NOW TWICE A WEEK!

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

**VOLUME TEN NUMBER THIRTEEN 349** 

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1974

UNION A LABEL 6 - LA COM

FIFTEEN CENTS



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### **Ohio Truck Drivers** Plan New Shutdown

BY LOUIS MARTIN

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"They got nothing signed, nothing on paper." He added: "We will be going out again in about two months. We have already started organizing for another shutdown.

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# **Decisive Election Ahead**

BY DAVID NORTH

The British coal miners swift rejection of a temporary wage offer made by desperate industrialists hoping to bring an end to the strike is another shattering blow to the Tory government of Prime Minister Heath.

By refusing to suspend their strike until after the February 28 election, the miners are inspiring millions of British workers to inflict a humiliating defeat on the Tories.

Powerful support for the miners is now being rallied in the trade union movement. The General and Municipal Workers Union has instructed its 3000 members affiliated with the miners to join the strike

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Unions representing workers in engineering, electricity, and railroads have declared that they will not allow the movement of coal supplies to power sta-

More than 20,000 students marched through London last week protesting Tory policies and chanting "Heath Out."

#### RESIGNATION

It is the action of the miners and the movement of the entire British working class that forced the resignation of the Tory government 18 months before the scheduled end of its term.

This offensive has gone forward in opposition to the trade union bureaucracy which has made every attempt to compromise with Heath and in opposition to the Labour Party leaders who have supported the Tory attacks on the working class.

The collapse of the Heath government

is a vindication of the policies fought for by the Workers Revolutionary Party, section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The WRP alone has insisted that the working class could force the Tories out, and since 1970 has fought to unite the working class against the government and return to power the Labour Party pledged to carry out socialist policies.

Vanessa Redgrave, the internationallyacclaimed actress and member of the WRP, is running in this election as a candidate for Parliament in order to expose the Labour leaders who have not the slightest intention of fighting for socialist policies. Her opponent will be the right-wing Labourite Reginald Prentice who has helped keep the Tories in office for four years.

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#### SOCIALIST

The demand of British workers for socialist policies will break up the reformists grip on the labor movement and (Continued On Page 12)

#### In The Midweek Edition

·Perspectives for the American Revolution. Central Committee Resolution. Part Two.

 Confrontation at Stella Wright-Newark Tenants Speak Out.

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#### The Next Stage Of The Truckers Struggle

The nationwide truckers strike and the demand of Lordstown auto workers that the UAW call a general strike in support of the shutdown to force Nixon's resignation and construct a labor party mark a new stage in the struggle against this government.

Although the truckers have reluctantly ended their two week strike, it is certain that they soon will be out again. The so-called settlement solved nothing.

The price of diesel fuel, which sparked the strike, continues to soar. Thousands of truckers who had an

opportunity to vote on the settlement whelmingly repudiated

The independent drivers returned to work only because they saw at this point no force within the trade union bureaucracy or among their own semi-official leader-

ship prepared to take the strike forward beyond the level of militant protest to a direct struggle against

However, the two week strike raised the most fundamental political issues before truckers and all sections of the working class.

The strike revealed almost immediately Nixon's preparations-endorsed by liberal Democrats-for allout war against any section of workers that defends its living standards and basic rights.

First, the liberal Democrats called out the National Guard in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, and Florida to keep the roads open. Then, Nixon's attorney general

William Saxbe denounced the truckers as "anarchists" and sent the FBI into action.

Nixon went on the radio to brand the strikers as "desperadoes" and made clear that he was ready to use federal troops to break the strike.

In every part of the country, police and special riot squads followed Nixon's lead by arresting truckers and even threatening to shoot them.

These developments made clear to thousands of truckers that their living standards could not be defended by appealing to the government or even by seeking to change its policies through militant tactics.

The truckers who began the strike at the highest level of militant trade unionism developed over a period of 40 years were brought up sharply against the limits of this form of struggle within only several days

Every struggle by the working class today over the basic questions of jobs, wages, living standards, and democratic rights must come into direct conflict with the capitalist government and its armed agencies of repression, and therefore objectively poses to the working class the necessity of fighting politically for

The move by Lordstown workers in defense of the truckers by voting at their union meeting last week for a resolution demanding that the Woodcock bureaucracy call for a general strike against Nixon and take the lead in building a labor party as the alternative to the Republicans and Democrats reveals the direction in which the working class as a whole will move.

Auto workers at the General Motors plant in Lordstown have had an explosive experience in militant trade union struggles over the past four years. In 1972, they shut down the plant for three weeks in a fight

against impossible working conditions.

