

# Bulletin

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

NOW  
TWICE A  
WEEK!

VOLUME TEN NUMBER EIGHTEEN 354

TUESDAY, MARCH 5, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

## Nixon Is

# GUILTY!

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slash jobs, force up prices, and cut wages.

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However, seven of Nixon's

closest associates have been indicted on charges ranging from conspiracy and perjury to obstruction of justice.

Never before in American history has an administration been so totally exposed.

Former Attorney General John N. Mitchell, who sought to railroad Communist Party member Angela Davis into the gas chamber and who was responsible for the frameup of other militants, faces a possible 30 years in jail plus \$42,000 in fines for conspiracy, obstruction of justice, false statements to the FBI, false statements to the grand jury, and perjury.

Nixon's closest advisers, John D. Ehrlichman and H.R. Halde- man, both face 25-year jail terms and fines ranging from \$16,000 to \$40,000 on virtually the same charges as Mitchell.

Others indicted for conspiracy include White House aides Charles W. Colson, Robert C. Mardian, Gordon C. Strachan, and Kenneth W. Parkinson.

Further indictments are expected within the next few weeks on charges stemming from the activities of the White House "plumbers," a special police team set up by Nixon, and from illegal campaign contri-

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## Baltimore Teachers Vote To Reject Recommendation

BY LARRY SYMONS  
BALTIMORE, Md.—A mass meeting of over 3500 teachers rejected a leadership proposal to return to work and voted 1799 to 1725 to stay out. Two weeks ago the teachers turned down a similar offer from the city.

The teachers strike is entering its fifth week, with the Public School Teachers Association (PSTA) and President Karl Boone now being fined \$15,000 and \$1000 per day respectively.

These fines were imposed last Wednesday, when Judge James Murphy of the State Supreme Court ruled the union in contempt of a court injunction.

Teachers have been on strike in defiance of the injunction since February 4 and over 50 have been arrested on various charges.

Support for the strike from AFSCME locals and teacher aides has had only limited effect. Raymond Clarke of AFSCME Local 44 and Godfrey Moore of

the Baltimore Teachers Union, which represents aides, have refused to take a strong public stand for honoring picket lines, even though members of both locals voted not to cross the line.

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## The Class Issues In The British Election

"The Workers Revolutionary Party sees the election as subordinate to the struggle between the two main classes."

This is how Gerry Healy, general secretary of the Workers Revolutionary Party of Britain, expressed the policy of the WRP at a mass rally of workers and youth in London before the British election.

The new political crisis that has emerged from this election bears this policy out and expresses the revolutionary situation in Britain and throughout Europe.

### What We Think

Two fundamental factors now determine relations between classes.

This election was held under conditions of a deepening economic crisis in capitalism, expressed most sharply in Britain, the weakest capitalist country.

Unemployment has increased to over two million; prices on all basic goods are skyrocketing and basic production is collapsing. Trade continues to decline with an ever larger balance of payments deficit.

That this economic crisis was the central issue in the election was shown after the results when the British pound plummeted on the exchange markets.

At the same time, the defeat of the Tory government demonstrates the power of the working class and its determination to defend its living standards and rights from attack. The Tory defeat deals a blow to the attempts of the capitalists to force the working class to pay for this crisis.

Heath's attempt to create a red scare about "extrem-

ists" in the union, to blame striking miners for the economic crisis, have miserably failed.

It is the strength and power of the working class that has led to the fall of not only the Tories in Britain, but the Italian, Belgian, French, and Israeli governments as well.

In the United States, this same strength has created the greatest political crisis in US history and has paralyzed Nixon's ability to move as decisively as the capitalists would like against the working class.

It is the same economic crisis that lies behind the desperation of Nixon to remain in power to carry out a ruthless drive to slash jobs and living standards.

Under these conditions, the British election in itself does not settle anything.

As Alan Thornett, chairman of the All Trades Union Alliance told the mass rally in London:

"The General Election will only place the ruling class and the working class at different vantage points in the terrain of battle."

Despite the enormous weakness of the Tories, the economic crisis forces them to prepare dictatorship and civil war to attempt to impose the will of the capitalist class by force.

This is the meaning of the desperate maneuver of Heath to remain in office despite the loss of any popular mandate.

This is the meaning of Nixon's arrogant refusal to resign or to be impeached despite the hatred of millions of working people for his government.

The basic issues facing the British working class, the fight for decent jobs and wages, housing, and democratic rights, will be resolved only in the class battles ahead.

The election now places the working class directly

with a revolutionary situation in which they must either take the power or face fascism and dictatorship.

Only the Workers Revolutionary Party campaigned in the election on these issues.

The WRP entered candidates to smash all illusions in a parliamentary solution, to expose the dictatorial conspiracy of the Tories, and to warn that the Labour Party leaders would not be able to defend the working class.

This campaign was aimed at exposing the reformists of the Labour Party and through this, to build the Workers Revolutionary Party as the leadership that would lead the struggle for power in the next stage of the struggle.

The slim victory of the Labour Party shows how this strategy can now lead to a leap in consciousness, as masses of British workers go beyond this leadership.

The widespread anger and disgust with the policies of the Labour Party leadership will now make it possible for a rapid growth in the building of a mass Workers Revolutionary Party.

American workers must learn from the experiences of British workers as we enter the same period of struggle here.

We must fight to demand that the trade union leadership form a labor party to immediately stop Nixon and the capitalists from impoverishing the working class and destroying its basic rights. In the struggle for a labor party, we must immediately demand socialist policies to answer the crisis and expose the refusal of the reformist leaders to carry this out.

The central task in this fight is the construction of the Workers League as a revolutionary party to prepare for the revolutionary struggles that are ahead.



Section of the audience at the massive ATUA rally.

## 4000 Attend ATUA Rally

BY A REPORTER

Over 4000 trade unionists and youth attended the mass "Solidarity With the Miners" rally, organized by the All Trades Unions Alliance (industrial arm of the Workers Revolutionary Party) at the Alexandra Palace in London on February 24.

Contingents came by bus from Scotland, the Northeast, Manchester, Merseyside, South Wales, and from middle and southern England.

Organized in the midst of an intense election campaign, the rally was a tremendous step forward in the building of a mass revolutionary party in Britain.

Alan Thornett, chairman of the ATUA, giving the opening address, told the rally:

"The General Election will only place the ruling class and

the working class at different vantage points in the terrain of battle. But battle they must."

"...The election of Labour is important but only in the sense of a struggle to compel the the Labour Leaders to implement socialist policies, to expose them, and through that, the building of a mass Workers Revolutionary Party."

Gerry Healy, general secretary of the WRP, emphasized that the election was "subordinate to the struggle between the two main classes." He said that only the WRP had entered the election to fight for a socialist program to unite the working class against the Tories.

Healy warned that it was essential for the working class to learn how to fight and to train a new leadership.

Following the main speakers, trade unionists from all basic industries including many miners, lined up to speak.

Two transmitting sets at Alexandra Palace showed the first public presentation of the TV films of the election campaign, made by the Workers Press Video TV News Service.

In the evening a play, "October," reenacting the 1917 Revolution was produced by a team of 100 professional writers, directors, actors, and actresses, designers, and technicians.

It depicted the key events between the February overthrow of the Czar and the 1917 October insurrection led by Lenin's Bolshevik Party.

The biggest response came to the scene where Lenin returns from exile at the Finland station. As red flags unfurled from the ceiling and workers cheered, the train moved down the center aisle of the hall.

### General Strike In Japan, Italy

Over 527,000 workers went on strike all over Japan on March 1 in the beginning of a spring wage offensive.

Government and private industry workers, miners, and railway men defied a government threat and staged a 24 hour walkout to demand a 30 percent wage increase.

In Italy, 14 million workers staged a nationwide general strike against soaring inflation on February 27.

Prior to this in a wave of wildcat strikes, workers closed the Fiat Motor plant, which employs 20,000 workers.

## Pompidou Prepares For Class Battles

BY MELODY FARROW

The resignation of French Prime Minister Pierre Messmer and the reorganization of the cabinet has exposed the weakness and isolation of President George Pompidou's government.

The cabinet shakeup is an attempt to strengthen the dictatorial powers of the president in preparation for a confrontation with the French working class.

The cabinet was reduced from 22 to 16 ministers. Foreign Minister Michel Jobert and Finance Minister Valery Giscard D'Estaing retained their posts. The hated Minister of the Interior Raymond Marcellin switched positions with Agricultural Minister Jacques Chirac.

Messmer stated that Pompidou's instructions were that "the new team should be less numerous and that it should demonstrate cohesion and efficiency in the greatest possible manner to take decisions and to act."

These moves are in response to a growing offensive throughout the working class, and by students and farmers, against the Pompidou regime.

### DEVALUATION

The recent devaluation of the franc which has slashed living standards, a 12 percent rate of inflation, and rising unemployment have produced a wave of strikes and factory occupations simultaneously in every sector.

At the auto plant Saviem-Blainville, workers have been staging work actions for a wage increase of 100 francs a month, a cost of living bonus of 500 francs, and a guaranteed minimum wage.

In response to their actions, the company locked out 6400 workers and the rest immediately walked out in solidarity.

At the steel mills of Usinor in Dunkerque, workers invaded

management's office, holding three directors captive and paralyzing operations for the day.

Virtually every union is negotiating for higher wages. Work stoppages are taking place at Air France, and employees of Credit Lyonnais and the Bank of France have occupied management offices.

