

# TRUCKERS SHUT DOWN



Truckers picketing Shop-Rite depot in Elizabeth, New Jersey.

**BY DAVID NORTH**  
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An eleventh hour appeal by White House aide William Usery to the truckers is being ignored.

The thousands of independent truckers whose livelihood depends on the one tractor they own are demanding an immediate cut in the cost of diesel fuel and a revision of the hauling rates paid by the large trucking companies they work for.

Full support must be given to the truckers by the organized labor movement. Teamsters must demand that union chief Frank Fitzsimmons back the truckers with strike action to spark an all-out drive by the 20 million strong trade union movement to force Nixon out of office and force new elections.

This drive must be taken forward by convening a Congress of Labor to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies. This is the only answer to Nixon's policies

of inflation, layoffs, and dictatorship.

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Police have declared that they are on the "alert" and have stepped up their harassment of truckers. They have been stopping trucks in the Youngstown area to check for citizen band radios and weapons.

The call-up of National Guard units in New Jersey is the most serious provocation against the truckers and the entire labor movement.

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Picket lines were set up Tuesday morning by truckers from Ritter and other companies outside the large delivery depot of Shop-Rite in Elizabeth.

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people who ride cars to back us," declared trucker Walter Castelnick. "We're fighting for them as well as ourselves. If they're sick of these high prices, of paying one dollar for a gallon of gas, they should back us.

"I personally say Nixon and the companies are responsible. They are all in a conspiracy. They want outrageous prices for diesel fuel and everything else."

Castelnick said that truckers are losing about \$200 per week during this shutdown.

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(Continued On Page 12)

In The Midweek  
Edition

•Part Two of "Watergate and Revisionsim" by Melody Farrow.

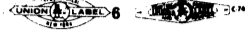
# Bulletin

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TWICE A  
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FIFTEEN CENTS

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## Mideast Deal—A Prelude To New War

The disengagement of forces between Israel and Egypt will bring no more peace to the Middle East than the Paris peace treaty brought to Vietnam.

In fact, this agreement will be used by Nixon and Kissinger to demobilize the Arab and Syrian armies and to mask preparations for a new stage of war in the Middle East.

In one sense, the agreement is a partial victory in that the United States was forced to recognize that Egypt had made important military gains. The US was in no position to simply dictate the terms of the settlement.

### What We Think

But the agreement itself settles absolutely nothing. Israel has withdrawn from the west bank of the Suez Canal to just west of the Mitla and Gidi mountain passes, still on the Sinai peninsula.

This still leaves Israel in control of most of the lands occupied since the 1967 war.

Egyptian leader Sadat has dropped any fight for the rights of the Palestinian people who have been homeless refugees since the state of Israel was founded.

Kissinger has consciously used the agreement to split the Arab leaders and bolster up the ones like Sadat who are eager to compromise. This deal has been used to bludgeon militant sections of the Syrian government to impose a similar settlement there.

This agreement can settle nothing because the issues in the Middle East are far more fundamental than the Israeli occupation of Egyptian and Syrian territory.

The disengagement of forces must be seen as part of a larger strategy of US imperialism to gain control of the oil supplies in the Middle East and to crush the revolutionary movement of the Arab people.

The recent war has increased the conviction of the American corporations and the Nixon government that the vital oil supplies they need cannot be entrusted to the Arab leaders. Nor do the giant oil monopolies have any intention of allowing their profits to be cut by the price increases of crude oil.

This is why the Mideast deal masks the real preparations of US imperialism for war against the Arab countries in order to seize direct control of the oil.

Kissinger's "peace" is a fraudulent cover for the real intentions of imperialism, which were revealed not long ago when Nixon declared a military alert against an alleged Soviet build-up in Egypt.

This is why at the same time as the Mideast deal is signed, the United States launches a massive military build-up in strategic sections of the world. The Navy is establishing new bases in the Indian Ocean within easy striking distance of the Middle East while the Defense Department revises a strategy for nuclear attacks against the Soviet Union.

This war threat flows from the capitalist economic crisis which forces each country into bitter competition over trade and markets.

The US trade war, aimed at securing the supremacy of American exports and American domination of the major markets at the expense of other nations, intensifies the moves towards world war.

The American capitalists can only resolve the crisis of capitalist production through destruction of the economies of Europe and Japan. They have never given

up their goal of taking back the vast markets and resources of the Soviet Union as a source of capital investment.

One year after signing the Paris Peace treaty in Vietnam, civil war is raging in South Vietnam and the Nixon government is pouring billions of dollars into a new offensive against the Vietnamese people.

The same economic crisis that is behind Nixon's deliberate policy of mass unemployment, inflation, wage cuts and brutal speedup in the plants threatens the workers of every country not only with the same attacks, but with destruction.

The capitalist class can only solve the crisis of their system through world war, the enslavement of millions of people, dictatorship and starvation.

There is no detente. The willingness of the Soviet bureaucracy to join Nixon in imposing deals on the workers and peasants in the Middle East and in Vietnam enables imperialism to make its military preparations behind the scenes.

The drive towards war strengthens the hand of those sections of the capitalist class who are moving towards imposing a dictatorship on American workers. The same reactionary generals of the Pentagon who are gearing for nuclear war will use the military against the American working class as it moves into struggle to defend its right.

This is why the campaign to force Nixon out must be stepped up in every union in the country. The struggle to force him out and construct a labor party means the working class must fight to control the industries, to destroy the capitalist profit system and socialize the means of production to meet the needs of the working people.

## Bolivian Workers Defy Martial Law

Martial law has been declared throughout Bolivia as mass strikes and demonstrations continued against the Banzer dictatorship.

A general strike situation is rapidly developing. Since last week, when the government increased the prices of basic food and other commodities 100 percent, miners, commercial workers, bricklayers, printers, bank and insurance workers have gone out. Demonstrations are taking place in every section of the country.

In Cochabamba, groups of workers and peasants battled police and four were wounded by gunfire. Factory workers blew up two bridges with dynamite that link the capital La Paz with Cochabamba.

6000 peasants have set up barricades at the three major roads to Cochabamba.

## Fighting Rages In Golan Area

BY MITCH PATTERSON

Fighting along the Golan Heights in Syria has raged continuously since the signing of the troop disengagement agreement between Israel and Egypt on January 18.

Syrian artillery killed 40 Israeli soldiers, destroyed 11 artillery batteries, three tanks, and set a missile base and fuel depot on fire.

In open violation of the ceasefire, the Israeli Army has continued to strengthen military fortifications near Damascus.

### SUEZ

Military spokesmen in Syria have expressed concern that the Israelis may shift their armed forces from the Suez front to the Golan Heights.

Syrian President Hafez el-

Assad obtained a pledge from the Iraqi government to send troops to the Golan Heights if Israeli troops are moved from the Suez area.

The Syrian government boycotted the "peace" talks in Geneva and has denounced the separate agreement signed between Israel and Egypt.

### KISSINGER

US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has begun preliminary talks with Syria on the separation of forces in the Golan Heights.

The continued aggression by Israel against Syria makes clear that the agreement between Egypt and Israel is only a temporary settlement to allow time for the Zionists to prepare a new offensive against the Arab countries.



Cambodians flee Phnom Penh.

## Panic In Phnom Penh

BY A CORRESPONDENT

A steady exodus from the Cambodian capital, Phnom Penh, is taking place as the Khmer Rouge intensifies daily rocket attacks on the city.

The Khmer Rouge have methodically tightened their grip on Phnom Penh. On the south and southwest fronts, they are within less than three miles and on the northwest front, they are only four miles from Pochentong airport.

Thirteen regiments and 40 battalions of the Khmer Rouge are

spread out in a 40 mile radius around the capital.

They are now close enough to launch cannon attacks with captured American cannons, which are far more accurate than the rockets.

Not only Cambodian residents, but most of the French community and the wealthy are evacuating Phnom Penh.

There are reports that Lon Nol himself discussed moving the capital to the less exposed city of Battambang. Prime Minister Long Bout is in real control.

The Khmer Rouge hold virtually every strategic position

except control over the Mekong River through which military supplies arrive from Saigon.

On January 24, a heavy cannon bombardment killed 72, and on January 26 over 100 shells hit the city.

While the Cambodian army is larger in numbers, the troops are discontented, unreliable, and new recruits are hard to find.

There are widespread fears that with the coming of the dry season, when the major offensive is expected, the Cambodian troops will go over to the Khmer Rouge.

### World News Briefs

#### Grenada

BY A REPORTER

A general strike on the Caribbean island of Grenada has continued virtually unabated since last December and is still gaining strength.

Strikers have cut off all telephone and electricity service and the ports are closed. Almost every shop is closed in support of the strikers.

Last week violent fighting between demonstrators and the police left one person dead. The hated Prime Minister Eric Gairy whose party has ruled Grenada for 20 years, has decreed that storekeepers will be fined \$2500 and a year in prison unless they reopen.

The strike movement began in December after Gairy's secret

police force dragged members of the opposition New Jewel movement through the streets and then brutally beat them.

Strikers are demanding the dissolution of the police, known as the "Mongoose Squad." The squad has thrown bottles and tear gas at demonstrators, and broken into shops and looted them.

Trade unions in Trinidad and Barbados have refused to load cargo bound for Grenada in solidarity with the strike and unions in Venezuela are pledging similar action.

#### Germany

Metal workers, postal and transport workers in Germany are going on a wage offensive against the Willy Brandt government.

The public employees union have given Brandt a final warning that unless they are granted a 15 percent wage increase, not the 9 percent offered by the government, they will walk out. The metal union is demanding increases of 18 percent.

Brandt has declared that anything over 10 percent "would increase the danger of accelerating inflation."

Brandt is following in the footsteps of Heath in Britain by blaming workers for inflation and using the sharply rising unemployment to force wages down. Brandt implied this in a statement on January 24 when he said:

"At a time when workers are concerned about maintaining their jobs... I am counting on the reason of the public employees."

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British miners demonstrating outside union headquarters in London.

# British Miners Defy Troop Threat

BY MELODY FARROW

The decision of the National Union of Mine Workers in Britain to endorse a nationwide mine strike makes an immediate political confrontation between the Tory government and the working class inevitable.

