also members of the Knights of Labor and participated in the broadest way in all the struggles of the working class. Two of their papers, *Alarm* and *Arbeiter Zeitung*, had the largest circulation of any labor papers in the country.

At this point, the employers launched an all-out offensive to halt this movement. As a contemporary writer noted, the "Chicago industrialists were famed for their savagery and the police department was long used as if it were a private force in the service of the employers."

They centered their first attack on the McCormick Harvester workers who had been locked out since the winter and the plant run by scabs. On May 3, over 6000 of them gathered in a peaceful rally addressed by Spies.

When the scabs began filing out of the plant, a violent confrontation occurred. The police arrived and opened fire into the backs of the workers. According to one witness: "boys and men were killed as they ran." Spies rushed to his office and issued his now-famous "revenge" leaflet calling on all workers to a mass meeting on May 4 in Haymarket Square. The rally was entirely peaceful but, as it was about to break up, an agent provocateur threw a bomb. Thus, the police were given the necessary excuse to open fire hysterically killing several workers and injuring over 200.

The Haymarket incident was used by the capitalist class to launch a ruthless witch-hunt against the leadership of the eight hour movement. It used its press to create the atmosphere necessary to carry out a systematic attempt to destroy all the organizations of the working class. A virtual reign of terror, directed at trade union leaders, spread throughout the major cities.

In the weeks following Haymarket, the entire executive board of the Knights of Labor in Milwaukee was arrested for conspiracy, four officers of the K of L in Pittsburgh were jailed, while in New York the executive board of District Assembly 75 of the K of L was arrested as they were directing the Third Avenue Elevated strike. Labor editor John Swinton declared that New York workers were "living under a reign of terror. Corrupt judges and police who are slaves of monopoly, are now dragging citizens to prison by the wholesale."

The labor papers of the German-Americans in Chicago were raided, the employees arrested, and subscription lists confiscated so that further arrests could be made. The eight men singled out and held responsible for the Haymarket bombing were: August Spies, Albert Parsons, Michael Schwab, Adolph Fischer, George Engels, Oscar Neebe, Samuel Fielden and 20-year-old Louis Lingg. All were members of the International Workingmen's Party.

The working class of the world rallied to demand the release of these leaders. In fact, the fight for the eight hour day had been an international movement begun simultaneously with a resolution passed by the First Congress of the First International in Geneva and the General Congress of Labor in Baltimore.

Marx noted, at the time these resolutions were passed, that they indicated "the growing solidarity of workers internationally."

Workers in 26 countries went out on strike to demand the release of the Haymarket martyrs. However, the ruling class was determined to carry out their execution and on November 11, 1887, Parsons, Spies, Fischer and Engels were hanged.

At their funeral, 275,000 workers marched behind the coffins. Determined to show their strength and their dedication to the construction of an international workers movement, they sang the "Marseillaise," battle song of the Paris Commune.

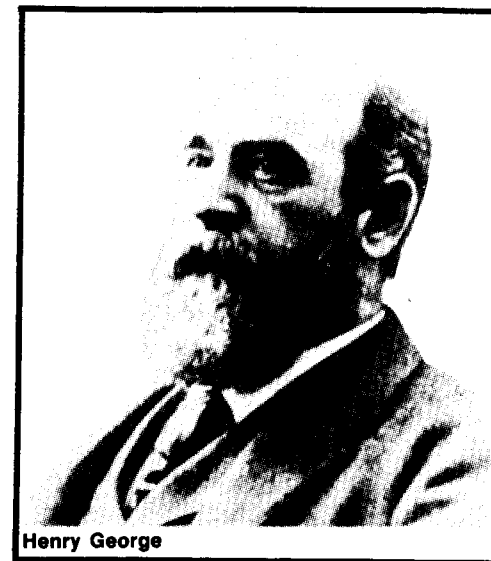
The explosive development within the American workers movement and the actual civil war battles that were waged throughout the country in the fight for the eight hour day was accompanied by the growth of the socialist movement and 1886 actually marked a high point in the develop-

ment of the American Marxist movement. During the year, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Eleanor Marx Aveling, and Edward Aveling toured the country under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party.

Throughout their tour, they were greeted by thousands of workers who the Avelings found to be living in conditions worse than English wage earners in the 1840s. The consolidation of capital between 1877 and 1886, accomplished by the most brutal exploitation of workers, was noted by Eleanor Aveling who wrote: "American factory girls were far more worn-looking than their English counterparts. As to the children, I cannot trust myself to speak of them."

Throughout their tour, the Avelings spoke to rallies of thousands of workers turning to the question of independent political action and to socialism. In meeting after meeting, 30,000 to 50,000 workers gathered to hear the program of the SLP. Engels wrote at this time that, if the American socialist movement would break with "every remnant of their foreign garb," they now had the opportunity to develop a mass base in the working class because of the turn by workers to the creation of labor parties in many major cities.

The socialist movement played the primary role in urging the New York City Central Labor Union to create an independent workingmen's party which led to the first large-scale serious campaign by a workers party for political office.



Henry George  
The Henry George Campaign

The Socialist Labor Party engineered the formal founding of the United Labor Party which marked a leap in the development of the American workers movement. The violent class eruptions of May had led, by November, to an understanding of the need for political action. As Engels wrote, concerning the rapidity of developments in America:

"In European countries, it took the working class years and years before they fully realized the fact that they formed a distinct and, under the existing social conditions, a permanent class of modern society; and it took years again until this class consciousness led them to form themselves into a distinct political party, independent of, and opposed to, all the old political parties, formed by the various sections of the ruling classes. On the more favored soil of America, where no medieval ruins bar the way, where history begins with the elements of the modern bourgeois society as evolved in the Seventeenth century, the working class passed through these two stages of development within 10 months."