Hours have been reduced in textile, auto, the airlines, shipping, and aerospace. There were 35,200 unemployed in December 1973, compared to 8100 the year before.

On February 21, the most violent street fighting since 1968 between over 10,000 left-wing demonstrators and CRS riot police exploded in Paris.

Over 10,000 youth protesting the visit of Chilean ambassador Duran Villareal to France were blocked off by police as they attempted to march on the Chilean embassy.

Shouting "Pinochet Assassin, Pompidou Accomplice" the march broke up as molotov cocktails were launched at police and the CRS responded with tear gas. Over 100 youth were detained.

Only weeks before, hundreds of thousands of French farmers marched on provincial capitals to demonstrate their demand for higher farm prices.

The mobilization of the riot police in Paris is a warning that behind the cabinet reshuffle, Pompidou is preparing for class war and dictatorship.

Conditions for a general strike are rapidly being created. Only the Stalinist leadership of the General Federation of Labor (CGT) has held this back.

The CGT has openly opposed occupations and is limiting each struggle to partial protests on the economic issues alone, instead of uniting the working class in a political and industrial offensive to force Pompidou out and to fight for a workers government.

While the Pompidou regime is weak, the French working class needs a revolutionary leadership to break the hold of Stalinism and to prepare for the revolutionary confrontation immediately ahead.

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# Wage Board Approves New Price Hikes

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN  
The Latin American style inflation predicted for the United States by Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns last week has already begun with a new round of staggering price increases.

the dollar and guarantee that the gold panic and the rush into commodities will continue to bid prices up to astronomical levels.

SLASHES  
These new slashes on the living standards of millions of workers only prove the impossibility of "controlling" inflation when paper money itself has broken down as a standard of value.

Big business has only one program—vicious wage slashing through unlimited price increases, wage freezing, and an all-out drive to destroy the power of the unions through mass unemployment.

No sooner had Burns finished speaking than the Cost of Living Council announced that it was removing controls on steel prices.

An immediate 5 percent boost in prices by all major producers is expected and raises as high as 11 percent by smaller producers.

In addition, the Council gave its permission for automatic increases on a monthly basis to reflect increased prices in steel and iron scrap.

The new steel increases will lead auto manufacturers to pressure for bigger price increases.

The Department of Agriculture announced that farm prices have more than doubled since 1967, are up 36 percent over a year ago, and are now rising at an annual rate of 20 percent.

On Friday, gasoline prices were raised at all independent stations by 2 cents a gallon. But this is only the beginning. The large oil companies are also increasing their prices to the dealers from a one cent to more than 5 cents a gallon.

Getty Oil is increasing charges by five and one quarter cents a gallon, which added to the 2 cent increase, comes to more than 7 cents.

Standard Oil announced that all gasoline was being raised by 1 cent and in a blow to the truckers who just returned from striking over fuel costs raised prices on diesel fuel by three and one-half cents.

Energy czar William Simon has predicted that gasoline prices will go to at least 75 cents.

On Saturday, first class mail goes from 8 cents to 11 cents and an airmail letter from 11 cents to 13. Even these increases have been declared "temporary" pending hearings by the Postal Rate Commission on new charges.

New York City workers have been hit by electricity rate increases of 12.3 percent pending a final decision on a request for a 29.2 percent hike by the Consolidated Edison Company.

2.5 million tenants now face rent rises of up to 11.5 percent on "rent controlled" apartments.

These [staggering] rises are only the beginning as the impact of higher prices for oil imports has yet to be passed on in innumerable products made from petroleum. Estimates for imports last month reveal a \$1.5 billion rise for a reduced amount of oil.

The latest announcements by the Department of Commerce that the US balance of trade is expected to go into deficit, once again, mean a further erosion of



## Avenge Puig Antich

The fascist regime of General Franco brutally executed Salvador Puig Antich, a member of the Iberian Liberation Movement on March 2 at 10 am.

Franco denied all appeals to grant Antich a reprieve and deliberately ordered his murder in the most barbaric and medieval manner, by garroting.

The garrote, a steel collar, is tightened until the individual is strangled or his spine is broken at the base of the neck.

This act is a savage reprisal for the assassination of the Prime Minister Luis Carrero Blanco by the Basque Nationalist ETA movement.

It is the first political execution and the first by garroting since 1963.

Antich was condemned in January for killing a policeman last September who sought to arrest him for a bank robbery.

Prior to his execution, thousands in southern France, Paris, and in Barcelona defied government bans and marched to demand his release.

The new Spanish regime headed by Carlos Arias Navarro hopes that Antich's death will intimidate and repress any opposition to their policies.

On the contrary, it will harden the determination of the Spanish working class to destroy the fascist regime. Antich will be remembered in the international workers movement and he will be avenged in the struggle to construct a revolutionary party in Spain to take power.



Matt Koehl, National Commander of the American Nazi Party, meets February 25 with Stuart Smith, left, aide to Governor Meskill, at the Connecticut capitol in Hartford. See story, page 4.

# Oil Companies Hoard To Force Prices Up

BY A REPORTER  
Despite the claims of the Federal Energy Office that its increased allocations of gasoline to the states would alleviate shortages, a survey by the American Automobile Association shows that more service stations are reporting limitations on purchases, reduced hours, and longer lines than ever.

The recent announcement by Shell Oil and Amoco that they intend to reduce allocations to gas stations in March will increase the chaos. The Shell allocation will be cut

from 85 to 70 percent of their 1972 allocations.

Dutch Shell increased profits by 153 percent last year to \$1.78 billion.

Amoco is cutting allocations from 80 percent to 75 percent.

These announcements come on the heels of new price increases that raise pump prices by 2 cents a gallon nationally with new increases of up to 5 cents on the way.

### MINERS

While thousands of miners in West Virginia are striking against the fuel shortages, gas station dealers are threatening more strikes to protest Nixon's policies.

There is no question that the large oil corporations are deliberately holding back supplies to drive up prices.

API statistics reveal that

gasoline production and stocks are almost equal to a year ago and stocks of crude oil are greater.

Despite big cutbacks in auto use, supplies continue to dry up.

Hoarding is taking place on a staggering scale. Representative Charles Vanick revealed that oil is being stored all across the country in rail tank cars, which are now so scarce that normal rail movement is becoming impossible.

As far as the major oil producers are concerned, gas and oil will remain unavailable until prices of 70 to 80 cents a gallon convince them to release some of their stocks.

Nixon's pledge to veto the energy bill because it includes a plan for limited price rollbacks means that they will enjoy full government cooperation for their plans.

Young Socialists

## MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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Labor Must Act On Jobs

Build A Labor Party

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Assemble: Sherman Park (Garfield & Loomis)  
Rally: Ogden Park (Marquette & Loomis)  
Transportation from Dayton, Detroit, St. Louis, Minn., Madison  
For information call 312-327-2620 evenings.

### San Francisco

Assemble: Dolores Park  
Rally: Union Square  
Transportation from Los Angeles, Oakland, Palo Alto, San Jose  
For further information call 415-824-4096.

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# New Bedford Youth Prepare To Fight

BY DAVID NORTH  
NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—Little remains of this old town's past glory. A little more than a century ago, it was perhaps the most important harbor in the United States.

From this town with cobblestone streets, thousands of sailors escaped each year aboard great whaling vessels to the waters of the Atlantic, Pacific, Indian, and Arctic oceans.

Today, the great whaling days are recalled only in the museums and monuments of New Bedford. Fishing is still an important industry here, but the work is seasonal and only during the summer months can fishermen confidently set out for flounder, scallops, and lobster.

The textile industry, which replaced the fishing industry as the economic backbone of New Bedford, has moved a large part of its production to the South over the past decade in search of cheaper labor costs.

The manufacturing of polyesters like nylon which require the use of petrochemicals is likely to be cut back because of the fuel shortage. Thousands of jobs in Berkshire-Hathaway and other mills are threatened.

The unemployment rate already stands at 7.5 percent.

"New Bedford was a better place to live 120 years ago than it is today," declared Kenny Leighton, a fish cutter now out of work.

"Everything is wrong. You can't get fish. You can't get gas. You can't get jobs. My whole shop is laid off and most fish cutters are looking for something to do."

The mills are not hiring, but the workers consider them to be sweatshops where the pay is kept around or below \$2.50 an hour.

The construction industry is also depressed. "Things are really bad here," subcontractor Isaac Pina told the Bulletin.

"I had been working six years before I got fired. I have never seen things this bad. Nobody wants to build a home. All we do is hang around."

For youth and young workers,

the situation in New Bedford is the most critical. There are no jobs and virtually no facilities for sports and other forms of entertainment. Police cruise the city constantly, often stopping to arrogantly accuse youth of "loitering."

The anger of the youth and unemployed and immigrant workers exploded once before in 1970, and the scars of those riots can still be seen in the burned-out buildings on Water Street. New Bedford authorities forcibly relocated a large number of minority workers and youth outside the town limits.

Enormous tension is building up again. "Why don't they give us decent work?" asks A. Felix, a 24-year-old unemployed worker who came here with his family from Portugal 19 years ago.

"I am a citizen of the United States, but with a president like Nixon, I'd disown this country.

"At least in Portugal, they admit that they are robbing you. Here, the government robs you and then lies about it."

Felix looked through the Bulletin, saw the announcement of the March 16 rally in Washington, and said he would like to join it.

"It is about time working people do something. We are just standing in the streets. As soon

as a cop comes by, he'll tell us to start moving. The younger cops think they're Wyatt Earps or something. They'll come up to you all sassy-mouthed with their hands on their guns.

