

Bulletin

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

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

VOLUME TEN NUMBER TWELVE 348

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

As Lordstown
Votes For
General Strike—

TRUCKERS STAY OUT



Scullin steel workers on strike in St. Louis. See special steel report, page 9.

British Mine Workers Strike Against Heath

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

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Dock and transport

workers have pledged not to handle scab coal and the electrical workers union has declared that no coal from outside will be used in the power stations. At the North Sea port of Immingham, longshoremen refused to unload a shipment of Polish coal.

With 81 percent of the miners voting for strike, NUM President Gormley failed to reverse the strike vote and the executive board voted 20 to 6 to go ahead with the walkout.

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The miners intend to halt all movements of coal. Pickets are to be stationed at the mines, docks, railroads, and electrical and power facilities. NUM President Gormley, however, has stated that the miners intend to use six man pickets, not mass pickets.

The government is preparing for violence and is planning to mobilize troops at these installations. Scotland Yard is preparing flying police squads for use against pickets.

Heath intends to use the mass unemployment that will develop during the strike to place the blame for the British economic crisis on the miners.

(Continued On Page 12)

BY DAVID NORTH
EAST LIVERPOOL,
Ohio, Feb. 11—Thousands of truckers throughout the country have repudiated the sellout negotiated in Washington and the strike remains solid despite Nixon's threat to move federal troops against the independent truckers.

The government's claim that a back to work movement has begun and that highway traffic will be back to normal today is a desperate lie.

As we go to press, the list of truckers meetings that have voted down the settlement grows longer. Truckers at the key centers in Ohio—Dayton, Youngstown, Columbus, and Toledo—rejected the sellout.

OPPOSITION

Truckers' leader George Rynn received the overwhelming support of Akron drivers when he declared his opposition to the settlement. Massive "no" votes have also been recorded in California, the Rocky Mountain states, Michigan, throughout the Midwest, and in the South.

In Minnesota, 1000 members of the Midwest Independent Truckers voted to stay out until prices are rolled back and the speed limit is raised.

At this meeting, the representatives of the Moorehead-Fargo drivers in the North were denounced for proposing a return to work and agreed to seek a reversal.

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The truckers strike has now created the conditions for

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That the UAW International follow the lead of truckers in the fight against inflation and unemployment by calling together the representatives of the trade union movement for the purpose of forcing Nixon out through national strike action and the building of a labor party as an alternative to Nixon.

forging a powerful alliance of the entire labor movement in strike action to force the resignation of the Nixon government.

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Every branch must begin subscription campaigns immediately for the February drive for 5000. A new trailblazing team begins Friday in East Flatbush, Brooklyn to launch a new branch in the area.

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Where The Stalinists Really Stand

Leonard Woodcock, President of the United Auto Workers has sent a cablegram to the British National Union of Mineworkers, stating:

"I send to all members of the NUM of Britain our strongest sentiments of solidarity with you in your courageous struggle for justice and equality.

"You had no responsibility in creating the inflation from which you seek relief, for it is a worldwide event spurred by complex causes totally foreign to you as miners—or us as auto workers—for that matter."

What We Think

This statement was given banner headlines in the February 6 Daily World, newspaper of the American Communist Party.

The British miners strike places the British working class at the center of revolutionary struggles. Not only can

conditions be created for a General Strike to force out the Tory government, but workers in Europe and the US will support it by going on the offensive against their own governments.

It is this movement of the working class in every country that terrifies the Stalinists of the Communist Party.

Thus they seek to prop up the discredited trade union leaders who tried to sabotage the strike and to portray them as "left" leaders in order to deny the independent and revolutionary upsurge of the workers.

The Stalinists of the Daily World are forced to deliberately lie to cover up the tracks of Woodcock and his counterparts in the British trade union movement and

to lie about the role played by the British Communist Party.

While the CP here greets Woodcock's "solidarity," their own movement in Britain refused to fight for a nationwide strike until the miners' refusal to accept a deal left them with no choice.

Michael McGahey, Scottish leader of the NUM and a member of the Communist Party, quickly retracted a statement that he would ask troops to join the miners, and assured Heath: "I am interested in changing this government by the good old traditional British method of the ballot box."

John Gollan, General Secretary of the British CP declared at the conference of European Stalinist leaders: "The Tory talk about the unions trying to govern the country is nonsense."

The leaders of the Trades Unions Congress (AFL-CIO of Britain), whom the Daily World glowingly praised for pledging full support to the miners, did just the opposite. While the miners were voting, the TUC met with Heath in a desperate attempt to split the miners from the rest of the labor movement.

Why have the Stalinists on the NUM executive agreed to limit pickets when Heath is planning to use troops to move coal?

The most cynical lie is the Daily World's claim that the policy of the British CP is to "Sweep the Tories out of office and return a labor government pledged to left policies."

From the beginning, the British CP has refused to fight for general strike action to force Heath to resign. When the Industrial Relations Board and Phase Three went into effect, they organized nothing but one day protests.

It is only the Workers Revolutionary Party of Bri-

tain, as part of the International Committee of the Fourth International that has consistently exposed the Labour leaders and fought to establish the industrial and political conditions to force Heath out.

Now the Stalinists seize on Woodcock's empty pledge of "solidarity" to cover for the very same treacherous policies here. What is the record of the man whom the Stalinists build up?

Woodcock has—
•Refused to call a nationwide strike against mass layoffs.

•Settled for a 3 percent wage increase, the lowest wage settlement in the UAW's history.

•Stated that "there is no escaping the fact that a shortage of oil means a shortage of jobs" and called not for a halt to layoffs, but more unemployment compensation.

The Communist Party stands with Woodcock and the trade union bureaucracy in refusing to fight for a nationwide strike against unemployment and inflation, and refuses to fight for the political mobilization of the working class in a labor party.

Just at a time when thousands of truckers are paralyzing the country and face the National Guard and riot police, the Daily World says nothing about their struggle.

The Stalinists' policy is to subordinate the independent power of the working class to the capitalist political parties and to prevent the development of revolutionary struggle.

The only way American workers can demonstrate real class solidarity is not with Woodcock's empty pledges of support, but as the Lordstown auto workers did, by calling for nationwide strike action against Nixon.

Two Million Workers Strike In Germany

BY A REPORTER

Two million West German public service and transport workers have launched a 48 hour strike against the refusal of the Brandt government to grant their wage demands.

The strike is halting air transport at the giant Frankfurt Airport, trash collection, bus and trolley service, and is slowing down mail deliveries.

German coal miners have warned the government that they will take action if any attempt is made to deliver coal to England to break the miners strike.

At the same time, negotiations between the one-half million strong Metalworkers Union and the automobile companies have broken down in most states.

The employers have offered

only an 8.5 percent increase in wages which is even lower than the guideline of 9.5 percent imposed by the Brandt government.

The union has put forward a demand for a 16 to 17 percent increase.

Brandt has answered the German workers with the same arrogance as Heath in Britain has dealt with the miners.

He stated: "We must draw clear boundaries and these may not be exceeded."

Unemployment is rapidly rising in the German auto industry. Opel, Ford, BMW, and Porsche all plan partial layoffs in February and March.

Over 85,000 auto workers have been laid off. Volkswagen and Ford say their orders are down 25 to 15 percent and the BMW's orders dropped 37 percent last November and 62 percent last December.

German workers are determined that this unemployment will not be used by the government to drive down their wages.



An Indian woman clutches her son to prevent soldiers from taking him away during riots in Ahmedabad.

Political Chaos In France

BY MELODY FARROW

The oil crisis, combined with the economic crisis and world decline in trade, has created a new political crisis for the Pompidou regime in France.

With unemployment and inflation rapidly rising, new explosions within the French working class, like the recent coal miners strike, are inevitable.

Inflation is expected to reach 11 to 14 percent this year, while gasoline is selling for \$1.50 a gallon. In January, food and clothing rose at an annual rate of 18 percent.

Auto companies are making drastic cutbacks in production. Domestic sales for Citroen and Peugeot have fallen up to 20 percent. The decline in exports have been double that amount.

Peugeot, the hardest hit, has eliminated Saturday work and intends to cancel contracts with immigrant workers. Line speed has been intensified from 200 to 300 units per week.

In a speech on the energy crisis on January 30, Prime Minister Pierre Messmer called on French workers to sacrifice and economize on fuel and declared that, "the threat of a long and difficult international crisis... can no longer be avoided."

Divisions and confusion within the Gaullist party are expressed in constant rumors that Messmer may be replaced and that Pompidou may resign because of illness.

French bankers and politicians are openly admitting that Common Market unity can never be achieved. The French government is the most aggressive spokesman for independent oil deals with the Arab countries, at the expense of not only the United States, but of its European partners.

Foreign Minister Michel Jobert has now agreed that

France will join Nixon's oil talks in Washington on February 11, but is opposed to any formal body being established.

Jobert will attend only on the condition that European nations be allowed complete freedom to negotiate with the oil producing countries.

The French government fears any agency set up on February 11 would be dominated by the United States.

With any possibility of monetary agreement shattered by the French devaluation, each European country is desperately seeking to export as much as possible.

Syria Rebuffs Israeli Terms

BY A REPORTER

Syria has rejected all US-Israeli proposals for a disengagement of forces on the Golan Heights.

Israel insists that Syria release a list of prisoners and then will pull back to the original line, in return for the establishment of a buffer zone and a thinning out of Syrian troops along the cease-fire line.

Sections of the Syrian govern-

ment are opposed to any settlement that does not include Israeli withdrawal from all Syrian territory on the Golan Heights.

Golda Meir has issued a statement that the Golan Heights are "an inseparable part" of Israel and that Israel will not relinquish territory she has occupied since before the war last October.

The real nature of Henry

Kissinger's diplomacy was exposed by his threat to sabotage the negotiations if the Arab countries refused to lift the oil embargo.

Kissinger called the continuation of the embargo "a form of blackmail" and said it was "considered highly inappropriate by the US and cannot but affect the attitude with which we will have to pursue our diplomacy."

This threat expresses the intentions of the Nixon government to renew the war, unless the Arab nations agree to make concessions.

The joint pressure of the Soviet leaders, Egyptian Premier Sadat, and Kissinger is proving unable to break the determination of the Syrian people to defend their land.

Prices Soar In Israel

The decision of the Israeli government to remove price subsidies has sent the price of basic goods soaring.

Last week, the price of bread went up 70 percent, milk 64 percent, sugar 57 percent, and eggs 61 percent.

This was on top of a 30 percent increase in taxes and compulsory loans since the war and a doubling in the price of electricity and oil.

Histadrut, the Israeli labor federation has been forced to demand wage compensation and the Black Panthers, a youth movement of poor Jews, staged a large protest demonstration in Tel Aviv.

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Art Director: Jeannie Cooper

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Baltimore City Public School teachers gather in front of City Hall after vowing to defy court order against strike. (UPI photo).

Baltimore Teachers Defy Court

BY LARRY SYMONS
BALTIMORE, Feb. 10—The city's teachers are entering the second week of their strike against the country's eighth largest school system.

Morale is high with eighty-five to ninety percent of Baltimore's teachers now supporting the strike, in defiance of the court injunction. Student attendance has dwindled to less than 12 percent.

The talks between the Public School Teachers Association (PSTA) and the school board have only been sporadic with no agreement in sight on the wages question.

While willing to grant teachers a measly three percent wage increase this year, the board is now refusing to even discuss the second year increase.

INJUNCTION

The court injunction was issued the day the strike began. The injunction's validity has been challenged by the PSTA, and a final judge's ruling has been scheduled for Monday.

Mayor William Donald Schaefer, who sought the injunction, has waited out the first week to see how solid the strike would be. Schaefer will now seek to use fines and arrests to back up the injunction to attempt to break the strike. The defense of the teachers requires the support of the Baltimore labor movement. Contract negotiations for other city em-

ployees are now beginning. Joan, an elementary school teacher, told the Bulletin: "The other city workers know that if we get something, they will get something. But if we do not get anything, they will not get anything."