Voting on extending the 11 week overtime ban to an all-out strike has already begun and the results will be known on February 5.

Prime Minister Edward Heath has threatened to cut off miners' families from unemployment benefits if the strike goes ahead. The Tories have been recruiting Special Constables, picket-busting police squads, and the Territorial Army to break the strike.

Vice-President of the NUM Michael McGahey, a member of the Stalinist Communist Party, has declared that: "As far as I am concerned, if the government employs troops, if necessary I will appeal to them to assist and aid the miners. You cannot dig coal with bayonets."

Heath and the Labour Party immediately denounced McGahey's statement and used it to launch an anticommunist tirade against the miners, accusing the CP of a "plot" to topple the government.

A joint statement by two leaders of the Labour Party said:

"We utterly repudiate any attempt by communists or others to use the miners as a political battering ram to bring about a general strike or to call on troops to disobey lawful orders in the event of a strike."

## GENERAL STRIKE

The witch-hunt the Tories are whipping up against the miners shows their fear that millions of workers will join the miners in a general strike.

The NUM has refused Heath's last minute plea to return for more talks on the miners' wage claim until he offers more money.

McGahey's statement, whether or not he is prepared to

carry it out, reflects the inescapable fact that miners are in a revolutionary situation.

It is the miners' determination to win a living wage that forced the NUM leadership to call a strike vote. At the same time Joe Gormley, president of the NUM, tried to deny the implications of this action by saying:

"The question of a general strike has not been discussed. This is not a political strike."

But for thousands of miners, it is clear that this struggle is not just over wages, but involves the defense of the basic rights British workers have won in 200 years of struggle. Having failed to impose wage cuts, Heath will go all out to smash the miners and their union.

The Tories are threatening to double unemployment, which already stands at 2.5 million and to reduce the work week from three days to two or one day a week.

Since the Tories took office, prices have risen 49 percent. Basic foods have gone up over

100 percent while wages have only risen nine percent since November 1972.

Heath now declares that wage increases under Phase Three were too much.

The real "plotters" in England are the Tories, the capitalists and bankers who have driven millions onto the unemployment lines, driven down living standards and now are preparing to use violence against workers.

Under these conditions, the class position of the reformist Labour Party leaders has been exposed. Harold Wilson, Labour Party leader, will defend the Tories' use of troops.

The policy of the Workers Revolutionary Party to fight for the reelection of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies has been aimed at exposing the reformists.

This has prepared the working class for the present situation, in which the WRP is calling for a general strike to bring down the Tories and is building the revolutionary party to lead the working class to take power.

# Additional GM Layoffs Hit Linden

BY A REPORTER

LINDEN, N.J.—General Motors has announced that the large assembly plant here will be shut down next week and that there will be several more week-long or two-week long shut-downs in the coming months.

"I don't think even management inside the plant knows what is going to happen," declared one worker. "The guys in Detroit are playing a game with us, with the working man."

Earlier this month, GM eliminated the entire second shift at the plant, laying off 2400 workers. This meant that every one hired since March 1968 lost their jobs.

Working conditions have deteriorated in the plant. Job assignments have been revised, and workers reported that older men who got off the line several

years ago are now back on.

"When we heard about losing the second shift, we felt like we had all been pushed backwards," Lundy Webb told the Bulletin.

"None of us really expected it to happen. I do not think it is caused by the energy crisis. No one knows if the second shift is coming back."

Jake Martin has worked at Linden for 17 years, and he says that this is the worst situation he can recall since becoming an auto worker.

"I blame Nixon for this. He knew this was coming. Tricky Dick did not get that name in Sunday school. He got that from being a trickster from way back."

"Instead of being honest and telling us long ago that the country is in bad shape, Nixon was always telling us that everything is going up, up, up and getting better."

"That is why I do not believe those Republicans or any of the politicians. I always think the opposite of what they say."

Another worker said that the Supplementary Unemployment

# Steel Wildcat In Baltimore

BY A  
CORRESPONDENT

BALTIMORE, Md.—Coke oven workers at the Sparrows Point plant of Bethlehem Steel staged a wildcat strike against working conditions early this week and were immediately issued an injunction by a federal court.

At a union meeting on Tuesday, January 29, the union representatives of the United Steel Workers of America tried to get the strikers to go back.

Johnny Fair, zone committeeman of the Sparrows Point coke ovens, began the meeting by denouncing the ovens as "the worst in the world" and declared that coke oven workers were the worst paid steel workers. He said that management had re-

fused to even meet with the workers to discuss their grievances.

He then turned the meeting over to the union lawyer and Bernie Parrish, a representative from the International who urged workers to accept Bethlehem's deal.

The lawyer said that management would be willing to discuss with them within 24 hours after three normal turns (one full day) had been worked in the coke ovens. If this was agreed, then the court order and contempt of court citations would be dropped.

Parrish tried to claim that the fight was not against the government but just between the union and the company.

The answer of the ranks was shouted out: "To hell with the court order, we'll continue our strike!" Coke oven men know that without them, the entire Sparrows Point complex is paralyzed.

# Flood Of Dollars To Swamp Europe

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The announcements by the US government that it is removing all restrictions on the movement of dollars abroad for lending and investment is the latest American trade war measure aimed at competitors in Europe and Japan.

Under the new policy there will be no tax on purchases of foreign stocks and bonds. All limits are removed on the transfer of American funds by corporations for investment abroad and US banks are freed from any foreign

credit restraints on overseas lending and investment.

In addition, it is reported by The New York Times that the US Federal Reserve Bank has been intervening in the currency markets to sell dollars for foreign currency.

These measures represent the response of American capitalism to the devaluation of the Japanese yen and the French franc and to the threat of further competitive currency devaluations by the European countries.

The American decisions will mean a huge increase in inflation in Europe and Japan and a further competitive edge for American goods on international markets through the depreciation of the dollar.

Europe and Japan are already facing uncontrollable inflation, with the cost of living rising as much as 15 percent in some European countries and over 20 percent in Japan.

In addition, soaring oil prices threaten massive balance of payments deficits, with Japan already reporting a \$10 billion deficit for 1973.

## BANKRUPTCY

US banks and corporations now have their hands freed to buy up sections of foreign industry driven into bankruptcy by the crisis.

The unrestricted flow of dollars into these countries will intensify the inflation just as revolutionary struggles are already breaking out.

The British government has put the country on a three day week and faces the biggest confrontation with the British working class since the 1926 General Strike.

Massive strike wages are now threatened in Germany, France and Italy because of the conditions created by the inflation.

Japanese capitalism faces the threat of coordinated strikes and demonstrations by the main labor federations who are demanding 30 percent wage increases.

# Rheingold Destroys 1500 Jobs

BY MITCH PATTERSON  
NEW YORK, NY—On February 1, 1500 workers at the Rheingold brewery in Brooklyn will be thrown out of their jobs.

The decision to shut the Rheingold complex for good was made final by the company last week.

Workers at Rheingold are represented by Teamsters Locals 3 and 46 and the International Association of Machinists.

The overwhelming majority of the 1500 men have been working for Rheingold between 20 and 25 years. Almost no one will receive their pension once they are laid off; and they are not even sure they will get any severance pay.

## PENSION

The contract between the unions and Rheingold requires that a worker must be either 55 years old, or have worked for the company for no less than 30 years before they can qualify for their pension.

One year ago, Pepsico Corporation began purchasing large shares of stock in the Rheingold Company. By September or October of 1973, Pepsico had completely bought out Rheingold and owned all controlling shares in the company.

According to the men at the brewery, Pepsico had planned the total phasing-out of Rheingold a long time ago.

## SOFT DRINK

They stated that it was part of a program to greatly increase the profits of Pepsico and increase their monopoly over the soft drink industry.

In order to justify the closure, Pepsico allowed the plant to deteriorate and sold many of the delivery trucks. This enabled them to show a profit loss on their books and to declare bankruptcy.

Chairman of the Board of Pepsico, Mr. Kendall, was a law firm associate of Richard Nixon on the West Coast.

# Firefighters Hit By \$650,000 Fine

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, NY—The New York State Supreme Court has ruled that the United Firefighters Association is to be fined \$650,000 for their five and one-half hour strike last November.

It is the highest fine ever assessed a union in New York and is aimed at bankrupting the union and destroying the basic rights of the firemen.

The legal justification for the fine is the reactionary Taylor Law, which forbids any strike action by public employees.

Justice Sidney A. Fine ordered the UFA to pay \$100,000 within 20 days, and the rest on a monthly

The Rheingold workers are extremely bitter about the layoffs. Local 46 member Don expressed it this way: "The big corporations are eating us little guys up. It is a damn shame and the union has not tried to do anything about it."

Jerry from Local 3 said: "Pepsico had to buy this in order to sew up a soda franchise. We know that."

"They picked this time to lay us off because they think that nobody will notice it. If they are laying off 85,000 more from the auto industry, who is going to pay attention to just 1500."

Vinnie, a Teamster shop steward, said: "Who will want to hire a 50-year-old man?"

## CRIPPLED

"A lot of the men are half crippled from being banged up in the plant and on the trucks. After they lay us off, how are we going to feed our families?"

"Pepsico is not laying us off because of any oil crisis. That is for sure."

"They lay us off so that they can increase profits."

Local 3 member Ray told the Bulletin: "I have 29 years in this place, and what do I get for my work? No pension and probably no severance pay."

"I have no other trade or craft, so finding a job will be impossible. The other men are in the same position. If you want to fight this, you have to have a word with Kendall and Nixon."

## REFUSED

The Teamsters leadership has refused to call on all Pepsico workers in the country to strike against the closure.

The fight against layoffs can only be won by the united action of the working class against unemployment and Nixon's Phase Four wage cuts.

The trade union leadership must be forced to defend the unemployed and launch a political campaign to force Nixon out and build a labor party.

installment basis.

Fine ruled that 25 percent of all union dues collected from the 10,900 members must be used to pay off the fine.

The city and the courts are using the fine against the UFA as a test case to see if they can impose wage cuts and similar fines on other municipal workers.

