

COVER  
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INSTITUTION

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BY THE EDITORS

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(Continued On Page 12)

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A third group, the Council of Independent Truckers, has called for all of its 22,000 members in 10 states to shut down this week. Spokesmen for the Council stated that they will attempt to extend the shutdown to all the states.

The White House had no comment on the demonstration, but stated that it had no plans to meet with any of the truckers.

In The Weekend  
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# Bulletin

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## Protest And The Fight Against Unemployment

The mass demonstration of over 1000 New Jersey workers against layoffs and Nixon's energy measures must be the beginning of a nationwide campaign against unemployment.

The New Jersey rally follows the call of the Columbia-Pacific Building and Construction Trades Council in Oregon for a general strike against Nixon and the call of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers Union for the nationalization of the oil companies.

### What We Think

The determination of millions of workers to defend their jobs has forced union leaders on the local level to begin action against Nixon's policy of deliberate unemployment and inflation.

This demonstration shows, even on a small scale, that workers all over the country can be rallied and united in a powerful offensive of the labor movement against Nixon.

The labor unions must take the lead in this fight. It must take up the defense of the thousands of workers who have been laid off in auto, aircraft, in the textile, chemical, plastics and electrical industries.

We support the fight for demonstrations by the labor movement in every city and industrial area to unite workers and the unemployed against Nixon.

But we warn that the union leadership must not be allowed to turn this movement into a dead-end protest.

The fight against unemployment cannot depend on pressuring either the government or the corporations

to reverse their policies.

The unemployment is not just the result of the fuel shortage, nor have the oil monopolies held back on oil just to get big price increases.

As the figures on the downturn in production, especially in auto sales, reveal, the fundamental crisis is in the capitalist system of production which is in an irreversible decline.

The fuel crisis is created because it is no longer profitable for the oil monopolies to invest in long term production.

This is being used by the government to institute what they have been planning for some time. They now deliberately push unemployment sky high to break the power of the unions. Their aim is to destroy all the wage gains and conditions of the working class and restore their rate of profit under slave labor conditions in the plants.

The fight against unemployment and the fight against the inflation is a political fight against this government which together with the corporations, is preparing for a war against the unions.

This is the meaning of Gerald Ford's open attack on the AFL-CIO in his speech at Atlantic City, New Jersey.

While Ford lashes out at the unions for creating inflation and higher taxes, Nixon submits a nine billion dollar defense budget to Congress.

Every demonstration against unemployment must be part of a campaign in the labor movement to unite the working class independently of the Democrats and Republicans to force Nixon out.

Every rally must issue a call to the AFL-CIO and to the major union leaders that they call a Congress of

Labor to organize a labor party and demand a new election to throw all the criminals in the White House and in the Congress out.

Industrial action must be launched nationwide to take this fight forward.

The struggle for this policy will bring workers into a bitter battle against the trade union leadership who, while they call protest rallies, refuse to unite the power of the unions to politically challenge Nixon.

The reformist trade union leaders are unable to fight unemployment because they accept the "right" of the corporations to make a "reasonable profit."

The beginning of a movement within the unions against unemployment shows that the trade union bureaucracy is not unbreakable and that a powerful rebellion will explode against their attempt to sell out the basic rights of the rank and file.

Woodcock's "peace" pact with Henry Ford in Detroit will be broken up by the mass action of millions of workers throughout the country.

What is required above all in this struggle is the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the unions that will take up the defense of jobs and wages as part of the political fight for a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans.

By holding a series of marches and demonstrations against unemployment, the Young Socialists is taking up a lead in this fight. The Young Socialists will rally unemployed youth and workers to demand that the labor movement begin the campaign to force Nixon out.

The Young Socialists is calling on every trade unionist to take up this fight now within the unions.



Indonesian youth tries to stop armed soldiers during demonstrations.

## Indonesians Revolt Against Suharto Rule

BY DAVID NORTH  
Thousands of Indonesian students took to the streets of Jakarta this week in a massive protest against the state visit of Japan's Prime Minister, Kakuei Tanaka.

The demonstrations immediately took on an anti-government character as the youth defied a curfew and battled the police and soldiers of the blood-drenched Suharto regime.

At least eight people are reported dead and hundreds more injured in street fighting that has continued throughout the week. Demonstrators have burned more than 125 cars and damaged 50,000 stores.

Powerful crowds surged forward against troops who fired at demonstrators.

Government officials were jeered as they appealed for an end to the rioting. "We admire your ideals, but there is no need to go about doing things this way," declared General Sumitro, third most powerful man in the regime, before a phalanx of rock throwing students. Soldiers whisked him away to safety.

### WARNED

Most activities that had been planned for the visiting premier were cancelled. Members of Tanaka's entourage staying at the President Hotel were warned by its manager to be ready to flee at a moment's notice.

Although the demonstrators' immediate targets were Tanaka and the Japanese imperialists who control much of Indonesia's economy, the violent riots are more the expression of the pent-

up hatred of the Suharto dictatorship.

This is the first major protest since Suharto came to power in 1965 after crushing the Stalinist Communist Party of Indonesia and murdering more than one million of its members.

Using the pretext of an abortive coup against the nationalist regime of then President Sukarno in which several more militant leaders of the PKI participated, General Sukarno launched the bloody suppression of communists that the army had long been planning.

Within weeks, the PKI—the largest Stalinist party outside the Soviet Union and China—was utterly destroyed.

### ATROCITIES

A wave of atrocities swept through Sumatra, Java and almost all the 1000 inhabited islands that comprise Indonesia. Bands of soldiers, fascists and Moslem fanatics butchered as many as 10,000 communists a day.

The PKI was so vulnerable to the army coup because of its long-standing collaboration with the Suharto regime which plotted the repression.

Today, under Suharto's reign, illiteracy is rampant once again. There is an estimated 20 million unemployed.

Teachers earn an average of \$15 per month and most laborers do not earn more than 25 cents a day.

The demonstrations against Tanaka also reveal the outrage felt by Indonesian workers against Suharto's appeals for foreign investment in the country. Japan shares with the United States control of most of the oil produced in Indonesia.

Profits from these deals with foreign imperialists line the pockets of virtually every official in the Suharto regime.

## Saigon Strike Deals Blow To Thieu Regime

BY A CORRESPONDENT  
Saigon police attacked crowds of workers and youth who stormed an American

military commissary following the brutal murder of a woman who had been on strike at the premises.

Workers had been picketing the commissary where about 150 American troops are stationed. The civilian wife of one of the officers attempted to force her way into the commissary by driving her car at high speed directly through the picket line.

The car fatally injured a woman and seriously hurt several others. Huge crowds formed around the commissary and then siezed it before police were called in.

### CONFRONT

The outbreak of a strike at the commissary shows that General Thieu must now confront the working class in Saigon itself as his army deteriorates in the face of steady pressure from the liberation forces in the provinces.

Two weeks ago, Thieu announced that the "war has been resumed" and that his troops will search for the liberation forces "where they are."

He also declared an economic blockade of regions controlled by the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

### Prices Rising 500% In Chile

Since the military took power in Chile last September, the rate of inflation has reached the point where the workers and the poor face starvation.

By the end of 1973 prices were rising at a rate of 500 percent.

The Minister of the Economy authorized a 100 percent rise in the cost of sugar, 200 percent for flour and 300 percent for cigarettes.

Since January 1, the

workers minimum monthly wage has been 18,000 escudos (about \$23), while one meal in a cafeteria costs 1000 escudos and a pound of meat costs 800 escudos.

The Generals have launched a new crackdown on the press, warning them not to print any news "without official confirmation," especially "cables from pro-Marxist and other foreign news agencies or polemics concerning Chile and its government."

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# Pressure Mounts To Impeach

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

Federal Judge John J. Sirica has recommended grand jury investigation of the Watergate coverup for possible indictments.

Sirica has concluded "that the possibility of unlawful tampering with or suppression of evidence is sufficiently strong to merit grand jury scrutiny."

Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and the most powerful Democrat in the House of Representatives immediately issued a call for Nixon's resignation.

Mills said: "I think it would be much better for the president to courageously resign rather than put the country into the greatest schism since the Civil War."

According to Mills, Gerald Ford "could get a greater degree of acceptance of the hard decisions that will have to be made in the next few months."

These "hard decisions" mean new wage controls, massive inflation and unemployment and ruthless slashes in all types of federal aid for housing, education, and welfare.

Sirica's decision to go to the grand jury is based on the latest revelations by Federal Scientific Corporation tape experts that prove direct involvement by the White House in the Water-

gate coverup.

The experts have also discovered two more "gaps" on key Watergate tapes.

A cassette recording made by Nixon reviewing a discussion with John Dean on the Watergate investigation has a 57 second gap. A personal dictation belt dealing with the telephone conversation with John Mitchell shortly after the Watergate breakin has a 38 second gap.

Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski has revealed that his office is in plea bargaining with a number of officials indicted in the Watergate case in exchange for information.

Robert Vesco, indicted financier, has been negotiating a possible return to the US in exchange for his testimony at a future impeachment hearing.

FORD

Indictments and impeachment hearings will not benefit the working class if Gerald Ford is simply allowed to take Nixon's place.

The responsibility for driving Richard Nixon from office is the direct responsibility of the trade union movement.

The leaders of the AFL-CIO, the United Auto Workers, and the Teamsters must immediately call a Congress of Labor to mobilize the labor movement for action to force Nixon out and to prepare for a new election by launching a labor party.

## New Power For FBI

The FBI is seeking authorization from Attorney General Saxbe to establish a counter-intelligence unit with power to take action in case of a "national emergency."

The plan, if approved, would set up an FBI review board that would determine if a national emergency existed. The board would also be able to take whatever action it decided was needed until Congress voted more permanent measures.

FBI chief Clarence Kelly told the press: "In the situation where you suddenly get some technology which is most unusual, where we get a different system which we have never contemplated might exist, we are going to possibly need something that will give us just a stop-gap type of operation so we can handle it."

The "different system" that Kelly is talking about is a dictatorship where democratic rights do not exist.

The FBI would have unlimited powers in a national emergency situation to suspend civil and democratic rights and launch a mass roundup of left-wing leaders and other opponents of the government.

Kelly will also report on the FBI's counterintelligence operation that has been conducted for the past three years against various socialist organizations.

The FBI plan is an ominous step in light of recent revelations of a military spy ring within the White House.

The FBI, with the support of the most reactionary forces within the government, could use these powers to abolish Congress and impose martial law.



UAW Local 906 joins demonstration of New Jersey labor against Nixon's energy measures. Story, page 4.

# British Union Heads Seek Phase Three Deal

BY MELODY FARROW

The British trade union leaders have consciously set out to sabotage the growing movement for a general strike against the Tory government of Edward Heath.