The Henry George mayoralty campaign in New York marked the high point in the events of 1886. A labor party which had only been established for two months was able to win 67,000 votes and, perhaps would have actually won the election had it not been for the corruption of the capitalist politicians of Tammany Hall, which reportedly dumped thousands of George ballots in the East River. As the *Workmen's Advocate* noted: "These 67,000 votes are a standing menace to the monstrous capitalistic system which not only robs labor but corrupts laborers."

The success of the George campaign provided the impetus for the formation of united labor parties all around the country. This development signified that a new stage in the workers movement had been reached in America, which, despite the reformist program of Henry George, was the most important single step the working class had yet taken. As Engels wrote:

"The first great step of importance for

every country newly entering into the movement is always the constitution of the workers as an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers party. That the first program of this party is still confused and extremely deficient, that it has raised the banner of Henry George, these are unavoidable evils, but also merely transitory ones."

The importance of this turn to political action was that it marked the creation of the workers own movement, which as Engels explained, could provide the arena for the working class to learn and develop as long as it was their own movement. Thus, 1886 marked the real beginning of the development of the independent political action of the American workers movement, but it was still just a beginning.

The Henry George labor party campaign represented a far different development than that of the establishment of the early Workingmen's Parties in the 1820s.

In the 1820s, the working class was a minority and was weak and isolated in a country dominated still by the small farmers because of the agrarian nature of the economy.

By 1886, the working class was maturing and developing as a national force, with nationwide organization to give it real strength in the fight against capital.

Thus, by 1886, the working class had developed to a point where the creation of a national political organization of workers and a break with the middle class radicalism, which had dominated the early development of the American workers movement, could be posed.

However, even though the material basis for the radical, utopian politics of the past had passed, the labor parties that were established in 1886 were almost immediately taken over by the middle class and turned into Populist protest movements.

Following his mayoralty campaign, Henry George immediately moved to expel the socialists from his party and dropped all working class demands from the party's program.

Two major factors contributed to the ability of the middle class to retain its control politically over the workers movement. The first was that American workers were dominated by the thinking of their own ruling class: that is by the philosophy of pragmatism. This tendency to simply "do what works" and scorn theory contributed to the tremendous political backwardness of the working class and led to its continued inability to break from simple militancy.

The second factor holding back the independent political action of workers was the ability of American capitalism to still realize some limited growth in the midst of the decline of capitalism internationally. In fact, America was only able to grow in this period because of the growing collapse of Europe: a collapse which culminated in World War One.

The explosions of 1886, like those of 1877, were still abortive in that they did not result in the question of political power being posed to the working class. Nevertheless, the year 1886 marks the critical turning point in the development of the workers movement and out of these struggles, the mass trade union movement began and the American Federation of Labor was born.

The next step in the creation of a national labor party remains to this day to be taken. In 1887, Engels insisted that the central task of the American Marxist movement was to fuse the various elements—the national trade union movement, the local labor parties, and the socialist movement—into one national party with a completely working class platform.

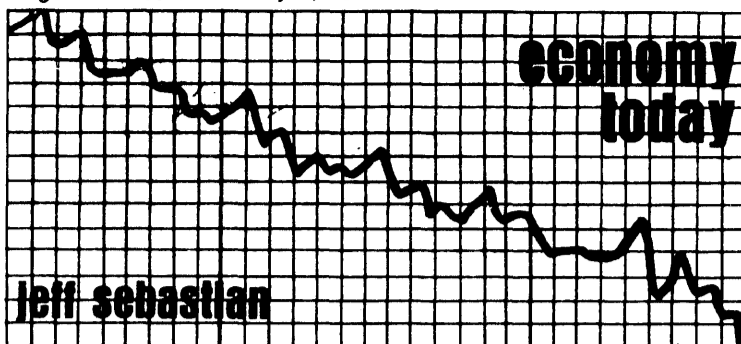
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This battle to turn the working class to the necessary task of forming its own party requires above all the development of Marxist forces in the trade unions: forces trained to fight the revisionists and Stalinists who at all points seek to keep workers tied to the same middle class protest politics which have dominated their development.

CONCLUDED





## Housing Industry Collapses

The housing industry has now entered the steepest decline in its history. Unemployment in the industry is expected to double and a whole section of smaller builders could well be forced into bankruptcy.

The sharpest housing decline previously reported came between December 1965 and October 1966 when the annual rate dropped by over 800,000 units.

The number of housing starts recorded for January 1973 was a record 2.5 million, while the number of starts estimated for December 1973 is down to 1.3 million.

Unlike 1966, this construction crisis, although initially caused by factors independent of the fuel crisis, is being intensified by shortages of fuel and vital construction material directly dependent on the petroleum industry.

The housing drop is very much the product of the uncontrollable inflation which has bid up the prices of all basic construction material. The industry is also the first and hardest hit casualty of the astronomical interest rates that have accompanied the inflation.

Interest rates on mortgages have been as high as 10 percent and it is estimated that in the year since 1972, the cost of an average single home has gone up from over \$26,000 in 1972 to over \$34,000 today, a rise of over 28 percent.

Last summer, the bottom began to drop out of the housing market as mortgage rates soared. Huge amounts of funds were taken out of savings banks, which provide the lion's share of housing loans, in search of higher earnings.

Many of these banks were forced to borrow heavily from the Federal Home Loan Banks to stay afloat and credit was virtually unavailable.

The expansion of the housing industry was based entirely on the economic boom and the easy availability of cheap credit.

The collapse is very much expressed in the recent bankruptcy petition of Kassuba Development Corporation with its main properties located in Palm Beach, Florida, an area of very heavy boomtime speculation.

Kassuba is now being forced to sell properties to raise cash for its creditors. It is deeply in debt to the Chase Manhattan Bank and to such insurance giants as John Hancock and Connecticut Mutual Life Co., as well as to dozens of smaller real estate investment companies across the country.

The high interest policies of the large banks are not only making it impossible for workers to buy homes and forcing construction firms to the wall, but hitting the largest builders as well. US Home Corp. the country's largest home builder reports earnings down by 30 percent for its third quarter compared to a year ago.