Support has come from Ernest B. Crofoot, director of Council 67 of AFSCME, who told the press: "If the mayor gives us the same type of offer, there might well be a general strike."

EMERGENCY

He also stated that if teachers are jailed, as a result of the injunction, "We will hold an emergency meeting probably resulting in a work stoppage."

Similar threats have come from the city's firefighters, who walked out of a negotiating session last week. At a strike rally on Thursday, Karl Boone, president of PSTA, and Godfrey Moore, head of the rival Baltimore Teachers Union (BTU), for the first time clasped their hands in unity before 2500 cheering teachers.

Moore called for a "good contract, not just any contract," a reference to BTU's more militant demands in the strike. He also suggested the formation of a combined strike committee.

Despite this move towards unity, there has been no fight by either leader to get a commitment to action from the city's labor movement.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is fighting for general strike action by the Baltimore labor movement in support of the teachers strike and as a step toward the formation of labor's own political party.

Nixon To Remove Price Lid In April

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN
 The decision of the Nixon administration to eliminate price controls by April 30 is a recognition that inflation is completely out of control.

On February 6, both Secretary of the Treasury George Schultz and Cost of Living Council Director John T. Dunlop proposed to a Senate banking subcommittee the elimination of all controls, outside of health care costs and petroleum prices, by the end of April.

While both Schultz and Dunlop hope that the onset of recession will hold down price increases, thousands of products will surge in price when the controls are lifted.

Price controls have already resulted in economic chaos. In a number of cases, manufacturers have discontinued low priced items and concentrated on producing only more expensive, higher profit items.

Prices on a large number of commodities have been held

down by government edict while they rose on the world market.

While major industries such as steel and auto are still restrained by the Cost of Living Council, hundreds of smaller industries have been governed by strict controls on allowable profit margins. Business is now pounding away at the administration to allow prices to rip.

If all controls are lifted on April 30, price rises on every item will be astronomical.

WAGE OFFENSIVE

This is preparing the way for a massive wage offensive by the labor movement and is provoking deep splits within the administration itself on how to control the working class.

Both Schultz and Dunlop are proposing the elimination of the Cost of Living Council as a board with mandatory powers and its replacement by a "watchdog" committee without the power to order wage and price changes.

They are relying on major unemployment, the continued collaboration of the labor bureaucracy, and direct government intervention to hold down wage demands.

Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns has expressed the sharpest disagreement. He has called for the extension of controls for three months beyond April 30, and demanded a wage-price board with the power to delay increases indefinitely while disputes are mediated.

Burns has also made clear that the Federal Reserve intends to hold back on easing credit, warning that the US could be "headed for inflation in the two digit numbers—on a Latin American scale."

Burns is clearly speaking for the large banks which are increasingly hostile to the Nixon program of huge budget deficits and uncontrolled inflation and want to get down to the business of all-out war on the unions.

Schlesinger Justifies Arms Buildup

BY A REPORTER

In recent testimony before the Senate and House Armed Services Committees, Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger outlined a strategy that left no doubt that behind the talk of "de-

tente" with the Soviet Union, the United States was preparing for a new arms race aimed at achieving first strike capability.

Schlesinger's \$99 billion military budget includes Pentagon plans to develop an array of new strategic weapons such as more accurate and powerful missiles which are capable of knocking out Soviet military installations.

According to Schlesinger, "assured destruction," that is, the ability to destroy Soviet industry and cities, "remains an essential ingredient."

However, the new policy means that the US is not seeking nuclear "deterrence" but the ability to use nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union in actual warfare.

The only conceivable purpose for aiming US missiles at Soviet military targets is to be able to launch a first attack. This is what Schlesinger meant when he told Congress that present options were "either suicide or surrender" and that the military must organize to be able to "develop the doctrine and plans by which we can introduce selectivity and flexibility" into American military targeting. Speaking in the language of the

cold war, Schlesinger sought to rally the military to his "vision" for world domination.

"We have begun to lose our vision of the role of the US in the world... The psalmist tells us where there is no vision, the people perish... If the United States drops the torch, there is no one else to pick it up."

The military policy of the US is not simply a threat to workers in the Soviet Union, but to the working class of Europe as well.

Schlesinger outlined plans for maintenance of US troops strength in Europe, claiming that any retreat from US involvement in Western Europe would be "an unmitigated disaster."

"The area of freedom around the world would shrink precipitately and the nature of our society would change in ways we would find loathsome."

Schlesinger sees US troops and nuclear weapons as necessary for intervention in Europe under conditions of trade war and competition for markets, and to prevent revolution by European workers.

Schlesinger's testimony makes it clear that US imperialism is rapidly gearing up for war and worldwide counterrevolution.

Reluctant House Votes Inquiry

BY A REPORTER

The House of Representatives has voted 410 to 4 to give the House Judiciary Committee broad powers to subpoena individuals and evidence in an inquiry on whether grounds exist for impeachment proceedings against Nixon.

Despite this, both Democrats and Republicans made sure that the investigation would be toothless. The Committee chairman, Democrat Peter Rodino, made it clear that they would not directly subpoena Nixon to testify. In light of the support given by

the Democrats to Nixon's State of the Union message, the House vote will only tie up the issue of impeachment in an endless round of hearings.

Both parties are hoping that no impeachment will take place and that the Watergate investigation will die down by the time the hearings are over. This is why the House defeated an amendment to make a decision by April 30.

Judge John Sirica has instructed the technical experts who proved that the 18 minute gap in the key tape was deliberately erased to examine other subpoenaed White House tapes.

This includes a dictatbelt and cassette recordings both of which contain brief gaps. On the dictatbelt recording, Nixon's voice breaks off in midsentence while discussing a telephone

conversation with John Dean on March 21, 1973.

Nixon has continued to defy every attempt to obtain more evidence. His lawyer met with Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski and reportedly tried to offer some tapes in exchange for a guarantee that no more tapes would be requested.

Nixon has refused to hand over five tapes to the Senate Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities on the grounds that the judicial branch has no right to intervene in the matter.

Vice-President Ford insists that Nixon is about to release tapes that would prove his innocence, but stated he had not examined the material himself.

For weeks now, the White House has been trying to claim that it has tapes to refute John Dean's testimony, but has never released them.

Pennsylvania Threatens Martial Law

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

PITTSBURGH—Lieutenant Governor Ernest Kline has threatened to declare martial law throughout Pennsylvania because of the effectiveness of the truckers strike.

Already 4300 National Guardsmen have been activated by Governor Milton Shapp to patrol the highways and truck depots. A state of "extreme emergency" has been imposed since Tuesday, February 5.

Kline said: "If the powers authorized by the government proclamation of 'a state of extreme emergency' fail to restore truck commerce to normal, the next step is martial law."

Under conditions of martial law, the state constitution and all state statutes will be temporarily suspended and the government would wield virtually unlimited powers.

The truckers strike has had enormous impact on Pennsylvania. Effective picketing and other actions against drivers who try to break the strike has brought deliveries in Pittsburgh to a standstill.

The "liberal" governor, Shapp, who has mediated the negotiations between Nixon's government and the truckers has not

hesitated to use the most brutal methods of repression to try to break the strike.

He has issued orders for state police and guardsmen to disperse striking truckers in groups of three or more and threatened to use troops to man trucks carrying vital cargoes such as fuel, food, and medical supplies.

He has authorized the issuance of live ammunition to guardsmen.

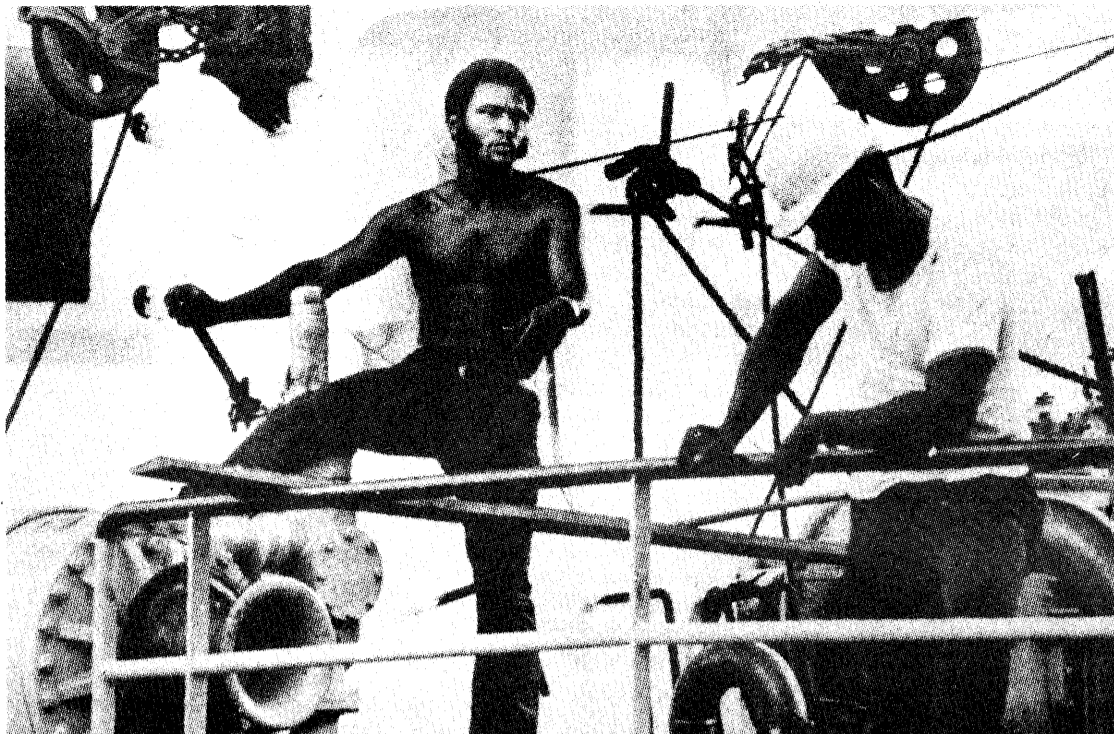
Judge Edward Dunbauld of US District Court in Pittsburgh has issued a restraining order to curb picketing at firms doing business with the western Pennsylvania Motor Carriers Association and set a hearing for February 12.

FIRED

A union driver from Pittsburgh said: "Four other men and I went to our boss and told him why doesn't he go on strike for the truckers and we were fired."

"The next day our union voted to take a strike and we tried to get the union to help us get our jobs back and they refused to help us."

"Now I am out of work and I am trying to find another job. It is impossible for me to find a job driving with the situation the way it is."



New Orleans longshoremen have long been in fight against containerization.

Docker Fights Expulsion

BY A CORRESPONDENT
NEW ORLEANS—Rank and file longshore leader, Irvin A. Joseph faces expulsion from International Longshoremen's Association Local 1419 on charges of leading a wildcat work stoppage last July.

Joseph has been leading a campaign among dock workers to force payment of royalty money owed the longshoremen under the 1971 to 1974 contract.

The charges against Joseph reflect the fear of the ILA leadership of the militancy of the ranks who have a long history of struggle against containerization.

In 1968 when the first LASH ship docked in New Orleans, longshoremen refused to unload cargo until an agreement was worked out to pay royalties on a

per-ton basis for containerized and LASH cargo to union members.

The ILA has divided longshore workers in the port through a contract agreement with the New Orleans Steamship Association.

Seventy-five percent of the royalties go towards pension, welfare, vacation, and holiday funds. The other 25 percent was to be paid to the all-white Local 1418 and -Black Local 1419 in cash.

This excluded cash payments to nine other ILA locals including clerks, freight handlers, banana handlers, waterboys, and sacksewers.

Last July, dock workers shut the port for 11 days to protest the court delays on awarding their money. ILA President Gleason flew in to arrange a settlement to get the longshore locals to amend their contracts and agree to divide the money among the 11 locals.