"They treat us like second-class citizens. But this is our country, not the government's. It seems that the government is them and the people is we.

"I feel that the rich people just come here and look down on us. I came to America to get away from all that.

His friend Jimmy agreed that New Bedford youth were not going to accept these attacks on their living standards and basic rights.

"How am I supposed to live on \$60 a week when I pay \$45 in rent and then have to buy food. And even after I pay rent, the landlord won't fix the windows.

"I love New Bedford. I'm proud of this town. But look what they've turned it into. I'm all for going down to Washington to fight Nixon, and I know a lot of other people would feel the same way.

"I am determined to do something. I just don't want my kids to go through what I have to."

Felix added: "The working people have to get together against all the people whom we have to call 'Mister' every day. These are the people who are destroying everything.



Unemployed youth helps load truck with lobsters.

## Meskill's Aide Welcomes Nazis

HARTFORD, Conn.—Four fascists, members of the National Socialist White Peoples Party, are now touring the United States attempting to speak to every governor in the country about the energy crisis.

One of the four is Nazi leader Matt Koehl, who took over the organization after the death of former national head George Lincoln Rockwell.

Last week, they entered the state capitol in Hartford, Connecticut, in uniform and swastika arm-bands, and demanded to see Governor Thomas Meskill. Stuart Smith, aide to Meskill, met with the fascists in place of the governor.

Koehl told Smith that in order to resolve the nation's energy crisis, the United States must break off all relations with the "illegitimate Zionist nation of Israel."

"If the US dumped Israel, the Arab boycott problem would resolve itself," Koehl continued.

The Nazis stated that they

wanted Meskill to use his influence in Washington in order to pressure Nixon to stop supporting Israel.

The commander of the American White People's Party in Bridgeport, Connecticut was interviewed recently on television, where he declared they intended to step up demonstrations and public meetings around the country.

He explained that they were now in a position to expand their activities because there was support for their policies.

The Nazi "concern" about the oil crisis is a poorly disguised cover for their anti-semitic and anti-Black racist propaganda, aimed at dividing workers at the very time when they must be united against Nixon and the common capitalist enemy.

The fact that Smith just like Mayor Alioto in San Francisco treat the Nazis with respect, while workers on strike are attacked and jailed as criminals, is warning that the Republicans and Democrats will cooperate with the Nazis in full.



Lobster fishermen in New Bedford Harbor.

## Brewery Deal Loses Jobs

BY MITCH PATTERSON  
BROOKLYN, NY—The Rheingold Brewery plant here which has been closed since February 1, may be re-opened in the near future under the management of Chock Full O'Nuts, the coffee producer.

Negotiations between Teamster Locals 3 and 46, which represent most of the 1500 workers at Rheingold, and Chock Full O'Nuts, were completed on February 26. The agreement must be ratified by the membership and signed by Rheingold's parent-owner, Pepsico, and Chock Full O'Nuts.

Three smaller craft unions, representing approximately 300 Rheingold workers, were not consulted by either the Teamsters or Chock Full O'Nuts in

the negotiations. To this point, these unions have refused to sign the contract.

The Rheingold workers responded to the plant closure with a sit-in and occupation which lasted for four days.

According to Pepsico, the Rheingold Breweries were operating with a \$9 million deficit for the last several months.

Chock Full O'Nuts has demanded that the workers pay for at least \$6 million of this deficit, through layoffs, changes in the job guarantee contained in the former contract, and various "work rule" changes before they would agree to purchase Rheingold.

The president of Local 46, Neil Borra, stated that there will be a minimum of 350 men laid off immediately following the plant reopening, and more once the operation gets underway.

Chock Full O'Nuts will be granted full "hire and fire" powers which will virtually destroy the grievance procedures.

To "soften" these blows against the workers, William Black, Chairman of Chock Full O'Nuts, has announced that there will be a 10 percent profit sharing program.

This farce was exposed when Neil Borra told the Bulletin that the company "has already claimed that it will take at least a year to make up the deficit. They will say that they have made no profit. Ten percent of nothing is nothing."

In the face of these terms laid down by Chock Full O'Nuts, and the acceptance of them by the union leadership, Rheingold workers must flatly reject the whole agreement at the ratification meeting.

### JUST OUT

Exposes empirical method behind Mandel's and the revisionist United Secretariat's theories of neo-capitalism.

This second 112-page edition includes a new introduction by Alex Steiner and Dennis O'Casey assessing Mandel's philosophical methods and reactionary policies in view of the new stage of the economic crisis.

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Bulletin Pamphlet Series **7**



# British Trotskyists Campaign!



"I support the Workers Revolutionary Party putting up candidates. It is a just cause and it has been needed for some time."

"In this area, you've always had Labour and Conservative and no real voice for working people. I think it is a turning point now and it's up to working people to take this chance."

This was the response of a young miner who joined the WRP in Britain after hearing its candidate Brian Lavery speak at an election rally in Pontefract-Castleford.

Everywhere the Workers Revolutionary Party candidates have campaigned, workers, youth, and housewives spontaneously came forward to join the party and help canvas for votes.

Large teams have tirelessly fought to bring the program of the WRP to workers and youth in the shopping centers, housing projects and factories, distributing the "Election Mani-

festos" and selling hundreds of copies of Workers Press.

In Central Dunbartonshire, at a meeting of 500 workers, Stephen Hammond, WRP candidate was loudly applauded for demanding nationalization of basic industry and food monopolies, and exposed the other six candidates who refused to take a stand on it.

### BANKRUPTCY

In Wallsend, as in other areas, Labour Party campaigners would disappear as soon as they saw the WRP, who has consistently attacked the bankruptcy of the Labour Party over their loudspeakers.

Forty miners heard Dave Temple and WRP national Secretary Gerry Healy speak and later Temple addressed 300 miners and their wives at a bingo hall.

In Stechford, youth have crowded into the WRP election headquarters and two new Young Socialist branches have

been launched during the campaign.

Indian workers in Newham NE, where numerous street meetings have been held in the Indian language Urdu, are turning towards WRP candidate Vanessa Redgrave.

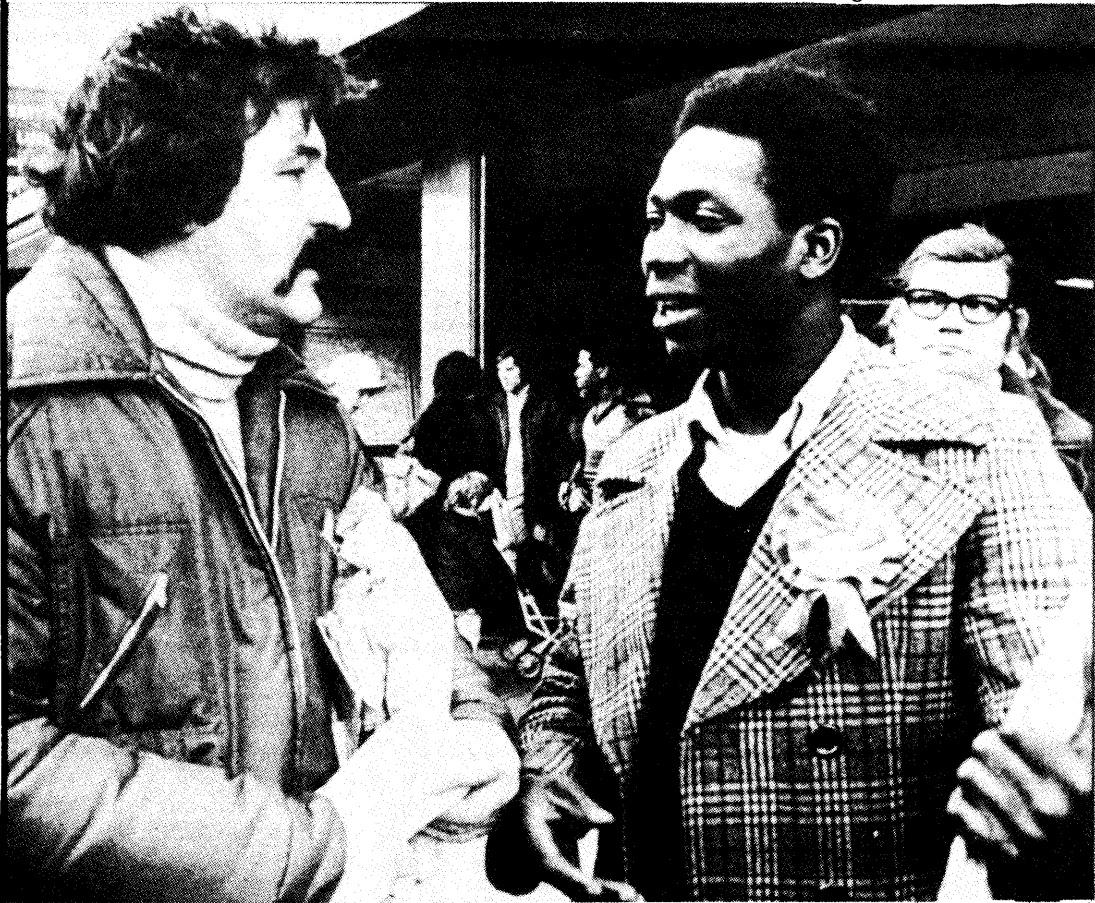
In the Welsh mining area of Merthyr Tydfil, a march of 2000 Hoover workers was followed by a meeting where the speaker called for support to the WRP candidate Roy Battersby.

The Workers Press TV Video News team has shown films of the campaign in neighborhood election offices to bring the issues to as many people as possible.