This decline has been accompanied by a collapse in federally subsidized construction of lower income housing. The Nixon administration froze such funds in January 1973 and since then only 200,000 such units have been built.

The energy crisis now adds directly to the slump. Even the ban on Sunday gas sales is hitting builders by drying up Sunday home showings when the majority of sales models are shown.

Asphalt, shingles, propane gas, and diesel fuel are in scarce supply and makers of plywood, bricks, and gypsum wallboard which require large amounts of power are sharply hit by the energy crisis.

Hundreds of thousands of firms supply materials for construction and thus the current slump will have an increasingly violent impact as it spreads throughout the economy.

Mass unemployment in the construction trades under conditions in which contractors are facing bankruptcy will mean a whole new drive for the open shop and a breakdown of present work rules against the powerful construction unions. This is the meaning of the legal witch-hunt being organized to smash carpenters in the Bay Area who are striking against the wage freeze.

Construction workers are now hit directly by the crisis of the capitalist system. It is no longer possible to fight with the old policies of regional strikes in a single trade aimed at building up wage rates.

Now the construction trades face virtual depression in the industry combined with a government onslaught on the unions.

This new situation requires a political policy aimed at constructing a labor party committed to the nationalization of the construction industry and credit institutions under workers control.



With gas supplies gone, motorists all over the Midwest were stranded in sub-zero temperatures.

## Chicago Police Convicted

CHICAGO—An investigation of the police department here reaching into the highest levels is taking place under Police Superintendent James Rochford.

This shakeup is not leaving one department untouched. Even the Internal Affairs Division which itself investigates police corruption is threatened with replacement by a much stricter unit. The police board president, when proposing this new unit, said: "The thing more important than anything else is tight administrative control."

### EXPOSED

What has been exposed in this investigation is not just a \$5 or \$10 bribe here and there, but bribes in the thousands of dollars per week for individual police.

Captain Braasch, former commander of the far southeast district and 18 policemen in the same district were convicted of extortion.

## Minnesota U Harasses YS

MINNEAPOLIS—The University of Minnesota is continuing its attempts to drive the Young Socialists club here off campus by banning virtually all meetings.

Kathleen Megarry, organizer of the Young Socialists at the University of Minnesota reports continuing harassment by the school administration:

"Since we received notice that the administration was going to put us on trial for excluding a Zionist provocateur from one of our meetings, we have been denied use of university facilities on three occasions.

"On each occasion, the university financial office claimed to have found unpaid bills. Each time we went in to clear up the bills so we could hold our meeting.

"We think some of the bills are duplicates of ones we already paid. One bill was dated last June.

"The University has set the date of our trial for January 11. They want to hold it in some small room in the corner of the student union to try to keep the students out. The 15 is calling the mass rally among all students on the day of the trial.

Captain Thanasouras, commander of the west side district, and 13 other policemen are scheduled to go on trial for shake-down charges.

Captain Callahan, command-

er of the near north district has just been indicted on extortion. Earlier in the year, Sargeant Robinson was found guilty of murder of several Chicago businessmen.

## Janesville GM Lays Off 3500

BY NANCY RUSSELL

JANESVILLE, Wisc.—The cutbacks in General Motors production announced last weekend will shut the Janesville plant's car production for two weeks for the second month in a row. GM has admitted that the 300 workers laid off here indefinitely in December will not be recalled, unless perhaps at the 1975 model changeover.

The 3500 passenger car workers will be laid off 10 days, beginning January 7. Many of these workers are youth without a year's seniority who will not receive SUB benefits. The maximum benefits without SUB pay are \$89 a week.

The Janesville plant produces the larger cars—the Impala, Caprice, and station wagons, and is one of the plants hardest hit by the cutbacks. GM has converted two more plants in Missouri and Ohio to small cars, but plans to keep Janesville on the big cars.

One Janesville GM worker said: "They have been making the same car at GM for five

years. And they still cannot put the fenders on right, they do not meet right."

Another worker said: "They could make a carburetor that would get 22 miles per gallon, but the big corporations are just money-hungry. What we have got, they want to take away. I would not doubt if things went to one shift here. This is really affecting the young people. A lot of them are trying to buy homes and it's hurting. If GM does not make their profits, the whole plant suffers. If we get a raise, they are always cutting something to make up for it.

"It all stems from the cutback on the oil depletion allowance, I think," said another UAW No. 95 member. "A year ago they cut back the depletion allowance 5 to 6 percent, so instead of a 26 percent allowance, they are only getting 18 percent. We have been negotiating on the local contract since model changeover in August, but we have not gotten anywhere. Negotiations have been dropped now, until after the holidays. With these cutbacks, we do not know where we are at.

## Drivers Stranded In Cold

MINNEAPOLIS — Temperatures reached 30 below zero here over the New Years weekend, virtually immobilizing thousands of workers.

Workers faced a battle to fill their gas tanks, as station after station closed when its December supply ran out. The mercury dipped to 20 below last Sunday, and thousands of cars were stalled in the Twin Cities area.

No service stations were open to receive service calls or to send two trucks to start the cars. People who managed to have gas in their cars were unable to get them started. Monday morning, thousands of workers in the Twin Cities area were stranded without transportation to work.

An AAA official said: "The manpower at service stations has just worn out. After three days of sub-zero weather, the guys running the tow trucks are just worn out."

One service station operator told the Bulletin: "In this kind of weather, people could freeze to death. I have got a responsibility to stay open. People need the service. I do not care what Nixon says—he can go to hell!"

In addition, the unemployment figures for the month of December showed over 1000 workers unemployed in the state as a result of the fuel shortage, with the figures expected to soar in January.



midwest news

# Scab Plan To Bust Mine Strike

BY DAVID NORTH  
HARLAN, Ky., Jan. 2—Miners are bracing for a full-scale confrontation with state police, who are expected to arrive here Monday in force to reopen the mines with scab labor.

The hated state police were given full authority to attack miners picket lines earlier this week when Letcher County Judge Byrd Hogg appointed them special bailiffs of the court.