Union officials John O'Sullivan, union president Richard Vizzini, and Dominick Gentiluomo must appear before the Manhattan grand jury on February 8. They have been indicted on six charges for falsifying the result of the strike vote and face additional individual fines and jail sentences.



Rheingold workers face permanent layoffs.

# Teachers Plan Baltimore Strike

BY A REPORTER

BALTIMORE, Md.—Teachers here have voted 50 to 1 to strike if a contract is not signed by midnight, February 3.

At the strike meeting on January 26, teachers expressed their anger at the sellout which the Public School Teachers Association leadership put forward.

The proposal is to totally drop the original wage demands—7 percent in the first year and 5.5 percent in the second year—for the school year 1974. Now the leadership tells teachers to accept less than 3 percent this year and 9.7 percent for next

year.

There is no provision in this proposal for either class size reduction or tuition reimbursement.

## 20 PERCENT

At a regional meeting to discuss the strike on January 28, a teacher presented a program to fight for a 20 percent wage increase and the reduction of class size to 20. He stated that the only way this could be won today was through the support of the other Baltimore unions in a general strike.

The PSTA leadership refused to comment, stating that it was

"a mute question." In addition, the PSTA still refuses to acknowledge the efforts of teachers to achieve a merger with the Baltimore Teachers Union.

# Police Link To Pentagon

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK—The City Police Department here has established a close relationship with the Department of Defense and has access to classified information on the latest developments in weapons, electronic tracking, and communications.

A consortium of 26 Defense Department labs, run by a Defense Department weapons engineer, Harold Metcalf, has been informally established to provide the police and other agencies with information.

This consortium directly violates the 1972 Mansfield amendment which prohibits use of Defense Department funds for nonmilitary research. The NYPD are getting around this by paying for the information themselves.

One of the things the NY police department is interested in is the use of "non-lethal" weapons. They inquired about the use of drug filled darts on humans, but were told that too large a dosage could kill a man.

They have also acquired a "covert car tracking system" which can be planted in cars and enables the police to overcome interference problems from New York's high buildings. This device is still classified, but top police officials got special Defense Department clearances.

Gerald Miller, the "technology transfer representative" at the Naval Electronic Lab Center in San Diego, California, who works with the New York Police Department, recently discussed the program with California Governor Ronald Reagan.

This information, coupled with the military's growing power within the government and the demands of the FBI to be empowered to declare a national emergency, reveal that the Pentagon is preparing for a civil war situation.



# Barnard Workers Strike

Office workers at prestigious Barnard College in New York City went on strike January 28 for a minimum starting wage of \$130 a week.

Last summer Barnard gave the workers a 5.5 percent wage increase in an unsuccessful attempt to keep the union out. The workers are now organized by District Council 65.

One striker told the Bulletin:

"We are just asking for a minimum wage of \$130 for the lowest category. I'm in the highest classification and my salary is only \$7200. I'm here because I can't cope with the low wages of my co-workers."

"There is a Barnard graduate who has been working here for 17 years who gets \$117 a week. A Black woman with six children took the place of someone earning \$7000 and she is paid only \$6800 for the same work."

**Skyrocketing oil prices, shortages, and inflation in the price of all basic commodities have already begun to have a shattering impact on the economies of the advanced industrial countries.**

But what has been carefully concealed is that for the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Latin America, and Africa, these same conditions mean death by starvation for millions of workers and peasants.

In the last 18 months, the prices of the basic staples, wheat, corn, rice, and soybeans, have doubled and even tripled. Wheat has leaped from below \$60 a metric ton to recent levels of over \$200.

In the United States, food prices soared in 1973 over 20 percent with beef leading the way at 25 percent. In the colonial and semicolonial countries, where as much as 80 percent of a peasant's income is spent on food, the impact has been catastrophic.

In Bangla Desh, the cost of rice has tripled since the civil war. In Bolivia, strikes are spreading throughout the country in protest against a doubling of food costs. In Chile, the military junta has raised prices another 200 percent since the overthrow of Allende, and in India massive strikes and demonstrations against soaring food costs are bringing the Gandhi government to the brink of collapse.

In Ethiopia, over 100,000 people are estimated to have perished because of drought. International aid has been arriving very slowly and most of its never reaches the people.

The Sahelian Belt countries of Mauritania, Mali, Chad, Senegal, upper Volta, and Niger in Africa have suffered their sixth consecutive year of drought.

The lack of water is so great that the Sahara desert has been extending southward at the rate of 30 miles a year. Huge areas of land will no longer support vegetation and are populated only by the bones of once large herds of cattle.

French authorities estimate that at least a thousand people a day are dying, while aid is falling hopelessly behind.

#### HOARDING

In all of these countries, the rich are hoarding food, while speculators are making fortunes selling at black market prices and buying up property for next to nothing from starving villagers.

An Ethiopian refugee tells a typical story. "Everyone in my village has been hungry for a long time. Especially my parents who were older and weaker.

"To save them, I sold little by little everything I had, a skirt, two cows, a mule, a little land. That didn't do any good.

"In June, they both died and I buried them myself. Then in July I left my wife and children to go to Dessie, three days walking distance.

"There I found hundreds of peasants like myself looking for something to eat. I worked in the streets carrying women's packages or helping shopkeepers.

"They paid me 20 cents for a half day. Just enough to keep me alive.

"But I became sick. In September, the police picked me up half dead on the street and brought me to this camp. I know that back in the village all my

people are dead."

These conditions are being intensified a hundred fold by the oil crisis. In all of Africa, only Algeria, Libya and Nigeria have oil resources in large supply.

A World Bank study of 39 underdeveloped countries estimates that the rise in oil prices alone will wipe out all foreign aid received by these countries.

This does not even include additional bills of over four billion dollars for food imports and fertilizers which are produced from petrochemicals.

Shortages of fertilizers threaten to destroy India's wheat crop. India's oil bill alone will consume 80 percent of her foreign exchange earnings from exports. This will slow down industry, meaning even higher

only cut back on imports of vital necessities for industry and agriculture.

The decision of the US Congress to cut off funds to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development means that no assistance can be expected from the imperialist countries, particularly the United States.

#### MANIPULATION

In fact, with whole sections of the world on the brink of starvation, the conditions are at hand for wild speculation and the most cynical manipulation of food as a means of international blackmail.

In 1972, total world food production declined by one percent, combined with a two

stranglehold over the basic food staples desperately needed by the people of the underdeveloped countries.

The US controls 89 percent of all the soybeans, nearly three quarters of all the corn, more than half of the wheat and flour and over a quarter of the rice moving in world trade.

So-called US aid has always been used in these countries to prevent the development of an independent agricultural base, to guarantee continued dependence on American food imports.

US development of communications and transport in the underdeveloped countries has only been used to extract raw materials needed by American industry.

could feed something like 10 times the present world population, not at substance levels, but in an American style of diet."

In the US, new seeds and fertilizers have tripled corn yields per acre in the last 25 years. Since 1947 half the number of dairy cows produce twice as much milk.

New methods enable man to speed up photosynthesis, to grow plants in saline soils, to produce crops in liquid nutrients rather than soil, to feed cattle on their own specially treated waste products and even to provide all the world's protein needs by nourishing certain microorganisms on petroleum or even such wastes as corn cobs, sugar beet residue or citrus pulp. Vast

# Famine Ravages The Colonial Countries

by Jeff Sebastian



prices and greater hunger.

The Gandhi slogan of "abolish poverty" with the new five year plan is becoming a bitter joke. A New Delhi economist comments: "The expenditures envisaged in the plan will have to be cut so drastically and the cuts as usual will be made so arbitrarily for political rather than economic advantage, that in effect, we shall have no plan at all."

In Kenya, which depends on tourism for foreign exchange earnings, the oil crisis and its effect on jet travel means a collapse of the entire tourist industry.

Bangla Desh faces an oil bill that will take 50 percent of her foreign exchange earnings compared to a previous 20 percent. The principal export, jute, is being produced at only 45 percent of prewar levels.

These examples show the stark future now facing the poor countries. Many have exhausted their ability to borrow and can

percent population increase.

World output of rice declined five percent, sending prices up 150 percent. While wheat production declined three percent worldwide, the US increased its exports by a third.

Don Paarlberg, director of Agricultural Economics at the Department of Agriculture, reveals that statistical studies of the supply and demand situation prove that a third to a half of the price rises can be attributed to speculation.

The US agricultural industry has taken every possible advantage of the situation. In 1973 American farm exports rose from \$8.4 billion to \$17.9 billion. Half of this increase was accounted for by higher prices and the rest by increased volume.

It is estimated that by mid-1974 there will only be enough wheat on hand to feed the world population for 29 days. This is the lowest level in over 20 years.

American imperialism is moving rapidly to develop a

Even the "Green revolution" in India has worked against millions of poor farmers who cannot obtain the sophisticated equipment and fertilizer necessary to cultivate new strains of wheat and rice. The poor farmer is oppressed by crushing debts and powerful landlords, while the rich farmers are able to increase their yields, mechanize, grab up lands, and throw more out of work.

The plight of millions in the colonial countries reveals the bankruptcy of the capitalist system, which is incapable of providing food precisely at the point when technological developments make possible vast improvements in agricultural production.

Colin Clark, an agricultural economist at Oxford University recently said: "Confining ourselves to practical farming methods already used by the good farmers in different parts of the world, the world's cultivatable and pasturable lands

areas of land still remain to be opened up for cultivation.

#### STARVATION

Instead, millions in the underdeveloped world face starvation while vast regions are still tilled with wooden plows and oxen and capitalist production is staggering into recession and trade war.

The impotence of the corrupt and desperate colonial bourgeoisie to do anything to develop production or feed masses of starving workers and peasants is made even more obvious now that the crisis of capitalism comes down most sharply on these countries. A whole new revolutionary upsurge is on the agenda throughout the colonial world.

The way forward lies in a united fight with the workers of America, Europe and Japan for a socialist revolution that can liberate the enormous gains of science for planned development to meet the needs of man.