Housewives and Workers Press readers have stayed up getting out election addresses and turning their homes into office space.

In the midst of this intense campaign, the WRP and new members built the 4000-strong mass rally of the All Trades Unions Alliance in London.

WRP candidates: Vanessa Redgrave, above, received support of many Indian workers in her district; below left, 21-year-old Sylvester Smart; right, Bill Lavery talks to shoppers. Bottom, left to right: film director Roy Battersby; Kate Blakeney; Stephen Hammond received enthusiastic response from 500 workers in Central Dunbartonshire after demanding nationalization of basic industries under workers control.







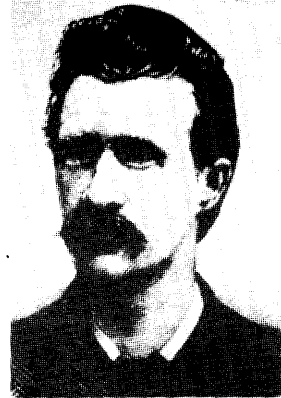
Sorge



Weydemeyer



Parsons



Spies



Haymarket

The 1950s and 1960s have produced a rash of books on the Socialist Party and Marxism in America. The bulk of these books were the product of the Cold War and were funded directly or indirectly by such big business foundations as the Fund for the Republic and perhaps even by the CIA.

Most of these books were written as a defense of American capitalism under conditions in which the capitalists felt threatened internationally by the Soviet Bloc countries and the colonial revolution. Their point was that socialism, Marxism, and Communism, were alien to American life, never able to really take root here, and never would in the future.

The tremendous interest in the question and the large amount of funds made available to "prove" the point tended to prove otherwise. Clearly the Daniel Bells, Theodore Drapers, Lewis Cosers, and Irving Howes were being mustered as so many troops in an ideological war aimed at preventing a rebirth of Marxism in America. One does not muster troops for battle if there are no troops on the other side.

No sooner had this school of "Communism in American Life" cold warriors subsided than they were joined in their efforts from another quarter. The underlying crisis of capitalism began to create the conditions for a new upsurge in the American working class.

The first preliminary expression of this upsurge was expressed among the Black masses in the civil rights movements and then the ghetto explosions, as well as among the students on the campuses.

At the same time, internationally, the working class first expressed itself outside the colonial countries in a rebellion against Stalinism within the workers states. The East German uprising, the Polish events, and the Hungarian Revolution had a profound impact on the Stalinist movement in the United States and elsewhere.

What is known as the "new left" was a product of these developments—particularly, the preparatory stirring among students and the breakup of the Stalinist movement. Its leading figures, by and large, came out of the Stalinist movement or from families which had been part of the Stalinist movement.

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With this outlook, the so-called new left fought within the student protest movement against any serious turn to Marxism. Marxism was under continuous attack as "victorian," as the "old left," as "sects," something foreign and European which had been imposed upon the genuine American radical tradition.

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The theoreticians of the new left, of course, never bothered to assess the causes of the collapse of their own movement. They simply receded into the academic ranks hoping to provide as well as possible for themselves and their families, deserting the new generation of fighters now emerging among the working class youth.

This new left movement produced two important books on American radicalism. One, David Herreshoff's *Origins of American Marxism*, we have dealt with elsewhere (See *Bulletin*, November 27, 30; December 4, 7; January 29, February 1).

Here we will deal with James Weinstein's *The Decline Of Socialism in America, 1912-1925*.

James Weinstein was active in the Stalinist movement in the late 1940s and early 1950s when he was the New York State Chairman of the Labor Youth League, Communist Party youth group.

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These writers have great difficulty explaining how it was that such a powerful socialist movement developed in the period from 1900 to 1912 or even the somewhat less but still important influence of the Communist Party of the 1930s. They seek to explain away the former as simply populism in socialist clothing, which collapsed under the impact of Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom. The latter is written off largely as some big conspiratorial plot.

Weinstein's position is a little different, but on certain critical questions it dovetails that of the cold warriors. He sees the Socialist Party of 1900 to 1919 as his model. He believes it to be a genuine American radical movement and highly successful. It is this movement he hopes to recreate in this new period.

In discussing why this movement collapsed, he states: "In large part, the failure of American socialism has been internal." As Weinstein sees it, in 1900, this indigenous American socialist movement burst upon the scene and bounded forward from strength to strength. It contained within it a left wing and a right wing, as well as intermediary tendencies.

But these tendencies did not diverge from each other in any clear and principled way. In fact, Weinstein claims, as time wore on, these tendencies tended to come together. Thus, in World War One, all major factions of the Socialist Party stood together in opposition to the imperialist war and in support of the Bolshevik Revolution.

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He states of the CP: "It was transformed from a new expression of American radicalism to the American appendage of a Russian revolutionary power." This exposes the anticommunist core of Weinstein's argument. The American working class may be "radical" if it wishes, but this radicalism must be American. Above all, international questions must be kept out of the American workers movement.

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**FROM SOCIALISM  
TO COMMUNISM  
IN AMERICA**

Part One

ment collapsed, the Communist Party emerged as the central force of American radicalism. At that stage, and also because the character of that Party changed then, the movement for socialism assumed most of the characteristics it has had continuously for the past forty years; that is, it became narrow, sectarian and dominated by the theoretical and ideological disputes (in the Marxist sense of the ideology as false consciousness) inherent in what Isaac Deutscher calls the problem of primitive socialist accumulation in Russia."

He sums up his case:

"The point is that both the Communists and the Socialists had been hopelessly caught up in conflict over forms of organization, attitudes toward fellow Socialists and concepts of strategy and tactics that did not grow out of American experience or the problems of transforming American society. The legacy of 1919 was the alienation of American Socialism."

The position of Weinstein does not differ fundamentally from that of Cold War Theodore Draper. The only difference is that Draper applied this position to the early Communist Party instead of the Socialist Party.

workers, and now the American workers, are in a combined revolutionary struggle against capitalism, with the United States's rulers standing as the central prop to capitalism.

The American working class can now develop its political understanding only as part of the international working class: thus, the determination of the capitalists to somehow maintain a separateness of thought and action between American workers and their class brothers in Europe and the colonial areas. The Weinsteins and the Herreshoffs, as well as the open servants like the Shannons, Bells and Drapers, serve the capitalists intellectually in this task.

It is significant that James Weinstein begins his book with the year 1900, devoting no more than a cursory reference to the pre-history of the Socialist Party. This is because this pre-history makes clear the extent to which the American workers movement developed as part of the European and international struggle of workers and the relationship between this European experience and American conditions. At the same time, such a study would reveal that not only were the divisions between the



Berger



Fur workers



Haywood



Lawrence, Mass. strike

Fra...





Pullman strike

Debs

reform and revolutionary tendencies real within the SP of 1900 to 1919, but such tendencies had a considerable pre-history to them.

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The major contribution of these early Marxists, however, was of a theoretical nature. In the battle against the Victoria Woodhull section of the First International, F.A. Sorge, supported by Marx and Engels,

defend their interests. He sought to adapt this to "American conditions," that is, to organize workers only in the skilled trades and to steer clear of any political challenge to capital.

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It was actually among the trade union oriented opposition to the leadership of the SLP that the most revolutionary tendency emerged, the so-called social revolutionary, or Chicago idea group. This group, whose main strength was in Chicago, was hostile to the reformist course of the LaSallean leadership headed by an American born radical named Van Patten. As with the LaSalleans and Marxists, a similar radical tendency emerged in Europe and some of those who later joined the ranks of the social revolutionary grouping were recent immigrants from Germany. Johann Most, whose activity was centered in New York, was the most famous.

However, it would again be a mistake to see this formation as simply a German import preoccupied with events in the old country. Their main concern was the terror in the United States against the working class, particularly its immigrant section. In this period, the overwhelming mass of industrial workers were immigrants. This group, while still part of the SLP, formed organizations known as *Lehr und Wehr Verein*. These were clubs devoted to military training. They would on occasion parade through the streets of Chicago fully armed.

Needless to say the Van Patten leadership of the SLP, at that time playing around with the Greenback Party, did not feel too warmly towards these armed bodies and moved against the social revolutionary group. This group, which was soon expelled, was headed by Albert Parsons, a Southerner who had been active in the reconstruction legislature in Texas, and August Spies.

The group had no really clear theoretical outlook. Its economic assessment was Marxist. It was not even at the beginning clearly opposed to political action. Its main point was the need to prepare for armed conflict with the capitalists. At various times, it called itself anarchist, socialist, or communist. As time went on, it developed working relations with an anarchist like Johann Most, though never close ones, and claimed to support the anarchist international.

The group gained considerable strength in Chicago. It was stronger there than the official section of the SLP and may have been in the country as a whole. Many dissident SLPers joined it. The following is a description of a demonstration of the group in 1884, two years before the famous Haymarket affair:

"A mass protest meeting on Thanksgiving Day of 1884, in answer to the Governor's Thanksgiving proclamation, is characteristic enough to warrant consideration. Some three thousand people turned out, despite severe weather and heard the speeches of Parsons, Griffin, Fielden, Spies, and Schwab.

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of property were voted, and an ironic 'Thanksgiving' resolution was adopted which declared 'that we are thankful because we have learned the true cause of poverty and know the remedy, and can only be more thankful when the principles are put in force.'

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"Cheers were given for revolutionaries of every stamp in the Old World and for the Hicking Valley strikers. Then the parade once more got under way, arched through the wealthier section of the city, past the Palmer House, and by the residence of ex-Minister Washburne, who was roundly jeered.