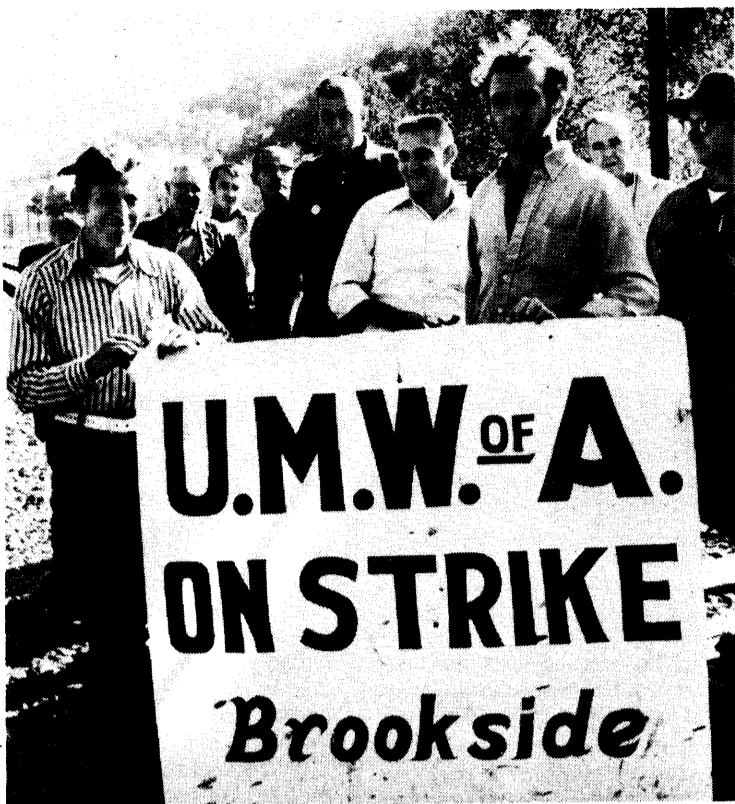
Patrol cars were spotted yesterday prowling in the vicinity of the mines, which have been shut down by a strike which began six months ago.

"There's going to be some violence if these goddamn scabs try to cross the picket line," United Mine Workers organizer Houston Elmore told the Bulletin.

"I know these men well enough to know that they won't let scabs take their jobs away."

Miner Hiram Christian said that a mass picket line will be set up Monday morning to stop the scabs even if they are protected by state police. "I know that the miners of Harlan will never stand by and watch the scabs reopen the mines," he declared.

The chairman of the Harlan County Black Lung Association, Hobart Grills, stated that the Brookside Mining Company, which has refused to recognize the UMW and sign a union



Kentucky miners prepare to continue the fight to defend their union.

contract, is recruiting scabs from all over the state.

"I wouldn't be surprised if the company tries to use the state police to get the scabs through, but they won't succeed," Grills declared. "There's going to be trouble."

Grills added that the use of police against the miners could lead to a shutdown of all coal mining in the state.

Last October, Judge Hogg issued an injunction against

mass picketing by the Harlan miners after more than 75 men, women, and children were arrested.

The national guard was last sent into Harlan during the 1940s, but the miners won the strike.

At the recent UMW Convention, Arnold Miller pledged all-out support to the Harlan strike, but he has refused to extend the strike to other unorganized mines in eastern Kentucky.

# Detroit Auto Workers Speak Out

BY KEN WESTON

DEARBORN, Mich.—Arab refugees, driven from their homes by the brutal war waged by Zionism and imperialism in the Middle East, have come by the thousands to the "South End" here.

The South End, the largest Arab community in the United States, is a densely populated ghetto squeezed between the immense River Rouge auto complex, other heavy industries, and the Rouge River.

Heavy immigration to the South End began in 1948 with the establishment of the Israeli state and the destruction of Palestine. Each new conflict has brought a new wave of immigrants to the South End where a refugee seeks friends from his own village in the Middle East and perhaps gets a union job at the Ford Rouge plant.

Community leaders at the Arab center told the Bulletin that the Arab worker in the United States still faces his twin enemies from the Middle East—Zionism and the United States government.

### LIQUIDATION

The immigration of Palestinians into the US was actually the result of a plan worked out between pro-Zionist groups such as B'nai B'rith, who want to see the liquidation of the Palestinian people in the Middle East, and the US government. Palestinians who immigrate to the US must sign an affidavit promising never to return to Palestine.

The industrialists who are pushing for the destruction of the South End are prominent supporters of the Zionist cause, such as the Kasle family which owns Kasle Steel Company here and Edward Levy who owns a slag company in Dearborn.

The US immigration agents and the FBI agents who prowl the South End are aiding the companies by frightening the community and stirring up a racist, witch-hunt atmosphere against it. The aim of the companies and the government is to disperse the Arab community because of the growing sympathy for the Arab cause among American workers and the growing militancy of Arab workers in American industry.

Nabeel, a leader of the Arab Caucus in the United Auto Workers Union, described to the Bulletin the harsh and discriminatory practices which Arab workers face here:

"The kind of job they give

Arab workers is the worst job, always in production. About one percent get relief or repair work in the auto plants. The general attitude in the plants is that they are inferior."

Racism is consciously used by management to isolate Arab workers from Black and white workers. Nabeel said:

"At Fords on October 26 the strike was supposed to be at 10 am. They kept the contract secret and the Arab and Black workers said we would walk out. After that happened, they transferred me to another plant."

"I asked why and they said that I cursed out a Black worker. This is a lie. A white supervisor told a Yemenese that a Black worker called him a bad name and the Arab hit the guy. In this way they try to divide us."

Discriminatory practices such as requiring job applicants to complete long application forms in English without assistance are used to keep Arab workers out of many plants. Donald Unis, an American of Arab descent, described the difficulties of immigration.

"It is hard to place an immigrant, for example, a Palestinian 45 years of age. There is a definite link between US imperialism and the situation in the plants. Palestinian emigrants must sign affidavits that they will never return. And Israel says there is no refugee problem."