It is on the question of Daniel DeLeon, Big Bill Haywood, and Eugene V. Debs that Herreshoff continues to resort to the greatest distortions. His linking of Haywood to the Weatherpeople is the crudest historical smear of all.

In our review, we stressed that we were very struck by Herreshoff's friendly treatment of Daniel DeLeon. After all, DeLeon was the personification of sectarianism and a man personally responsible for much of the disorientation of the movement of his day. Never was a man so despised by his contemporaries. Why is Herreshoff, a man most dedicated to the struggle against "sectarianism," "old errors," and the "mechanistically-minded," so enamoured with the most mechanistic thinker and sectarian practitioner of his or any other day?

There is a deeper and related question. Why is it that the continuity of Marxism in America flowed not through DeLeon and his party, but through the Socialist Party? Why did the Communist Party emerge from out of the Socialist Party with virtually nothing coming from the SLP?

While DeLeon saw a revolution coming in America and on that basis rejected reformism, he saw that revolution as being nonviolent. Therefore he actually advocated gradualist electoral tactics and propaganda. This propaganda may have been antireformist in words, but the content of his activity was completely reformist.

We did not "smear" DeLeon by claiming him to be a gradualist. We based ourselves on Herreshoff's own writings: "The work of destruction which DeLeon had in mind for the party of labor was not bloody, for he was a firm advocate of political agitation and the ballot." He quotes DeLeon: "...the political movement bows to the method of civilized discussion: it gives a chance to the peaceful solution of the great question at issue." Herreshoff sums up DeLeon's views: "The chances for a peaceful solution in the United States were excellent."

All this was based on DeLeon's absurd view that the American ruling class's character was different from that of Europe and it would not fight to defend its wealth.

It was our opinion that there was a sharp difference on this question between DeLeon on the one hand and Debs and Haywood on the other, a difference coming out of their own experiences.

Debs and Haywood were fighters in the class struggle at a time when America was emerging as a world imperialist power, and within the country resorting to violent class war against the working class. Debs and Haywood experienced this class war for themselves. They were both theoretically weak, but definitely not inclined to have illusions in the peaceful transition to socialism in America.

In a recent interview, Solon DeLeon, Daniel DeLeon's son, notes the distance of DeLeon from the class struggles of his day: "The Old Man never was in a strike and never walked a picket line. He never formulated demands for trade union action or negotiations. He was always moving in a very different realm...."

Big Bill Haywood contrasted Eugene V. Debs and Daniel DeLeon in this respect: "Debs was the workingman who had laid down his shovel on the locomotive when he took up the work of organizing the firemen. Debs's ideas, while not clearly developed, were built upon his contact with the workers in their struggle. DeLeon's only contact with the workers was through the ideas with which he wished to 'indoctrinate' them, to use his own word."

Herreshoff completely distorts the relations between Debs, Haywood, and DeLeon in order to slander Haywood in particular. The three men were in agreement on the need for political action as well as industrial unionism and stood together on this issue in the early years of the IWW. However, they sharply split—Haywood and Debs on one side with DeLeon on the other—over DeLeon's efforts to completely dominate the IWW and subordinate it to his SLP.

The "important dispute," which Herreshoff purports was over "blood-drenched language," was the 1912 split in the Socialist Party. It did not involve DeLeon directly for the obvious reasons that he was not in the SP, but headed the rival SLP.

We must insist on clarity as to what the dispute was about. It centered on an amendment to the SP's Constitution, proposed by the right wing, which would bar from membership those who advocated sabotage. The amendment was designed to purge all revolutionary elements from the party. It was used directly against Big Bill

Haywood.

This split was of no minor significance. It was the turning point in the history of the Socialist Party. From that point on, its membership began to decline. The internal contradictions within the party, even without the intervention of the great events of the First World War and the Russian Revolution, were already too great to be held within a single party. Contrary to the Social Democratic theorists of an "all-inclusive party," and there is evidence that Herreshoff is one of them, it was not the "evil" Russians who split the SP. It was the right wingers in 1912!

Debs's position on this matter in 1912 was completely wrong, as he was later to admit. What Debs did was to support Haywood on the point that violence was justified in the defense of the working class, but to attack sabotage and individual acts of violence as a method of revolutionary struggle. This led him to support the right wing against the left wing in the split of 1912.

By 1913, Debs had changed his position, not on sabotage, but on supporting the expulsion of Haywood. "I want to say that in my opinion, Section 6 of Article II ought to be stricken from the Socialist Party's Constitution. I have not changed my opinion in regard to sabotage, but I am opposed to restricting free speech under any pretense whatsoever, and quite as decidedly opposed to our party seeking favor in bourgeois eyes by protesting that it does not countenance violence and is not a criminal organization."

It is a complete slander to in any way suggest that Haywood was some sort of "propaganda of the deed" bomb throwing anarchist. Haywood's whole life was that of a completely dedicated mass leader, of a working class revolutionist. Never did he substitute his own actions and emotions for the movement of the working class. His language was not particularly more "violent" or "blood-drenched" than that of Debs. After all it was Debs, who in response to the frameup trial of Haywood, Pettibone, and Moyer, stated: "If they attempt to murder Moyer, Haywood, and their brothers, a million revolutionists at least will meet them with guns."

This was a position which Debs would adhere to the rest of his life. In 1914, in relation to a miners strike, Debs wrote:

"The time has come for the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners to levy a special monthly assessment to create a Gunmen Defense Fund.

"This fund should be sufficient to provide each member with the latest high-power rifle, the same as used by the corporation gunmen, and 500 rounds of cartridges.

"In addition to this, every district should purchase and equip and man enough Gatling and machine guns to match the equipment of Rockefeller's private army of assassins...."

"Rockefeller's gunmen are simply murderers at large, and you have the same right to kill them when they attack you that you have to kill the burglar who breaks into your house at midnight or the highwayman who holds you up at the point of his pistol.

"Rockefeller's hired assassins have no lawful right that you miners are bound to respect. They are professional man-killers, the lowest and vilest on earth.

"They hire out to break your strike, shoot up your home, and kill you, and you should have no more compunction in killing them than if they were so many mad dogs or rattlesnakes that menaced your homes and your community."

As late as 1920, in a defense of the Russian workers state, which had to resort to terror in order to maintain itself against counter-revolutionary elements, Debs summed up his lifelong view:

"As a student of history...I know that these great movements for human emancipation do not come without bloodshed; and although I would not kill a man in self-defense, I am in favor of shedding as much blood as is absolutely necessary in order to emancipate the people. But not one drop more. Moreover, if bloodshed is necessary, I shall not follow the course of some of America's superpatriots, who insisted on others going into battle while they stayed at home and piled up profits."

It should go without saying that there is no connection whatsoever between Debs and Martin Luther King, whom Herreshoff sights in his letter as expressing his views on violence and America. Martin Luther King may have noted the violent character of the American ruling class, but he then proceeded to preach to the working class that it submit to this violence through paci-



fism and begging for reforms.

No doubt Herreshoff agrees with Martin Luther King on submitting to violence and on reforms. This is the only interpretation we can make of his slanders of Haywood.

But he does not honestly present his own views on the matter even when he states he agrees with King on the violence of America. He is to the right of even King on this matter for he writes: "...It is undeniable that with the growth of labor organization since DeLeon's time, the violent bullying of American workers by their employers has markedly diminished. It has been a long time since Pullman and Homestead and Cripple Creek, and even since the Little Steel Strike of 1937."

It has not been that long since the cold-blooded murder of the Panthers in Chicago and of the students at Kent State. These acts give us a small preview of what the American ruling class is preparing against the entire working class in the next period when the capitalist crisis requires the suppression of the whole working class in the interests of the survival of capitalism itself.

Within this context, Herreshoff's connecting of "many Weatherpeople and Panthers who talked themselves into adventures" with Haywood is pure slander. It is wrong to just lump the Weatherpeople and the Panthers together.

Huey P. Newton was never a Marxist. However, he was not simply an adventurer. He sought, much within the framework of Debs's advice to the miners, to develop the armed self-defense of the Black masses who faced constant terrorizing attacks from the police.

We defended Huey P. Newton in this course as well as encouraged any step, and he did take a small step, towards Marxism. We felt that Newton reflected important changes taking place, not just among Black workers, but all workers.

Newton's refusal to break completely with Black nationalism, which is a form of

middle class radicalism, is what led to his "committing revolutionary suicide," or more accurately, his committing suicide as a revolutionist to emerge as a bourgeois reformist.

The experiences we are now having in the development of our own movement confirms for us completely our original assessment that Newton's brief interest in Marxism and Marxist philosophy expressed a fundamental trend which would emerge in the working class as a whole in the next period.

The Weatherpeople were something altogether different. They were a student middle class radical grouping which reverted to terrorism. Their terrorism was precisely an extreme reflection of middle class radicalism which substitutes the middle class for the development of a conscious movement of the working class. Terrorism is the other side of reformism. This is now shown so clearly in Latin America with the Tupamaros and the ERP.

The importance of these questions lies in the nature of our own period. We must see in Debs and Haywood the finest expression of the reaction of the American working class to America's emergence as an imperialist nation.

Today there is every sign that we are returning to a period of class relations, of class warfare, which produced Debs and Haywood.

History does not just repeat itself; it does not develop in a circular pattern, but in a spiral.

We return to a period of class warfare, but under sharply changed circumstances. American capitalism now dominates the world; the crisis of capitalism in each country is really an expression of the crisis of American capitalism.

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# Radicalism And The American Working Class

A Reply To  
David Herreshoff  
Part Two  
by Tim Wohlforth

Eugene V. Debs

class faces a powerful labor movement. This will not mean, as Herreshoff suggests, abstinence from violence on the part of the ruling class. It means it can no longer be a matter of isolated class war in the mountains of Colorado or the hills of West Virginia. This is why the American ruling class prepares, as is now revealed in Watergate, its military power within the central government itself.

Precisely because this new period is a return to the period of Debs and Haywood but in a new, higher form, it is possible for us to gain great knowledge from their experience. Debs and Haywood passed through an experience many workers will now pass through. They were working men who came up against the limits of their own trade union consciousness and activity. Through their own experiences, they became open to socialist ideas.