Both white and Black longshore locals turned the deal down and demanded an investigation into the royalty fund, claiming the figures were false and charging union corruption.

The royalty fund has been estimated by auditors to contain only enough to provide payments of between \$200 and \$300 to New Orleans's 4700 dockers after two years of the contract.

Joseph, a rank and file leader, threatened a February 1 sick-in if payments were not made. He has since extended the deadline 30 days to give the courts time to arrange distribution, claiming that he believes that the judge "is working as speedily as possible on resolving this thing."

Local 1419 President Clarence Henry, has charged that Joseph's threatened "sick call" strike was an action against the entire port of New Orleans.

He claims that the courts, not the union, has jurisdiction over the royalty fund and threatened drastic action against Joseph. An expulsion charge was proposed in the local shortly thereafter.

Royalty payments of a few hundred dollars will do nothing to defend the jobs of thousands threatened by the automation of the docks.

The ILA leadership has used the divisions on the waterfront to weaken the fight.

Only a united fight for a guarantee of 40 hours pay to all dockers with no elimination of jobs can meet the crisis.

There is no answer in the courts. Only through a break with the capitalist parties and the construction of a labor party can this program be carried out.

Jersey Starts Rationing

BY MITCH PATTERSON

ELIZABETH, NJ—On February 4, the city of Elizabeth, New Jersey was put on a mandatory gas rationing program, modeled after the programs already imposed in Oregon, Massachusetts, Hawaii, and Bridgeport, Connecticut.

The Nixon government and the billionaire oil magnates have levelled this new attack on the working class in an effort to force them to pay for the energy crisis.

These programs work in this way: on even-numbered days of the month, only motorists who have license plates ending in an even number can purchase gasoline. Drivers with odd-numbered license plates can buy gas on odd-numbered days only.

In Elizabeth, this program is enforced by law. Gas stations are visited by police and special inspectors.

If an attendant is found giving gas to a car that has an even-numbered plate on an odd-numbered day, the station owner is fined \$500 and the station shut down for a minimum of 90 days.

MAXIMUM

Stations in Elizabeth are operative for an average of three hours a day and allow maximum

purchases for only two to five dollars.

Workers who must drive to jobs in places miles away from where they live wait hours in line for gas, and then often reach the pump and are told there is no gas left.

In Perth Amboy, New Jersey, a short distance from Elizabeth, the Shell Oil company has been stockpiling 25.2 million gallons of petroleum since before the Arab oil embargo last November.

The Shell Oil Company, the Asiatic Petroleum Corporation, Compania Shell de Venezuela LTD, and Shell Curaco had jointly conspired to withhold this fuel until gas stations and home heating oil distributors were forced to pay their exorbitant prices.

SCREAM

All the while, this corporate conglomerate continued to scream about the oil shortage and how they were doing everything in their power to supply the necessary fuel.

These companies are now being sued by New York State Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz in the State Supreme Court.

The profits amassed by these oil barons are the highest in their history.

The fuel that these companies registered with the American Petroleum Institute was sold for 18.35 cents per gallon. The stockpiled reserves at Perth Amboy

were being sold for 47.5 cents a gallon.

While workers in places like Elizabeth face freezing winters due to the lack of home heating oil, and the loss of the use of their cars because they cannot obtain gasoline, the oil companies continue to conspire and gouge their prices.

Washington Clinics To Shut

BY SHINN DANO
WASHINGTON, DC—Congress has reduced funds for the District of Columbia, cutting Mayor Washington's budget by 10 million dollars.

Two million of this is to be slashed from the budget of the Community Health and Hospitals Administration (CHHA). One of the first health services to be cut was neighborhood health clinics where many workers and unemployed receive free medical care for themselves and their families.

If the clinics are shut down, patients with medicaid cards would be referred to private physicians while others would be referred to several of the larger already overcrowded health clinics.

Health teaching, a primary function of the neighborhood health clinics, a service which is

greatly neglected in the private sector because it is not profitable, will be abandoned.

FROZEN

Out of every \$100, \$82 budgeted for the Community Health and Hospitals Administration is spent for salaries. All hiring is now frozen. The next step will be the abolition of some of the existing positions.

Already, the bed capacity at the district in-patient facility has been cut in order to provide the required hours of daily nursing time per patient, required for accreditation.

Bed capacity has gone from 926 to 700. At Glendale Hospital, for patients with chronic diseases, bed capacity has been reduced from 600 to 464.

At DC Village, an extended care facility with a waiting list of 342 persons, the beds have been reduced from 800 to 700.

All hospital workers and nursing staff must fight to join other organized workers. They must seek to unionize and demand no layoffs or cutbacks in the programs.

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BY TOM KEMP

The hysterical campaign of gutter abuse launched on dissident writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn throughout eastern Europe and the Soviet Union reflects the ruling bureaucracy's mortal fear of the working class.

This parasitic bureaucracy, led by Stalin, rose to power in the 1920s only by destroying the Trotskyists and in the end the entire leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin's day.

Far from being a result of Stalin's personality traits, the purges, show trials and labor camps were necessary to beat down the fierce opposition which it encountered.

In 1956 the bureaucracy was forced to reveal a part of the truth, notably in Khrushchev's famous "secret" report to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

But then everything was blamed on to Stalin's excesses and the so-called cult of the personality. But when the risks of a free discussion of the past became obvious, the blanket of censorship descended once again.

It is precisely because Solzhenitsyn's new book, *The Gulag Archipelago*, describes in detail how the bureaucracy hounded, tortured and destroyed its opponents that it is banned in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and Solzhenitsyn himself is slandered and persecuted.

People in these countries, who are not permitted to read the book for themselves are told that it is "an anti-Soviet political lampoon" which provides an apology for Czarism and Nazism. Solzhenitsyn is accused of providing ammunition for the cold war against the policy of detente between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world.

Pravda hatchetman Yuri Zhukov put on a special display for US pressmen in which he shuffled through a batch of letters allegedly from correspondents who demanded that official sanctions should be taken against Solzhenitsyn and academician Andrei Sakharov "for slanders against the Soviet Union."

CAMPAIGN OF SLANDER

The organ of the East German Stalinists, *Neues Deutschland*, said that the book "reveals more fully than ever his counter-revolutionary character and his White Guardist ideas." It puts the main emphasis not on the contents of the book but on its alleged use in an anti-Soviet campaign by the enemies of "peaceful coexistence."

Writers and artists who live in mortal fear that their salaries and dachas will be taken away are enlisted in the campaign of slander. They have no more chance of publishing what they really think inside the Soviet Union than Solzhenitsyn has.

The attack on the author, orchestrated by press, radio and TV throughout eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, is nothing but an enormous diversion to suppress that truth.

Solzhenitsyn has been accused of publishing his book to sabotage the policy of detente and of making a lot of money from it. As he has pointed out, he allowed it to be published, first of all in a Russian edition by a small publishing house in Paris, and later in translation, after a copy of the manuscript had been extorted by the KGB (Soviet secret police) from a woman friend in Lenin-

Solzhenitsyn And Stalinism

reprinted from workers press



Solzhenitsyn in front of his Moscow apartment.

grad who later committed suicide.

He has called on publishers to produce the book in cheap editions to ensure it the widest circulation and to hand over the proceeds to the victims of Stalinist persecution.

The title of the book refers to the organization (GULAG) which has the general direction of the forced labor and prison camps in the Soviet Union through which millions have passed, many never to emerge alive. Solzhenitsyn spent over 10 years of his life in these camps for the "crime" of criticizing Stalin in a letter to a friend when he was serving as an officer in the Red Army.

He lived through the purges of the 1930s apparently unmoved. At this time he was an orthodox product of Stalinist education, a member of the Young Communist League who became a model officer noted for his strict adherence to the drill book.

It is not clear what inspired him to pen the words about Stalin which earned him a place in the labor camps as the reward for risking his life in the Red Army. It is not surprising, however, given his background and limitations, that his experiences should make him an embittered man, at odds with the bureaucracy, but unable to explain how it had arisen.

His first book, based on the camps, was *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch* which was published in the Soviet Union and even praised by Khrushchev. Solzhenitsyn immediately became a well-known figure both in the Soviet Union and internationally.

When he went on in a number of other novels to pen a bitter criticism of the Stalinist regime and the whole system of bureaucratic oppression, the toleration which he had enjoyed for a while came to a full stop. These books

were refused publication in the Soviet Union because the bureaucracy feared any discussion about the past by the victims of Stalinism would open up the whole question of its own origins and social base.

Refusing to be silenced, Solzhenitsyn had his books published abroad, but was driven into increasing isolation at home.

Expelled from the Writers' Union, he was subject to continuous KGB surveillance and persecution.

Solzhenitsyn was determined to make the truth about the Stalin period known as he saw it. From other concentration camp victims and written accounts he began to put together the first of several planned volumes dealing with their experiences. *The Gulag Archipelago* brings together the stories of 227 survivors from the camps and more volumes are planned, including one dealing with the experiences of members of the Left Opposition.

He has been able to collect much new information about the show trials and purges of the 1930s, particularly about the methods used by Stalin's agents to break the will of Old Bolsheviks like Bukharin, Kamenev and Pyatokov. They made public "confessions" in court and gave wholly fabricated evidence implicating others.

Particularly repulsive was the cat-and-mouse game which Stalin played with Bukharin in order to prepare him for the courtroom. Pyatokov was brought before Stalin's Central Committee in 1937 in a pitiable state, with his teeth knocked out, to make a confession, and no doubt as a warning to the others.

The Stalinist repression was on a mass scale. Fifteen million peasants were deported as alleged kulaks in the course of forced collectivization. A quarter of the population of Leningrad was purged in 1934-1935

after the Kirov assassination, which had been organized by Stalin. The purges which were going on from 1936-1939 claimed 1.7 million victims, according to Solzhenitsyn.

After the war entire national groups were deported to remote parts of the Soviet Union on the grounds that they had collaborated with the Nazis. From 1950 anti-Semitic persecutions began to reach a climax in the notorious "Doctors' Plot" in 1953.

A number of respected Soviet doctors, mostly of Jewish origin, who treated Kremlin leaders, including Stalin, were accused of plotting to poison them.

On this occasion, too, Communist Party members throughout the world were enlisted to denounce the "assassins in white coats" on Stalin's orders. Communist doctors in France and Britain put their names to accusations which were admitted after Stalin's death to be completely baseless.

Solzhenitsyn repudiates Marxism and rejects the Marxist explanation of the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy. He blames Stalinism on to the October Revolution and sees it as a continuation of Leninism.

He is unable to provide a materialist explanation of the rise of the bureaucracy which finds its origins in the special conditions which existed in the isolation of the first workers' state in a backward and predominantly peasant country.

He is unable to distinguish between the Red Terror—the repression of the reactionary forces which carried on a civil war against the first workers' state with the aim of restoring capitalism and landlordism—and the Stalinist terror designed to consolidate the rule of the parasitic bureaucracy.

Solzhenitsyn's standpoint is that of the petty-bourgeois critic. He has returned to reli-

gion and adopts a reactionary position on some questions.

Does that mean that the Soviet workers and intellectuals should not be permitted to read a book which at the same time raises all the basic questions about the bureaucratic regime?

On the contrary, they will know from their own experience what to sift out from Solzhenitsyn's work and will draw their own conclusions.

The reactionary positions which Solzhenitsyn adopts play into the hands of the bureaucracy, which uses them to discredit the book and thus to avoid a discussion about the main questions.

What is at stake is its own existence, its own right to rule and the privileges it enjoys as a parasitic caste. When it calls in the hack writers and commentators to heap abuse on Solzhenitsyn, it does so in a desperate effort to conceal the truth from the people of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It fears a repetition of Berlin 1953, Hungary 1956, Czechoslovakia 1968 and the Polish Baltic ports, 1970.

It fears the political revolution.