"Black and red flags were carried by the paraders as well as placards, some of which announced: 'Private capital is the reward of robbery.' 'Our capitalistic robbers may well thank their Lord, we their victims have not yet strangled them.' 'The proletariat must be their own liberator.'"

This group carried on considerable activity in the trade unions as their Central Labor Council was larger than the official AFL one in Chicago. They played an important role in the eight hour day agitation, fighting all the time for armed preparation for revolution.

They had considerable support among the Harvester workers and it was at a rally of those workers that the famous bomb was thrown, it is now generally believed by a police agent, which led to the prosecution and eventual death of the leaders of this group.

It is significant to note that Van Patten's reaction to Haymarket was to denounce the victims, pouring out a tremendous amount of material on anarchism. He thus responded in the spirit of the present day Socialist Workers Party. One member of the SLP, Joseph Dietzgen responded differently.

This old Marxist, who had independently of Marx discovered the basic elements of dialectical materialism, rallied to the Chicago group, moving there to edit their paper. Engels understood the character of Dietzgen's reaction, but felt he bent over too much in the other direction, blurring important political questions of principle.

The Haymarket events thus are an important chapter in the prehistory of the Socialist Party, for they show that deep differences had already emerged within the Marxist movement in America. A strong reaction, though misguided theoretically, had developed to the conservative and centrist policies of the leadership.

While this reaction paralleled a similar group which emerged in Europe and had contract with it, it was also a response to the brutal conditions of class warfare within the United States.

Precisely in their theoretical confusion and emphasis on action, these predominantly German-speaking revolutionaries in Chicago reflected the weaknesses as well as fighting spirit of American workers.

TO BE CONTINUED



## Origins of American Socialism by Tim Wohlforth

This series is a reply to *The Decline Of Socialism in America, 1912-1925*, a book by James Weinstein, *Monthly Review Press*, New York.

defeated American radicalism laying a basis for a working class movement based on Marxism. Without this battle, there would have been no Socialist Party, not to mention the Communist Party.

The Socialist Party stood on the theoretical foundations established by the First International in America and carried forward by the Socialist Labor Party out of which the Socialist Party emerged.

It should also be pointed out that that most "American" of workers institutions, the American Federation of Labor, had a similar origin. The core of the AFL in its early days was unions dominated by German-Americans. Samuel Gompers, and those most closely associated with him, came from around the early German Marxist movement. They were all acquainted with Marxism and it had its influence upon them.

There was always a socialist opposition within the AFL, sometimes with considerable strength. This opposition, as we shall see, was not as sharply differentiated from Gompers as would appear at first glance.

Gompers took from Marx an understanding of the need for workers to organize independently of the capitalists to

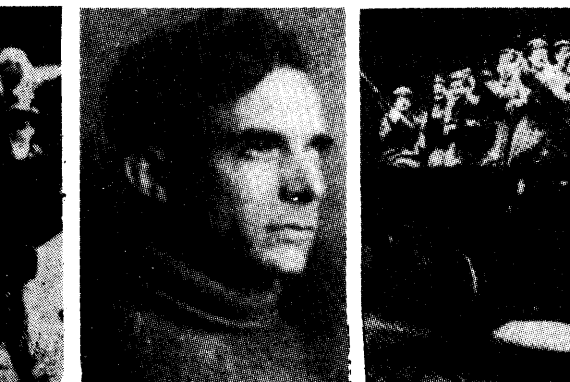
which dominated in the 1890s, was the trade union or Marxist tendency.

As the names indicate, these tendencies paralleled tendencies in the European movement. However, it would be a great mistake to see them as simply a matter of emigres interested in European development. The tendencies actually reflected very real problems in the development of the American workers movement, problems which would plague the movement for many years to come.

It was this same division which was at the heart of the split within that most American radical formation, the IWW, and which plagued both the early Socialist and Communist Parties.

The so-called political or LaSallean wing was actually a very conservative group which ended up at one point in endorsing the Greenback Party in the elections, showing it had not learned the lessons of the early Marxists' break with radicalism.

The group had the most hostile relations with Engels, getting into a petty wrangle with Marx's own daughter and son-in-law when they toured the country, speaking before massive audiences, in 1885. F.A. Sorge, the one American closest to Engels,



Fraina



Russian Revolution, 1917.



Reed



Palmer Raids



Foster with Mother Jones





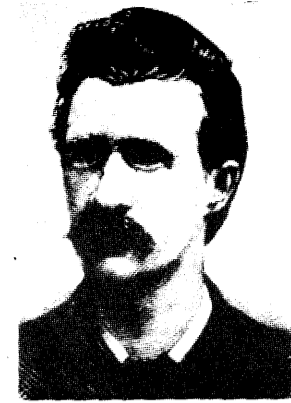
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What is known as the "new left" was a product of these developments—particularly, the preparatory stirring among students and the breakup of the Stalinist movement. Its leading figures, by and large, came out of the Stalinist movement or from families which had been part of the Stalinist movement.

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This group carried on considerable activity in the trade unions as their Central Labor Council was larger than the official AFL one in Chicago. They played an important role in the eight hour day agitation, fighting all the time for armed preparation for revolution.

They had considerable support among the Harvester workers and it was at a rally of those workers that the famous bomb was thrown, it is now generally believed by a police agent, which led to the prosecution and eventual death of the leaders of this group.

It is significant to note that Van Patten's reaction to Haymarket was to denounce the victims, pouring out a tremendous amount of material on anarchism. He thus responded in the spirit of the present day Socialist Workers Party. One member of the SLP, Joseph Dietzgen responded differently.

This old Marxist, who had independently of Marx discovered the basic elements of dialectical materialism, rallied to the Chicago group, moving there to edit their paper. Engels understood the character of Dietzgen's reaction, but felt he bent over too much in the other direction, blurring important political questions of principle.

The Haymarket events thus are an important chapter in the prehistory of the Socialist Party, for they show that deep differences had already emerged within the Marxist movement in America. A strong reaction, though misguided theoretically, had developed to the conservative and centrist policies of the leadership.

While this reaction paralleled a similar group which emerged in Europe and had contract with it, it was also a response to the brutal conditions of class warfare within the United States.

Precisely in their theoretical confusion and emphasis on action, these predominantly German-speaking revolutionaries in Chicago reflected the weaknesses as well as fighting spirit of American workers.

TO BE CONTINUED

# FROM SOCIALISM TO COMMUNISM IN AMERICA

## Part One

Origins of American Socialism by Tim Wohlforth

This series is a reply to *The Decline Of Socialism in America, 1912-1925*, a book by James Weinstein, Monthly Review Press, New York.

ment collapsed, the Communist Party emerged as the central force of American radicalism. At that stage, and also because the character of that Party changed then, the movement for socialism assumed most of the characteristics it has had continuously for the past forty years: that is, it became narrow, sectarian and dominated by the theoretical and ideological disputes (in the Marxist sense of the ideology as false consciousness) inherent in what Isaac Deutscher calls the problem of primitive socialist accumulation in Russia."

He sums up his case: "The point is that both the Communists and the Socialists had been hopelessly caught up in conflict over forms of organization, attitudes toward fellow Socialists and concepts of strategy and tactics that did not grow out of American experience or the problems of transforming American society. The legacy of 1919 was the alienation of American Socialism."

The position of Weinstein does not differ fundamentally from that of Cold War Theodore Draper. The only difference is that Draper applied this position to the early Communist Party instead of the Socialist Party.

workers, and now the American workers, are in a combined revolutionary struggle against capitalism, with the United States' rulers standing as the central prop to capitalism.

The American working class can now develop its political understanding only as part of the international working class: thus, the determination of the capitalists to somehow maintain a separateness of thought and action between American workers and their class brothers in Europe and the colonial areas. The Weinsteins and the Herreshoffs, as well as the open servants like the Shannons, Bells and Drapers, serve the capitalists intellectually in this task.

It is significant that James Weinstein beings his book with the year 1900, devoting no more than a cursory reference to the pre-history of the Socialist Party. This is because this pre-history makes clear the extent to which the American workers movement developed as part of the European and international struggle of workers and the relationship between this European experience and American conditions. At the same time, such a study would reveal that not only were the divisions between the

defeated American radicalism laying a basis for a working class movement based on Marxism. Without this battle, there would have been no Socialist Party, not to mention the Communist Party.

The Socialist Party stood on the theoretical foundations established by the First International in America and carried forward by the Socialist Labor Party out of which the Socialist Party emerged.

It should also be pointed out that that most "American" of workers institutions, the American Federation of Labor, had a similar origin. The core of the AFL in its early days was unions dominated by German-Americans. Samuel Gompers, and those most closely associated with him, came from around the early German Marxist movement. They were all acquainted with Marxism and it had its influence upon them.

There was always a socialist opposition within the AFL, sometimes with considerable strength. This opposition, as we shall see, was not as sharply differentiated from Gompers as would appear at first glance.

Gompers took from Marx an understanding of the need for workers to organize independently of the capitalists to

which dominated in the 1890s, was the trade union or Marxist tendency.

As the names indicate, these tendencies paralleled tendencies in the European movement. However, it would be a great mistake to see them as simply a matter of emigres interested in European development. The tendencies actually reflected very real problems in the development of the American workers movement, problems which would plague the movement for many years to come.

It was this same division which was at the heart of the split within that most American radical formation, the IWW, and which plagued both the early Socialist and Communist Parties.