The Trades Union Congress (TUC) leadership has capitulated to Heath's blackmail and is now collaborating in imposing Phase Three on the working class.

While Heath has put the entire country on a three day week, threatened industry with collapse and refused to pay a living wage to miners and railwaymen, the TUC continues its fraudulent negotiations with the government.

The miners, whom Heath has blamed for the three day week and the mass unemployment this has created, have been completely abandoned by their leadership.

The leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers has refused to extend the overtime ban to an all-out national strike despite the collapse of talks with the government and the Coal Board. The NUM does not plan any further action until February.

The leader of the huge Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Hugh Scanlon, has

publicly declared, "Our aim is not to break Phase Three," in open violation of the policy of the union. Scanlon has dropped any fight for the wage increase and 35 hour week sought by engineers.

### CONTEMPT

The contempt with which the government treats the union leaders can be seen by their latest offer. They now propose talks on a four day week, on the condition that the miners take no further industrial action.

They have released some electrical power to the steel industry as a cynical enticement to encourage the TUC to agree to corporate laws that will bind the unions to the state.

It was the Tories who halted all steel production, bringing every industry in Britain to the brink of bankruptcy, in order to build up a "crisis" fever, and set the middle classes against the unions.

Heath's attempts to secure the support of the union leaders for his Phase Three program will pave the way for full-scale repression of the working class.

Preparations to use troops and special police squads in the event of a general strike continue. While the Army still surrounds the airports, a special Energy Commission headed by Lord Carrington has been created to take on the miners and railwaymen.

Heath is forced to draw out the crisis because he fears the

strength of the working class. He knows the betrayal of the TUC will not weaken the determination of the workers to defend their rights.

An election is being discussed for February in which Heath hopes to win a new mandate for dictatorial powers. But the Tories are not at all sure they can defeat the workers in a general strike.

The Stalinists of the British Communist Party have been completely exposed by the present crisis. They have deliberately prevented the unity of the working class and have opposed a political struggle to bring down Heath.

In the miners, rail and engineering unions, Stalinist leaders have opposed a nationwide strike and general strike, opposed a call for factory occupations, and have agreed to call off industrial action.

The Workers Revolutionary Party is the only party in Britain that is preparing the working class to take power. Their policy is to prepare for a general strike, to break off all talks with the Tories, occupy the plants threatened with closure, and to build Councils of Action to mobilize in every area against the Tories.

On January 27, the Workers Revolutionary Party will hold the first mass anti-Tory rally in London to build the revolutionary leadership of the working class.



workers league young socialists public meeting

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# Labor Rally Against Nixon

LINDEN, N.J.—More than 1000 trade unionists demonstrated against the mass layoffs caused by Nixon and the big oil corporations.

The demonstration was organized by the United Auto Workers, the International Union of Electrical Workers, Radio and Machine Workers, and the New Jersey Industrial Union Council.

They marched outside the headquarters of the Exxon Corporation here, not far from the General Motors assembly plant where the entire second shift has been recently eliminated.

About 150 auto workers from the Linden UAW Local 595 joined in the demonstration. Workers from the Ford plant in Mahwah, which has laid off 2500 workers this week, carried picket signs which read: "Nixon: You closed the Watergate, Open the Gas Gate."

"The men in my plant are very upset," Local 595 Vice-President James Somers told the Bulletin. "The shutdown of the second shift cost 2500 workers their jobs. Only 2300 are left in the plant. They laid off every man who came into the plant after March 1968."

He called the layoffs a "catastrophe" for the younger workers.

"I know that a lot of men are losing their homes, their Blue Cross and Blue Shield insurance, and other things. The worst thing is that I do not think the men will be back for a long time."

In spite of these layoffs, the leadership of the Linden local supports the policies of the Woodcock bureaucracy which

refuses to take any action against the layoffs.

The Woodcock bureaucracy is wasting time with pathetic schemes centered on persuading the auto corporations to reopen the big car plants and start producing more small cars.

Jobs can be defended now only through a political fight against the Nixon administration, centered on the demand that a labor party be built pledged to socialist policies.

## School Workers Back

BY A REPORTER  
NEW YORK—School employees have returned to work today after a three day strike that forced the Board of Education to shut the city school system.

The strength of the strike and the support that the school workers won forced the Board to grant more in wages than they intended, but the settlement must now be approved by the Cost of Living Council.

Cleaners and maintenance workers of Local 74 of the Service Employees International

Union ratified a three year pact that provides for a \$1.05 increase over three years and an increase in pensions.

At the meeting of Local 94 of the Stationary Engineers and Firemen there was sizable opposition to the proposed \$1.38 increase over the same period. The vote was 294 to 94. The union had asked for a \$1.50 increase for both unions.

The strike received the overwhelming support of teacher and students. Truck drivers and sanitationmen refused to cross the picket lines.

At William Taft High School in the Bronx, all the students stayed out on strike with the workers, while at Washington Irving in Manhattan hundreds of students shouting "walkout" marched out of the school. Fighting broke out when cops were called in to restore order.

One striker spoke about the youth: "These students have been with us 100 percent, in fact 500 percent. They told them to go home and they stay out here with us."

One student at Washington Irving said: "Sure we support the strike. With as much work as they do, they don't pay them that much."

A school engineer at Washington Irving told the Bulletin:

"They offered the cleaners 23 cents. They offer me 10 cents an hour. Our last contract gave us a 10 cent raise on January 1973 and they took back a nickel on April 1 to keep us in the guidelines. Beame gave himself \$10,000 the minute he got in."

The workers know that the struggle is not over. The union leadership stated after the vote that another strike is likely if the Cost of Living Council cuts this contract.

## Pan Am Lays Off Another 400

Pan American World Airways announced on January 18 that another 400 workers, ground employees, would be furloughed indefinitely.

This brings total layoffs at Pan Am to 2000. Another 100 are scheduled for layoff in the next few weeks.

At United Airlines 490 ground employees will be furloughed indefinitely starting January 26. This raises the total at United to 1440. These new layoffs include ramp service, food service, and maintenance personnel.

Airline companies estimate that the total amount of workers that will be laid off will be between 25,000 and 30,000. Since October, 17,000 have been laid off.

While the airlines use the fuel crisis to lay off thousands, they are also demanding fare increases.

The International Air Transport Association granted all international carriers a seven percent increase in general fares starting on March 1.

Pan Am has recently announced that it will attempt to get an additional increase of five percent on top of this.

## Bakers Union Demands Pay Hike

BY STEVE LIGHT  
NEW YORK—The Bakery and Confectionary Workers Union Local 3 has voted to strike if a new contract settlement is not signed on January 31.

The union represents 8000 workers in retail and wholesale shops in the metropolitan New York area.

This contract fight takes place under the threat of the American Bakers Association to raise the price of a loaf of bread to one dollar.

At the same time, half of the retail bakeries in New York City have closed and bankruptcy in local bread plants poses the virtual elimination of the baking industry jobs.

The union demands are for a joint one year contract for the

recently merged Locals 3 and 51 representing cake and bread shops, a wage increase of \$5 per day, a one-half hour reduction in the work day, maintenance of a 2 percent cost of living clause, a dental plan, and a "golden 90" pension plan.

The Bakers Association has not made any offers. Some employers have made it known that they want an extension of the present contract.

### TACTICS

In two meetings that filled the union hall, the Local 3 President Harry Lorber asserted that the strike vote was only a tactic to pressure the owners for concessions and that he did not expect to win all the demands.

The union leadership also did not put forward any policy to deal with the layoffs and closings

and has in fact released at least one company, Dubonnois, from welfare payments.

One worker from the R-K baking plant stated "a strike is the only way we can get anything, but if we go out they will all close up."

Another said: "They have to settle because we cannot afford a strike and neither can they."

One retail baker who disagreed with the separation of negotiations for the wholesale and retail shops said:

"The unions won the NLRA that says we have the right to elect representation. We elected Local 3 to represent us all."

A member of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party demanded that strike preparations be taken forward with a call for support from the city labor movement if there were



Tremendous support from youth during custodians' strike. Above, Washington Irving High School in Manhattan.

## City Disciplines 55 SSEU Members

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK, NY—The Human Resources Administration of New York City has declared all previous agreements and previous contractual provisions with the Social Service Employers Union on reorganization and transfers of job classifications, null and void.

This move is aimed at transferring scores of workers all over the city to new locations. At the same time, the transfer of old age, disabled, and unemployed city welfare cases to the new federal expanded social security program will eliminate hundreds of welfare workers' jobs.

When the union ordered its members to refuse to go, 55 members were suspended. No sooner had the suspensions hit, however, than the Pinkett leadership turned around and allowed the city to dock the 55 workers three days of pay each.

The capitulation of the leadership occurs when the union contract has already expired

January 1 and when the Pinkett leadership has done absolutely nothing to prepare the union for any fight for a new contract.

The contract demands relating to layoffs and reorganization already ratified by the union membership were specifically aimed at preventing layoffs and arbitrary transfers.

At the same time, the Pinkett leadership has no strategy to fight the union's official wage demand of 20 percent per year plus a cost of living clause.

Pinkett is now currently holding dual office as both a Democratic City Councilwoman and SSEU president and is asking the International to sanction this dual position.

At the January 16 Delegate Assembly meeting, Pinkett lashed out at the growing number of delegates that are challenging her dual position as well as her refusal to fight for the contract.

Pinkett attacked members of the union who are fighting for the labor party by denouncing the labor party as a party that would have "no power."

Pinkett sought to divert attention from this issue and the contract fight with proposals for protest demonstrations against the recent victimizations.

A motion by the Committee for a New Leadership making specific proposals on the contract fight was tabled while CNL's motion for Pinkett's resignation was ruled out of order.

This fight must now be taken forward into the January 23 general membership meeting. At this meeting, the CNL will fight for the following demands:

- Reverse the existing bargaining demands on layoffs and reorganization and adopt a policy of no layoffs under any conditions and no reorganization without prior consent of the union.

- 20 percent wage increases across the board plus escalator.

- Pinkett must resign and a new election held.

- SSEU initiate a demand that labor now fight to force Nixon's resignation and a new election, and launch a labor party.

any closings or layoffs and that the leadership live up to its pledge of "no contract, no work."

He stated: "It is necessary and urgent that the union demand the AFL-CIO call a Congress of Labor to begin the organizing of a labor party to fight for new elections that would bring in a labor government that would institute the thirty hour week against unemployment and that would nationalize the great agricultural machinery, fertilizer, and farm-owning and baking corporations to halt the inflation. To this end the union should support the March for Jobs campaign of the Young Socialists."

The union leadership refused to allow discussion or a vote on this proposal.