Just as cowardly is the Stalinist leadership of the Communist Parties in western Europe. They hesitate to join in the chorus of abuse of Solzhenitsyn because they claim to be in favour of freedom of expression for creative artists. But they fear just as much as the men in the Kremlin any reckoning with the past which would reveal their cover-up for Stalin's crimes.

French CP secretary Georges Marchais tried to take refuge behind the plea that the role of Stalin had been adequately discussed after 1956. Others claim that the Solzhenitsyn affair is an internal Soviet matter.

These pleas are false. The question of the nature of the bureaucracy, its historical origins and the parasitic nature of its role today is one for the entire workers' movement internationally. The Communist Party leaders have never broken with Stalinism nor do they permit a full and frank discussion of the struggles in the Soviet Union in their own ranks.

EXPOSING BRUTAL TREATMENT

In his denunciations of Stalinism and in his exposure of the treatment meted out to oppositionists Solzhenitsyn is only following in the footsteps of Trotsky who made the truth known at the time against the skepticism and hostility of the liberal supporters of popular frontism and the "friends" of the bureaucracy abroad.

Revolutionaries will defend Solzhenitsyn's right to put forward his view. They will see in much of his work an independent corroboration of what they have been saying all along. They will just as strongly criticize Solzhenitsyn's false positions and his inability to explain the nature of the Stalinist regime.

Stalinism today is in the grip of a deepening crisis. It seeks a way out through a compromise with imperialism under the slogans of detente and peaceful coexistence in the name of which they deliberately organize to break the will of the working class.

Trotskyists stand for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, which can only be ensured by the mobilization of the working class in parties of the Fourth International for revolutionary struggle.

In the Soviet Union that means re-establishing the links with the struggle of the Left Opposition launched 50 years ago by Trotsky and the political overthrow of the bureaucracy.

Roberts Attacks The IC

In the May 7, 14, and 21 issues of *Intercontinental Press*, Dick Roberts writes a series of articles in defense of Ernest Mandel.

The whole point of Roberts's polemic is to offer a theoretical defense of neo-capitalism under conditions where this whole theory is starkly exposed.

Roberts proceeds on the same contradictory basis as we have analyzed in relation to the method of Mandel: an eclectic combination of orthodox formulations on the one hand and the most open and blatant revisionism on the other.

Particularly in the first of his three articles, Roberts, attacking the International Committee, actually begins by making out a case that presents Mandel as not only an orthodox Marxist, but as the staunchest defender of the economic position of the International Committee. He makes what is too good a case for Mandel.

In fact, Roberts's method leads him here to the absurd point of seeking to attack the IC for having been too conservative:

"This plunging of capitalism into crisis had not been foreseen and explained by the Healyites. But instead of modifying their theory in accordance with developing reality, they opened a smear campaign against Ernest Mandel."

No sooner are these points made, however, than the very opposite standpoint is taken up. A wholesale attack is made on the IC for being too extreme in its view. Thus having just attacked the IC for being conservative, Roberts quotes headlines from the Newsletter from 1964 to 1968 in which the Newsletter is shown to have consistently warned of this crisis and asserts that the SLL is a crisis monger.

The Conceptions Of Hume

At the heart of Roberts' attack on the basic theoretical analysis of the International Committee on the monetary crisis, however, is the complete idealist and anti-Marxist position that Roberts takes up on the issue of the relationship of paper money to gold.

Roberts first quotes approvingly Mandel's infamous assertion that the question of the relationship between gold and paper money is a subjective rather than an objective question.

"There is not the slightest chance that DeGaulle's proposal will be taken up. It would be suicide for capitalism to return to a rigid system of money and credit controlled automatically by the supply of gold. Such a system could lead only to a major depression." (p. 570)

But Roberts goes further in this. In this article, Roberts now puts forward nakedly and explicitly the theory, held also by Mandel, that there is no significance to the relation between gold and paper money and actually breaks with Marx on the question of the nature of inflation.

Roberts states:

"Inflation, be it repeated is the inevitable result of state intervention in the economy. It is caused by the massive increase in money (including) credit for which there are no countervalues on the market. This occurs independently of gold in circulation." (My emphasis—D.O.)

What Roberts's theory amounts to is this: inflation does not arise out of the relationship between paper money and gold, but out of the relation between money and commodities.

If too much money is printed in relation to commodities, then they depreciate in value, i.e., there are no "countervalues" on the market for them to be exchanged with and their value falls in accordance with supply and demand.

In putting forward these conceptions, Roberts returns to the vulgar conception of

Hume and Ricardo who were criticized by Marx for propounding the thesis that the value of money and therefore the prices of commodities fluctuated with the quantity of money and gold in circulation.

Marx showed that the opposite was the case: that the quantity or value of money in circulation was but the reflex of the circulation of commodities and was determined by the value of commodities in circulation.

Thus where the velocity or volume of commodity circulation increases, money is drawn out of hoards and functions as a means of circulation. When the circulation of commodities slows, money gives up its role as a means of circulation and flows back out of circulation into hoards once again.

In short, the movement of money is purely secondary, and dependent on the movement of commodities. There is never any question of there being too much money in circulation relative to commodities, as Roberts imagines.

Relationship Of Paper Money To Gold

The depreciation of paper money is explained not from its relationship to commodities, but to gold.

Marx makes this quite clear:

"A law peculiar to the circulation of paper money can spring up only from the proportion in which that paper money represents gold. Such a law exists; stated simply, it is as follows: the issue of paper money must not exceed in amount the gold (or silver as the case may be) which would actually circulate if not replaced by symbols."

"If paper money exceeded its proper limits, which is the amount of gold coins of like denomination that can actually be current, it would, apart from the danger of falling into general disrepute, represent only that quantity of gold which in accordance with the laws of circulation of commodities, is required, and is alone capable of being represented by paper."

"Only insofar as paper money represents gold, which like all other commodities has value, is it a symbol of value."

In putting forward his theory, Roberts is seeking above all to deny the tremendous contradiction between the billions of dollars of paper money both in circulation and in the vaults of the world's major central banks and the tiny gold base upon which this pyramid of paper rises, a base which in any case as of August 15, 1971 has been removed.

Mandel and Roberts Deny The Crisis

This is not just a quantitative matter. What Roberts seeks to obscure is that the basis of value relations of capitalist society are now thrown into utter crisis. The source of the distortion of value relations lies in the fact that the value of paper money is today virtually unknown, severed as paper money is from gold.

This breakup of value relations, the instability of value itself, has the greatest impact on the capitalist production, reflected in the sharp contradiction that is now grasping the whole capitalist world.

Roberts sneers at our article in the March 19 *Bulletin* in which we warned: "Through the massive inflation of paper currency used to erect mountains of credit, the commodity can find no means to realize its exchange value."

"Because exchange value can no longer be realized, the capitalists are forced to cease the production of commodities entirely."

Roberts replies:

"The editors of the *Bulletin* may not know it, but the production of commodities hasn't ceased in the United States; it is on the upturn."

In line with this, Roberts has more recently declared the energy crisis to be

simply a fraud. But the process analyzed by the *Bulletin* is of course taking place. It is precisely the breakup of any confidence in paper money that is today not only behind the energy crisis, but behind shortages in other basic items, particularly in basic commodities, like paper, related to the point at which production begins.

What happens in the field of circulation has the most profound impact on production. As Marx pointed out, capital is not just a system of production but reproduction. In other words, in capitalist production or reproduction, surplus value must not only be extracted, but commodities containing it must be sold on the market for money so that both the transferred values and the surplus value can be realized and retransformed into capital so the reproductive process can continue on an expanded scale.

Under conditions where money and therefore reproduction is broken up, the capitalist is deprived of any assurance that he will be able to realize the values of his commodities on the market. Since the whole *motus vivendi* of the system is the production of surplus value, the capitalist ceases to have any incentive to produce.

For this reason, for example, the large oil companies in America have, foreseeing huge convulsions in the monetary system, declined to sink billions in investment in new refineries, drilling or storage capacities, and other energy facilities. Masses of capital is invested for making a quick profit in the shortest space of time in such ventures as the speculation in currency, commodity futures, etc.

Under capitalism, everything depends upon the exchange of commodities and money.

But this is basically denied by both Roberts and Mandel.

Mandel says that it is precisely because of production crises that gold maintains its special role and that "gold (has no—D.O.) special effect on production generally."

In saying this, Roberts reveals that he not only misses the point of the question of the relation of gold and paper money, but the role of money itself in capitalism.

Gold Is Not Just A Convenience

Contrary to Roberts's assumption, gold money is not something that takes on importance just in a crisis or is just a convenient way of overcoming the difficulties of barter. It is in a crisis that the real nature of the system in which everything depends on the exchange of commodities for money is sharply and explosively revealed.

It is only through money, i.e., gold, as Marx showed, that the private labor of individuals which produce use values can be related to the labors of others. It is only through its relation to gold, the universal embodiment of exchange value, that the commodity realizes itself not only as a use value, but a value as well, as a social product, the product of a definite quantity of abstract human labor. It is only on the base of such exchange for money that commodities enter into circulation in accordance with objective laws of commodity circulation and production.

All crises under capitalism, while the basic content is to be found in the basic contradiction of the capitalist mode of production, ultimately take the form of a break between commodities and money, itself an expression of the conflict between the two sides of any commodity—value and use value. Thus Marx says:

"In commodity production, the conversion of the product into money, the sale, is a *conditio sine qua non*. Direct production for personal needs does not take place. Crisis results from the impossibility to sell. The difficulty of transforming the commodity—the particular product of individual labor—into its opposite, money i.e., abstract general social labor, lies in the fact that money is not the particular product of individual labor, and that the person who has effected a sale, who therefore has commodities in the form of money, is not compelled to buy again at once, to transform the money again into a particular product of individual labor."

The final and most serious distortions by Roberts of the position of the International Committee on the present crisis is Rob-

erts's contention that by placing great emphasis on the question of the monetary crisis, we are actually beginning in our analysis of capitalism not from the standpoint of production as Marx insisted be done, but from the standpoint of circulation.

Thus Roberts asserts:

"It is one-sided and consequently incorrect to assert, as O'Casey and his mentors in London do, that the cause of postwar prosperity was simply the flooding of the capitalist world with dollars and currency inflation. This monetaristic concept turns reality and Marxism upside down."

"In order to grasp the dynamics of postwar expansion, we have to begin, with Marx, in the arena of production, not circulation. In the dialectical relation between production and circulation, production is the predominant category. This is the central theme of Capital. It is expressed in the logical structure of Capital which proceeds from the contradictions of production in the

Ernest Mandel: The Fraud Of Neo-Capitalism

by Dennis O'Casey
and Alex Steiner

Part Two

through inflation permitted the capitalists to compensate for the fall in the rate of profit by an increase in its mass.

At the same time, through investing in war-torn Europe and the colonial countries where there was a lower organic composition of capital and higher profit rate, the falling rate in the United States and later the European countries could be countered.

This has resulted during the boom inflation in huge conglomerates and massive multinational corporations in which profits margins are extremely thin, but whose massive size and continued growth has until now compensated for this.

Destructive Effect Of Inflation

The essential point made by the International Committee about the monetary crisis, which has come to a head with the break between paper money and gold on August 15, 1971, is that the capitalist class can no longer overcome the direct assertion of the falling rate of profit through inflation.

Any attempt to restrict continuous inflation has an immediate impact, sending tremors through the massive conglomerates whose survival now depends on continuous massive credit infusions. The opposite policy, the policy now taken over by the capitalists, of unlimited inflation now has the same effect.

Rather than a lever for the expansion of the system, inflation now has a destructive effect on the monetary system and produces a crisis of confidence in the future of the system, becoming a direct factor in the contraction of production.

Under these conditions inflation can no longer serve to counteract the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. Its fall with the massive convulsions arising from this must now proceed directly and be at the same time aggravated by the simultaneous breakup of money.

Clearly, Roberts has a whole worked out theory that the movement of capital can still be explained on the basis of the simply cyclical fluctuations characteristic of nineteenth century capital. He sees the series of mild fluctuations between recession and expansion of the 1950s and 1960s simply as a continuation of this cyclical moment.