The so-called political or LaSallean wing was actually a very conservative group which ended up at one point in endorsing the Greenback Party in the elections, showing it had not learned the lessons of the early Marxists' break with radicalism.

The group had the most hostile relations with Engels, getting into a petty wrangle with Marx's own daughter and son-in-law when they toured the country, speaking before massive audiences, in 1885. F.A. Sorge, the one American closest to Engels,



Berger



Fur workers



Haywood



Lawrence, Mass. strike



Fraina



Russian Revolution, 1917.



Reed



Palmer Raids



Foster with Mother Jones



# editor's notebook

## Maligned And Mis-understood

Richard Gerstenberg, chairman of the General Motors Corporation, is upset that people do not really understand the American profit system.

"We want to abolish poverty. We want to rebuild our cities. We aim for full employment..."

Most people have gotten the opposite impression, for some reason. He says "not enough Americans understand this. To them, the word 'profit' has a grubby, selfish sound."

"This lack of public understanding seriously threatens our competitive private enterprise system."

According to recent opinion polls, only 3 percent of the American people think business is not making enough profit, while 10 times as many, 35 percent, think business is making too much money.

"The public is wrong. Dangerously wrong, because the typical corporation is not the insensitive, unchanging inaccessible giant that so many picture it to be. On the contrary, it is one of the most flexible and responsive of man's creations. It takes on the character of its times."

Most American workers know that today that means unemployment and high prices.

For the first time since World War Two, the majority no longer think that companies should be allowed to make all the profits they can.

"This is a road down which we dare not travel...It is a road which leads ultimately to the end of private enterprise."

## Crusade For Nixon

President Nixon is desperate for support these days, but has found it in Rev. Sun Myung Moon who has waged a 40-day "Forgive, Love, Unite" crusade in behalf of Nixon in a dozen world capitals.

Every morning at the White House gates, Mr. Moon and his followers prayed for forgiveness of Watergate. They paraded in downtown Tokyo with effigies and photographs of Nixon. In Seoul, reporters who covered the demonstration were given a "gift" of two days salary by the church.

On February 1, Moon was ushered into the presence of Nixon. Greeting Nixon with an embrace, he prayed fervently, while Nixon listened silently. He ended saying: "Don't knuckle under to pressure. Stand up for your convictions."

Who is this unusually zealous supporter?

The Rev. Mr. Moon enjoys a warm relationship with the Korean military-backed dictatorship headed by President Park. Park has been jailing Christian clergymen for their opposition to his repressive policies, while the Rev. Mr. Moon and principle supporters get unrestricted travel and ex-

change privileges.

During a dispute between major church organizations and Moon's group in 1968, his followers poured a pot of urine and feces on the head of a Seoul National University professor of religion.

In the last 18 months, the Moonies have bought two mansions in Westchester County, NY, for \$850,000 and \$625,000. It has just completed a \$1.5 million deal to buy the Christian Brothers Seminary in Barrytown, NY.

The Rev.'s personal finances are kept in secret books; however, his net worth has been widely reported to be in the range of \$15 million, although he was flat broke when he started.

The Rev. Mr. Moon's business card lists him as chairman of the board and founder of five companies, which manufacture a variety of products such as titanium, ginseng tea and air rifles. These industries, according to church officials in Seoul, are the personal possessions of the Rev. Mr. Moon.

Their political education front, the Freedom Leadership Foundation (FLF) states its mission is to achieve "ideological victory over communism in the United States."

FLF conducts ideological anti-communist training institutes and bookstores, and carries out campus counteractivism.

Moon's closest associate, is one Lt. Col. Pak. Pak also presides over the Washington based Korean Cultural Freedom Foundation (KCFF).

Pak, assistant military attache here of the Seoul government from 1961 to 1964, is reported by Korean emigres here to still maintain his connections in military and intelligence circles in Seoul.

In 1971 when the KCFF found itself under investigation by the FBI and State Department, they were successfully defended by Robert Amory Junior, former deputy director for operations of the CIA.

## Back At It Again



James W. McCord, Jr., convicted and jailed for his role in leading the Watergate break-in, has picked up where he left off since his release.

McCord, a former CIA agent, has returned to snooping and has reopened his security consulting business in Rockville, Maryland. Called Security International, the name is the only change in McCord's new life.

# Elijah Bows To Nixon As Muslim Empire Crumbles

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE  
CHICAGO—Between 10,000 to 20,000 people met in Chicago February 25 for the "Savior's Day Celebration" of the Nation of Islam, Black Muslims.

Elijah Muhammad's speech marked a sharp break from his usual anti-white rhetoric. The theme "do for self" frequently sounded like Nixon's own "pull yourself up by your own bootstraps" philosophy.

Muhammad said: "The slave master is no longer hindering us; we're hindering ourselves."

He also came out strongly on the side of all the right-wing "law and order" advocates who Nixon relies on to keep him in office to attack workers who fight for jobs and a decent standard of living.

As millions of workers and youth want to throw Nixon out, Muhammad comes forward to preach that American laws should all be obeyed "while their flag is flying," and said that, "As long as they're in power, respect them."

"The white man has given us the best thing he could—our freedom," he continued. "Why should he give us anything else unless he sees that we are using what he has already given?"

The report from National Secretary Abass Rassoull revealed the multimillion dollar empire Muhammad has built.

### EMPIRE

It is the defense of this international empire which is collapsing under the new conditions of crisis that draws Muhammad closer and closer to Nixon. He is now forced to drop the organization's emphasis on the white man as the enemy which the Muslims played up to build their movement.

This is the logic of their racist and religious propaganda, which says that Black and white workers cannot unite to overthrow capitalism; that the only way forward for Black workers is to "buy out" the corporations and real estate interests that oppress them and administer them independently.

### PROPERTY

Rassoull reported that the



Elijah Muhammad.

Muslims now own a full eight-block tract of property on Chicago's South Side, as well as a new office complex and thousands of other housing units.

### OPERATE

They operate 46 universities and plan to build a \$30 million hospital complex in Chicago. The Muslims own a fleet of 26 semi-trailer trucks, and an air transport system operating out of Gary, Indiana. They are presently "negotiating with America" to purchase several unused government airplanes.

### TRADE

In addition, the Nation of Islam is now purchasing three ocean-going cargo ships to carry out trade agreements negotiated with Japan, Peru, and many African and Arab nations. Rassoull is flying to China next month to work out new trade deals there.

On Chicago's South Side, which Muhammad promises to make "a beautiful home for the Black man," the Muslims operate over a dozen restaurants and food stores, warehouses, a clothing factory, a fez factory, a furniture store and the vast printing plant for Muhammad Speaks.

A million dollars has been posted as proof of intent to

purchase the huge South Shore Country Club, which city residents have been fighting to have turned into a city park.

Like the Black capitalism campaigns of Reverend Jesse Jackson and Imamu Baraka in Newark, and the community control campaign of the Black Panthers, the Muslim's plan to buy the South Side and run it themselves denies the economic crisis ripping apart the entire capitalist system.

### GOLD

When the official price of gold is raised to bring it into line with the market price, it will rip apart all trade agreements, and every store will be forced to double and triple prices of the most basic necessities.

Muhammad's speech is a preparation for this period, in which the Muslims will join the capitalists in seeking to defend their profits at the expense of the working people.

### SOLIDARITY

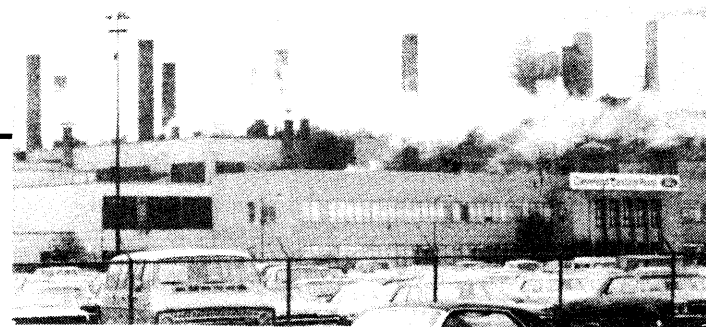
It is at this point that Muhammad openly declared his solidarity with the ruling class and warns his followers that he will "fight to the death" any attempt to take away the vast holdings he has amassed under his control.

## National Auto Conference Of The Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party

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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."

This motion, put forward by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, passed in Local 1112, Lordstown.



# midwest news Miller Stabs UMW Strikers In The Back

**BY DAVID NORTH MULLENS, W. Va.,**  
March 1—More than 21,000 coal miners throughout this state and in Kentucky and Virginia have joined the strike protesting severe gas shortages and an order by Governor Arch Moore prohibiting the sale of gas to drivers with more than a quarter tank.

Moore's refusal to rescind his order after a meeting with a delegation of UMW officials Thursday has enraged miners in the southern Appalachian coal fields.

Their bitterness deepened Friday when Moore publicly stated that he would not "stoop down to the level of the miners" by allowing them to tank up whenever they needed to.

However, the anger of miners is directed no less against UMW President Arnold Miller who has refused to support this strike.

UMW leaders have been sent to West Virginia to order miners back to work. Union officials have been appearing on television with spokesmen from the governor's office with hourly appeals for a return to work.

Miners must demand that Miller immediately organize a nationwide coal strike to support the struggle of West Virginia miners, and by calling for a Congress of Labor to launch an all-out campaign by the trade unions to force Nixon out and establish a labor party as the working class alternative to this government.

"Miners are turning against Miller very quickly," Local 6869 President George Viers, who works in the Buckeye mine of Consolidated Coal, told the Bulletin. "He's sending his men down here to tell us not to strike, just like under the old Boyle regime."