# The Way Forward For Hospital Workers



Picket line at Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York, above. Leon Davis, below. Right: police and pickets at Long Island Jewish Hospital.



**BY FRED MUELLER**  
In New York City, two months after the strike of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers Union against the Cost of Living Council, most hospital workers know that they have lost a battle, but not the war.

The war is the one being waged against them by a government determined to make the working class pay for the crisis through drastic pay cuts, layoffs, speedup, and inflation.

Most workers are angry over the eight day strike which achieved nothing. They were sent back with a 6 percent increase even though nearly 18 months earlier an arbitration panel had awarded them 7.5 percent. Attention is now focused on the new contract which begins on July 1, 1974.

The hospitals saved millions when the increase was cut back, and they took more money out of the workers' pockets by collecting interest on the wage increases which were held up for nearly a year.

At the same time, they were given the go ahead to raise their rates. Just two weeks ago, all the major voluntary hospitals in New York announced increases of \$5 to \$31 per day for private and semiprivate rooms. Most of these increases come to far more than the 6 percent increase the workers finally received. Presbyterian Hospital, for instance, raised its rates for private rooms from \$158 to \$189 a day, an increase of nearly 20 percent.

#### WAITING

To make matters worse, workers at many hospitals are still waiting for the retroactive 6 percent increase. Some 45 contracts for groups of workers at

hospitals in New York and on the East Coast are being held up by the Cost of Living Council.

These are mostly tandem agreements which follow the pattern set by the League of Voluntary Hospitals. In some cases, workers have been waiting for as long as 18 months.

The workers at nonmember hospitals of the League of Voluntary Hospitals did not strike last November. At least one group of workers who did strike, however, the technicians at St. Luke's Hospital in Manhattan, have also not received their money. Only after the strike did the union officials bother to inform these workers that they were covered in a slightly separate agreement which the CLC had not yet approved.

The direct wage cutting of the Nixon government is only one front of the war being waged against hospital workers. Some hospitals are either on the verge of bankruptcy or are actually in one form or another of bankruptcy proceeding. These include French-Polyclinic, Community Hospital, and Knickerbocker.

Workers at these institutions do not know whether they will receive their next paycheck or still have a job next month. The union officials have absolutely no policy to answer these layoff threats. Last year, they actually contributed union funds to Knickerbocker Hospital and urged members to subsidize the employer out of their weekly pay envelopes.

#### SHORTAGES

Understaffing and shortages are becoming more and more widespread and in some cases are posing a serious danger to patient care. Classification rights are either being ignored or not being formulated to begin with, leading to arbitrary transfers and doubling up of workloads. At Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center in Brooklyn one ward has been

"temporarily" closed down.

Still another form the crisis takes is the near impossibility of getting a transfer within a hospital or to another hospital. The vacancy rate is lower than ever, especially for the better paying jobs. There are countless examples of this situation. An orderly qualified for a laboratory position at Kingsbrook was refused it because management now has 10 or 20 applicants for every opening. This worker spent years in school in order to secure a better job, only to find the door slammed in his face.

Another worker thought she had gotten a job for her son in the lab of a major voluntary hospital. When he showed up for the job, he was sent to the Central Supply Department for a job paying at least \$40 a week less.

While wages are cut, promotions and transfers nearly eliminated, and the number of young workers entering the field sharply cut back, the hospitals pay their administrators salaries like the \$93,000 which Beth Israel Director Raymond Trussell takes home. In addition, Trussell lives rent free in a townhouse at Eighteenth Street and Third Avenue which is owned by the hospital. Controllers at the major hospitals are earning around \$80,000 a year.

The Local 1199 organizing staff is caught between the ranks who are determined to fight back for their rights and the full-time officials of the union. This situation was described to the *Bulletin* by Gloria Cohens, an organizer in Brooklyn who was recently dismissed by the leadership and has returned to her former job at St. Mary's Hospital.

"I could not sell something I did not think was true. That is why I bucked Dave White and Jesse Olson (Local 1199 vice-presidents).

"At one point, right after the leadership accepted the 6 per-

cent, I wanted to encourage the workers by telling them we intended to make up everything we had lost and more next July. Dave White told me to forget it, that we would never see that money and we would probably lose more.

"They expect the staff to organize and mobilize the workers and then they come in and cut the ground out from under us. I did not like to give the workers the idea that a fight was going to be waged all the way when this was not true.

"Just after the strike ended in November, some of the organizers said they were going to leave their car engines running when they came to report on the settlement so that they could leave really fast. At Brookdale Hospital and other hospitals, the organizers were afraid to face the workers.

"If we are going to prepare for the contract in July, the very first thing that must be done is to tell the truth to the members. Then we must decide how we are going to fight back."

The record of the 1199 leadership, particularly since the imposition of wage controls two years ago, shows that they have absolutely no program to fight back and no intention of carrying through a fight.

#### STRIKE

The New York strike speaks for itself. At the point of maximum effectiveness, the solid and determined ranks were sent back to work. The union officials absolutely refused to call for support from the rest of the labor movement, to call for a Congress of Labor and the launching of a labor party to smash the wage controls, at the very point when Nixon was weakest. They even refused to call out the entire 1199 membership.

Since then, the strike at Helene Fuld Hospital in Trenton has been lost after a battle of several months.

At dozens of hospitals, pay owed to workers is still being held up and the union officials continue to meekly accept the situation.

In the midst of this, the Founding Convention of the National Union launched by 1199 was held in New York from November 28 to December 1, just weeks after the strike.

The convention reported 76,000 members of the national union, mostly on the East Coast, with a scattering in Ohio, West Virginia, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The membership has increased by 2.5 times since 1970.

There are 3.4 million health care workers in the US, including about 2 million hospital workers and over .5 million in nursing homes. Only 8 percent of hospital workers are organized. In the battle against inflation and unemployment many hundreds of thousands of these workers will be fighting to expand the organization.

1199 is now the largest single union of hospital workers. But the tremendous power of these workers can only be mobilized in a political fight against the government. This is the lesson of the recent betrayals of the New York and New Jersey strikes.

Trade union militancy alone will not be enough to win union organization at a time when the government is out to bust the unions. Nor is it enough to break the treacherous hold of the Leon Davis leadership.

Davis is incapable of winning even the most minimal demands today because he refuses to challenge the government politically, instead accepting its dictates.

Hospital workers must fight to build an opposition leadership affiliated with the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party to fight for a policy of all-out strike action against Nixon's wage controls, for unity of all unions to force Nixon out and construct a labor party.

To understand the split that took place within the Russian Social Democratic movement and within the international, it is necessary to turn to the struggle that occurred in the movement over the issues raised in *What Is To Be Done?*

It was this struggle over fundamental principles that led to the formation of the Bolshevik Party and it was the formation of that party that made possible the Russian Revolution. The Bolshevik Party made up the nucleus of the Third International and our movement, the Fourth International, is based on the principles laid down in its first five years.

With the publication of *What Is To Be Done?*, and through his polemics in *Iskra*, the paper of his faction, Lenin was able to achieve a tremendous victory. The Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, held in 1902, when the split occurred, took place on the basis of the principles in *What Is To Be Done?*

Everyone either agreed with it, and became actual supporters of the *Iskra* position, or they camouflaged their differences. The opponents acceded formally to the positions and sought to carry out their opposition on that basis.

The Second Congress of the RSDLP was virtually organized entirely by the *Iskra* tendency. They wrote the platform, the program, and the party rules. The Economists at that congress represented an extremely small tendency which actually claimed they were not Economists at all. Rather, they stated that they had learned from experience and now they simply had other, minor, differences.

Thus, having won the battle over the essential principles of *What Is To Be Done?*, the next question posed was the actual construction of an organization, that is, the RSDLP, to carry out the tasks and function in the manner set forth in *What Is To Be Done?* It was over this question that the crisis broke out at the congress.

While there was virtually complete agreement on all programmatic questions at the congress—aside from very minor differences on the language question, for example, between what later emerged as the Menshevik and Bolshevik tendencies, the question of how to actually construct such a party—questions which appeared to be simply organizational in nature—created a crisis of tremendous magnitude.

It is important to note that the struggle which occurred at this congress took place in exile and was held over an extremely long period of time. It went on for an entire month, with 18 hour sessions every day, 7 days a week.

This was necessary because the congresses of the Russian movement were held very infrequently because it was an underground movement which could meet only under extremely difficult circumstances, in foreign countries. The delegates often had to escape from Siberia and travel tremendous distances to get there. They often arrived six months in advance and stayed for a year after the congress was over. Because they were forced to meet so infrequently, they had to meet for a long period of time to achieve the maximum clarification of the issues.

## Struggle

Lenin's struggle at this congress was conducted with the utmost intensity. A man named Valentinov, who supported Lenin during this period but later became a Menshevik and follower of the pragmatic theories of the empirio-critics, described Lenin's complete absorption in this battle. He quotes Lenin:

"There is a children's game of bricks," he told me. 'Each side of each brick shows a part of something: of a house, a tree, a bridge, a flower or a man. Unless they have been matched up, these pictures are nothing but a meaningless jumble. But if you find the right sides of the bricks and fit them together, you get a meaningful picture.'

"You can do exactly the same with the 'bricks' of the minority.

"At first sight, the declarations, words, and actions of the minority suggest only lack of thought, the stupid chatter of a clique, personal resentment, inflated self-esteem. If, however, you have the patience to play about with the bricks of the minority for long enough to find the continuation of what is depicted on one side of a given brick on the side of another, you will finally arrive at a political picture whose meaning can leave you in no doubt.

"This picture shows beyond all doubt

that the minority is the opportunist and revisionist wing of the party. Sooner or later—most probably sooner—they are bound to break with orthodox Marxism. This wing is led by intellectuals who are infected with the bourgeois spirit and who hate proletarian discipline.'

"Then he goes on, to this, later he says, 'Ask yourself the general question and answer it clearly: What, in fact, does it mean to be a real Marxist? Being a Marxist does not mean learning Marxist formulae by heart. A parrot can do that.

"Marxism without appropriate deeds is nothing—only words, words, and more words. But for deeds, the right mentality is needed. The words of the minority are Marxist in outward appearance, but they have the mentality of wishy-washy intellectuals, individualists who have rebelled against proletarian discipline, against clear organizational forms, against firm party rules, against centralism, against everything that they can regard as a restriction on their 'psyche.' Their mentality is that of bourgeois democrats, not of socialists.'

"During our next walk literally everything Lenin said turned on his insistence that 'a real revolutionary Social Democrat must be a Jacobin.' The whole half hour or so of the walk was spent in his endlessly repeating this idea.

"I had not heard it from him before. One might suppose that the idea had been dormant somewhere inside him and had suddenly erupted and taken possession of him.