Once they became socialists, they never turned back. While they made many errors, and even differed between themselves, both always insisted that trade union activity alone was inadequate to the tasks American workers face.

Both participated more fully in trade union struggle than any men of their day. But both brought into these struggles the fight for a socialist political solution. In the end, both stood with the Russian Revolution against all detractors and opponents.

Our dispute with Herreshoff, like our difference with DeLeon, has at its heart a difference on method. Solon DeLeon was recently asked: "Do you feel that DeLeon had a conception of Marxist philosophy? Did the influence of the dialectics or materialism amount to anything?"

He answered: "I don't recall any occasion either morally or in writing where he used the term 'dialectics.' ...I never could get the Old Man to say that he was an atheist. He always said he was an agnostic."

De Leon was a middle class radical, a

former Henry Georgeite and Democratic Party radical, who embraced Marxism as a formal doctrine which he used to perpetuate the same role within the workers movement that he had played openly outside of it. His "doctrines" were used against the working class and, as Haywood pointed out, he was impervious to learning from the experiences of the working class. It is this aspect of DeLeon which so appeals to Herreshoff who wishes at all costs to preserve middle class radical domination of the working class.

Debs and Haywood very much reflected the movement of American workers against capital in America's early imperialist stage. They learned much from the working class. They always lived in it and fought for it. But they could not develop on their own a Marxist understanding needed to construct the revolutionary party in America and prepare for the struggle for power. This required the intervention of the Russian Revolution.

Haywood responded wholly to this revolution, became a Communist and lived his last days in the world's first workers state as a Communist. Debs reacted to the Russian Revolution very much as he reacted to the 1912 split. He supported it warmly, but refused to break with the Socialist Party. He would not confront the party question and fight it out.

Herreshoff concludes his letter stating: "As for gradualism, it is one aspect of social development in America as elsewhere. History produces both the slow accumulation of tensions and transformational revolutionary leaps." This is no doubt true. But the question is what is the relation between small quantitative change and qualitative leaps and what does this mean for revolutionary practice?

The task of the revolutionary party is to prepare for the revolutionary leap during periods dominated on the surface by small quantitative change. Dialectics is required

to be able to grasp the leap in preparation and to prepare the party for it, rather than to be dominated by the surface development.

The two are by no means separate, for the surface quantity expresses underlying qualitative changes in preparation. It does so through contradiction. This is why only through a turn into the working class can the revolutionary leap in preparation be grasped and also why such a turn must be theoretical in character.

For Herreshoff, it is a matter of combining gradualism with revolution, of talk of revolution with a practice based on gradual reform. Thus, for instance, he writes the following on the early Communist Party:

"Monolithism discouraged the growth of distinctively American revolutionary and gradualist tendencies within the CP. But even if the party had maintained a more liberal internal regime, the party would still have been spellbound by the Russian Revolution. The awesome authority of Bolshevism among the American Communists was by itself probably enough to prevent an American version of Marxism from developing within it."

The whole concept of an "American version of Marxism" is alien to Marxism. We do not believe Marx evolved a distinctively German version of Marxism, nor Lenin and Trotsky a distinctively Russian version. Clearly, Herreshoff seeks a combination of Marxism with American middle class radicalism with the former subordinated to the latter.

He sides with all the anti-Communists like Theodore Draper on the issue of the impact of the Russian Revolution and the Communist International on the American workers movement in its first period. Actually, Marxism, which is always distinctively international, began to emerge in America precisely out of the turn of American workers like Haywood, Cannon, and Foster to the Communist International and its battle against American radicalism, deepening the fight begun by the First International.

What Herreshoff refuses to recognize is that after World War One and the Russian Revolution, the world had irrevocably changed. The Debses and Haywoods represented the highest point reached by the American workers movement during the emergence of America as an imperialist nation.

The tasks required of the American working class in the next period demanded a development considerably beyond even a Debs. For this, a turn to the experience of the Russian working class which led to the first workers state, particularly Lenin's long struggle to construct a combat party, was essential.

Debs's greatness was expressed in that he took the first steps in this direction, though he could not go all the way to meet the new requirements.

He fought doggedly against America's entry into World War One. When the October Revolution broke out, he completely supported the Bolsheviks. He wrote on the first anniversary of the Russian Revolution:

"Comrades of the Russian Soviet and the Bolshevik Republic, we salute and honor you on this first anniversary of your great revolutionary triumph, the greatest in point of historic significance and far-reaching influence in the annals of the race..."

"The chief glory of your revolutionary triumph is that you have preserved inviolate the fundamental principles of international Socialism and refused to compromise..."

"You ... are resolved that...the working class...shall not allow itself to be used...to install some intermediate class into power and perpetrate its own slavery and degradation....(Note this well, Herreshoff!—T.W.)"

"We pledge you...to strive with all our energy to emulate your inspiring example by abolishing our imperialistic capitalism, driving our plutocratic exploiters and oppressors from power and establishing the working class republic, the Commonwealth of Comrades."

Lenin had noted Debs's contributions in the course of his famous "Letter to American Workers":

"I also recall the words of one of the most beloved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene Debs, who wrote...that he, Debs, would rather be shot than vote for the present criminal and reactionary imperialist war; that he, Debs, knew of only one holy and, from the standpoint of the proletariat, legal war, namely: the war against the capitalists, the war for the liberation of

mankind from wage slavery!"

Debs was not shot for his antiwar views, but he did not go unscathed. When he spoke up against war and in defense of the Bolshevik Revolution in the small industrial city of Canton, Ohio, only a short distance from Lordstown where young workers battle today, he was placed in jail and held there by President Wilson.

This act only underlined the changes wrought by America's emergence as the dominant world imperialist power, and foreshadowed what the ruling class plans to try to do with its formidable opponent the American working class, today.

Debs's great strength, the degree to which he reflected the aspirations of the working class of his day, became his great weakness, for he was unable to transcend the level of thinking of workers of his day to lay the basis for a further development of the socialist movement.

This required, as we have noted, a turn to the lessons of the Russian experience, what Herreshoff derisively calls "the awesome authority of Bolshevism." This next stage of the struggle was taken forward by party men in the Communist Party, perhaps lessor in stature than Debs, but nonetheless essential.

To refer back to the discussion of the spiral development of history, it should be now clear that the America of 1974 requires a turn to Marxist theory by workers in struggle, and not by the modern day abstract propagandists who so abound and who carry forward the wrecking work of DeLeon.

Such a turn can only take place in a party. Such a party must assimilate the lessons of Trotsky's fight for Leninism after Lenin's death. That is, the struggle against the limits of trade union thinking in the American working class, taken up in one fashion by Debs and Haywood in the early 1900s, which must be taken up differently today through the construction of the Workers League which battles for the mass of workers to construct a labor party.

It is within this framework that the pernicious role of Herreshoff is so clear. We restate our accusation that Herreshoff's book is an attempt to cover his own abandonment of the revolutionary movement in favor of his career and middle class politics. The book cannot be separated from Herreshoff's political history. The book is actually the political manifesto of the liquidators who have deserted the Trotskyist movement.

Herreshoff was a supporter of the Cochran-Clarke opposition group within the Socialist Workers Party in 1952 (we refer our readers to James P. Cannon's *Speeches to the Party* and our review of same, *Bulletin*, December 18, 1973). This group supported and was supported by Michel Pablo's faction within the Fourth International. The latter had developed pro-Stalinist views, abandoning the construction of Trotskyist parties for liquidating the movement into the Communist and Social Democratic parties.

Herreshoff, together with Cochran, did not agree with Pablo on liquidating into the Stalinists, though the Clarke section of the faction did. They all stood together in their efforts to liquidate the party.

This book makes clear that Herreshoff broke with Trotskyism in order to turn to the anti-Communist positions of middle class radicalism which sees some purely "American" radicalism uncorrupted by the "foreign" influence of the Bolsheviks. This was the general position taken by Cochran's *American Socialist* magazine during its relatively brief existence.

That Herreshoff is an opponent of the communist position, does not prevent him from finding common ground with the Stalinists of the Communist Party as he has done in the antiwar movement. It is the cement of middle class radicalism that binds them together.

The importance of this book for an understanding of the political degeneration of the SWP is now even clearer. Today, the SWP publishes what amounts to the manifesto of Cochranism simultaneously with Cannon's polemics against Cochranism.

It stands in practice with the Herreshoffs. There are no differences between them on today's tasks.

The SWP uses its traditions of past struggle in the defense of Trotskyism to cover its present anti-Trotskyist practice. Herreshoff distorts the valiant history of the American working class to achieve the same end. The enemies of yesterday are the publishing partners of today.

CONCLUDED



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Eugene V. Debs



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He answered: "I don't recall any occasion either morally or in writing where he used the term 'dialectics.' ...I never could get the Old Man to say that he was an atheist. He always said he was an agnostic."

De Leon was a middle class radical, a

former Henry Georgeite and Democratic Party radical, who embraced Marxism as a formal doctrine which he used to perpetuate the same role within the workers movement that he had played openly outside of it. His "doctrines" were used against the working class and, as Haywood pointed out, he was impervious to learning from the experiences of the working class. It is this aspect of DeLeon which so appeals to Herreshoff who wishes at all costs to preserve middle class radical domination of the working class.

Debs and Haywood very much reflected the movement of American workers against capital in America's early imperialist stage. They learned much from the working class. They always lived in it and fought for it. But they could not develop on their own a Marxist understanding needed to construct the revolutionary party in America and prepare for the struggle for power. This required the intervention of the Russian Revolution.

Haywood responded wholly to this revolution, became a Communist and lived his last days in the world's first workers state as a Communist. Debs reacted to the Russian Revolution very much as he reacted to the 1912 split. He supported it warmly, but refused to break with the Socialist Party. He would not confront the party question and fight it out.

Herreshoff concludes his letter stating: "As for gradualism, it is one aspect of social development in America as elsewhere. History produces both the slow accumulation of tensions and transformational revolutionary leaps." This is no doubt true. But the question is what is the relation between small quantitative change and qualitative leaps and what does this mean for revolutionary practice?