He is oblivious to the fact that the mildness of the cyclical movement has been purchased at the expense of inflation and disintegration of the monetary system. This will mean the wave of expansion within which these minor oscillations took place will be finished.

Sophistic Explanations

Instead of a Marxist analysis which grasps the present crisis from the standpoint of the actual development of the contradictions at the heart of the capitalist system, Roberts, following Mandel, continues to try to explain away the present crisis with the most sophistic explanations.

In particular, Roberts once again defends Mandel's thesis that the present crisis of world capitalism is simply the product of competition.

The United States, according to Roberts, "has lost the absolute supremacy it held in the immediate postwar period, but has retained its relative supremacy."

The illusions of a resurgent Europe that Mandel fostered based particularly in empirical evidence associated with the recent American balance of trade deficits are now being blown apart as American capitalism, using its own bankruptcy, has simply allowed the dollar to fall on world markets and has thereby forced a sharp reversal of the trade balance upon which Mandel's and Roberts's theses were founded.

The superficiality and bankruptcy of Mandel's whole theory is now out in the open.

The competitive struggle between capi-

talist states today can only be explained from the standpoint of the collapse of the American dollar whose bankruptcy now stands at the center of the world crisis as a whole. The threat posed by Europe and Japan to America stems not so much from any new competitive strength, but because the collapse of these economies provoking revolutionary confrontations with the working class in these countries now spills back into America at a time when America itself is gripped by and at the same time the center of the same massive inflationary crisis and the American working class is preparing for massive upheavals as well.

Roberts's real position comes out in all its crudity at the end of his series when he says:

"Those who believe that Marxism is a science and not a religion do not pretend to be able to predict what is going to happen tomorrow or next week.

"It is true that the coming crisis of capitalism will not exactly duplicate the crisis of the 1930s. The ruling classes learned certain lessons from that disaster and it is incumbent on revolutionists to do the same. As the economic contradictions deepen, governments will undertake quite different policies from those tried in the 1930s. In the long run, even the most sophisticated policies will fail.

"We have no doubt that capitalism with all its contradictions will ultimately be rejected by the vast majority of the workers."

Objective Historical Laws

What more pathetic appeal could be made than this. Here is the deep hostility of the empiricist to any science that goes beyond the immediate, passive reflection of the fact of today. Here is the philosophical justification for capitulation to spontaneity and the liquidation of the revolutionary party. Here we are told that the capitalists learned a lesson or two from the 1930s, as if it were a question of the lessons they learned and not objective economic and historical laws that would determine the character of the crisis that is now gripping capitalism.

As for their methods, now that the capitalists face the breakup of their most sophisticated attempts of postponing the crisis, their methods will be those used in Vietnam, the Middle East, and in Chile: attempts at the destruction of the unions, dictatorship, fascism, and war. These are not questions furthermore of the long run, as Roberts puts it, but a question of here and now, of revolutionary struggles in every country in the immediate period.

Capitalism is not something to be ultimately rejected by the working class, as Roberts states, but a system which the working class must fight in revolutionary struggle now if it is to survive in the immediate period.

The struggle against the completely falacious, complacent, and revisionist views of Mandel and Roberts is not, as Roberts insists, a matter of the International Committee's factional frenzy.

In making these charges, Roberts reverts to the slanders made against Trotskyism by Stalinism to cover its counterrevolutionary policies over the past 40 years.

Marxist Principle

On the contrary, the fight to expose Mandel and his defenders like Roberts flows from a profound consideration of fundamental questions of Marxist principle and method, issues which are today immediate life and death questions before the working class.

We republish Ernest Mandel and the Fraud of Neo-Capitalism as a weapon to expose this revision before every worker and youth now being drawn toward the revolutionary movement.

CONCLUDED

first volume to those of circulation in the second and third volumes."

Falling Rate Of Profit

This assertion is of course a complete distortion of the IC's position. The IC has always begun in analyzing the development of the capitalist crisis precisely from the fundamental contradiction of capitalist production, in particular from the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. This is clear from a passage Roberts himself quotes from the FI magazine:

"No economist or financial expert, however eminent, could get away from the reality of capitalism, that it involved the exchange of products of labor and that gold was the universal commodity in the background of all international transactions.

"This remained the limit on the boom and, somewhere along the line, the expansion of trade had to run into this contradiction. The fall in the rate of profit could be evaded only up to this point by means of investment in Europe and state purchases of armaments."

Specifically, we have always analyzed the inflationary decisions taken in the field of circulation at Bretton Woods from the standpoint of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, setting in motion contradictory tendencies.

This was the whole basis of the boom. Thus, while the rate of profit indeed fell throughout the boom period, the general expansion of capitalism made possible

a fraud. But the process analyzed by the Bulletin is of course taking place. It is especially the breakup of any confidence in money that is today not only behind the energy crisis, but behind shortages in basic items, particularly in basic commodities, like paper, related to the point at which production begins.

It happens in the field of circulation that the most profound impact on production is Marx pointed out, capital is not just a means of production but reproduction. In other words, in capitalist production or reproduction, surplus value must not only be produced, but commodities containing it must be sold on the market for money so that both the transferred values and the surplus value can be realized and retransformed into capital so the reproductive process can continue on an expanded scale.

Under conditions where money and therefore reproduction is broken up, the capitalist is deprived of any assurance that he will be able to realize the values of his commodities on the market. Since the whole livelihood of the system is the production of surplus value, the capitalist ceases to have any incentive to produce.

For this reason, for example, the large oil companies in America have, foreseeing convulsions in the monetary system, decided to sink billions in investment in refineries, drilling or storage capacity and other energy facilities. Masses of capital are invested for making a quick profit in the shortest space of time in such ventures as the speculation in currency, commodity futures, etc.

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Only through money, i.e., gold, as Marx showed, that the private labor of individuals which produce use values can be transformed into the labors of others. It is only in its relation to gold, the universal commodity of exchange value, that the commodity realizes itself not only as a use value but a value as well, as a social product, the product of a definite quantity of abstract human labor. It is only on the basis of exchange for money that commodities enter into circulation in accordance with objective laws of commodity production and reproduction.

Crises under capitalism, while the content is to be found in the basic contradiction of the capitalist mode of production, ultimately take the form of a contradiction between commodities and money, an expression of the conflict between the two sides of any commodity—value and use value. Thus Marx says:

"Commodity production, the transformation of the product into money, the *conditio sine qua non*. Direct exchange for personal needs does not take place. Crisis results from the impossibility of transforming the particular product of individual labor—into its opposite, money i.e., the product of general social labor, lies in the fact that money is not the particular product of individual labor, and that the person who has effected a sale, who therefore has commodities in the form of money, is not able to buy again at once, to transform the money again into a particular product of individual labor."

The final and most serious distortions by the International Commission on the present crisis is Rob-



Ernest Mandel: The Fraud Of Neo-Capitalism

by Dennis O'Casey
and Alex Steiner

Part Two

erts's contention that by placing great emphasis on the question of the monetary crisis, we are actually beginning in our analysis of capitalism not from the standpoint of production as Marx insisted be done, but from the standpoint of circulation.

Thus Roberts asserts:

"It is one-sided and consequently incorrect to assert, as O'Casey and his mentors in London do, that the cause of postwar prosperity was simply the flooding of the capitalist world with dollars and currency inflation. This monetaristic concept turns reality and Marxism upside down.

"In order to grasp the dynamics of postwar expansion, we have to begin, with Marx, in the arena of production, not circulation. In the dialectical relation between production and circulation, production is the predominant category. This is the central theme of Capital. It is expressed in the logical structure of Capital which proceeds from the contradictions of production in the

first volume to those of circulation in the second and third volumes."

Falling Rate Of Profit

This assertion is of course a complete distortion of the IC's position. The IC has always begun in analyzing the development of the capitalist crisis precisely from the fundamental contradiction of capitalist production, in particular from the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. This is clear from a passage Roberts himself quotes from the FI magazine:

"No economist or financial expert, however eminent, could get away from the reality of capitalism, that it involved the exchange of products of labor and that gold was the universal commodity in the background of all international transactions.

"This remained the limit on the boom and, somewhere along the line, the expansion of trade had to run into this contradiction. The fall in the rate of profit could be evaded only up to this point by means of investment in Europe and state purchases of armaments."

Specifically, we have always analyzed the inflationary decisions taken in the field of circulation at Bretton Woods from the standpoint of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, setting in motion contradictory tendencies.

This was the whole basis of the boom. Thus, while the rate of profit indeed fell throughout the boom period, the general expansion of capitalism made possible

through inflation permitted to compensate for the profit by an increase in

At the same time, the war-torn Europe and the where there was a lowering of capital and high falling rate in the United the European countries

This has resulted during in huge conglomerate multinational corporations margins are extremely massive size and continue now compensated for the

Destru Effe Of Infla

The essential point International Comm monetary crisis, which h with the break between gold on August 15, 1971, is class can no longer overc ssertion of the falling rate of inflation.

Any attempt to res inflation has an immediate tremors through the merates whose survival continuous massive cre opposite policy, the polic by the capitalists, of unlin has the same effect.

Rather than a lever fo the system, inflation now effect on the monetary sy a crisis of confidence in system, becoming a dir contraction of production

Under these conditio longer serve to countera the rate of profit to fall massive convulsions arisi now proceed directly an time aggravated by t breakup of money.

Clearly, Roberts has a theory that the moveme still be explained on the l cyclical fluctuations cha tenth century capital. H mild fluctuations betwe expansion of the 1950s an continuation of this cycl

He is oblivious to t mildness of the cyclical purchased at the expens disintegration of the mon will mean the wave of which these minor osci will be finished.

Soph Explana

Instead of a Marxi grasps the present cris point of the actual d contradictions at the he system, Roberts, follo continues to try to explain crisis with the most sop

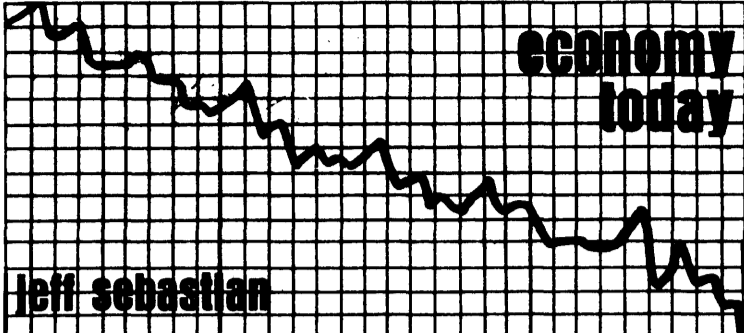
In particular, Roberts Mandel's thesis that th world capitalism is sim competition.

The United States, ac "has lost the absolute s the immediate postwa retained its relative sup

The illusions of a resi Mandel fostered base empirical evidence as recent American balan are now being blown a capitalism, using its ov simply allowed the doll markets and has thereb versal of the trade balan del's and Roberts's thes

The superficiality a Mandel's whole theory open.

The competitive stru



Nixon Budgets More Inflation

The budget submitted for fiscal year 1975 and the latest announcement by the administration that it intends to remove price controls from virtually every section of the economy except petroleum and health care represents a decision to allow prices to run wild in 1974.

The budget is based on Nixon's prediction that at a time of a rapidly growing worldwide slump, it will be possible for the United States to avoid a recession and on the estimates of his economic advisers that 1974 will be a year of slight business decline in the first half, followed by a brisk recovery in the second half.

The world capitalist economy has been fueled and expanded since the end of World War Two on the basis of an inflationary boom, based on the continuous expansion of paper dollars and credit.

Vast amounts of inflationary capital were built up on the assumption that property values would continue to rise, that stocks would advance and that greater and greater amounts of profits would enable this capital to earn an adequate rate of return.