"They (the minority) charge us with Jacobinism, Blanquism, and other horrible things. These idiots, these Girondins, don't even understand that they are paying us a compliment by making such charges.'

"Lenin's cheeks flushed with rage, his eyes narrowed to sharp points. While he was speaking he suddenly stopped, stuck his thumbs into the armholes of his waistcoat, stamped his foot, and looked at me, but at the same time somewhere above me, across me. Actually, he was talking to himself, asking himself questions and answering them furiously:

"What is the difference between the old and the new *Iskra*? The difference is this. The old *Iskra* had two Jacobins—Plekhanov and me. Martov was there too, but only as a makeweight. The old *Iskra* was Jacobin in spirit, in its whole tendency, whereas the new *Iskra* is conscientiously, in the sweat of its brow, stamping out all vestiges of Jacobinism.

"Martov has kicked over the traces, he has found his true bent, and is now fighting against Jacobinism, in company with Axelrod, Zaslulich, and Starover. Poor Plekhanov. In this Girondin company, he is like a prisoner of war.

"Congratulations, Comrade Plekhanov, congratulations, a fine situation you've got yourself into! Yet you still know quite well that it is precisely the attitude towards Jacobinism which divides the socialist world movement into two camps—the revolutionary and the reformist....

"The party's disease is now firmly diagnosed,' he went on. 'It is not just a matter of a few middle-headed, hysterical people and windbags in the party; what we have is a definitely revisionist right-wing which is conscientiously disrupting and paralyzing all party work under the guise of a struggle against "Bonapartism."

"The center of this infection is the editorial board of the new *Iskra*, which consists of people who have been rejected by the congress and who have rebelled against the decisions of the congress. Things can't go on like this. Enough of this shilly-shallying...As soon as possible, we must call a congress of the representatives of the majority, which will announce the formation of an unswervingly revolutionary Marxist party, break off all contacts with the minority and openly proclaim the split what has once and for all taken place...(If the majority does not proclaim its decision to separate fully and finally from the minority) then this means that the majority is hopeless and that it consists not of revolutionaries, but of dried up, anemic old mads.'

"After this meeting and one further one, during which Lenin spoke with the same bitterness about the necessity for a split in the party, I did not see him for more than a week, owing to some purely personal reasons. I gasped when I saw him again: he was unrecognizable."

This is important because you can see the intensity with which he fought out political questions. Valentinov continued:

"The gradual nervous exhaustion from which he had evidently been suffering for



weeks was all too obvious now. He looked a very sick man. His face had turned yellow, his eyes were heavy and dead looking, and his eyelids were swollen, as if he had not slept for a long time; his whole appearance showed the marks of extreme fatigue.

"Are you ill?' I asked him. Lenin shrugged his shoulders and did not answer. He had usually walked quickly and briskly during our walks from the bridge over the lake to the house on the Route de Lausanne where we used to turn back. 'I must stretch my legs after sitting for so long,' he used to say. This time, however, he walked slowly, sluggishly, hardly moving his feet. He did not talk. I broke this rather oppressive silence and so on and so on.

"Never before have I rewritten anything in a mood like my present one. What I write and revise makes me feel sick. I have to force myself' and so on.

"Whatever his reasons and motives, it was apparent that Lenin had completely reversed himself in the course of writing his book. As he neared the end of it, he went back on his call for breaking off all party contact with the Mensheviks and declared that this was out of the question. He undoubtedly arrived at this decision with great difficulty. Not without reason did he lose weight, grow haggard, and turn sallow. He had to suppress the rage that was storming inside him, he had to control himself, he had to revise the text of his book and alter a number of pages in it. This is why writing it made him 'feel sick' and why he had to 'force' himself and so on."

This account sharply reveals that as Lenin fought out these questions, the contradictions within the movement actually flowed through him. He realized that the issue posed in this struggle went way beyond organizational questions to the very question of reform or revolution itself.

What had been exposed in this struggle were two opposing class forces within the party. Lenin regarded the hostile class force with extreme bitterness because he realized that, to the extent this force triumphed, it would mean the destruction of the workers movement. As history had proved, these

forces would only aid the ruling class. Thus, he was actually fighting for the life of the movement during this congress.

## Party Rules

The divisions which took place at the congress centered over two issues which actually appeared to be very minor. The first issue focused on the question of the party rules. On the one hand, Martov held that anyone could be a member of the party who in any way contributed to it. Lenin felt that only those who were under the direct discipline of the party as members of one of its organizations could actually be considered party members.

What was really involved in this dispute over Rule One was the question of looseness or clarity in matters of party organization. Lenin stood for a strict definition of membership and a tightly disciplined organization, while Martov wanted simply a general, loose definition of membership.

Martov's position reflected the old circle methods of working with this person and that and simply building more circles. Lenin, however, was seeking to break up the circles and construct an actual party.

Lenin emphasized that in his fight over this issue, he did not believe that he was creating some new principles of organization. He did not feel that the principle of democratic centralism was something he created. His debates on this matter are contained within *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: An Answer to Rosa Luxemburg*.

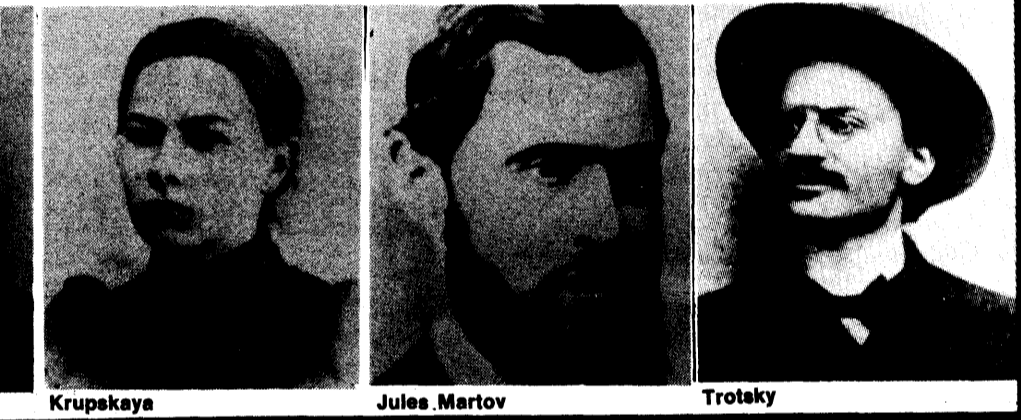
He held that he was simply defending the principles of any form of organization that was serious. Of course, this is true. In a formal sense, any union, club, etc. functions under more or less the same rules, that is, members of the organization must carry out the policies of the majority once these policies have been debated and voted on by everyone.

Thus, what distinguished Lenin was not the formal organizational principles as such, but his determination to see that these principles would actually be carried out in

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## Part Two: From The Top Down

by Tim Wohlforth



Krupskaya

Jules Martov

Trotsky

practice. He was determined to construct a party for combat, for struggle: a party that would conflict with the present thinking of workers and would prepare itself for the tasks of taking power.

Lenin lost the vote on the question of party rules and Martov's position won. However, Lenin did not split from the party over this issue. In the next vote, Lenin won because the center elements at the congress simply walked out. Thus, Lenin's minority was turned into a majority over the question of the composition of the editorial board of *Iskra*. It was over this issue that the split actually occurred.

Lenin sought to trim down the editorial board to get rid of those who were mere figureheads on the board, who were there simply because they were old-time, well-known people. He wanted to transform the board into a meaningful body that actually functioned to edit.

Those, like Martov, who had agreed earlier with Lenin on all the changes, switched their position at the end of the congress and fought to keep the old *Iskra* editorial board.

They did so because they realized, during the course of the congress, Lenin's absolute determination to construct a party leadership which would actually do something, change the circle nature of the party and carry out actions. This was revealed in Lenin's fight to change the editorial board, the organizing committee and later the Central Committee of the party itself.

Lenin's opponents knew that these changes would mean the complete breakup of all the old relationships established with all kinds of liberals. It was on these grounds that an extremely bitter struggle broke out and the most vicious attacks were made.

Lenin was accused of being a Jacobin, a Blanquist, a Bonapartist, over the composition of this editorial board, and when Lenin won, the minority of Mensheviks walked out.

Behind all this was the conflict over the question of whether the circle would be maintained or a party built.

Within this framework, the next stages of

development took place. Lenin saw in this congress something of great importance and he spent almost a year in writing *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*.

He analyzed every event, every vote, every nuance of development of the whole congress, because he saw in all those nuances the pieces to be pieced together that would explain a break between two fundamental wings of the revolutionary movement, not just in Russia, but internationally.

At the same time, in all the major countries of the world, there emerged revolutionary tendencies which, like Lenin, were fighting for Marxism against the revisionist wings within their own movement.

Virtually every party of the Second International had these factions. However, what distinguished Lenin's struggle was that it resulted in an actual division between two opposing tendencies—the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. Although these two tendencies continued to exist within the same movement until 1912, they really existed as two independent parties under the general umbrella of a common movement. In all the other countries, not even such a partial split occurred except among the Bulgarians.

Even people like Rosa Luxemburg, who on certain issues were sharper than Lenin because they had experienced the struggle against the revisionists like Kautsky first hand, did not relate this struggle against revisionism to the actual construction of a party so that the practice of those in the movement would actually change. Rather, the practice of the so-called revolutionary section of the movement was not really distinct from that of the centrists.

In fact, it was still very much a practice of those who wrote for a common paper, gave a certain number of speeches, in short carried out certain activity. It was not, however, the practice of a conscious party, confronting the question of the development of the workers movement each day, learning in that process, and developing theory in that way.

For this reason, although no one really grasped it at the time, the split between the

Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks was the fundamental one around which the whole world movement would eventually turn by 1917. In the fight of the Zimmerwaldian left between 1914 and 1917, an actual revolutionary internationalist tendency—which was to emerge as the Third International—began to be formed.

In Lenin's struggle at this congress, what was revealed was the actual relationship of organization to perspectives. As long as the question of the actual construction of the party, the party form, is not confronted, then agreement on program has no content to it, because program exists as a fixed formal, abstract thing. However, program is not a fixed thing but program must be continuously in development and change through a process of new experiences being posited against the program. Thus, to abstract program out of party and organizational questions is reactionary and idealist.

Marxism only develops in the party through a struggle against abstractness and those that develop as Marxists only do so to the extent that they take responsibility objectively for the construction of the organization itself.

The third point Lenin made in his struggle concerned the question of building the party from the top down or the bottom up. The dispute concerned the issue of whether a movement can be built by simply organizing a series of circles and then combining these in a pyramid way, building more and larger circles on the basis of a continuously expanding bottom.