## 1500 March For Wounded Knee

**BY JEAN BRUST**  
ST. PAUL, Minn., Mar. 1—Over 1500 people rallied in support of defendants Dennis Banks and Russell Means, leaders of the American Indian Movement.

February 27 was the first anniversary of Wounded Knee, and was celebrated as Indian Solidarity Day at the University of Minnesota. Featured speakers included Banks and Means, as well as one of their lawyers, William Kunstler.

The loudest applause greeted every call to link the fight for Indian rights to the political struggle against Nixon.

"We are charged with being criminals, but we only have to look to Washington to see who

During the past few months, subpoenas and injunctions have been issued to hundreds of miners to stop them from striking against dangerous working conditions. Not since the 1940s have the courts been used so openly by the government and the corporations to destroy the union locals.

Miller's refusal to back the current walkout places many miners in great personal danger because they are already under court orders to work every day until the present contract expires in November.

In order to stop wildcat strikes in the Buckeye mine—there have been about 30 since 1971—the company obtained an injunction which lasts as long as the contract.

"Miller ought to do something about these judges, but he won't," said Viers. "The miners hate Nixon. You won't hear his name mentioned around Mullens. I'd say 60 percent of the miners are ready for a nationwide strike to stop him and the courts."

"I'd sure go for a nationwide strike to get Nixon out. But Miller won't go for that. This country is getting like a dictatorship. A miner doesn't have his constitutional rights. If you fight for your rights, they call you an 'agitator.'"

"I'm for a labor party because you need one to keep your rights. If you had labor people in power, you wouldn't have things like they are now. If you don't fight the government, they're going to smash the locals."

Miners standing outside the Buckeye mine Friday declared that Miller's refusal to support the strike has destroyed their last shred of confidence in him.

"We can't work if we can't get gas, but Miller is against us," said Tom. "I blame this whole thing on Nixon and the oil companies."

"All working people are getting a bad deal, not just the miners. But Miller won't back us. All he'd have to do is give us the word and every miner would be out."

the real criminals are. We are charged with assault and battery, but we only have to look at Kent State or Attica to see who really commits assault and battery," Banks declared to thunderous applause.

But as one AIM speaker said at the rally, "The government is our number one enemy. The US Constitution is a joke and a sham that has been put upon the American people to blind them."

"They use the police to perpetuate corruption. They use their laws to keep us poor. The president of the United States and his administration have become totally corrupt."

"The president has sold himself to big business. So have your Congressmen. So they can do nothing about it."



Miner Abe Sizemoor and son from Welch, West Virginia.

"There are more poor people than there are rich ones. We could beat them. I'm for those British miners. They did the right thing when they went on strike."

Some of the miners asked not to be identified as they spoke to the Bulletin because they already face the danger of prosecution for earlier strikes.

"We'd better figure out a way to keep those federal judges off our backs," said one miner. "It's not an easy thing to face those federal marshalls when they come after you with those guns hanging from their holsters, all ready to shoot or handcuff you."

"Then you got to go to court, pay \$1500 for a lawyer and get sent to jail. You pay them your taxes and then they prosecute you. They say it's a free country, but I don't see it."

Ray Smith, 43 years old, has been in the UMW for 13 years and has worked around the mines for 27. His brother is a disabled miner who survived an accident which completely severed both legs including the hips from his torso.

"Miners are angry. The damn price of food is outrageous. The Democrats and the Republicans don't give a damn about the working man."

"We voted Miller in, but he should leave his office because he's let us down. I believe a man should do what he says he's going to do or get out. If you don't have guts enough to fight, then don't hang around me."

"Miller is supposed to take care of us. That's why we voted him in. But buddy, I feel I'm a man without a country."

"Miller has dropped us. We need his support now, but he turned his back on us. There should be a new election in the UMW right away." The town of Welch, about 30 miles south of Mullens, was among the first to strike over the gas shortage. The mood of miners in McDowell County can be gauged by a local mayor's order that police should seize at gunpoint any gasoline truck passing through the town and requisition its fuel.

Miller's actions over the past

few months have drawn sharp criticism from the miners in this town. They have been kept in the dark about the contract negotiations. Friends of Miller have been drawn into a bureaucracy that recalls the days of Boyle through an endless series of arbitrary appointments. He has been pressing for an increase in dues which miners believe is intended to strengthen the bureaucracy rather than the union.

Recently, he defied the decision of the December convention by deciding to keep the UMW headquarters in Washington DC, rather than moving it into the mine fields of West Virginia or Pennsylvania as he has promised.

"He's a phony," declared Abe Sizemoor, a disabled miner whose son now works in the Consolidated Coal Company's mine in Welch. "I thought he was a good man first, but I see through him now. What has he done that he said he would? I figure with \$12 dues we should get something."

Abe's wife denounced the corruption of union officials. "When there's a big union meeting in Charleston, the representatives should fight for us rather than boozing it up with liquor and having themselves a blonde."

"I've got a right to express my opinion," said Abe's son. "You've got to have somebody who isn't afraid. Miller's a sucker for those lawyers—the Yablonski boys—who really run the union."

"Miller got in by talking about safety. Well, you still have bad conditions. You can't tell when a rock is going to fall. Then, there still isn't proper rock dusting so there can be an explosion any time."

"We want a lot more money in the new contract. Miners couldn't be making too much if they were getting \$100 a day."

The great power of the miners must be brought forward against Nixon by building a new leadership in the UMW against Miller through the fight for a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

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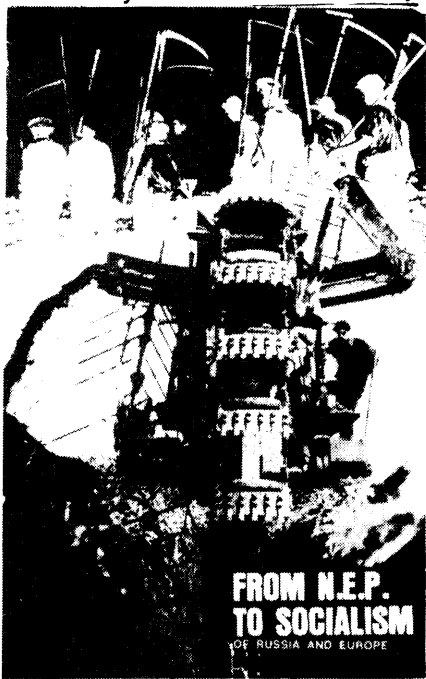
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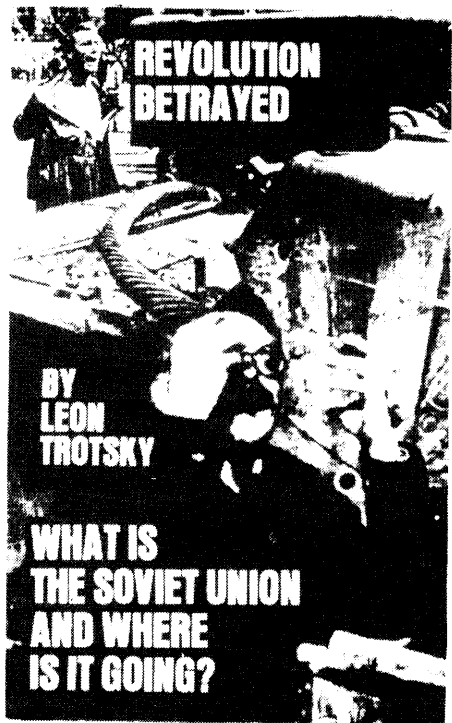
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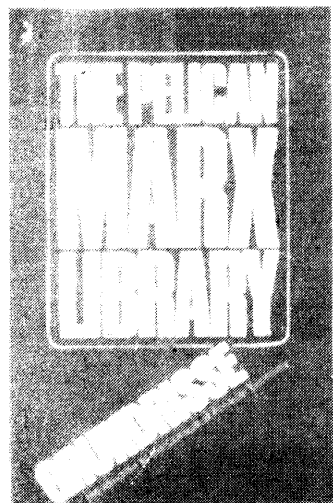
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Workers League and Young Socialists on the way to lobby the board of education in San Francisco protesting Nazis and calling on labor movement for mass support against Nazis, who have been at board meetings.

# UFW Defies Injunctions

BY A REPORTER  
SAN FRANCISCO—Cesar Chavez has announced that the United Farm Workers and its supporters will defy recent injunctions banning mass picketing at liquor stores selling Gallo wine throughout California.

Superior Court Judge E.J. Leach of Monterey County, ruling in favor of the liquor industry, set a limit of three pickets at each driveway entrance and three at each door to the liquor stores. Leach stated the Gallo boycotters had intentionally created an "atmosphere of fear" and specifically banned

"parading, massing, patrolling, marching, standing, or demonstrating," on parking lots.

Chavez said: "We intend to intensify the picketing of Gallo wines throughout California as a direct challenge to Judge E.J. Leach's outrageous and unconstitutional injunction."

Chavez further charged that Leach had represented growers during the union's strike at Salinas four years ago.

Chavez continued: "We intend to enter store parking lots across the state to tell customers how Gallo deprived farm workers of contracts that they had had for six years and then forced them to pay dues to the Teamsters against their will."

The QFI supermarkets obtained an even more vicious injunction against the boycotters from San Mateo County Superior Court last week,

limiting pickets to one for each driveway and each store entrance at 10 supermarkets in San Francisco and on the peninsula.