The end of this illusion is now clear as commodity prices soar, and monetary and trade chaos develop. Whole industries built up on this boom are now deeply in debt and face mounting costs, shortages, and bankruptcy.

The US budget has of course expressed this uncontrollable inflation. While government policy has permitted an unprecedented growth of paper money and credit in the last four years, the Nixon budget has grown from approximately \$200 billion to over \$300 billion today.

But the inflation that once fueled the boom is now turning into its opposite and adding to the tendency towards collapse. Throughout the postwar period, the government has used budget deficits and credit expansion to combat the threat of recession.

This, however, was a period in which the rate of inflation was considerably lower. Today, not even an inflation rate approaching 9 percent can prevent the unemployment from going far beyond the present 5.2 percent.

Today, the application of these same methods only intensifies the crisis. The rise in the cost of living is now rapidly outstripping gains in wages.

The energy crisis is not only adding to the inflationary spiral, but forcing cutbacks in production, and leading to more unemployment.

Yet if the government seeks to halt this process, by restricting credit, slashing the budget and halting the expansion of money, it will trigger a devastating collapse of industry.

The impossibility of a policy to control the economic crisis reveals the real nature of the capitalist economy. There is no way to restore stability, control inflation, and maintain production without the most violent collapse.

The announcement by Nixon's economic advisers that they intend to "bust" the budget if a recession develops through huge government deficits is a declaration that the administration is preparing for massive inflation.

The already predicted \$9.4 billion deficit is based on the most optimistic projection of a slight downturn in the economy.

It is extremely significant that the largest increases in federal spending are projected for the military budget which will soar to \$99 billion.

This represents not must a means of stimulating the economy through inflation, but a decision that the economic crisis requires preparations for new wars and a military able to intervene quickly anywhere where US capitalism is threatened.

The announcements by Defense Secretary Schlesinger of a vast new missile program will require even more inflationary funds to finance the programs.

Each new dose of inflation can only increase the instability of the economy and increase the level of unemployment. The new budget thus amounts to a program to smash the power of the labor movement by throwing millions onto the unemployment lines while slashing living standards.

Releasing all price controls will deepen this tendency by removing the last restraints on price increases.

The fight against unemployment and inflation can only be conducted by the working class in a political struggle to force out this capitalist government and replace it with a labor party pledged to socialist policies.



Hudson, Wisconsin truck drivers unanimously voted to continue and extend strike. See story below.

Drivers In Ohio Denounce Deal

BY LOUIS MARTIN
CHILlicothe, Ohio—

While the six negotiators for at least 18 trucking organizations are prepared to urge independents to accept the fourteen point plan negotiated in Washington, truckers in this area quickly rejected the offer which excluded a rollback of diesel fuel prices.

Dock Holder, spokesman for the National Council of Independent Truckers, told Bulletin reporters on February 6 that truckers would only accept a state tax rollback as a substitute for diesel fuel price rollbacks.

Holder added that rate hikes are inadequate since they benefit regulated carriers and exclude exempt commodity carriers, such as produce trucks.

Holder said that most drivers will not return to trucking since they are already bankrupt.

Barrel Howard, a Dayton independent trucker, rebuked drivers at a meeting held in Cincinnati for sitting at home away from picket lines.

"We are going to get or-

ganized," he said. "We want everything closed down tight and right now we do not have enough men available to scatter around."

Wives of some truckers have been participating in the picketing. One wife who has been picketing at the Hamilton Petroleum Carrying Firm said: "We were there all day long and only one truck came out. The rest left."

"We stopped them for one day, but you cannot take women and put them there for 24 hours a day. You truckers are not working and you do not have to take care of the kids."

On the following morning, 75 truckers blocked the path of trucks leaving the Roadway Express Incorporated terminal in Cincinnati.

A brick was thrown through the windshield of one truck, and nearly 100 policemen clubbed and pushed picketing drivers.

At another meeting held at the Dayton South Union 76 truck plaza, the same truckers, numbering several hundred, were joined by drivers from the Roadway terminal.

These company drivers, members of the Teamsters union, pledged to honor picket lines set up by independents.

Carl Bray and Harold Kellis, local representatives to a six-

man Unity Committee in Washington, addressed the truckers with a list of 14 proposals offered by federal officials which he said truckers "might be able to get."

The list which excludes the rollback on diesel fuel prices offers a "pass through of fuel receipts" to companies back to May of last year.

Putting the icing on the cake, former astronaut and Senate candidate, John Glenn, gave a brief speech calling for better planning of energy in the future.

Glenn was brought to the meeting by the vice-president of COP Transport Incorporated who also attended the meeting as a company official.

Truckers complained that paying the difference in the cost of fuel could bankrupt small businesses and raise the food price accordingly.

Bray threatened the truckers: "They (government) say if you get a rollback you will not get fuel. The oil companies will send it to foreign countries."

"We can either accept the proposals out of Washington or else we're going to have a revolution, because Nixon has already said he'll put tanks in the streets."

Highway patrolmen near Chillicothe have arrested three independents on charges of carrying concealed weapons and criminal damaging or endangering. The three men have pleaded innocent on charges and are awaiting trial.

ARMY

Refiners Transport and Terminal Corporation, a major fuel distributor in northern Ohio, announced the hiring of a private army of 120 off-duty policemen including eight members of the Hell's Angels motorcycle gang to escort scabbing drivers.

On a televised news interview, O'Connor refused to say what that plan was. Yesterday, Sherman Brown, business agent for Local 957 of the Teamsters revealed he met with O'Connor to participate in the plan.

The refusal of the Teamsters to back striking independent truckers, most of whom belong to the Teamsters in this area, has led to a situation where the independent drivers are receiving certified letters from the companies they have contracts with, ordering them to resume driving and threatening them with immediate suspension of their health and welfare pensions, and loss of their contracts.

Wisconsin Men Vote To Stay Out

BY JEAN BRUST

HUDSON, Wisc.—Truckers throughout Minnesota and Western Wisconsin voted unanimously on February 7 to continue and extend their strike against Nixon's energy regulations.

They rejected with a resounding "no" vote the proposals which came out of meetings in Washington between energy czar Simon and representatives of the national strike.

Bernie Feldick, an independent driver from St. Paul read the proposals and declared: "There is no offer there. They offer to freeze diesel prices for the balance of the month as of last Tuesday's prices."

"What kind of fools do they think we are. They have only been allowing one raise a month and they have already gone up

for February. They tell us we should break even. We cannot live if we break even."

Ken Nelson, of Coates, Minnesota, chairman of the meeting, reported a phone call from the Fargo-North Dakota area that they were solid behind the strike and opposed to the agreement.

"All Washington has given is promises to look into it, and they are not buying it," he reported.

Representatives of the Duluth Superior area reported growing support for the strike there.

Driver Bill Bethke, who works for a small trucking firm with drivers in Chicago and St. Paul, reported that his company threatened to fire any driver who went out in support of the independents. Despite this, every worker was out. Other union drivers have donated money.

Steel Men Reject No-Strike Pact

**SPECIAL REPORT
BY DAVID NORTH
YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio**—Opposition to the no-strike pledge given by I.W. Abel to the steel corporations is growing rapidly as the ranks of the United Steel Workers of America learn about the aluminum workers contract signed by the union bureaucracy last week.

Abel's acceptance of the three year contract, which provides less than a five percent annual wage increase to the aluminum workers, has shown USWA workers in basic steel that Abel has given up the right to strike because he has no intention of fighting to defend the living standards of steel workers.

"We'll never accept what Abel gave the aluminum workers," declared an officer of Local 1290 at the Edgar Thomson works near Pittsburgh.

"If the steel worker does not get a 10 percent wage increase minimum, he will be very dissatisfied."

"No matter what Abel thinks, if he tries to sell out the membership, there is going to be the biggest steel strike in history."

NEGOTIATING

Abel pushed through the no-strike deal, called the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA)," without a vote of the membership. Many local presidents who backed this plan have lost their positions in recent elections.

Abel himself is now on the defensive and lashed out at the union membership last month in a speech before the basic steel industry conference at the start of the negotiations.

In a frenzy of red-baiting, he told the assembled USWA bureaucrats that the union is being "destroyed from within."

He added: "Back home, I think you can help see to it this cancer which is going to appear is removed, and removed before it spreads to the whole body and destroys us."

The cancer to which Abel refers is the refusal of steel workers in such mills as the

Edgar Thomson, Homestead, and Loraine works to give away the rights they won in bitter struggle.

RIGHT

"We want the right to strike," stated Michael Shields, who has worked at Edgar Thomson for 10 years. "Damn near everyone wants that no-strike clause out."

"Remember John L. Lewis? He knew how to use the strike. He told workers to use it to get what they want. Lewis even told Harry Truman to go to hell. Now Abel gives that all up."

"We want more money. Nixon said in his State of the Union speech that the American people are not suffering, and that we have all got enough. Where does he get his statistics?"

"I am still scrambling and I work in the foundry and also drive a cab after work. It is rough trying to make a living. I'm earning less comparatively speaking than I did 22 years ago."

Another worker denounced Abel for not allowing a vote on the ENA. "There are 2800 men in the mill, and they are not for it. But our local president went down to some big meeting and approved it."

SHOUTED

"When I heard about it, I got so mad that I went to a union meeting, got up and hit the podium, and shouted: 'Do you think we are going to accept a contract where we cannot strike for more than a three percent raise?'"

"What do you have if you cannot strike," stated Arthur Williams. "Look at the truck drivers, where would they be if they couldn't strike?"

By signing the no-strike pledge, Abel has capitulated not only to Nixon's wage controls, but he has also deliberately avoided a fight against the corporations. The present record level of production is a preparation for massive layoffs after the contract is signed August 1.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Abel is quite aware that unemployment on a scale far greater than the 1930s now threatens steel workers.

He actually told the basic steel conference: "We are entering negotiations in an economic atmosphere that prevails throughout the world, one that poses the grave threat of once

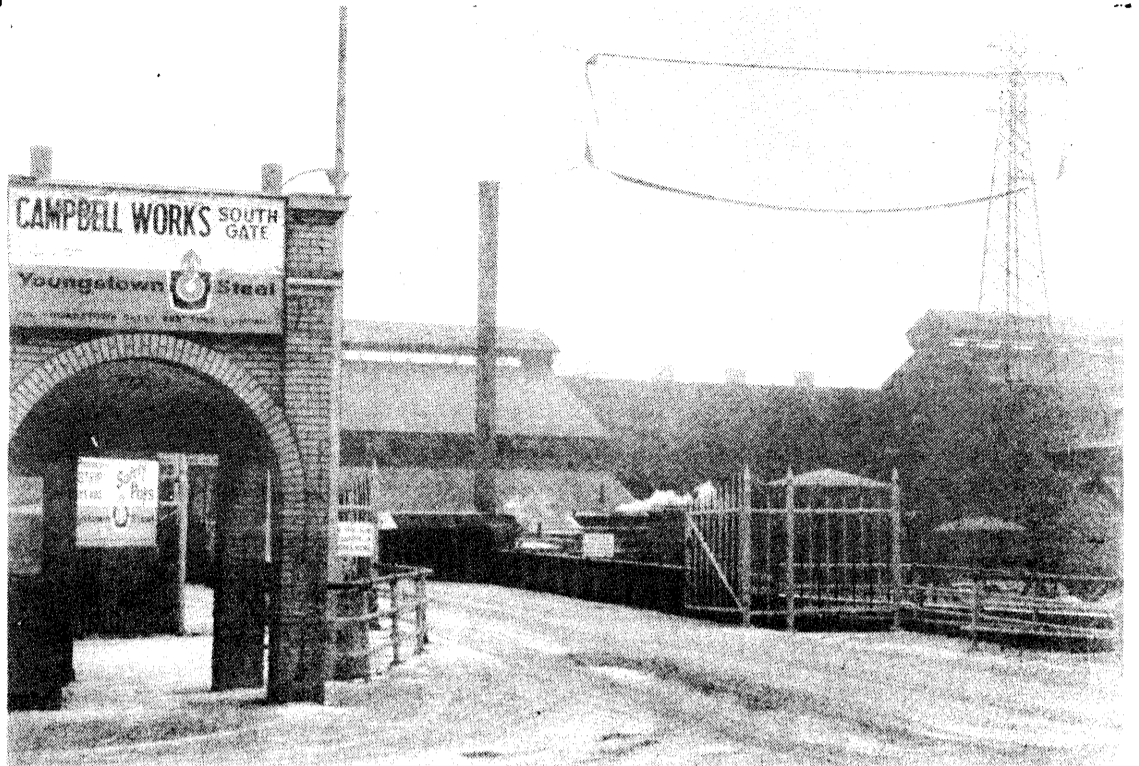
got sick with gas poisoning over there.