The task of the revolutionary party is to prepare for the revolutionary leap during periods dominated on the surface by small quantitative change. Dialectics is required

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# LABOR TODAY

## The Truckers Strike

Thousands of independent truckers have joined in the shutdown called for January 31 to protest skyrocketing fuel prices and Nixon's energy shortage policies.

The determination of the truckers to defend their living standards was expressed in the fact that many hundreds, particularly in Ohio and New Jersey, jumped the gun and stopped hauling several days before the deadline.

The dispute among the independents over the strike date reflects the different class elements within the trucking associations, and is at the heart of the violence which has marked the truckers' protests against Nixon.

For the most part, the leadership of the independent truckers is composed of businessmen who own fleets of tractor-trailors. They have sought to strike a bargain with Nixon over fuel prices by seeking appointments at the White House while at the same time holding discussions with Senators and Congressmen.

However, the membership of such independent associations as the Council of Independent Truckers and the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers consists largely of self-employed workers, many of whom were once Teamsters and still carry union cards, whose livelihood depends entirely on the one tractor they own.

The increase in fuel prices has had a devastating impact on these small truckers. Since the price of diesel fuel has risen anywhere from 50 to 100 percent, the drivers have found it virtually impossible to meet the monthly payments—usually several hundred dollars—for their tractors and insurance.

The small truckers have no faith in their leaders who are trying to wheel and deal in Washington. They recognize that bargaining with Nixon is wrong. Their hostility was expressed last week when they did not participate in a Washington rally which their leaders had called in order to pressure Nixon, and is expressed even more sharply in the refusal to wait for the January 31 strike deadline.

However, while seeking to break free from their leaders, the truckers turn towards trade union militancy in its most extreme form. In order to force a rollback in prices, they are spreading nails across the Ohio Turnpike and forcing trucks off the road.

In the very process of fighting the businessmen who control the independent associations, the truckers are forced to confront the limitations of trade union militancy which all workers are coming up against today.

The struggle facing truckers is a political fight against the Nixon government. They can defend their rights only through a political fight aimed at forcing Nixon out of office and the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

This political struggle can be taken forward only by going beyond the limits of militancy. Its limits are the acceptance of capitalist society. The worker fights "militantly" to defend his rights within the limits of the capitalist system.

But this limit becomes intolerable under conditions in which Nixon and the corporations must destroy the living standards of workers in order to preserve the profit system and when state troopers and National Guardsmen are used to beat up and arrest truckers.

Seen in this light, the struggle is not simply one involving the independent truckers but it involves the Teamsters and the entire trade union movement.

Teamster President Fitzsimmons has sought to isolate the truckers. He has conspired with Nixon to defeat the truckers while Teamsters themselves have been hit by the government's attacks on workers. In addition to the inflation that has ripped into the living standards of Teamsters, whose wages are controlled under Phase Four, Nixon's speed limit costs them precious hours in driving time.

The truckers must turn toward the organized labor movement in order to defeat Nixon. They must demand that Fitzsimmons mobilize the tremendous power of two million Teamsters against Nixon through strike action in support of the truckers. They must demand that the Teamsters take the initiative in calling a Congress of Labor to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

In the struggle of the truckers against the collaboration of their own leaders with Nixon and their grappling with the limits of trade union militancy are expressed all the contradictions within the American labor movement today.

As they engage in the most bitter battles with Nixon—and such struggles are developing among all sections of workers—they are brought into conflict with the limits of thinking as it has developed out of the traditions of the workers movement and the class struggle in the United States.

This contradiction is the source for a tremendous leap in the thinking of American workers and the actual construction of a Marxist leadership of the working class.

by david north



Young steel worker addresses conference.

# YS Conference Plans Chicago Jobs March

**BY CYNTHIA BLAKE  
MADISON, Wisc.—**  
Over 75 youth and workers attended the highly successful North Central Regional Young Socialist Conference held here on January 26.

During the campaign for the conference in this area of the Midwest, new branches of the Young Socialists and Workers League were set up on the Southwest side of Chicago, the Northwest side of Chicago, and the West End in St. Louis. Strong contingents were brought from these new areas as well as from the Central Area of St. Louis, from Minneapolis, St. Paul and Madison.

The conference voted to build a mass march through Chicago's Southwest side, with all areas of the North Central regions participating, on March 16 at the same time that the West Coast will demonstrate in San Francisco and the East Coast areas in Washington, DC.

Adele Sinclair, editor of the Young Socialist, began the conference with a report which centered on the revolutionary developments now occurring internationally:

"Today, the working class is facing the most serious task in history. When we fight to force Nixon out, we're making preparations for the working class to take power. That means that our main task is constructing our own party.

"Today we can turn to win over whole sections of young workers to prepare a new leadership that is not going to delay, to compromise. The responsibility for building this movement lies with us. The only way we can defeat Nixon is to develop a Marxist movement to lead in the unions, in the communities, in the schools."

In his greetings from the Workers League and the International Committee, Tim Wohlforth developed even further the need to start from an international perspective. "We struggle to build the Young Socialists in this section of the Midwest as part of an international struggle, against an international enemy, the capitalist class.

"The heart of capitalism is the

United States. The US cannot simply turn and destroy democratic rights and build up a military machine in other countries without preparing the means to do the same things here.

"The American working class will quickly cease to be 'American,' and will become international and adopt the socialist aims of the international working class. The very domination of the world by America brings the American working class into the struggle of all workers. We must understand that not just American events will change American workers in this next period.



Willie from Central St. Louis

Brenda from the Central St. Louis club said that in the housing section where she lives, the lights go off about 10 in the morning, and it's midnight before they go on.

"I do my homework by candlelight—it's crazy. Then you go to school and the police lock you in the classrooms while they search lockers for knives and guns."

Debra from the Chicago Southwest Side YS said that in this area, where the main Midwest march will take place, all the forces working against us are present.

Right-wing forces are consciously being organized to pit white youth against Black at the Gage Park High School in order to prevent any united movement against the conditions all youth face. The Nazi Party has been organizing in the area and, together with the police, has threatened the YS members and burned YS papers and literature. She emphasized

that:

"This conference must draw the lessons from the development of these right-wing movements. The only way we can fight them is to build our movement in the schools, neighborhoods and, through the YS campaign against unemployment, to develop our movement in the unions. The answer to the Nazis is the building of a mass revolutionary party."

George, a laid off auto worker from General Motors in St. Louis, said: "It used to be I'd talk about 30 for 40 and they'd say, 'You're crazy, George, it'll never happen.' Now the money for the guaranteed wage is running out because so many auto workers are laid off, and now workers come up to me and say 'What about this 30 for 40?' Workers are in a mood to fight, because no money is coming in. You'll be hearing from us."

### PRODUCTIVITY DRIVE

A steel worker from the South Works plant in Chicago explained the tremendous productivity drive now occurring in all the steel mills around the country. He said that at the mill where he works, the company now makes three men do the work that seven used to do:

"Out at the plant there is only one paper that is taking up the fight against the conditions the workers face and that is the local rank and file one."

At this point, Willie, the organizer of the Central St. Louis YS, intervened to say that that was not the case. "The Bulletin is the only paper really taking up the fight to defend the steel workers along with the entire working class."

A number of youth and workers joined the Workers League after the session broke up, including 12 from Chicago alone. Over \$260 was raised to contribute to the Bulletin fund drive and send a comrade from the Madison branch to assist in launching a new branch in Youngstown/Lordstown, Ohio.

This conference followed two very successful conferences held in the Bay Area and Los Angeles. The final regional conference will take place February 2 in Cleveland and will include branches from Dayton, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Buffalo and the newly established Youngstown branch.

# St. Louis Locals Join Walkout

BY CAROL WEST

ST. LOUIS—City street maintenance workers, striking in support of four men suspended by the city, were joined today by 250 trash

collectors from Local 610.

The leadership of Teamsters Local 16 which represents the maintenance men has now been forced to make the strike, originally a wildcat, official.

These suspensions were imposed against four workers for not reporting to work in December, the days when the city was snowbound.

Both locals are picketing City Hall and demonstrating against the suspensions. Pickets expressed their fear that there was more behind the suspensions than just discipline:

"Two things are involved," one picket said. "They want to reduce the work force and they want the rest of us to make up the work." Another said, "We have to stand together on this one. Otherwise, they'll try anything."

The American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), which covers most city employees, is pressing their demands for a new contract to begin March 1. The city has offered a four percent wage hike but the union has refused this offer and threatened strike action.

AFGE also wants time and a half for all overtime. The city has said that they will only pay time and a half for emergency overtime.

## UAW Calls Off Strike At Brook Park Ford

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Jan. 30—Two hours before the strike deadline last Monday, the seven man negotiating team for UAW Local 1250 announced they had reached an agreement with Ford Motor Company.

The strike was called off after 29 hours of continuous negotiations. Wayne Medders, Local president, refused to release any details of the agreement. However, he reported that the negotiating team will recommend ratification at a union meeting today.

However, one young Brook Park worker reported, "You know the company worked with the union leaders and came up with something they want for themselves. We aren't going to get anything. That's why they didn't release the terms of the settlement."

The key dispute was over Ford's attempt to destroy the

seniority system and institute department instead of plant-wide seniority. A Local 1250 member reported to the Bulletin: "The company wants to break up seniority so they can lay off a man with 10 years and put a new man in his place."

A strike here would have paralyzed Ford. The Brook Park complex is the second largest Ford plant in the world. Its weekly payroll is two and a half million dollars.

Throughout the plant workers were angry the strike was called off and bitter that a national auto strike was not called earlier. Many workers feel Nixon is behind this. One retired worker interviewed at the union headquarters summed up the feeling of many:

"I'm on retirement, but I feel the layoffs will hit Ford just like GM. There's no telling where it is going to stop. Something has got to be done. Maybe labor has to go it alone and have its own party."

## Bribe Scandal Hits Chicago Hospital

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

CHICAGO, Ill.—The powerful Chicago Tribune launched a slanderous attack against the 6350 workers at the Cook County Hospital here in its January 23 edition.

Every single worker who has been promoted or transferred within the last two years is now under investigation.