### RETURN

"Very few Palestinians send for their wives and children because that would mean giving up all hope of returning to Palestine. Ninety-nine percent of all Palestinians here wish to return."

A high level of political consciousness exists in the Arab community. Arab workers are wary of any deal between the big powers which would compromise the reestablishment of the Palestinian state. Allan, a worker of Arab descent at the Arab Center said:

"We do not support a West Bank State. It is a whole thing to placate the resistance movement."

"But the resistance movement is not asking for a piece of land. They are fighting for the dignity of Palestine. Zionism will not be tolerated."

Nabeel concurred with this. "We as Arab workers in the US are against a West Bank State. We have been fighting since 1936. We have been fighting too long to accept that."

The International leadership of the United Auto Workers has played the most reactionary role in this respect. The leadership ignores the conditions facing Arab workers and consistently supports Zionism.

The late UAW President Walter Reuther contributed union funds without authorization to the development of nuclear research in Israel which aided the development of the Israeli nuclear bomb.

### BONDS

His successor, Leonard Woodcock, has earned the hatred of auto workers for his funneling of union funds into Israeli bonds and South African stocks, again without the authorization of the union membership.

Donald Unis said: "Arabs are not anti-Jew. We feel very sympathetic to what happened to the Jews 30 years ago. They have been in the vanguard of social movements everywhere. Many of us hope that American Jews will see what the Israeli state is."

Allan told the Bulletin: "The trade unions are supposed to be in the vanguard of the social movement. American workers must find out what their government is doing. It is not just an Arab problem. They must get control of the government. The American worker is being thrust into the center of this."

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books

The Centralia Conspiracy

by Bill Vann

PART TWO

With the entry of America into World War One, the industry entered into a fantastic boom, with the lumber barons jacking their prices up from \$16 to \$116 per 1000 feet. In the summer of 1917 a massive strike broke out which virtually paralyzed the entire industry.

In a frenzy to resume their lucrative profiteering, the lumber barons moved ever more viciously against the strikers. With them moved the Wilson government. Side by side, federal troops and lynch mobs moved to smash the unions. Along with espionage trials and tar-and-featherings, special prisons were set up where strikers were held for months without trial. And, as Chaplin, author of *The Centralia Conspiracy* puts it:

"The good, wise and noisy men of the nation were induced by diverse means to cry out against the strikers and their union. The worst passions of respectable people were appealed to. The hoarse blood cry of the mob was raised. It was echoed from pulpit and press. The very air quivered from its reverberations. Lynching parties became respectable."



Wesley Everest

The strikers were forced back to work, but they continued job actions which secured the eight hour day and improvement in the camp conditions.

The witch-hunt against the IWW began under the cover of defending the war effort and of patriotism, but it was continued well after the armistice was signed. Bloating with war profits and fearful of the movement of the working class internationally, the capitalists were determined to inflict defeats upon the worker and his unions.

The Centralia incident was consciously prepared by the Washington State employers. Centralia was chosen because it was one of the few towns in

which the IWW was still able to maintain a union hall after the repression of World War One.

Chaplin details how the lumber trusts, the State Employers Association, and local officials all worked together to prepare the attack. Meetings were publicly called to discuss "the defense of private property" and "the labor problem." At one of these meetings, a secret committee was appointed led by Warren O. Grimm, a local lawyer and veteran of the American Siberian expedition against the new Soviet Republic.

Stormed

Grimm organized the attack to take place during the Armistice Day parade. A contingent broke off from the march, stormed the union hall and was met with shots from armed loggers. Four of the mob were shot dead.

An enraged mob quickly formed around the original attackers. Much of their attention was drawn to Wesley Everest, a young IWW member who had defended the hall and was mistaken for the union secretary. Fleeing the mob, he was finally encircled and beaten, half to death.

A group of businessmen seized him from his cell that night and dragged him into a waiting automobile. As they sped toward a nearby bridge, one of the businessmen pulled a razor from his pocket and used it to castrate Everest as he lay moaning on the floor of the car.

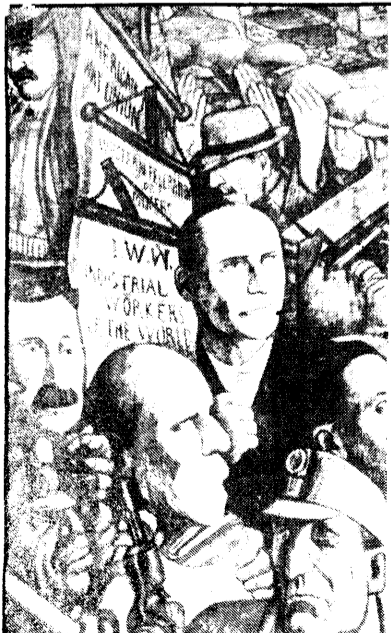
Businessmen

On finally reaching the bridge, Everest was thrown off with a rope around his neck. The businessmen then riddled his hanging corpse with volley after volley from their sporting rifles. Wesley Everest's last words to his comrades had been, "Tell the boys I died for my class."

In the trial that followed, seven IWW members were sentenced to 25 years to 40 years in jail. No member of the lynch mob was ever arrested.

But Wesley Everest fought and died during the first birth pangs of industrial unionism. Today, the American worker faces a capitalist class driven by the most profound economic crisis into a battle to destroy the mass unions built in the 1920s and 1930s. It is under these new conditions that the working class in America must now construct its labor party and fight for socialist policies to defend those unions and defeat the attacks.

CONCLUDED



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Bancorp Close To Bankruptcy

BY ERNIE LEWIS

LOS ANGELES—Beverly Hills Bancorp admitted this week that it would have to sell its 95 percent interest in the Beverly Hills National Bank.

Coming only weeks after the bank failure of US National Bank of San Diego, the sale is another step in the collapse of the entire credit empire in southern California.

With a debt due this week of \$2 million, the holding company is being forced to sell a bank with over \$135 million in assets.