About 80 boycotters defied that injunction, staging a mass picket near a QFI store in the Stonestown shopping center in San Francisco. QFI's attorney, Joseph McLaughlin, arrogantly stated he would seek contempt citations if the defiance of the injunction continued.

### COURTS

Chavez wants to use the defiance of the injunction as a pressure tactic on the courts and the liberals. He is deliberately holding the farm workers back from a real fight to win back the contracts through strike action and the mobilization of the labor movement against the government. The continuation of boycotts and protests is a diversion from this fight.

# Armed Vigilantes Organize

BY TED BAKER  
Right-wing vigilante groups are organizing throughout the Northwest.

Under the guise of defending "constitutional rights" and "law and order," the vigilantes are actually organizing a paramilitary force against the labor movement.

Organized by members of the National Association to Keep and Bear Arms, the vigilante groups call themselves action committees and "posses comitatus."

### 100,000

They claim to have over 100,000 armed members. This is undoubtedly exaggerated, but there is no doubt they are growing and they are beginning to receive a great deal of publicity from the capitalist press.

They claim to have organizations in 60 counties in the Northwest, within northern California, Oregon, Idaho, Washington, and Montana. They have held public meetings in Spokane of about 200 people and about 85 in Idaho.

### COMBAT

Their national organizer, Scott Beach, claims, "Our intention is to restore our nation to constitutional law, to get ourselves into a position to combat some of this political subversion."

The meaning of these words was made clear by Virgil Gunning, head of the vigilantes in Spokane, Washington. He told the press:

"The sheriff can call us to duty or refuse to do so, but that doesn't prevent us from operating. Let's say some hippies or anybody is destroying property, we can protect it. There have been a half dozen cases in the last year that show a posse should have been formed a long time ago, including kidnapping, potential violence from the truck drivers strike, and vandalism."

### GENERAL STRIKE

With the Central Labor Council in nearby Seattle threatening a general strike against the oil shortage, the formation of these vigilantes

poses a real and immediate danger to the labor movement.

As Gunning makes clear, the vigilantes' only concern is the protection of the rights of property, not the constitutional rights of the working class.

### KU KLUX KLAN

Like the Ku Klux Klan in the South, the vigilantes have roots in the history of the Northwest region. During the great strike waves led by the International Workers of the World (IWW) in the mining, timber and agricultural industries of the Northwest at the beginning of the century, vigilante mobs were organized to lynch and terrorize union members.

The labor movement in the Northwest must immediately prepare to defend itself against vigilante violence.

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# Douglas Shuts Down LA Plant

BY DENNIS BREHM  
LOS ANGELES—McDonnell Douglas announced this week that it will close down the Santa Monica plant by July 1975, eliminating the remaining 2800 workers.

This particular aerospace plant has been hit harder than most because it is one of the oldest, and since 1958 aircraft production has been gradually phased out.

The facility was opened up in the 1930s with the Douglas DC series. During the Second World War, there were 40,000 employees producing the C-47 attack bomber. In 1958 employment at the plant was 27,000 and in 1971 it was 15,000.

The future for the 2800 presently employed is uncertain. The company refuses to say how many will be laid off and how many will be reassigned to other plants.

Most of the 2800 are older workers with many years of seniority and pension savings that could be lost. One older worker said, "I've been working here since 1962, but I'm not old enough to retire. The only thing I face is the streets."

The closure of the McDonnell Douglas Santa Monica plant comes at a time when the whole aerospace industry is being devastated by tremendous layoffs.

Cutbacks in orders for the L1011 B produced by Lockheed has caused over 5000 layoffs in the last three months and the threat of bankruptcy still looms. Delays in orders for the DC10 has resulted in thousands of layoffs at the McDonnell Douglas plant in Long Beach. Last year the layoffs were running at 200 a week.

### BLAME

Mr. Pengrem, official of the International Association of Machinists District 720 which covers several of the Douglas plants, said: "No one could blame it on the present administration. When they wipe out projects like the SST this is what we get. The cutback in space shots hurts bad. The Santa Monica plant was very much involved with the Saturn 5 which has been cut."

"We have a contract coming up and we expect the same increase the oil companies are getting in their profits. The Cost of Living Council denied us 17 cents on our 1971 contract and we are still fighting to get it back. They called it inflationary."

"If you are talking about a third party, it is getting more and more probable. I think it is a little down the line still, but we may not have any other choice."

The only answer to these severe attacks is the nationalization of the aerospace industry under workers control through the building of a labor party to replace Nixon.



East Oakland residents in line at food distribution center in Randolph Hearst's "People In Need" program. Governor Reagan stated that those accepting food are "aiding and abetting lawlessness," and they do not really need the food, but are only interested in getting something for nothing.

## Compton School District To Fire 192 Teachers

BY SHEILA BREHM  
LOS ANGELES—In a move to reduce expenses, the Compton school district is firing 192 teachers, counselors, nurses, librarians, and principals.

The Compton school district, which borders Watts, already has overcrowded classes, decaying buildings, and a lack of books, supplies, and equipment. These conditions forced teachers to go on strike for 16 days last December, the first strike in their history.

These layoffs, which will take effect in July, will throw 10 percent of the academic staff out of work. At least 165 teaching jobs will be slashed.

### CUSTODIANS

The school board also intends to fire an additional 18 percent of the district's 1300 classified, noncredentialed employees by July. This will effect custodians, clerks, gardeners, and maintenance workers.

One teacher said she was "extremely disgusted with the layoffs. They should cut from the top level, from the district office level, not from the teachers. They are cutting vital needs."

She said that each counselor now is responsible for 300 stu-

dents and with the firing of 12 counselors, this will increase to 500 to 600 students per counselor.

The cutback in the academic staff includes 88 elementary teachers, 29 junior and senior high school teachers, 22 principals and assistant principals, 12 counselors, 5 nurses, 16 librarians, eliminating all librarians in elementary schools, and 20 special teachers in compensatory education, art, reading, and physical education.

These vicious layoffs are the school board's answer to the 13 percent wage increase recently won by the Compton teachers. Many teachers feel these cutbacks were planned far in advance, during the strike itself.

The school board is implementing a three million dollar budget cut and in addition plans to close three elementary schools in September.

### UNBEARABLE

Many parents have transferred their children to other districts because of the unbearable conditions in the Compton schools. Jean, a Centennial High School student, said: "I'm thinking about checking out of Centennial."

"The teachers don't take time with us. I don't see where the

strike improved anything.

"Things got worse. We need better equipment."

The Compton Federation of Teachers must launch an immediate campaign to defend these jobs through an all-out strike. The recent strike won enormous support from teachers, students, and parents in defense of the right to a public education and the right to a job.

### MARCH

All teachers and students are urged to attend the Young Socialist march in San Francisco on March 16 to demand the labor movement take action against these attacks and force Nixon to resign.

## Hunters Point Shipyard Will Close March 18

BY MARTY MORAN  
SAN FRANCISCO—Hunters Point Naval Shipyard will be completely shut down on March 18. Reduction in force notices (pink slips) were sent out to the remaining 750 workers at the end of January.

When closure plans were an-

nounced last May, more than 5100 worked in the yard, which was the repair center for the Pacific Fleet Aircraft carriers.

Only 350 workers found other jobs in private industry. Of the rest, 3000 were forced to move as far away as Philadelphia to find some job with a naval shipyard or other federal agency.

More than 1000 workers have

retired already. The Navy encouraged retirement by lowering pension eligibility to 50 years of age with 20 years service. According to the shipyard's Industrial Relations Department, at least 600 of the remaining 750 workers will be forced to retire as well.

A skeleton crew will begin to dismantle the base after March 18. Efforts to attract major industry to the site have been unsuccessful. Offers have been made by property speculators and by the city prison, which wants to relocate.

### RUNDOWN

The key to the rundown of the yard and the enormous destruction of jobs has been the complete cooperation of the leadership of the six unions on the base. Industrial Relations Director Ferguson told the Bulletin: "One of the reasons for our great success here was that I took a number of union stewards onto my staff to help with the outplacements."

The shipyard was the only major employer in the Hunters Point area. The impact of the closure has only begun, since dozens of small shops and businesses dependent on the yard are now faced with ruin.

## Fremont Caucus Accepts Mass Layoffs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

FREMONT—The increasing attacks in auto—layoffs, speedup and discipline—have produced a growing dissatisfaction and criticism among auto workers here towards the Brotherhood leadership at the General Motors plant.

GM has announced another plant shutdown next week at Fremont and there are rumors that this will be followed by a three month shut-

down to convert to a smaller production model.

There is enormous pressure on the Brotherhood Caucus to fight these attacks but all they have prepared is a profusion of schemes and pressure tactics designed to divide the workers and prevent any political struggle by auto workers in defense of their basic rights.

In the barrage of leaflets being passed around by the union leadership there is never any mention of the layoffs outside of Fremont or of the plant closures occurring nationally. It is treated as a "local" issue which therefore eliminates any discussion of a national auto strike against layoffs.

The Brotherhood and the

various radicals supporting their caucus never mention Nixon or the government. The enemy is depicted solely as GM.



UAW West Coast Regional Director Jerry Whipple refuses to fight layoffs.

"Inverse seniority" is being put forward as a way to save the jobs of women in the plant who have not achieved seniority. The union leadership accepts the right of GM to eliminate jobs



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Por ser mayoría de los trabajadores chicanos, Farah utilizaba la amenaza de deportación para mantenerlos callados. En particular en los últimos meses el gobierno ha comenzado una deportación masiva en contra de los chicanos.

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