According to the Chicago Tribune, workers in the payroll and personnel offices sold job transfers and promotions for a down payment of \$50, with continuous monthly payments. The scheme was aimed at workers making under \$9000 a year by promising good overtime pay.

"I think it's the big shots and not the workers," several hospital employees angrily told Bulletin reporters. "The little man doesn't know anything. It's the big shot that's getting all the money. The little man isn't getting anything."

Later editions of the Tribune have already admitted that it was the supervisors who would approach workers after they received promotions and solicit bribes by threatening to put them back in their old jobs.

The same people or possibly a second group, allegedly falsified work records and then demanded kickbacks for the extra overtime pay.

Hospital director Dr. James Haughton said the investigation is being headed by a former FBI agent specially hired for the job, since some members of the security staff are under suspicion.

Haughton told reporters that the schemes could thrive because the Governing Commission is "only three years old, and we're still in the process of putting together an effective management system."

However, at least one worker directly implicated Haughton in the scheme. He told Bulletin reporters that Haughton "charged one man \$50 just to be a janitor, and when he started telling, he got fired. People are walking scared."

Every workers' family across the country is being denied any decent medical care because of wholesale budget cuts and hospital closings. Now it is the hospital workers who face harassment, dismissal, and even criminal prosecution for the corruption of the hospital management.

Cook County Hospital workers are largely unorganized, and the full strength of the Chicago labor movement must be mobilized immediately in their defense.



Bulletin reporter speaks to hospital worker from Cook County.

## Delco TUALP Wins Support

BY A

LOCAL 696 MEMBER DAYTON, Ohio—

Angry Delco-Morain workers came to the Local 696 union meeting to demand why the bitter harassment, speedup, and layoffs were allowed to go unchecked within the plant.

One worker in Department 21 has declared that the speed-up of production is enabling the company to lay off more and more workers and that on some jobs there are no standards. Job setters are being used to run production.

When the bureaucrats were questioned on why the local was

not considering strike action, the reply was that the International has refused authorization.

This answer made the men even angrier. They demanded to know why a "five day" strike authorization letter had been refused. The local leaders did not want to admit that the international UAW leadership is cooperating with big business and Nixon. When asked what they would do to fight the layoffs, an official replied: "We cannot fight an energy crisis."

The corporations are not granting any union demands and are moving to smash the unions by causing massive unemployment among broad layers of workers.

Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party supporters put a resolution on the floor which stated: "Local 696 must demand that Woodcock call together all the major union leaders and that they issue a call for an immediate halt to all layoffs and the calling back of all laid off workers."

VOICE VOTE

The motion was narrowly defeated by a voice vote in which a handful of frightened supporters of the bureaucracy outshouted the majority who voted.

This meeting showed the growing support for the TUALP program among the rank and file UAW workers.

When TUALP members took the floor and exposed the local leadership for their refusal to do anything to fight the layoffs, an attempt was made to red-bait them.

Several rank and file members intervened and defended the democratic rights of the TUALP caucus.

The unemployment cannot be halted by simple trade union actions as in the past. The only way to answer the layoffs is through nationalization of the oil and auto industries, and every industry that is throwing workers out of jobs to make higher profits.

This can only be won through the fight of the labor movement to force Nixon out and to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

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# TV Anticommunism And Soviet Dissidents

by Dianne Isaacs

Mordovia, a complex of 45 prison camps in a network of 1000 in Siberia, is a grim tribute to the policies of Stalinism in the Soviet Union.

This complex holds more political prisoners than any other; intellectuals, scientists, dissidents. Alexandr Solzhenitsyn and Andrei Sakharov were both incarcerated in Mordovia.

Four men who served terms in the prison camps in the Soviet Union related their experiences on NBC Television's "Special Report" this week.

"We all expected death," Yuri Handler told NBC reporters. Handler, a lawyer from Leningrad arrested in 1968 for protesting the invasion of Czechoslovakia, used to read Solzhenitsyn's books in the camp in "samizdat" form.

"The KGB (secret police) managed to break me—not physically—during interrogation," Handler said. After seven months in solitary confinement in a single cell, threats to arrest his wife or send him to a psychiatric hospital, "one day I began to speak."

NBC constructed a 15 by 25 foot model of a camp to document the Soviet penal system as described by Alexandr Solzhenitsyn in *The Gulag Archipelago*, 1918-1956. Mordovia housed 1000 inmates in each of its one-story barracks. The inmates were forced to do hard labor: "things prisoners in the best health could hardly accomplish."



Alexandr Solzhenitsyn.

The Norilsk Hotel in Siberia was built by prisoners, surrounded by dogs and guards with machine guns. The inmates at the Kolyma Camp worked 10 hour shifts to build a dam.

One of the worst forms of torture the former prisoners revealed was torture by hunger. Inmates were served a soup of water, a little cabbage and potatoes. Michael Devenis, arrested in 1940, described how "people were cooking their belts, and eating tree bark."

"People got treated just like animals," he said, "It didn't matter if you lived or died."

"It was a common event that when a corpse was taken out of the camp, a number on the big

toe was the only identity."

That these interviews with former inmates of Soviet prison camps are shown on television now is not accidental; nor is the tremendous amount of publicity given Alexandr Solzhenitsyn's latest novel by *The New York Times* and other newspapers.

As the imperialist countries find themselves caught in recession, slump and trade war, they look to the Soviet Union for raw materials and labor, and thus prepare to end the detente with the bureaucracies of Moscow and Peking.

Faced with the tremendous movement forward of the working class internationally—and particularly in America—the capitalist class has a twofold purpose in presenting such shows: to lay the basis for support from the middle class for moves against the Soviet Union and China and for an anticommunist hysteria to repress a revolutionary leadership in the trade union movement.

It is no surprise that under conditions of isolation from the international working class, dissidents out of the Soviet prison camps can become politically disoriented and allow themselves to be used by "liberal" imperialism to spread anti-Sovietism. NBC News, *The New York Times* and Radio Free Europe have no more concern for the victims of Stalinism than they do for the victims of fascist

torture in Chile, Brazil, Greece or Spain.

It is, however, the Stalinist bureaucracy's criminal suppression of the political rights of the Soviet working class which provides the fodder for the imperialist's anti-communist crusade.

The new stage of the capitalist crisis demands that the United States prepare a military solution. Nixon's worldwide military alert last fall was openly directed at the Soviet Union.

The capitalist class will use the counterrevolutionary policies of Stalinism to attack socialism, and NBC's presentation this week was part of the ideological preparation for this campaign.



Gas stations in Los Angeles area face closure.

## Farah Ranks Win Gains

BY A REPORTER  
TEXAS, Jan. 29—A preliminary ruling by an administrative judge of the National Labor Relations Board could open the way for total victory in the 21 month old Farah strike here.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has been waging a struggle for union recognition against the Farah Manufacturing Company.

Walter H. Maloney ruled the company had pursued "its policy of flouting the National Labor Relations Act and trampling on the rights of its employees as if there were no act, no board, and no Ten Commandments." He ordered the pants manufacturer to:

- Offer to rehire any employees who went on strike on or after May 3, 1972, "dismissing if necessary" workers hired to replace them. Most of the 3000 workers on strike walked out on that date to protest the firing of six workers for union activities.
- Give the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, upon request, "immediate and reasonable access" to company bulletin boards for a year.
- Publish copies of the NLRB

order in English and Spanish weekly for three consecutive weeks in general newspapers published where Farah plants are located, including those recently closed.

•Give the union names and addresses of all nonsupervisory employees at all of the Farah plants, and keep the list current for a year.

•Reinstate, with back pay and six percent interest, the six workers who were fired in May, 1972.

•Pay to the NLRB and the union the costs of investigating and carrying out the case.

Mr. Maloney ordered that the notice be advertised in newspapers in order to reach workers

in cities where Farah recently shut down four plants.

### VICTORY

This ruling is a big victory for the Farah strikers, but it does not guarantee anything in and of itself. First of all, the company can appeal the ruling to the full board. Secondly, Farah has consistently ignored the rulings of the board in the course of the strike.

The NLRB has been used more and more recently as the direct tool of the government and big business to break up the unions.

The AFL-CIO must take any action necessary to assure that the strike is won and a union shop established.

## FBI Frameup Aids British Police

BY SHEILA BREHM  
LOS ANGELES, Calif.—A federal grand jury here indicted Theodore Dean Brown, a former Navy enlisted man, Monday on charges of aiding and abetting the smuggling of five pistols and 150 rounds of ammunition into England in a false bottomed trunk.

The trunk was part of the lug-

gage carried by Allison Rae Thompson, 18, a waitress from Santa Barbara, who was arrested December 29 in London.

Brown was arrested by FBI agents at Travis Air Force Base January 5 as he waited to board a military plane for England.

Miss Thompson is being held without bail in London while awaiting trial. A British prosecutor claims she was engaged in a plot to kidnap a high-ranking French official last month to force the release of 30 Moroccan political prisoners.

Miss Thompson has stated that she is not guilty. "I had no knowledge that guns or ammunition were in my luggage and I reserve my defense."

Miss Thompson and two friends, Abdelkbir El Hakkaoui, a Moroccan, and Ather Naseem, a Pakistani, are charged with illegally conspiring to import guns into Britain.

Before the arrest, Miss Thompson was a waitress at Mr. Lloyd's restaurant. An employee at the restaurant told the *Bulletin*:

"Allison was just a young kid. She knew nothing about politics. She never spoke about politics and had no interest in it. I think someone is trying to use her and frame her up. The papers are trying to pin it on her and the rest of them by the fact that they were known to like money. Well, who doesn't like money and want more?"

There is no doubt that the real plotters are the FBI and CIA who are aiding the Tory government in England to whip up a red scare against trade union militants and socialists as part of the massive repression the Tories are preparing for the working class.

## Gas Prices Force Dealers To Close

BY FRED CARTER  
PALO ALTO, Calif.—Most Santa Clara County service stations are expected to lock their pumps indefinitely on February 1 if the government does not allow gasoline price rises.

The National Service Station Dealers Association (NSSDA) will meet on Thursday, January 31, to discuss the threatened strike. 600 of the 800 county service stations belong to the NSSDA.