"If you do not go where they send you, they threaten to fire you."

A lot of workers are assigned jobs as laborers, a lower classification, with a cut in pay.

The floating system was a compromise reached between the company and the union, the Progressive Steel Workers, which allows all workers to remain at the plant at a reduced work week of 3 to 4 days, allowing the company to reduce wages.

One worker told the Bulletin: "A lot of guys have big families and with four days I know they cannot feed them. I have four kids and I could not feed them working five days."



Youngstown Steel's Campbell Works, one of many mills in that city driving for higher productivity.

more throwing all the peoples of the world into a major depression and confronting them with economic collapse."

The productivity deals which he has arranged as part of the no-strike deal have led to brutal speedups inside the plants. The union leadership actively works with the companies to discourage the filing of grievances.

HOMESTEAD

At the huge Homestead works of US Steel, where about 8000 workers are employed, there is only one committeeman for anywhere between 200 to 400 workers.

An elaborate procedure has been devised by the corporations and the union leadership to weed out the vast majority of grievances.

Complaints made by workers are, in the words of Local 1397 grievance chairman Dave Giosio, "put in their proper perspective."

What this means is that out of more than 1500 grievances filed by workers at Homestead in 1973, only 254 led to even a meeting with the management superintendent. This is a figure in a plant which recorded 827 injuries last year and two deaths. "There have been deaths in the past year because they are pushing you so fast that you do things unsafe," Mike Hudak told the Bulletin.

"Grievances pile up or are dropped. Let's face it. A committeeman does not want to win your case or he will have trouble with the company or the union."

"Discipline is very strict. If you have the most minor infraction, they will give you a slip which means time off for a while."

"They also use the incentive plan to speed you up. You are supposed to get extra money depending on how much you work."

"But no one knows how the incentive plan really works. The whole thing makes no sense."

"If there is an incentive plan, you should get paid by tonnage. But you really do not get paid at all. What do you expect."

"US Steel is not going to give you an incentive plan which cuts into their profits."

Steel workers at the US Steel National Tube mill in Loraine, Ohio, are going through the same thing with regard to production.

"I feel they are trying to push me around," Bernie Kayle told the Bulletin.

"Just the other day a foreman

tried to get me fired or get me to quit."

"A lot of the foremen hang around all the time breathing down your shoulder. You cannot work if they are on your back every minute."

YOUNGER

"They are hardest on the younger guys, like some new men that just got hired and are not in the union yet."

"For the last few days they have been told to work an extra eight hours after their shift was over. One guy refused and management called him in and told him he was fired."

Dale Ursic, who works in the rolling mill, said that the company tries to disguise its productivity drive by giving lip service to safety.

"Sure. Every day you hear all this talk about safety. But if you get hurt, they blame it on you."

"Even if they know something is wrong in the mill, they will keep working just to make sure the steel keeps on coming."

"But we are in this situation because the union leadership does nothing. It is one deal after another."

"Now Abel says there will be an independent arbiter on the contract if the union and the company cannot agree on wages."

"Whoever heard of an independent arbiter? The company just has to buy him off."

DETERIORATION

The deterioration of the conditions in the mills and the living standards of steel workers flows from Abel's refusal to launch a political fight against Nixon's policies of inflation, speedup, and unemployment. Because he will not take up any political fight against Nixon, above all for the fight for a labor party pledged to socialist policies, Abel's only answer to the economic crisis is to work with Nixon and the corporations.

OPPOSITION

The massive opposition of steel workers to Abel's bankrupt policies and the fight for a national steel strike must be taken forward to the construction of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in the USWA.

The fight to defend living standards is a political fight, to force Nixon's resignation and to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies as the alternative to this government.

THEORY & PRACTICE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY



Speaker:
Tim Wohlforth,
Workers League
National Secretary

MINNEAPOLIS
Friday, Feb. 22
Phyllis-Wheatley
Community Center
Activities Room
9th & Fremont
7:30 pm

CHICAGO
Saturday, Feb. 23
YMCA South Town
6545 South Union
Orange Room
7:30 pm

PHILADELPHIA
Wednesday, Feb. 27
Wharton Center
1708 22nd St.
North Philadelphia
7:30 pm

EAST FLATBUSH
Thursday, Feb. 28
Community Hall
Bedford & Hawthorne
Brooklyn
7:30 pm

Donation:
\$1 trade unionists
75¢ youth

Wisconsin Steel Cuts Work Week

BY A REPORTER

CHICAGO, Ill.—Wisconsin Steel Works, a division of International Harvester with a work force of 5000, has laid off 2000 men.

Most of these men remain within the plant on the floating system. If a laid off worker does not have the seniority to bump off someone else within his department, he can retain his job by letting the company decide where and when he can work.

One worker said: "You do not know where you are going when you are floating."

"You can be working 3 to 11 one day and nights the next."

Another worker said: "They are sending me over to the coke oven again tonight. Last night I

editor's notebook

A Mighty Good Year

If there are any questions left as to why Richard Nixon picked Gerald Ford as his Vice-President, they were all answered at a recent Washington ceremony to launch the new Republican Women's Forum.

"Nothing but pluses appear to be on the scene," Mr. Ford told his audience of staunch women Republicans which included Pat Nixon and Julie Eisenhower.

The Vice-President reported on his travels around the country. "I'm telling you what the rest of America believes. They feel admiration for the President, for Pat, for Julie, for Trix, for David and for Ed. "We should look at the White House and say we're lucky to be Americans and to have the President and his family there as I know they will continue there with the same fine reputation until January, 1977."

Ford believed that 1973 was "a good year by anybody's standards," but there's always room for improvement.

"You wonder how things could have been better; well, maybe I'm prejudiced, but I think the President could have done better in any of those years if he'd had a Republican majority in Congress."

The Vice-President never mentioned Watergate, the energy crisis, or the truckers strike, but he did concede that the administration had a bit of a problem with inflation.

Apparently Mrs. Nixon did not utter a word during the entire program but it is reported that during the invocation she bowed her head and kept her eyes shut tight.

With God On Their Side

Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Secretary-Treasurer Patrick E. Gorman, a self-proclaimed "socialist," has been presented the "Papal Decoration Medal of the Supreme Pontiff Pope Paul VI" for his "service to God and man."

Upon receiving the Pontifical Medal, this bureaucrat declared:

"Your Eminence, I have tried faithfully while believing in socialism, not to forget my God nor my own faith, and I shall be ever grateful to you and the Holy Father in Rome for this high honor."

With God as their mediator, trade union bureaucrats dined in honor of Gorman with such luminaries as Mayor Richard Daley, Reverend Jesse Jackson, and His Eminence Paul Cardinal Yudin.

While His Eminence urged everyone to "help make our world a peaceful world," United Farm Workers President Cesar Chavez and United Auto Workers Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, another "socialist," bowed their heads reverently.

Gorman's brand of social-

ism is a peculiar one indeed, as he announced that the beneficiary of the proceeds from the dinner will go to the Fu-Jen University in Taiwan since it is the "only deeply Christian university of the Roman faith in all of Asia."

A Family Affair

While the Roman Catholic Church may be faring pretty well with the trade union bureaucracy, it seems to be sinking in popularity elsewhere.

The Vatican has revised the practice of individual booths for confession and has declared that penance can now be made in a "communal setting," apparently due to a decline in customers for the confessionals.

One Reverend envisions "penitential celebrations" attended by hundreds of people.

But absolution, unfortunately, will still be granted on an individual basis only.

Business As Usual

It seems that religious fever is not only gripping Nixon, but also affecting former members of his administration.

Charles W. Colson, former White House counsel, recently announced that he had found Christ and joined a religious movement.

Colson met with Jane Fonda last week to talk over her \$2.8 million suit against Nixon administration officials she charges have violated her civil rights and harassed her. She got a distinct impression that Colson wants to be dropped from the list of defendants.

Colson, however, did not allow his religious sentiments to interfere in these "business" matters. Miss Fonda reports that during their meeting, in his plush offices a block from the White House, she found no evidence of his new religious philosophy.

ABC Censors Cavett Show

ABC Television barred a taped program of the "Dick Cavett Show" featuring former Students for a Democratic Society members Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, and Rennie Davis, and replaced it with a 1972 rerun.

An ABC spokesman claimed that the show was "not balanced" by a "conservative voice."

Cavett criticized ABC's censorship, stating: "It's not a debate. It's an interview with four radicals. Nothing more or less."

That ABC bars such innocuous people as Rennie Davis, who presently is a follower of the Guru Maharaj Ji, is an indication of a sharp move towards censorship by the networks.



Over 250 independent truck drivers attended meeting in Long Beach, California.

Trucker Speaks Out On Strike

BY SHEILA BREHM
LOS ANGELES—Major truck stops are shut down throughout the Los Angeles area by truckers who have blocked the fuel pumps with their rigs.

"The strike will last until Nixon climbs down out of his chair.

"He should be replaced with someone with some sense, instead of sawdust for brains," said Bill Stiguall, who has been in the trucking business for 25 years.

"The independent operators cannot run anymore. The cost of operation went over what we were making on the loads.

"I was losing an average of \$200 a trip, that I was taking out of my pocket to deliver food to your table. I drive in the state of California, so you can imagine what it is costing the guys who drive across the country."

In explaining the violent nature of the strike in the Midwest and East, Stiguall said: "We can refer back to the history of the United States of America to understand it.

"If you notice, the only way this country has succeeded in getting anything done is to go into violence.

IGNORE

"You can sit up until your head falls off, because those guys in Washington will sit up there and ignore you. But you raise some hell and they will start paying some attention."

"If Nixon wants to bring out the National Guard, it will cause another civil war. Because I will tell you something: The truckers say that these trucks will not roll until Nixon rolls back the fuel price. He offered us a 24 percent increase in our hauling fees, but yet we turned it down.

"The minute we accept it, the price is going to go up to the public. It would mean a triple increase in what you pay today. This is not what we want.

"We want a rollback in prices. In everything—gas, fuel, food, and get this country back to where it can exist."

SUPPORT

"I think the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters should come out too and support this strike. The Lumpers Union (unload trucks) called us here today and stated

that they are pulling out of the market and going with us."

"I think that what we are doing is very much like what the workers in England are doing, standing against the government. Either the government has got to be for the people or against the people. It can only be one way.

"To get a government run by labor we have got to get the one we have out of there. It cannot

be done by words. If they get a labor party started I am all for it."

"My truck alone will sit right here at LA truck terminal until it rots and falls off its wheels. I have \$10,000 in this rig and I have three just like it. That is the way I make my living.

"My so-called free government has taken the food from my table by raising fuel prices beyond my costs."

Narrow Vote On Truck Pact

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SANTA CLARA, Calif., Feb. 7—Over 200 independent truck drivers from the Bay Area met in Santa Clara last night and narrowly voted to support the agreement reached between the strike leaders and the government.

The vote reflected the sharp opposition among the truckers to the compromise negotiated in Washington. The vote was: 112 to accept the government's concessions, 50 to continue the strike, and 40 abstained.

Many truckers were furious at Ralph Grago, the business manager of the Association of Independent Owner-Operators in Los Angeles, who spoke for 80 minutes on the negotiations with the government and called on the men to accept the agreement.