Lenin held that a break with that method had to be made and that a party could only be constructed from the top down and that the bottom be determined by the top. That is, he said that the party must be built from the top downwards, from the party congress to the individual party organizations and branches.

It is necessary to understand what Lenin meant by building the party from the top down because it is precisely the struggle that is today being confronted in the development of our own movement as the League turns into the working class. It is for this reason that we gain new knowledge from Lenin's struggle because we are positing against Lenin's experience our experience today under different circumstances.

It is also necessary to understand what Lenin meant by the top because it is on this principle that there has been a continuous distortion of Lenin. All sorts of people have put forward the theory that Stalinism emerged naturally out of Leninism because Lenin talked about top-down parties and this became the bureaucracy.

However, Lenin very clearly defined the top of the party as the party congress or conference. This congress is nominated by the entire membership after an extensive period of political discussion in the branches based on perspectives documents which are issued to all members. Thus, the party congress is distinct from any other body in the party or even the party membership as a whole because it is consciously chosen on the basis of policies. The congress is higher than the membership because it is a conscious body constructed out of a struggle for policy and program.

When the party congress is convened, the party branches no longer have any constitutional existence in the Bolshevik Party. At that point, the party and the congress are the same thing although the branches may continue to function.

The congress is composed of delegates in the sense that they are nominated to attend it from the branches on the basis of discussions with minorities or majorities, tendencies or factions, etc.

However, the congress itself is not a delegated body. In other words, if a comrade is nominated on the basis of one position and he attends the congress and through the political struggle there, he changes his political position, so be it. The congress is a process which, like everything else, proceeds through contradiction.

The congress then elects a central committee. It is elected on the bases of the highest discussion of the most theoretical character on the programmatic positions of the party. Thus, the central committee is distinct from all other bodies of the party and has authority over all other bodies of the party between congresses. The central committee then elects its officers and its subcommittee, the political committee, which has the power of the central committee between its meetings. The officers have the power between meetings of the political committee.

It is the political committee and its officers which have the responsibility to actual-

ly construct the party, that is, to actually assemble its cadres, train them, reassemble them, etc. If the movement is not built on this basis, that is, on the basis of its program, the theoretical struggle, and perspectives, then it is actually being constructed on a personal and idealist basis.

We can only understand *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* and *What Is To Be Done?* from the more complex, more mature development which we are presently going through. When we look back to understand the heart of the simpler struggles in Lenin's time over the same issues, we can understand what we are going through with far greater clarity.

That is the process: we begin with the positive, from where we are at. As Marx put it, man enters history backwards.

As we turn into the working class, we find the same problems as Lenin faced. There is an immediate tendency to turn away from theory.

What Lenin dealt with preliminarily in an organizational way in the construction of the party, he then returned to in a philosophical way in the *Philosophical Notebooks* of 1915, 1916. Grappling with the same questions of contradiction, the relationship between theory and practice, on a philosophical level, he broke in 1915 philosophically with Plekhanov, whom he had broken with organizationally in 1905.

Then, or soon thereafter, Lenin entered the field of practice to fight out the conceptions in *What Is To Be Done?* and *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* in the actual developments between April 1917, when he himself arrived in Russia, and October 1917 that led to the Russian Revolution. After the successful revolution, he was confronted with fantastic problems which completely preoccupied the very short life he had after that. Therefore, the development of the ideas and approach to questions in *What Is To Be Done?* was really left for a period of time. This development did not really occur in the Communist movement because as the Communist movement began to mature enough to approach these problems, it became Stalinist. It did not occur in the early Trotskyist movement except in a beginning way.

It is only in the present period that the questions raised in *What Is To Be Done?* have been confronted and further development has taken place. The entire struggle against revisionism within the Fourth International, which began in 1953, has been really a development of the understanding that is in *What Is To Be Done?*

Practice is higher than theory in that practice contains theory as an element within it. Practice is the relationship of the mediate to the immediate, of the universal to the particular. Practice is always immediate, always involves the moment, but it never just involves the moment. The moment exists as a conflict of opposites with everything around the moment. It is connected to what has happened and to what will happen.

To discuss Marxism and dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge, is to discuss this very question of practice and organization which Lenin faced in 1903. It is the party which is the heart of this question. The party is the instrumentality for the change in the thinking of the working class. Through the party the conflict between socialist thinking and trade union thinking takes place. In the party, socialist thinking develops. In the party the cadres or forces are physically created and trained which are distinct from the mass of workers and still linked with them in struggle, capable of leading the mass of workers for socialist tasks which do not automatically come out of the working class.

The party is the highest point of the struggle for knowledge. That is what the whole struggle we have had with the OCI is about. It was a struggle around the issues in *What Is To Be Done?*, enriched by the whole experience that has taken place since that time by the further development of the struggle within the Bolshevik Party against idealism, against the Bogdanov, the empirio-critical tendency, and the legal Marxists. It was a struggle enriched by the experience of the Russian Revolution, by the struggle against Stalinism and bureaucracy, by the development of the early days of the Fourth International, with all its weaknesses and limits, but finally brought forward in its highest philosophical and methodological form in the struggle against the OCI on the question of dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism.

CONCLUDED



РОССИЙСКАЯ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКАЯ ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКАЯ РАБОЧАЯ ПАРТИЯ

# ИСКРА

ДЕКАБРЬ 1906

# WHAT IS TO BE DONE TODAY

## Part Two: From The Top Down

by Tim Wohlforth



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Those, like Martov, who had agreed earlier with Lenin on all the changes, switched their position at the end of the congress and fought to keep the old *Iskra* editorial board.

They did so because they realized, during the course of the congress, Lenin's absolute determination to construct a party leadership which would actually do something, change the circle nature of the party and carry out actions. This was revealed in Lenin's fight to change the editorial board, the organizing committee and later the Central Committee of the party itself.

Lenin's opponents knew that these changes would mean the complete breakup of all the old relationships established with all kinds of liberals. It was on these grounds that an extremely bitter struggle broke out and the most vicious attacks were made.

Lenin was accused of being a Jacobin, a Blanquist, a Bonapartist, over the composition of this editorial board, and when Lenin won, the minority of Mensheviks walked out.

Behind all this was the conflict over the question of whether the circle would be maintained or a party built.

Within this framework, the next stages of

development took place. Lenin saw in this congress something of great importance and he spent almost a year in writing *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*.

He analyzed every event, every vote, every nuance of development of the whole congress, because he saw in all those nuances the pieces to be pieced together that would explain a break between two fundamental wings of the revolutionary movement, not just in Russia, but internationally.

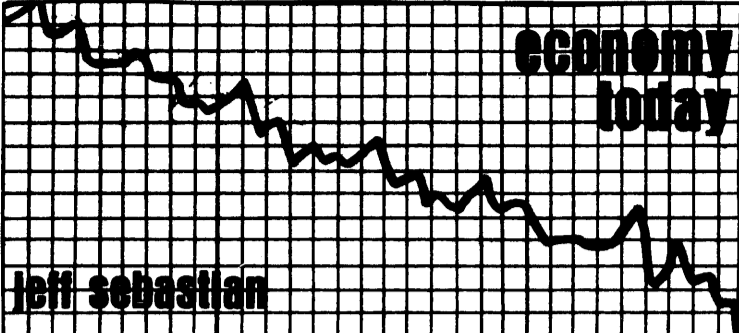
At the same time, in all the major countries of the world, there emerged revolutionary tendencies which, like Lenin, were fighting for Marxism against the revisionist wings within their own movement.

Virtually every party of the Second International had these factions. However, what distinguished Lenin's struggle was that it resulted in an actual division between two opposing tendencies—the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. Although these two tendencies continued to exist within the same movement until 1912, they really existed as two independent parties under the general umbrella of a common movement. In all the other countries, not even such a partial split occurred except among the Bulgarians.

Even people like Rosa Luxemburg, who on certain issues were sharper than Lenin because they had experienced the struggle against the revisionists like Kautsky first hand, did not relate this struggle against revisionism to the actual construction of a party so that the practice of those in the movement would actually change. Rather, the practice of the so-called revolutionary section of the movement was not really distinct from that of the centrists.

In fact, it was still very much a practice of those who wrote for a common paper, gave a certain number of speeches, in short carried out certain activity. It was not, however, the practice of a conscious party, confronting the question of the development of the workers movement each day, learning in that process, and developing theory in that way.

For this reason, although no one really grasped it at the time, the split between the



## IMF Chaos: Gold Panic Looms

Virtual anarchy reigns at the International Monetary Fund conference of finance ministers and central bankers now taking place in Rome.

The present conference is dominated by the catastrophic collapse in value of all paper money, the soaring prices of oil and all basic commodities, and the impossibility of replacing gold as the universal standard of value.

The depreciation of paper money is most sharply expressed in the astronomical price increases for oil.

Current estimates of the impact these prices will have on the balance of payments of the industrial countries and the oil importing underdeveloped countries is staggering.

Increases in the cost of importing oil to the US in 1974 would be \$16 billion, Japan \$12 billion, and Western Europe \$40 billion.

The latest Common Market estimates for the overall balance of payments deficit is six billion dollars for Japan and England, four billion dollars for Italy, France, and Germany, and approximate equilibrium for the US which is less dependent on oil imports.

The underdeveloped countries such as India face import bills greater than the totals of all foreign aid and export earnings.

Only by the most ruthless slashes in imports and in the living standards of the working class combined with an all-out drive for exports can the capitalists pay for these deficits.

In the underdeveloped countries, these figures spell out literal starvation for millions of workers and peasants.

The relative strength of the dollar against its European and Japanese rivals because of the greater independence of America from oil imports is being used by the US to break up and bankrupt its Common Market rivals.

The British pound is collapsing and only the intervention of the British Central Bank has prevented it from plunging to a value of \$2.

France has lost a quarter of her reserves in the last four months and a franc devaluation, which would break up the joint float of Common Market currencies, is considered inevitable.

All proposals for an international paper standard of value are doomed to fail. Special Drawing Rights now conceived of as a "basket" of currencies would still base their value on paper money and therefore remain without any intrinsic value of their own.

The SDR would still be measured against the rising prices of gold and commodities.

No agreements are possible under these conditions. The only recourse open to the European countries and Japan is a continuous series of devaluations to seek to improve their trading positions.

This will mean an increasing unwillingness on the part of many countries, particularly the Arabs, to hold their reserves in paper money. They are expected to demand gold as a means of payment.

Gold which has already reached prices of well over \$120 an ounce on the market must inevitably go much higher. Each rise in the price of gold will only further decrease confidence in the value of the huge hoards of dollars and credit that have financed world trade since World War Two.