Dealers in neighboring San Mateo County are also threatening to strike if Santa Clara County shuts down.

Local dealers will strike because energy chief Simons ordered Phase Four price rollbacks in December which have slashed the dealers' profits.

The Internal Revenue Service has ordered 64 of 123 stations who were overpricing gasoline to lower their prices.

In addition to the threatened strike, many service stations have already run out of their

monthly gas ration and will remain closed until February 1.

### LIARS

When asked by the *Bulletin* if he expected to go on strike, a Palo Alto dealer responded, "As far as I'm concerned, the government is a bunch of damned liars. If they expect me to go broke while the oil companies make money, they had better not come pulling in here on Friday looking for gas, because there won't be any."

The vote by the General membership of the NSSDA to strike has produced a split in the leadership. The executive director of the NSSDA in Santa Clara County, Darrel Swagerty, and Paul Finch, a member of the governing board, resigned shortly after the vote.

Small dealers being thrown into bankruptcy by Nixon's policies must turn to the labor movement and demand that the unions build a labor party to kick Nixon out and nationalize the oil industry.

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# SF Workers Hold Rally For Strike

**BY A REPORTER**  
**SAN FRANCISCO**—A mass meeting and demonstration called by the Service Employees International Union Joint Council of San Francisco demonstrated the overwhelming sentiment of city workers for a strike.

The legislative and personnel committee of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors has made its recommendations for city workers for 1974: no wage increase for 7700 workers and either 2.5 or 5 percent for the remaining 15,000 workers, while the cost

of living in San Francisco has risen 8.8 percent since last year.

The SEIU locals, representing hospital workers, janitorial workers, clerks, and social service workers, are demanding an \$80 monthly pay raise across the board, salary adjustments for those who had inadequate raises in recent years, a shorter work week, and a full dental plan.

The SEIU leaders called the meeting not to prepare strike action but to lead a protest march to a public hearing of the Board of supervisors.

A strike by the city workers would provoke a bitter showdown since the city recently passed a collective bargaining ordinance to outlaw strike action by any city union.

Most workers agreed with the statement of a homemaker from the social services department: "We know we can't expect anything from Alioto. We have to get rid of that man, and we'll strike this city if we have to."

The locals involved supply many vital services to the city and have received a pledge of support from the transport workers union if they strike.

**RESOLUTION**

Twomey, the International vice president, refused to repudiate a resolution by the state SEIU to endorse Alioto for governor. At the rally, most of the bureaucrats refused to even mention the word strike and blamed the workers for a less than overflowing turnout. There were over 400 workers present.

A meeting was held at the same time by AFSCME Local 96 which has been raiding SEIU nationally. Before the SEIU meeting began, a leaflet was pasted up by Local 96 calling for a "unity" meeting of all city workers and directing them away from the Nourse Auditorium. They were quickly taken down.

On February 19 there will be a joint meeting of the four SEIU locals to decide on a strategy for this year. The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party will propose a vote for a city-wide strike, a complete break with Alioto, and that the SEIU leadership campaign to force Nixon out of office and call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

## Mechanics Out Of Work

**BY DENNIS BREHM**  
**LOS ANGELES, Calif.**—Out of 10,000 gas stations in the five counties in southern California, over 1100 have had to close down since last summer.

Twenty-three percent of all independent stations have been shut down, compared to only nine and one-half percent of the stations owned by major oil companies.

These closures have thrown thousands of gas attendants and mechanics out of work. "I've been unemployed for four months," said a mechanic. "I think they're overdoing this energy crisis so the oil companies can make more profits."

Many stations which were just barely making a profit have been forced into bankruptcy by the government's price control policy. One station owner said, "When the oil companies got a 7 cent raise, we got only one cent and our other costs were going up."

Many owners and gas attendants feel the gas shortage is being fabricated. Sid Hackel said, "There would be enough gas, but we'll have to pay 75 cents a gallon. I blame the government for the whole mess. People have a right to gas."



Retail clerks vigil in San Francisco as strike against Sears enters its twenty-fourth week.

# Nixon Slashes Federal Programs For San Jose

**BY ALLEN SALTER**  
**SAN JOSE, Calif.**—San Jose faces the complete destruction of all federally funded programs of the US Housing and Urban Development Department.

At a session of the San Jose City Council, James King, executive assistant to the city manager, said he wanted to "put the council on notice that this money is simply not there."

According to King, some \$8.7 million is not available for the city this next fiscal year (1975).

These cutbacks will affect the Model Cities Program, the

Urban Renewal Program, Neighborhood Facilities Program (community centers), Open Space and Land Grant Program, water and sewer systems facilities, public works planning advances, and public facility loans. All of these programs rely totally on government funds.

**COLLEGE ASSISTANCE**

The money granted to Model Cities is used for a college assistance program for minority students, housing assistance such as emergency housing or redevelopment, legal aid, and funding for minority businessmen.

Half of the funding for OICW, a job training program in San Jose, comes from Model Cities and will be eliminated.

A youth on work furlough at OICW from Elmwood Rehabilitation Center in Santa Clara County, told the Bulletin: "I think these cuts mean the government's telling us they want a fight and they're telling it to our face."

Another youth at OICW said: "They've been trying to cut out this program for a long time. I know in San Francisco they closed down the Job Corps. It seems like one after another all the programs are going."

**editorial**

## SWP Backs The Bureaucrats

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has joined with the so-called progressive section of the labor bureaucracy in the Bay Area in the "United Labor Action Committee" (ULAC) to sponsor a meeting and solidarity demonstration with the striking Sears workers on February 3.

This action will call for further protests against Sears, including a nationwide boycott.

Local 1100 of the retail clerks union, headed by Walter Johnson, is now in the twenty-fourth week of its strike against Sears.

The giant retail chain is trying to bleed the strike and break the union.

The SWP seeks to portray Walter Johnson and the bureaucrats in ULAC as progressive because they have supported middle class protest actions in the past.

In the February 1 Militant, weekly paper of the SWP, the SWP lists Johnson's achievements. He supported the antiwar protest, labor caravans to Delano for the farm workers, and protest demonstrations by the carpenters at the Federal Building.

These actions were diversions aimed at keeping the working class dependent on the Democratic politicians. They accomplished absolutely nothing.

Johnson's own record in the Sears strike is clear. He has proven himself incapable and unwilling to defend the Sears workers.

Even The Militant is forced to admit that these protest methods were unable to prevent defeat: "Despite the best efforts of Local 1100... the several Ad Hoc Committees hastily put together to bring labor support to striking workers were usually insufficient in and of themselves to prevent defeat. But the idea of labor solidarity spread nonetheless."

Trade union militancy and solidarity alone are

no longer adequate to defend the Sears workers. Many of the strikers are aware of this, because the strike has been absolutely solid and has still won nothing.

The SWP is deliberately turning into the labor movement with the intention of propping up a section of the trade union bureaucracy to hold back the political development of the working class.

It now seeks to play within the trade union movement the same role it played within the antiwar movement: to turn workers away from the political fight against Nixon through the construction of a labor party and to defend the domination of middle class radicalism.

What makes this role so reactionary is the fact that the SWP actually gives assistance to the Stalinists at a time when they defend "progressive" bureaucrats like Woodcock of the United Auto Workers.

The Sears strike can be won through the complete shutdown of Sears and through the mobilization of the entire trade union movement in support of the strikers. In this fight, Sears workers must demand that the union leadership fight for a Congress of Labor of all unions, to launch action to force Nixon out, and to construct a labor party. This is the only way to defeat Nixon's attacks on the entire working class.

The Workers League and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party has fought for this policy because the Sears workers can only be defended through the political fight of all workers against the government.

The SWP now proposes the same type of protest schemes that led to defeat in the carpenters strike and stands more firmly than ever with the labor bureaucracy in holding the working class within the limits of capitalism.

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## lucha obrera

— lucia rivera —

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Con estas palabras, Tim Wohlforth se dirigió a cientos de jóvenes y trabajadores de toda la Costa Este, quienes conmemoraron el pasado miércoles 23 el cincuenta aniversario de la fundación de la oposición de izquierda en la Unión Soviética.

Estos desarrollos revolucionarios los podemos ver claramente en **Inglaterra.** La movida del gobierno inglés, reduciendo la semana de trabajo a tres días, creando desempleo masivo para debilitar a las uniones y la movilización de las tropas y tanques en el Aeropuerto de Londres es la preparación de guerra civil en contra de la clase obrera.

Los mismos métodos brutales usados por el ejército inglés para suprimir a los trabajadores irlandeses son los mismos métodos que el gobierno prepara en contra de la clase obrera inglesa.

Estados Unidos ha salido a la ayuda del capitalismo inglés, enviándole unos 40 agentes de la Agencia Central de Inteligencia (CIA) para perseguir a los militantes de las uniones y a los socialistas y en esta forma tratar de prevenir cualquier liderato revolucionario en la clase obrera.

A la misma vez que esta situación revolucionaria se **desarrolla en Inglaterra, Nixon y los capitalistas en este país están conscientemente implementando desempleo masivo, dejando que la inflación suba sin control alguno, para poder dividir a los trabajadores y debilitar sus uniones.**

Los cuatros días de huelga ilegal (wildcat) por más de mil trabajadores del servicio postal en Nueva Jersey protestando la **revisión** de sus horarios de trabajo, fue confrontado apenas unas horas de declarada la huelga, con cientos de miembros de la fuerza policíaca especial e interdictos.

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Ellos surgen en esta época porque preveen apoyo a su movimiento por parte de las fuerzas derechistas y por las condiciones de desempleo e inflación que Nixon está creando. Fueron estas mismas condiciones, las que en los años treinta permitieron el desarrollo del fascismo en Alemania y las que por la carencia de un partido revolucionario permitieron a Hitler llegar al poder.

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## The Real State Of The Union

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"As we create more jobs, as we build a better health care system, as we improve our education, as we develop new sources of energy, as we provide more abundantly for the elderly and the poor, as we strengthen the system of private enterprise that produces our prosperity, as we do all of this and even more, we solidify those essential bonds that hold us together as a nation."

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