He was met with calls of "Shut them down. Go back to Washington. You haven't accomplished anything."

Many truckers attacked the agreement because it fails to roll back fuel prices. Owner-operators still stand to lose thousands of dollars.

One driver from San Jose told the Bulletin: "Many guys from back East are saying, if we don't get what we asked for, we won't be in business next week."

Many truck drivers at this meeting felt it was deliberately packed with short haul drivers, who have not been as central to the strike as the long haul drivers. Very few drivers who have been back on the East Coast were present.

The results of the vote are in no way binding, since many drivers do not recognize the associations which have been negotiating with the government.

Grago made absolutely clear what the government had in store for the truckers and the entire working class.

Grago, who has participated in the negotiations with the government, said: "General Haig is considered as the man who is running the country on a day to day basis."

Grago cautioned the men not to "abuse the power that the government knows we have." To do so, could "put the country in a state of emergency, which will make Nixon take action which will be bloody against you.

"It'll make Kent State look like a picnic."

FBI

Grago told the men that Attorney General Saxbe had promised to call in the FBI if the strike continued.

He said: "So the FBI will check you for bennies, check your logs, listen at truck stops." He added, there were FBI agents present in the crowd.

One long haul driver told the Bulletin: "See all this inflation, you read your history books and it's just like when Hitler took power."

A trucker from San Jose said in disgust: "This meeting did not accomplish a damn thing. What we need is to force Nixon out and put workers in control. We can do it, too."

There was a tremendous response to the Bulletin and a leaflet handed out by Workers League supporters calling for rejection of the agreement, a general strike to throw Nixon out and the building of a labor party.

west coast news

Nazis Plan Witch-Hunt Campaign

BY ANN LORE
SAN FRANCISCO—National party chief of the Nazi Party, Matt Kroehl, stated that the Nazi Party may soon run in San Francisco elections.

cisco. He is "hoping that the Swastika will take its place in elections with the Republican elephant and the Democratic jackass."

He also said, if elected, Nazi politicians would first of all "run the reds out of this town."

This threat by the fascists must be answered immediately by the labor movement. The radicals, particularly the Progressive Labor Party, have done nothing but jeer at the Nazis at the School Board meeting.

This complacency about the growing of a fascist movement must be repudiated by an all-out mobilization by the trade unions at the next board meeting on February 25 to drive out the Nazis.

Meanwhile, the 10 members of Workers Action Movement who were arrested at the Board meeting on January 8 have been denied a motion for dismissal of charges.

The working class, as demonstrated in the truckers strike, has the strength and determination to force Nixon out and has the strength to smash the Nazis.

But precisely because the struggle to defeat the Nazis means a political fight against the government, no Bay Area labor leader has said a word on the Nazis.

The Workers League calls on every trade unionist to demand his union demonstrate at the board meeting on February 25.

This statement comes after the third appearance by the Nazis at Board of Education meetings on integration, where their numbers have increased from six to thirteen to twenty-four.

Kroehl flew in from Arlington, Virginia, to be at Tuesday night's meeting at the request of local Nazi leader Allen Vincent. He stated an upsurge in party membership was a reason for his journey.

He also had intended to speak on the board's integration plans, and told reporters after the meeting that they would be back.

The Nazis have been using the school board meetings to test out how far they can go and be protected by the government and police.

They have been treated with the utmost consideration and respect by the media and the police, and their response is to escalate their recruitment by getting on the ballot.

Kroehl denounced what he called the "freaks, drug addicts, and criminals" in San Fran-



SF police defended Nazis from teachers demanding they be ousted from recent Board of Education meeting.

YS March Wins Support

BY A REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The first march in the campaign of the Young Socialists on the West Coast against unemployment received tremendous support and enthusiasm from the community of Bayview-Hunters Point.

Over 40 unemployed youth, young workers, and students marched from the Hunters Point projects through the community and rallied in Gilman Park, across from the Double Rock projects.

The projects where the march started are slated to get torn down because of Nixon's housing cuts. Youth from the projects joined the march at the beginning.

Demanding decent housing, the mobilization of the unions to smash the Nazis, and carrying banners that said: "Jobs, no evictions" and "Force Nixon out—build a labor party," the marches won support at every point along the march.

Contingents from Oakland, Palo Alto, and San Jose as well as San Francisco participated in the march. The march stopped at street corners and supermarkets along the route to hold rallies and explain the fight of the Young Socialists.

During the last part of the march in the Double Rock Projects, the residents, young and old, came out of their houses to cheer on the march and show

their support.

At the rally in Gilman Park, members of the Workers League in the auto union, the city workers union, and the carpenters union, expressed the determination of workers to defend their rights against Nixon, and pledged to win massive support in their unions for the YS campaign.

Ann Lore, speaking for the Workers League, said: "It is only the Young Socialists in the United States, in England, and all over the world that is fighting to lead the working class against these attacks by the government and to take power."

"The struggle not only of the

truckers, but the carpenters in the Bay Area, the San Francisco city workers, who are preparing to strike, and the farm workers shows the working class will fight. The problem is how they fight and to resolve that we must build a new leadership.

"The Nazis pose a tremendous danger to the working class not because they are strong today, but because they come out of the new period we have entered, of massive unemployment, inflation, civil war, and revolution.

MOBILIZE

"We must see to it that they are smashed by fighting for the unions to mobilize against them, and above all training the revolutionary forces today to lead the working class to power in the next period."

She called on everyone to join the Young Socialists and to join the lobby at the Board of Education against the Nazis.

Everyone pledged to join and build the February 23 march in East Oakland and the statewide march on March 16 in San Francisco.



"SLA" Scare Begins

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND—Attorney General William Saxbe has seized upon the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst, granddaughter of the right-wing publisher Randolph Hearst, to whip up a national scare campaign against the so-called Symphonese Liberation Army (SLA).

"...It's got more overtones than just kidnapping," he said. "The people who have some familiarity with this type of operation have warned us that they could show up here or in Washington or New York or any place."

He tried to link up every murder which has taken place in the Bay Area in recent months to the SLA.

This statement by Saxbe was released in the San Jose news on Wednesday with the headline: "Warning by Saxbe on Terrorist Plot" hours before anything

concrete existed to connect the kidnapping to the SLA.

Hours after Saxbe's statement, a letter reputedly from the SLA, claiming responsibility for the kidnapping, was received by Berkeley radio station KPFA.

The direct involvement of the Nixon government through Saxbe in this witch-hunt is an extremely dangerous turn of events.

Nixon clearly is seeking some pretext to launch a red scare against left-wing organizations and the labor movement.

Extremely vague descriptions of six possible suspects, two white women, two Black men and two white men have been widely published in the Bay Area press.

The press reports that the FBI had circulated photos of known militant suspects as possible suspects long before the SLA letter was received.

Layoffs Hit Carpenters

BY A LOCAL 36 MEMBER

OAKLAND—Since the Northern California Carpenters were forced back to work a month ago, there have been widespread layoffs.

Housing starts are down 20

percent from a year ago in California and commercial construction has been threatened by the Public Utilities Commission with a total moratorium to "conserve electricity."

Over 15 percent of carpenters in Local 36 in Oakland are out of

work.

"I don't understand," Jack told the Bulletin. I used to come to the hall to get work.

"Now there's no point in it. There are no jobs."

The Young Socialists campaign to demand jobs received enthusiastic support from men waiting at the hall for jobs.

One carpenter said: "I agree with that. Everybody ought to have a job."

MEANY

"Nixon ought to be thrown out this afternoon. But Meany will not do it. They are all just like the bureaucrats in the government."

The Stalinists in Progressive Labor, and their caucus, Carpenters for a Stronger Union (CSU), are repeating their slogans of "unity" and "rank and file power" which led to the defeat of the wildcat strike.

In Local 36, two members of the CSU were elected delegates to the state carpenters convention to be held next month.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party demands the delegates to this convention prepare for a strike in June to win back the wages slashed by the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee plus a substantial increase. This fight must be taken up around the demand for a Congress of Labor to force Nixon out and build a labor party pledged to 30 for 40, and the nationalization of construction as the only way to fight the layoffs.

LA Drivers Stand Firm

LOS ANGELES—More than 250 truckers voted unanimously in Long Beach Auditorium on February 6 for a complete shut-down until all their demands are met.

The meeting was called by Ralph Grago, executive director of the Associated Independent Owners and Operators and is a member of the negotiating committee in Washington.

Grago's report made it clear that the committee in Washington was not committed to win the demands, but would settle for a price freeze, keeping the 55 mph limit, and taking a five percent surcharge on freight cost rates to cover extra costs.

There is almost total opposition to the truckers representatives in Washington. When Grago asked: "Who in here has confidence in the negotiating committee in Washington," he was answered by boos and catcalls.

But Grago refuses to confront the political issues in the strike. He stated: "We believe we can get through to the administration if Simon and General Haig take politics out of the talks and get down to real negotiating."

This is also the position of Michael Parkhurst, editor of *Overdrive* magazine, who while he has refused to participate in the talks, declared: "We must get our demands into law. We must call our congressmen and force them to act."

As soon as southern California truckers pledged to expand their strike, Governor Reagan announced that he will not hesitate to call out the National Guard.

Don Inglis a trucker from Napa, California told the Bulletin: "The National Guard has been called out not to protect the truckers running, but to protect the government from us truckers."

"The army is run by the government. When anyone stands up and opposes what they are doing, they get shot like those kids at Kent State. The government will not do anything for us and the army has the bullets."

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lucha obrera

lucía rivera

Puerto Rico Al Borde De Una Huelga General



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La Federación de Maestros quien agrupa a la mayoría de los maestros de escuelas primarias, secundarias y superiores de toda la isla, decretó la huelga debido a los bajos salarios, las condiciones de deterioro en la que se hayan las facilidades educacionales: cincuenta estudiantes en los salones de clase y la carencia de equipo educacional.

Desde el principio de la huelga, los maestros se han enfrentado diariamente a los ataques de la policía quien ha arremetido contra los huelguistas, estudiantes y padres que apoyan la huelga. Todo el sistema educacional se haya paralizado en la isla.

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En la reunión celebrada el pasado miércoles por los representantes de la mayoría de las uniones de la isla, fue decidido participar en la línea de piquetes de los maestros, llevar a cabo un programa en la televisión explicando el pueblo los motivos de la huelga de los maestros y el día 12, martes, llamar a una concentración nacional en apoyo de los maestros.

Entre las uniones representadas se hallaban, Unión Gastronómica, la ACAA (quienes recientemente finalizaron su huelga en contra del gobierno) Unión de Empleados de Hospitales, Asociación Puertorriqueña de Profesores Universitarios (quienes apoyaron la huelga de los estudiantes el año pasado), Unión de los Boilermakers, la Unión de los Tronquistas, la Unión de Estibadores de los Muelles, la International Longshoremen Association.

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El Consejo Central del Trabajo al igual que la AFL-CIO estuvieron representados en esta reunión. Muchos de estos sindicatos que estuvieron representados se les cumple sus contratos en este año.

Este es el segundo llamado a un huelga general por parte movimiento laboral de la isla en menos de siete meses. En Julio del 1973, durante la huelga de los bomberos y los obreros de la sanidad, se movilizó el apoyo de los trabajadores, en contra del uso de la Guardia Nacional contra los huelguistas.

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Packard Lays Off 750

BY A REPORTER

WARREN, Ohio—The Packard Electric Corporation, a Division of General Motors laid off 750 more workers, bringing the total to 3800.

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"If you are off for a week, you do not get any benefits. The foreman told me that I would probably be next. I have 10 years seniority.

"What they are doing is building plants down South, and there are no unions there. They pay \$2.80 cents an hour, while we get \$4 and up here. The union president, the next time he is up for election, will be out."

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to be doing anything about the layoffs, just keeping us informed. I doubt if the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) will last as long as they say. It can not last a year."

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TRUCKERS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

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