This guarantees a further wild speculation in commodities. The underdeveloped countries rich in such resources as copper, cotton, iron ore, bauxite, beef, cocoa, and coffee now have no choice but to jack up the price of these commodities in order to stay afloat. This will aggravate the inflation and undermine paper money even further.

While the finance ministers debate, a whole series of barter deals are taking place which underscore the degree to which the international monetary system has collapsed.

The French have just concluded an arrangement with Saudi Arabia to provide jets and heavy weapons in exchange for long-term oil guarantees.

The British are currently negotiating similar deals, while the Germans are seeking such arrangements in exchange for tanks.

Japan is holding discussions with the Iranian government on a long-term oil supply in exchange for the construction of a Toyota manufacturing plant.

These developments are warnings of the worldwide imperialist struggle for the division of resources now beginning. The impossibility of an IMF agreement on monetary reform reflects the rapid preparations for trade war, dictatorship, and new imperialist war.



Youth from Roosevelt High School in East Los Angeles speak out on YS Regional Conference, held this past weekend. Girl at left said, "Down with Nixon and build the Young Socialists."

## Truckers Set To Strike

"We are shutting down at 12:01 am, January 24," said George Rynn, secretary of Owners and Drivers Club of Ohio (ODCO) on his return from Washington DC January 16.

Rynn had been meeting with federal officials in Washington in an attempt to avert a shutdown planned for January 24 of 48,000 drivers.

"They just listened to us," said Rynn, when asked about the results of the meeting.

The meeting included officials

of the Cost of Living Council, the Department of Transportation, the Federal Energy Office, and the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The truckers presented the government with a ten point proposal approved by truckers at the December 29 meeting in Akron. The strongest of the demands was a ceiling on the prices of gasoline and home heating oil.

Rynn is the spokesman for a coalition of ODCO, the National Council of Independent Truckers, and the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers, representing a total of 48,000 owner-operators and company

drivers.

Rynn told the Bulletin that his visit to Washington resulted in the formation of a group named Council of Independent Drivers. The new organization will add 22,000 drivers from 14 states to the growing numbers of truckers who will shut down.

## Aluminum Talks Get Underway

NEW YORK—The new contract for the Aluminum Workers International Union is now being negotiated here.

President of the union, Henry Olson, has been meeting with representatives of the large aluminum corporations for the past three weeks. Negotiations will continue until February 1.

Olson told the Bulletin that the union is demanding a "substantial increase of six or seven percent."

He said that the companies would try and hold the wage increase within Nixon's 5.5 percent guidelines.

The aluminum industry, along with the steel industry, is slated for big layoffs within the coming period. The tremendous production slowdowns and layoffs now taking place in auto and construction, the biggest users of aluminum, will create cuts in aluminum production.

Olson stated: "Right now we are operating at 97 percent capacity because there is still a great demand for aluminum. We will be hit though, because of the lack of employment in other industries. The demand for aluminum will go down."

## Hospitals Hit By Oil Crisis

ST. LOUIS—Cutbacks in oil production are not only being used to introduce massive unemployment, but also to destroy medical services.

A directive issued at St. Mary's Hospital stated: "Please conserve on towels and washclothes. The purchasing department is out."

## Budget Cuts At Chicago U

CHICAGO—The nation's oldest university extension service is scheduled to close on June 30, because the University of Chicago's "general budgetary situation is under great stress," according to Dean C. Ranlet Lincoln.

An estimated 1000 students take classes at the Downtown Center. Most of them are workers who never went to college or youth who have dropped out of college to find work.

The closing of the Downtown Center leaves several full-time staff members without jobs, and eliminates a needed source of extra income for many younger faculty members.

Attempts are being made to continue some of the 60 classes at various neighborhood centers, but the university has not promised that any of the present faculty will be kept on.

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# Law And Order Detroit Mayor

DETROIT—Coleman Young became Detroit's new mayor this month, promising in his inaugural speech a "tough anticrime" program.

Young, Detroit's first Black mayor, defeated ex-police commissioner John F. Nicholas. Behind Young's demagogic speech, which warned "pushers, rip-off artists, and muggers to hit the road," lies sinister plans to totally transform the police into a specialized "mob control" force.

In October, Young told the Detroit News he favors research into "nonlethal weapons" such as water cannon and rubber bullets "that can break up the angriest of mobs."

Young said: "You might break a couple of legs or bust a few heads, but you're not going to kill anybody. We need to rethink our whole approach and to stop doing war against our own population. We must think in terms of controlling and containing people without killing them."

Young, the hero of the CP and

the Black nationalists, is talking about the "nonlethal" methods of police repression which are in use in Ulster, Athens, and other cities of military occupation.

## POLICE

In the first few weeks of his administration, Young has wasted no time in fulfilling his promise to transform the police department.

His first step was to appoint ex-FBI agent Phillip G. Tannian as Detroit's new police commissioner. Tannian has not only refused to disband the hated undercover STRESS cops, but has instead added another specialized unit to the force—Detroit's own Air Force consisting of six police helicopters and two airplanes. These copters enable police to speed to any point in the city in 75 seconds.

In line with Young's recommendation, Tannian has increased the number of police in the streets. To conceal police presence, Tannian has removed the bubbletop lights from many squad cars.

The Big Three automakers in Detroit, who more than anybody appreciate the problem of containing Detroit's large militant working class, have naturally welcomed Young's innovations

At a special business-labor luncheon in honor of Young, Henry Ford II said: "We in this room represent the beginning of a new coalition of business and labor brought together by our mutual desire to pledge our support to the newly inaugurated mayor."

Another luminary from the ruling class honoring Young was Max Fischer, financier and oil man and one of Nixon's biggest fund raisers in 1968 and 1972.

At the luncheon, Woodcock said: "Although Detroit has been the focus of historical management-labor struggles, over the years there has developed a common interest and joint responsibility to the community."

"On behalf of labor in this area, I say to Mr. Ford, we are happy to join in this new coalition."

Auto workers who are being laid off ruthlessly by Ford, GM, and Chrysler have of course no common interest with the profit hungry corporations. The reactionary alliance of business and the labor bureaucracy crystallizes around Young because

Young is willing to crack down on the growing struggle of workers against unemployment.

As these conditions force thousands of youth and workers to look for an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, the Stalinists of the Communist Party cover for Young's anti-working class policies.

Young is known for his former close ties with the Stalinists as a union organizer at Ford during the 1940s and later as secretary-treasurer of the Wayne County CIO.

## CUT

Now, having cut all ties with the labor movement, Young is hailed by the Communist Party's newspaper the Daily World as a "working class man."

The Stalinists consciously seek to prevent the working class from breaking with the Democrats and establishing their own party.

They give a left cover to reactionary politicians like Young who are openly used by big business to attack the working class and youth.

## Teamsters Hit Supermarkets

BY A REPORTER

DETROIT, Mich.—For the second time, Teamster Local 337, truckers and warehousemen, are on an official strike

against Southeast supermarkets, including Chatham, Wrigley, Kroger, Great Scott, and Farmer Jack.

The areas of dispute are the company's attempt to replace absentees, to extend the probationary period from 30 to 60 days, lower the wage scale for probationary employees, the rearrangement of some truck routes, and split work weeks.

A&P and the independent chains have already settled with the Teamsters and have been forced to change these policies.

This is the second strike in less than a month. After the first strike, the supermarkets reneged on the original contract.

The workers are determined to stay out until every demand is won. As one Teamster said: "If one guy is hurt, we are going to stay out."

Negotiations are continuing between the company and the union with the intervention of Federal and state mediators.

## 1900 Laid Off At Packard

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—Nineteen hundred members of the International Union of Electrical Workers Local 717 have been indefinitely laid off by the Packard Electric Company here.

In addition, approximately 2000 workers will be laid off the week of January 21, the second production cutback this month.

Packard, a division of GM, employs 18,500 here in the production of electrical equipment for GM cars.

GM has virtually stopped production of all lines except Vega and Cadillac.

## War On Teachers

BY MIKE JAMES

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The School Board Association just held a three day conference here at which they established a central state-wide service to coordinate breaking strikes with scabs and injunctions.

Executive Secretary Wettgren told the school administration officials: "There are bound to be strikes, and just wishing it will not happen will not prevent it."

"If you smell one coming, just contact our office as soon as possible so we can help you get ready."

"You will not believe some of the things you will see when you get to the bargaining table."

"It will make you think you are involved in the Russian Revolution."

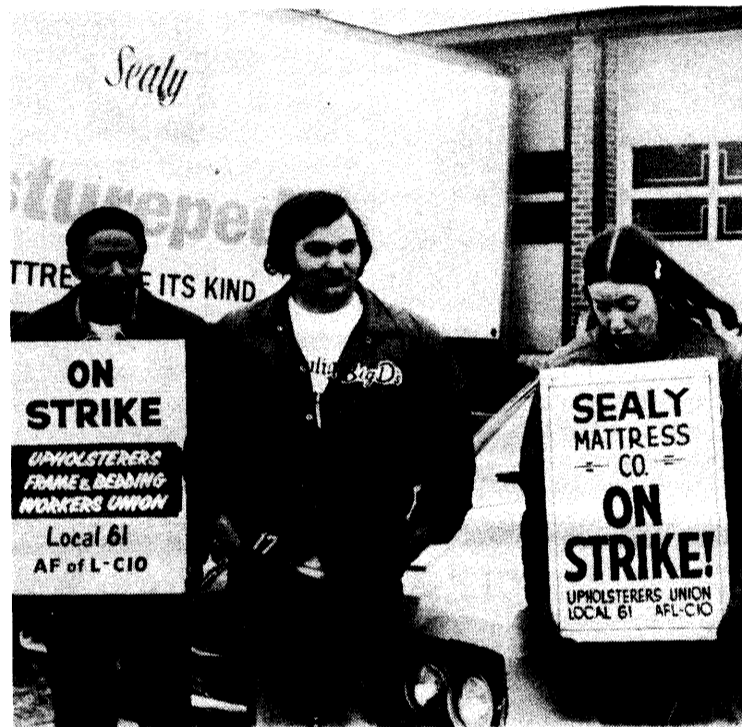
Secret planning was urged on

the administrators by MSBA attorney Joseph Flynn. He advised the convention not to reveal what it was prepared to offer. "Every leak could be detrimental."

Administrators were warned that 1974 would not be as peaceful as the past year, in which there was only one strike in the Duluth suburb of Hermantown.

According to a 1973 law, public employees have the right to strike. With education colleges closing all teacher training and massive cutbacks in every locality with 3000 teachers already unemployed, the coming year will be explosive.

For that reason, the MSBA is concentrating its efforts in obtaining the right to arbitrarily and secretly conduct strategy meetings, holding secret negotiating sessions, and privately reviewing "the conduct of employees and students."