James E. Smith, US controller of the currency, whose office regulates all national banks, issued a statement stressing that he had no qualms

about the financial condition of the bank itself. Smith, however, took the unusual step of having the Beverly Hills holding company's books examined. "We normally wouldn't do this," Smith said. "But we were sufficiently concerned because we had never been through a situation where the bank was solvent, but the firm which owned its stock was in trouble."

According to officials close to the transactions, Beverly Hills Bancorp made loans totalling \$7.6 million on southern California apartment and condominium projects being undertaken by Urbanetics Financial Corp. of Beverly Hills.

The Bancorp also guaranteed another \$32 million in loans from an eastern mortgage trust on

Urbanetics projects, according to the same source.

Harold Klein, president of Bancorp, was reported as saying that the projects have suffered because "sales have been slowed by tight money and slow market conditions."

These conditions are ripping apart the real estate speculation and credit that southern California has been built on.

First National City Bank of New York is adding more pressure to sell the bank. Bancorp owes First National a balance of \$4.75 million on a \$5 million loan. Terms of that loan agreement give First National City, one of the nation's largest, the power to demand payment of the loan if Beverly Hills Bancorp has financial difficulties.

LA Forces Power Cutback

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—The electrical curtailments which have gone into effect in this city are transforming hundreds of thousands of families lives almost overnight.

One housewife whose husband was just laid off from his truck driving job because of the fuel shortage, told the Bulletin: "I run around this apartment turning out all the lights. I leave the heat off at night and then end up waking up at five in the morning because it is so cold, espe-

cially for the children.

"I do not do this because I am patriotic. We cannot afford to pay the fine and we certainly cannot stand to go without electricity."

Los Angeles residents face severe penalties if they do not cut back their electricity use. Private consumers must reduce their electricity 10 percent and commercial and industrial users are required to cut back 20 percent.

PENALTIES

Equally unprecedented are the severe penalties if the regula-

tions are violated. They consists of a 50 percent surcharge on the bill for the first violation, a two day cutoff of service for the second, a five day cutoff for the third, and a service suspension from five to thirty days for the fourth and successive infractions.

SOUTHGATE

A young auto worker who will be laid off along with nearly 2000 others at the General Motors Southgate plant said:

"How can I calculate how much to cut back? One too many kilowatts and I am finished. This energy crisis has just gone too far. They are making too much out of it."

BLACKOUTS

The second phase of the city's attack includes a 12 percent cutback for private consumers, as well as rolling blackouts, which would completely cut off power in areas of the city for as long as three hours.

Working class families in Watts, Compton, and East LA have in many cases already cut back usage for some months because of the huge price increase of electricity—39 percent in the last year. One housewife said: "I do not have anything to cut back except the TV and the one light I use."

POOLS

Beverly Hills residents will get by through cutting out the lights in their swimming pools. The city has informed these residents that if they turn out the lights on the tennis courts, they can avoid the rolling blackouts.

Gas Stations Threaten Closure

BY ALLEN SALTER

SAN JOSE—Independent gas station owners threatened to shut down this weekend if the government's Cost of Living Council did not allow massive price increases.

The National Service Station Dealers Association (NSSDA), a San Jose based group, voted a week ago to close all 800 Santa Clara County gas stations against federal price controls. This threat was lifted after a promise of an immediate three cents a gallon price rise by energy chief William Simon, coupled with the dealers voluntarily rationing customers to 10 gallons at a time.

This agreement has broken down. Instead, Simon's office announced a national one cent price rise for dealers, and one-half cent for wholesalers. NSSDA spokesman Paul Finch stated: "This association is going to recommend a strike. There is no way that we will accept it."

The energy office announcement called for gas prices to rise 10 cents a gallon by March. But because of the 20 percent cutback in gasoline allocation, many dealers are being squeezed by lower sales volume as well as frozen prices. Finch claimed: "Gas has got to rise 15 to 20 cents a gallon and maybe more in the next ninety days."

The government's policy will

wipe out the small independents, while enriching the oil monopolies. The one cent increase for dealers was announced the same day Union Oil raised its price four cents and other companies had smaller increases.

JAIL

Finch stated: "The government is underestimating how well organized we are and how far we will go. We are the last of the independent businessmen and if we have to go to jail, we will. We are independent people. We are defending free enterprise."

According to the California Service Station Association, 70,000 dealers nationally have gone bankrupt this year.

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# west coast news

## Council Forces Carpenters To End Wildcat

BY TIM NELSON

**SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 2**—Carpenters in northern California returned to work this morning throughout the Bay Area, but a dispute flared at the key Levi Strauss building site in San Francisco which threatens to break up the bureaucrats and radicals effort to strangle this strike.

Beck and Co., contractors at the site, refused to take back 41 of the 69 men who had struck, claiming there were not enough foremen to direct work. This was a lie, since Beck refused work to a number of foremen, as well as carpenters and piledrivers.

The carpenters overwhelming support for continuing the strike had been made clear last Monday, when they rejected the proposal of the union leadership to end the wildcat.

However, they returned to work only because the malicious strikebreaking of Joe O'Sullivan, president of the District Council of Carpenters, split the union and isolated the ranks.

Neal Kirk, leader of the unofficial strike committee, who split the carpenters Monday, claiming the carpenters must give up the strike or else be victimized, was himself victimized when he attempted to return to work at the site.

Union business agents were unable to reach any agreement with the contractors and set up a picket line against discriminatory discharge. District Council

Chief Joe O'Sullivan immediately gave official sanction to the picket and the site was shut down tight.

### WILDCAT

This completely exposes O'Sullivan's refusal to sanction the wildcat against the CISC. In a few minutes on the phone, he did what he claimed he was unable to do for eight weeks: give the pickets the authority to pull out every trade on the site.

O'Sullivan intends to limit the sanctioned strike to this one site. But there is no doubt that men at every site are only waiting for a lead to go back out.

At one site, piledrivers refused a business agent Melton's orders to return to work when two pickets appeared.