Upholsterers in St. Paul fighting attempted wage cut.

## Sealy Mattress Strikers Unite Against Wage Cuts

BY JEAN BRUST  
ST. PAUL, Minn.—The workers in Upholsterers Local 61 of the Sealy Mattress Co. are fighting an attempt to arbitrarily cut their wages.

Last September 1, Sealy was sold to a new owner, Dick Yoeman, who together with his business manager, Bill Goodman, moved to take advantage of a supreme court ruling saying a new owner is not bound by union contracts previously negotiated.

On November 15, the contract was unilaterally terminated and a new one issued. Last week workers were forced to strike.

According to Sealy employee Daniel Gibson: "Nixon wants to drive wages down below the lowest of foreign labor, and the big bosses fall right in line. Our wages are average for the industry. We are the same as US Bedding, Land-o-Nod, and Salisbury, all members of the same union, but the company claims our wages are higher. In addition, they refuse to pay Teamsters wages for Teamster oriented work, and mess with

seniority and holiday pay."

Joseph Sadowski, a dock worker for 17 years, had his job eliminated, the work given to two part-time night workers at partial pay, and was put on a piece work job. They gave him 90 days to retrain and his wages were cut by almost two dollars an hour.

## DIVIDE

Efforts were made to use rates to divide the workers—to add some of the money taken from the dockers to the wages of the skilled seamstresses.

But, as Suzanne Hochbein explained: "They are not getting away with it. There are eight of us who got raises, but we know it's just an attempt to break the union. And we are all out 100 percent."

In addition, the company has launched arbitrary time-study in an effort to speed up the workers. Schedules have been shifted to eliminate any guarantee on hours for piecework workers.

As Clifford Avery put it: "I was making \$7.20 an hour and they put me on a job, a piece work job, with a base pay of \$3.55."

"They said they would guarantee my wages for three months and now they took that away."

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YMCA  
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(Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Dayton, Detroit)  
SAT., FEB. 2  
Cleveland State Univ.  
Euclid & 21 St.  
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The Case For A New Election



Speaker:  
Tim Wohlforth,  
National Secretary,  
Workers League

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# editor's notebook

## Tax Break For Nazis

Internal Revenue Commissioner Donald C. Alexander is making an audit to find out why the National Youth Alliance of Arlington, Virginia, a neo-Nazi group, was granted an exemption from federal income tax.

The exemption, granted last October 4, was recently disclosed by syndicated columnist Jack Anderson.

The exemption means that the NYA does not have to pay Social Security taxes, is not subject to the Federal Unemployment Tax Act, and can make deductions for federal estate gift tax purposes.

In its application, the NYA characterized itself as "engaged in charitable activities...helping to build character, patriotism, a sense of community, and an appreciation of the American heritage in young Americans."

This is the group that puts out anti-Jewish, racist filth and publishes a magazine that calls for violent attacks and even assassination of political figures.

The NYA is headed by William L. Pierce, who was a member of the American Nazi Party and a close friend of George Lincoln Rockwell, the Nazi Party's former president.

Pierce once promised that there would be "a Jew hanging from every lamppost in the country."

The NYA also managed to get reduced mailing rates, usually reserved for non-profit groups, while the Fair Campaign Practices Committee had its tax exempt status revoked.

Obviously the Nazis have powerful friends in high places.

## Roll Over, Beethoven

The Chinese Stalinists are quite willing to do business with the Chilean fascists and throw banquets for Henry Kissinger. But they will not yield an inch to those two previously unsuspected agents of imperialism—Ludwig Van Beethoven and Franz Schubert.

These titans of early nineteenth century German music have been vehemently denounced in the Communist Party newspaper *Jenmin Jih Pao*.

Beethoven, whose works represented a historic advance in musical literature inspired by the French Revolution, is referred to as a "German capitalist composer" whose popularity is undermining the youth.

According to the author of the article, Beethoven's "Tempest" Sonata "propagates the capitalist theory of human nature."

As for Franz Schubert, who died in utter poverty at the age of 28 after contributing to the development of the romantic school of music, the learned critic dismissed his works as too gloomy.

*Jenmin Jih Pao* also gave it to Mozart, declaring that his music doesn't stand comparison with the score of a ballet favored by the Maoist bureaucracy entitled "White-Haired Girl."

The paper stated that per-

formances of Beethoven and Schubert must be stopped. "If we go on like this, where will our young people be led," complained the article.

As they betray every principle of Marxism in the field of revolutionary politics, the Maoists discard Marxism in the field of culture.

Their ludicrous criticism of Beethoven and Schubert smacks of anti-Marxist conceptions of Proletarian Culture (proletcult) which Lenin mocked in the early 1920s.

Later, after Lenin's death, the Soviet Stalinists developed the school of "socialist realism" which required that artists glorify factory life in the Soviet Union. This crude propaganda for "socialism in one country" smothered cultural life in the USSR under Stalin.

Incidentally, Lenin often remarked that his favorite composer was none other than that arch-capitalist Beethoven.



Franz Schubert

## For Services Rendered

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, is a man who believes that Nixon's wage guidelines have to be respected.

So when the subject of his own salary last came up, Meany made a point of insisting that he would accept no more than a 5.5 percent raise—from \$70,000 to \$72,960.

As it so happens, Meany's salary is positively modest compared to those of some of his colleagues. Take, for instance, the salary of Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons, who works with Meany on the advisory board of the Cost of Living Council. He gets paid a flat rate of \$125,000 per year plus \$6481 in expenses.

Joseph Curran, former president of the Maritime Union, received a total of \$92,093 during his last year in office. Not a small sum for a man who climbed into the NMU bureaucracy with the support of the Stalinists of the American Communist Party.

The members of the Laborer's Union are among the lowest paid in the AFL-CIO. But their president, Peter Fosco, receives \$80,599 per year.

A few other salaries worth noting: I.W. Abel of the Steel Workers union pockets \$69,937; Paul Hall of the Seafarers union makes \$63,992; Thomas Murphy of the Bricklayers makes \$59,192; AFT President David Seldon takes \$30,000 in salary but gets another \$27,911 in expenses as icing on the cake.

There are at least 21 union presidents who are paid more than \$40,000 per year.



Salm Kolis speaking to reporters outside San Diego Courthouse.

# SWP Candidate Is Sentenced To 5 Days

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO—Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council was sentenced this week to five days in county jail and fined \$500 on a perjury charge.

She was also sentenced to three years probation.

Kolis was convicted on December 17 of perjury for allegedly giving a false address on nomination papers filed for the city primary election in September.

Kolis was framed up with the aid of an FBI informer who was in the SWP for 12 years and was able to pass along important information on the SWP's defense strategy for the trial.

During the trial, Judge Douglass Woodworth denied a motion for dismissal of the case moved by Kolis's lawyer on the grounds that the FBI had infiltrated her defense.

He also denied the jury the right to hear about the FBI informer.

When Superior Court Judge Woodworth sentenced Kolis, he declared that she was "lying

## Indefinite Layoffs At Singer-Friden

BY TED BAKER

SAN LEANDRO—Singer-Friden business machines here have indefinitely laid off 114 technical and clerical employees, including engineers, draftsmen, and secretarial staff.

The layoffs occurred as a result of a drastic reduction in planned expansion of the company's line of small business machines and calculators. Company officials would give no reasons for the reductions, but it is known Singer-Friden sales are well below company expectations.

The skilled and professional workers laid off face a bleak picture for finding new jobs in the area, with thousands of engineers and designers already laid off from the electronics and aerospace industries.

Production workers at the San Leandro plant have been told

under oath to achieve an advantage for her party and notoriety for herself."

Meanwhile, the city of San Diego has refused to prosecute 22 Democratic and Republican candidates who violated the city's new election financing law.

Clearly, it was not the technicalities of an election form which has panicked the government into imposing this outrageous sentence, but their

absolute fear of any working class militant who opposes this system. While the trial was taking place, documents were revealed exposing the FBI's plans over the past several years to infiltrate and disrupt socialist organizations.

The Workers League demands a fight throughout the union movement to defend Kolis as part of the fight to defend trade union and democratic rights in the struggle against Nixon.

## Bay Area Clerks Vote Supermarket Strike

SAN FRANCISCO—Bay Area supermarket clerks voted overwhelmingly to strike both independent and chain stores at midnight Saturday, January 19.

A strike by the 20,000 clerks seems almost certain. The Food Employers Council, which represents the supermarkets, is refusing to grant even 5.5 percent in wage increases.

The leadership of Retail Clerks Local 648 is accepting Nixon's guidelines, but the Food

Employers Council is notorious for its union-busting drives and is out to provoke a strike.

This strike would shut down most markets in the Bay Area. Only a few weeks ago, a strike by meat cutters against the food chains was settled.

A strike by the supermarket clerks would give a powerful support to the five and one-half month strike by Sears clerks, represented by Local 1100 of the same union.

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west coast news

# GM Extends Day Layoffs At Southgate

BY SHEILA BREHM  
SOUTHGATE—General Motors has dealt another blow to its Southgate workers by announcing that the layoffs for the day shift, the only one left, will be extended for another week until January 28.

GM has operated this plant only four days since December 14. The second shift of over 1800 workers was eliminated last week.

Anger and worry is building up over the announcement of the extended layoff. One auto worker declared: "I do not know if they will ever open up this plant again."

Almost 500 workers out of 1800 laid off had less than one year in the plant making them totally ineligible for the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) because GM instructed them to file for regular unemployment benefits before January 6. Because of this, each one will lose \$350.

January 6 was the eligibility date for the higher rate of \$90 a week, instead of \$75.

For the remaining workers who were laid off, the UAW must pay the lost \$15 out of the SUB fund. One worker said: "I am losing hundreds of dollars and I am sure the company knew about this and the union did not do a thing."

This policy means that the SUB will be drained even quicker with an added cost of \$19,500 per week.

At the same time, GM will pay less taxes on the lower rate of unemployment insurance.

There is no doubt that the UAW Local 216 officials knew of

the drastic consequences of this policy and they accepted GM's right to impose it, just as they, along with Woodcock, have refused to lift one finger to fight the layoffs.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is demanding an immediate nationwide strike to renegotiate the Big Three contracts, no layoffs, and 30 for 40.

Nationalization of the auto industry must be fought for, but it can only be done by a government controlled by the working class. The unions must call a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

Every auto worker should plan to attend the TUALP national auto conference in March to carry this program forward.

## HS Students Plan Boycott

BY FRED BROWN

SAN JOSE—360 Lincoln High School students have threatened to boycott classes on Friday unless starting times are moved back to 8:10 from the recently established 8:55.

The new starting time was initiated to reduce the hazard of walking to school in the dark due to daylight saving time.

Because of late dismissal times, many students have lost after school jobs. The late starting times are to continue until March 8.

Lorraine Macias said: "It is hard to stall the boss until March 8 by saying I am late."

Nancy Blake added that some students have to hitchhike to after school jobs because they now miss regular city buses.



GM's Southgate workers face additional layoffs.

# No Indictment Of San Quentin Six

BY ANN LORE

SAN QUENTIN—The Marin Superior Court dropped an indictment against six convicts here charged with murder, assault, and conspiracy in connection with an alleged escape attempt in August 1971 at San Quentin in which Soledad Brother George Jack-

son and five others were killed.

The San Quentin six are Larry Spain, Fleeta Drumgo, Hugo Pinell, William Tate, David Johnson, and Louis Talamantz.

### FRAMEUP

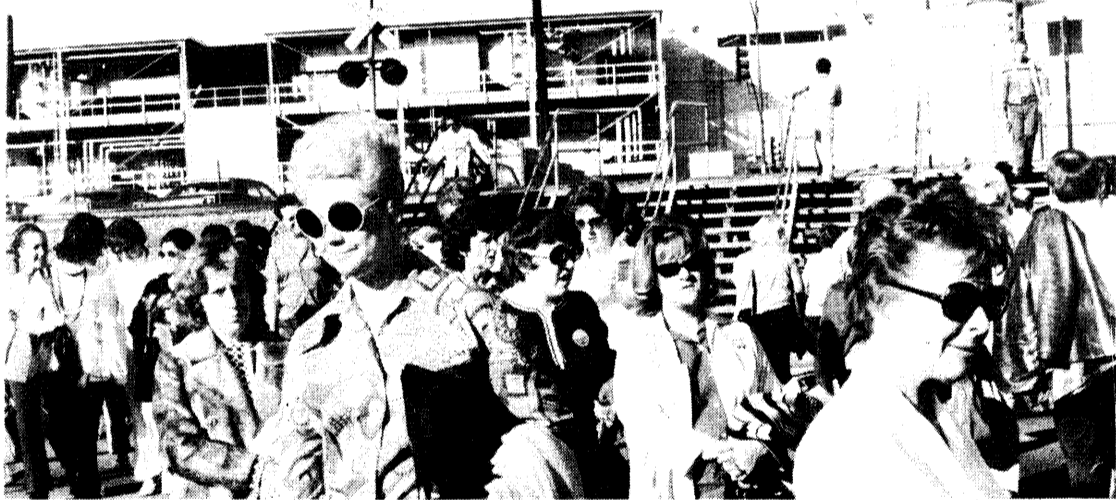
The six were framed up by the state and the prison guards after Jackson was set up to be killed.

The defense attorneys for the

inmates argued that during November and December the 1971 Marin Grand Jury, which handed down the indictments, systematically excluded Blacks, Chicanos, poor people, and blue collar workers from its panel.

Visiting Superior Court Judge Vernon Stoll decided that the Grand Jury was improperly constituted.

Since the trial began two years ago, all six have been chained and shackled with their chairs bolted to the floor whenever they have appeared in court.



A total of 5000 workers will be laid off by the end of January at the Lockheed plant here in Los Angeles.

## Energy Crisis Layoffs Double In One Month

SAN FRANCISCO—Unemployment in the Bay Area due to the energy crisis has almost doubled over the last month.

The number of workers laid off who cited the energy crisis as the reason when filing for unemployment went from 2600 to 5000.

According to Eligio Villa, an analyst for Human Resources Development, the heaviest impact will hit auto workers. Eighty percent of the energy crisis layoffs so far have been in manufacturing.

Besides auto, there have been heavy layoffs among rubber and plastics, chemical, fabricated metal, and lumber and wood products workers.

The whole local economy is threatened by shortages due to

the refusal of the oil monopolies to produce and distribute oil.

### WOODWORKERS

Woodworkers, for example, cannot obtain resin, which is made of petroleum products and is used to cement plywood together.

The overall unemployment rate for the Bay Area is 5.4 percent, three percent higher than a year ago.

The big layoffs which are expected at the United Airlines Maintenance Center at the San Francisco Airport, which employs some 8000 workers, have not yet hit.

The statewide campaign against unemployment being launched by the Young Socialists, to culminate in a march in San Francisco on March 16, will be critical in defending the basic right to a job for tens of thousands.

## Oakland Police Widen 'Symbionese' Witch-Hunt

BY MARTY MORAN

OAKLAND—The press and police are moving very rapidly to witch-hunt the entire left for the assassination of Oakland School Superintendent Marcus Foster.

Joseph Remiro and Russel Little were attacked last week by police and framed up for the slaying. Remiro, formerly a member of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, is charged with belonging to the "Symbionese Liberation Army" which allegedly claimed credit for the assassination.

The only evidence of the existence of this organization has been manufactured by the police.

First police claimed that Remiro had belonged to the Palo Alto based Venceremos and several other left-wing groups. They said Nancy Ling Perry, who is being sought as a leader

of the Symbionese Liberation Army, was in hiding with Venceremos in Palo Alto or San Jose. Venceremos was dissolved several months ago.

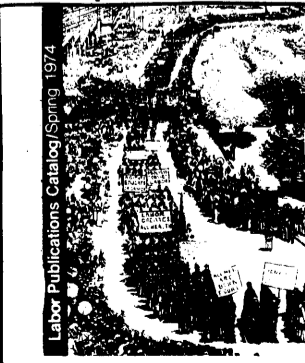
### CONSPIRACY

Now the press is putting out lurid stories about "still more hints of conspiracy" between the Symbionese Army and "revolutionaries" in the prisons. This is based on a number of visits made to prisoners at Folsom and

Vacaville by Perry, Little, and another man, William Wolfe, who is also being sought.

The press spews out a different set of hysterical charges every day in order to create a climate in which the police can move in on every socialist and revolutionary group.

There must be the widest possible campaign in the labor movement to defend Remiro, Little, and any further victims of this vicious witch-hunt.



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# lucha obrera

lucía rivera

## Vivienda : Derecho Básico

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El estado de deterioro que al presente existe en estos edificios es increíble. Los fuegos en los apartamentos es un diario acontecer. Los inquilinos se enfrentan a diario con el techo de sus casas cayendose encima, al igual que apartamentos infectados por ratones y cucarachas. El sistema de la tubería es inadecuado causando inundaciones y goteras.

Esta siempre ha sido la comunidad favorita de todos los políticos durante las elecciones. Ellos prometen resolver todos estos problemas tan pronto consigan sus puestos en el gobierno, son estas las mismas promesas que echan a un lado tan pronto son electos.

Encima de estos problemas de la vivienda, los jovenes y los trabajadores del área se enfrentan al problema del desempleo y salarios bajos. Este es el caso cuando las fábricas y en particular en la industria de la costura estan cerrando o disminuyendo su fuerza laboral.

Los radicales de la clase media, el Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP) interviene en esta situación para tratar de presionar a gobierno de la ciudad, para que este resuelva los problemas de la vivienda y el desempleo.

En estos momentos ellos se hayan recojiendo 10,000 firmas de los residentes de la comunidad que han de ser entregadas al Alcalde Beame. Esto con el propósito que el alcalde "garantice los servicios existentes de agua caliente y calefacción: que no haya despidos, los precios de la gasolina sean congelados, y que la legislación de protección ambiental sea implementada".

El Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño comienza con la ilusión que el gobierno a través de presiones puede proveer las necesidades de la clase obrera. Es bajo estas bases que tratan de movilizar a la comunidad para que le vayan a pedir al Alcalde Beame, del Partido Demócrata, algunas reformas.

Cuando la necesidad de romper con los dos partidos que representan los intereses de las grandes compañías, el Partido Demócrata y el Republicano, es vista más claramente que nunca por amplios sectores de la clase obrera, el Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño intercede para mantener las ilusiones en estos partidos.

La cuestión es que el problema de desempleo es una política conscientemente llevada por el gobierno en esta época para que las grandes corporaciones mantengan sus ganancias a expensas de la clase obrera.

Es por estos que todos los beneficios que en el pasado obtuvo la clase obrera, el gobierno tiene que destruirlas ahora. El derecho de una vivienda decente, de una educación como así también el más simple derecho básico se haya bajo ataque por el gobierno.

El Alcalde Beame no garantizará ninguno de estos derechos. El defenderá los intereses de las grandes corporaciones, como de los caseros, el cual el alcalde es uno de ellos, para mantener el deterioro de los edificios de la vivienda y seguir aumentado más las rentas.

Es a este casero, Alcalde Beame, que el PSP trata de presionar para que interceda en el problema de la vivienda. Esta posición del PSP es una desviación de la lucha política que ahora la comunidad tiene que llevar en contra de los planes del gobierno.

La campaña que la Juventud Socialista y la Liga Obrera están llevando en esta área, en contra del desempleo y en defensa de los derechos básicos de la clase obrera, es la única alternativa en contra de las condiciones que la comunidad se enfrenta.

Esta campaña tiene el proposito de movilizar a cientos de jovenes y trabajadores de la comunidad para pedir la intervención de las uniones, para que se convoque un Congreso de trabajadores, que tome la tarea de la construcción de un partido obrero. Basado este en un programa de demandas socialistas que le ponga solución a la crisis capitalista.

La marcha en el bajo Manhattan esta programada para el sábado 16 de febrero. Le pedimos a todo joven, trabajador que participe en el éxito de esta campaña, uniendose ahora a la JUVENTUD SOCIALISTA y a la LIGA OBRERA.

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and 7000 men.

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### DANGEROUS

These military concessions are extremely dangerous because they are made under conditions moving towards another outbreak of fighting.

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recent elections have strengthened the ultra hard-liners in the Israeli government.

Nor is Kissinger interested in a "permanent peace" in the Middle East. He is seeking to secure Egyptian concessions on military matters in order to strengthen the Zionists for the next round in the war.

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## ECONOMY . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

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These figures reveal that the Nixon administration, unable to break the enormous strength and militancy of the working class, is bringing in recession, inflation, and mass unemployment as a bludgeon against the labor movement.

The downturn in production and the leap in unemployment is a sharp warning to the American working class. These are not temporary aberrations, but take place in the midst of a worldwide inflation, massive recession in Europe and Japan, and the breakdown of the international monetary system.

The Commerce Department figures are issued only two weeks after the devaluation of the Japanese yen and just before the announcement by the French government of its withdrawal from the Common Market joint float and the devaluation of the franc.

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American capitalism is at the center of this crisis. The recent statement by Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, calling on

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The labor movement must answer these political attacks with a fight for political power. The trade union movement must mobilize its enormous power to force the Nixon government out and demand new elections. The unions must immediately convene a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party to carry out this fight.

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