Sullivan wrote a letter to the Associated General Contractors (AGC) guaranteeing carpenters would return to work if all contempt citations were dropped and if the AGC would appeal to the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC) to restore 10 cents of a 50 cents wage cut.

O'Sullivan worked closely with Kirk, and the head of the unofficial underground council of carpenters. They set up a meeting Saturday to split the strike by forcing the important section of piledrivers to go back to work.

At the meeting O'Sullivan's men stated that under present conditions there could be no strike sanction. "Why are members of the district council negotiating?"

"Who gave them the power?" asked one member. O'Sullivan's answer is clear: "There is no negotiating going on now. You are not negotiating. You are fighting the government."



A mass picket of carpenters and supporters from other unions at the site of the Southern Pacific Building in San Francisco during the seventh week of the strike.

The piledrivers voted to stay out for the full 65 cents, but on O'Sullivan's urging, reversed that decision. O'Sullivan has also threatened to send carpenters across the lines and another district council member, John Watts, threatened to call federal marshalls on any pickets up on Wednesday.

Throughout the strike, the leadership dominating the "Carpenters for a Stronger Union" have refused to take a principled stand against the O'Sullivan-Kirk leadership. They backed up Kirk's attack on the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party for strike sanction based on the fight for a labor party.

Monday morning, pickets were maintained and a tense meeting convened at noon. Picketing Friday had brought the strike to its strongest point. Carpenters came to the meeting confused by the piledrivers decision.

Many took TUALP leaflets and came back for more to distribute. One member handed out handbills at the front of the meeting in defiance of Kirk.

Five minutes before, O'Sullivan had driven off in his Cadillac. Kirk opened the meeting saying they were defeated and would have to return to work.

He was backed by a member

of the Socialist Workers Party on the strike committee who said: "We are not in a position to continue this strike and to win it without official sanction. I think we should go back to work."

### STRENGTH

But the great strength of the strike came forward as many members fought to defend the strike. A supporter of TUALP drew wide support when he called for staying out for the full 65 cents, for official sanction, and preparations for a general strike against the injunctions and the Nixon government.

"Our forefathers fought to build these unions," said one member. "We must fight to defend them and to defend our children. I am not afraid to go to jail."

Kirk accused those who fought to continue the strike of trying to split the meeting and the union. When the vote went three to one to stay on strike, Kirk defied the membership and led a walkout, splitting the meeting.

After the meeting, carpenters

who spoke to the Bulletin said: "Of course we are going to fight. We have been out for two months. They want us to go to work, throw the union away, and work for one dollar a day like in the 1920s."

But the danger is great. O'Sullivan will continue to try and sabotage the strike. Pickets cited for contempt of court must appear January 8 and Kirk stated at the Sears protest Monday night that the carpenters were already defeated.

This fight proved that carpenters can defeat the bureaucrats in their union and go forward to build a new leadership fighting to defeat the Nixon administration. That is the fight of TUALP for a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

Carpenters can allow no compromise.

•For immediate strike sanction!

•For a mass demonstration of labor to defend the carpenters.

•Join the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

## Fremont Men Fear Layoffs

BY TOM CAGLE

**FREMONT**—Although the most recent round of massive layoffs does not directly affect the GMAD plant at Fremont, shifts in production have already resulted in the loss of some jobs.

In addition, the plant has stopped production of Pontiacs in favor of the smaller Chevrolets.

Another semi-changeover is scheduled for January 19. This will mean thousands of temporary layoffs. The shift to Chevrolets has meant the loss of two jobs on every line.

The men of Local 1364 are very aware that they are in line for mass layoffs.

Ken, a worker with five years seniority, said: "It is a conspiracy between that gangster Nixon and the oil companies to rake in the biggest profits in history."

"The public scare over gas rationing and the phony energy crisis has hit sales and now our jobs."

"Nixon must be impeached, fuel prices rolled back, and oil companies investigated towards bringing those responsible up on criminal charges."

Bob, with GM for two years, said: "I am not so sure that it is as simple as that. This is bigger than just an energy crisis. There is a lot of talk around about

recession and depression.

"I voted for acceptance of our contract because I have just married, bought a house, furniture, and have car payments.

"My wife is now expecting in March and quit her job. I could not afford to strike. I was for a national strike of all auto in September when we were in a good position to win.

"Woodcock gave away all advantages to the auto companies when he sold out on Chrysler and Ford and then allowed GM three months of overtime in order to stockpile a sixty day supply of cars to be used against us.

### WORRIED

"I am frankly worried about being laid off myself now. I think the first person who should be impeached is Woodcock in order to reopen the contracts and renegotiate some job protection."

Their coworker Walt agreed. "This contract was so cut and dried that I did not even bother to vote on it.

"All these guys could see was the holidays and back pay that GM dangled before their eyes and the stockpile of cars they were prepared to use against us if we struck. Well, they spent all that back pay money for Christmas and now must go back into these plants in January and try to live with this contract for three more years.

## editorial

### Stalinism In Action

The treacherous role of Stalinism and middle-class radicalism within the labor movement today is seen most sharply in the radicals' actions in the wildcat of northern California carpenters against Nixon's Construction Industry Stabilization Committee.

At the point of open struggle against the government by the carpenters, the Carpenters for a Stronger Union, dominated by members of the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party, and other radicals, turned against the strike and joined the official leadership's campaign to force the men back to work.

The CSU systematically phoned striking carpenters over the New Years holiday, telling them they were weak and isolated, and that to continue the strike would cause a split in the union.

District Council head O'Sullivan led the way by announcing he would dispatch carpenters to cross any picket lines set up by the men.

The CSU's appeal for "unity" is a complete fraud. They are calling for unity with the so-called leaders of the strike who led a walkout of the meeting last Monday which voted overwhelmingly to continue the strike.

The CSU has moved to break the strike because Stalinism and radicalism are opposed to the independent mobilization of the working class against the government. They stand opposed to the fight for a labor party to smash Nixon and the CISC and establish a workers government.

Throughout the strike, the Stalinists and radicals have built up the illusion that rank and file militancy would be sufficient to win the strike and defend the union. They have maintained that a strong union and unity of the strikers and strikebreakers will ensure victory

when the contract expires in June. This is false and dangerous, especially now that all construction workers face mass unemployment.

It is a conscious attempt to isolate the men and prevent them from turning to the rest of the labor movement.

The carpenters have led the way for the entire labor movement precisely because they struck against the government. Almost immediately, they faced a court injunction outlawing the strike and threatening fines of \$50,000 a day.

The Stalinists and radicals oppose the strength of the working class in favor of the labor bureaucracy. This is because they are based on class compromise and reforms, which are impossible today.

The ruling class and the government are forced to prepare for civil war and dictatorship to destroy the unions. This is a direct result of the economic crisis which is plunging world capitalism into a depression.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is the only force in the strike that has fought on principle for a policy to win. Basing its fight on the necessity for a political struggle for power and on the strength of the labor movement, TUALP has consistently warned against the treachery of both O'Sullivan and the radicals.

Now the question of leadership is posed as the central question in uniting the carpenters to defeat the pay board. The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party will take forward the fight to kick out O'Sullivan and construct the alternative revolutionary leadership in the carpenters and in every union. All militants must join TUALP and take up the fight for a labor party pledged to socialist policies.



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

# lucha obrera

lucía rivera

## El Gobierno Planea Desempleo Masivo

La campaña de la JUVENTUD SOCIALISTA en contra el desempleo que comienza este mes, se ha de llevar a cabo en una época en la que el gobierno de Nixon conscientemente ha de llevar el desempleo masivo en contra de amplios sectores de la clase obrera y en contra de la juventud en particular.

La industria automotriz que en el mes de diciembre despidió a miles de trabajadores, finalizó el año con el despido temporero de 86,000 trabajadores de la General Motors. Estos despidos son utilizados para dividir a la clase obrera y debilitar sus uniones.

El gobierno esta exagerando la crisis energética, para seguir sus planes impunemente de desempleo masivo. Esta escasez de combustible fue producida por la negativa de las grandes compañías, como la Standard Oil, de invertir dinero para desarrollar nuevos medios de obtener combustible a principios de la década del 70.

Con la constante devaluación del dólar, estas grandes compañías no tenían confianza en invertir capital que luego no le produjera ninguna ganancia.

El gobierno conjuntamente con estas grandes compañías esta utilizando esta crisis energética en contra de las condiciones de vida del trabajador. No solo estan restringiendo la venta de gasolina, si no que un aumento de 10 centavos el galón será impuesto de inmediato.

El gobierno llama esta crisis energética como "natural" para atraer la simpatía del pueblo y con la promesa que esta con el tiempo se ha de solucionar, pero eso requiere que se racione la energía, en estos momentos. Esto significa que el trabajador acepte estos ataques.

Esta es la política que lleva a cabo el capitalismo a escala internacional. En Inglaterra el gobierno ha impuesto una semana de tres días de trabajo, significando esto una pérdida de dos días de paga a la misma vez se han despedido miles de trabajadores de industrias basicas.

El gobierno trata de utilizar la huelga de los mineros como la responsable del cierre de fábricas, dependientes del carbón para su funcionamiento, y del racionamiento de combustible.

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This is why Nixon's government, the most corrupt and totally discredited in the country's history, with no support among the population, has been able to stay in power up to this point.

The trade union leadership accepts wage cuts and unemployment because they accept the capitalists right to run production for a profit. They are opposed to any struggle for a labor party to establish the independence of the working class from the Democrats who will not move against Nixon. They have deliberately isolated every strike to prevent a mass mobilization of labor to force Nixon out.

This refusal to act has allowed Nixon to increase his dictatorial powers. The whole experience of Watergate shows that a conspiratorial handful of men, Nixon, Kissinger, and Haig, are running the country independently of Congress and are seeking the means to impose a dictatorship on the masses of people.

Unless the working class

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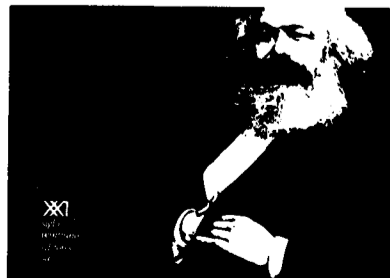
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Escriba hoy mismo por su catálogo gratis

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

# lucha obrera

— lucía rivera —

## El Gobierno Planea Desempleo Masivo

La campaña de la JUVENTUD SOCIALISTA en contra del desempleo que comienza este mes, se ha de llevar a cabo en una época en la que el gobierno de Nixon conscientemente ha de llevar el desempleo masivo en contra de amplios sectores de la clase obrera y en contra de la juventud en particular.

La industria automotriz que en el mes de diciembre despidió a miles de trabajadores, finalizó el año con el despido temporero de 86,000 trabajadores de la General Motors. Estos despidos son utilizados para dividir a la clase obrera y debilitar sus uniones.

El gobierno esta exagerando la crisis energética, para seguir sus planes impunemente de desempleo masivo. Esta escasez de combustible fue producida por la negativa de las grandes compañías, como la Standard Oil, de invertir dinero para desarrollar nuevos medios de obtener combustible a principios de la década del 70.

Con la constante devaluación del dólar, estas grandes compañías no tenían confianza en invertir capital que luego no le produjera ninguna ganancia.

El gobierno conjuntamente con estas grandes compañías esta utilizando esta crisis energética en contra de las condiciones de vida del trabajador. No solo estan restringiendo la venta de gasolina, si no que un aumento de 10 centavos el galón será impuesto de inmediato.

El gobierno llama esta crisis energética como "natural" para atraer la simpatía del pueblo y con la promesa que esta con el tiempo se ha de solucionar, pero eso requiere que se racione la energía, en estos momentos. Esto significa que el trabajador acepte estos ataques.

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