The settlement did not change conditions because GM can sustain its profits under conditions of an insoluble economic crisis only by layoffs, wage cuts, and intolerable speedups.

Several months ago, four Lordstown militants were arrested as they sought to establish a picket line and were put on trial for criminal charges.

It was in this situation that a Bulletin trailblazing team went to Youngstown last month in order to construct branches of the Workers League and Young Socialists. Bulletin salesmen fought to build a movement in that city through a struggle with the trade union consciousness of Lordstown workers and other sections of workers in that city.

It is out of that struggle for Marxism in conflict with trade union militancy that the next stage in the development of the working class has emerged.

Just as the utter treachery and worthlessness of the entire trade union bureaucracy-which stood with Nixon against this strike—has been exposed during this struggle, the movement of the working class in this country has verified the burning necessity of constructing a new leadership in the trade unions.

The fight to unite the working class politically against Nixon through the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies must be carried forward by building our forces in the trade unions and in the communities.

We call on all trade unionists, unemployed workers, and youth to help build the revolutionary leadership in the working class by joining the Workers League.

# Solzhenitsyn Deported To W. Germany

BY A REPORTER

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the Soviet novelist who has devoted himself to exposing the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its prison system has been arrested by Soviet police and deported from the Soviet Union.

Seven Soviet agents forced their way into his apartment on February 12 and physically dragged him away

Several days earlier, Solzhenitsyn released a statement to foreign newsmen stating that he would not go to court "on my own legs" and would not accept any verdict "unless manacled.'

Stating that if imprisoned in a labor camp, he would "not work even for one-half hour for my oppressors, Solzhenitsvn said:

'...kill me quickly, because I have written the truth about Russian history."

Solzhenitsyn's arrest reveals the fear of the Soviet bureaucracy of any opposition that exposes the frameup of innocent people whose only crime is their demand for democratic rights.

Solzhenitsyn sought to portray the Stalin period as it really was and fought for the freedom of intellectuals and writers jailed in Brezhnev's "mental hospitals."

deport him for fear that any move to place him on trial would not only provoke massive protests, but would raise the very issues that the Brezhnev bureaucracy seeks to bury.

The bureaucracy fears that the true history of the Stalinist period will reveal how Stalin's bureaucracy destoryed a whole generation of revolutionaries and how Brezhnev today collaborates with imperialism

The capitalist press will attempt to use this deportation to whip up anticommunism against the Soviet Union itself. The gains of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, which Brezhnev falsely claims to represent, can only be defended by the removal of the parasites who control the Soviet government.

We unconditionally defend Solzhenitsyn. His deportation exposes the mortal crisis of Stalinism today.

Gandhi Takes Over Gujurat

Party government in the Indian state of Gujurat collapsed after a month of food riots and mass demonstra-

Patel handed in his resignation, the state assembly was dissolved, and power was assumed

Critical shortages of food have developed while hoarding and black market speculation take place, with the connivance of the government and the rich

An Indian economist warned: "Situations similar to Gujurat threaten to erupt in many other parts of the country.

"The public distribution system is on the verge of collapse in Kerela and Bihar. Open market prices for food grains are soaring to dizzy heights all over the country.

The fall and winter harvest of rice and wheat was large, but government procurement and distribution is in a state of disintegration.

The Congress Party will do nothing to obtain the food because it depends on the wealthy and politically powerful farmers who are making fortunes on the speculation.

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that they want the full 15 percent originally demanded.

In spite of the conservative leadership of the principal union involved in the strike, German workers have expressed their determination to defend their living standards in overwhelming strike votes.

Railroad workers voted for strike action by an 89.6 percent majority. The clerical and canteen workers employed by the police department voted by a 90.9 percent majority for a

The strike by transit workers in West Berlin was supported by East German workers, who refused to operate trains passing through the border splitting the

The Brandt regime, tied to a coalition with the reactionary Free Democrats, has moved openly against the trade unions, with policies designed to make the workers pay for the crisis of the German economy.

Mounting unemployment is being used as a threat against the striking workers. Last month unemployment rose 27.8 percent to 620,500, and the number of workers working short time rose

An official of the Brandt regime expressed the hope that these figures would intimidate workers engaging in strike action.

Brandt moves sharply to the right as the German working class, the most powerful labor movement in Europe, moves into action. He refuses to break with the Free Democrats who

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actually determine the policies of the regime.

In spite of Brandt's capitulation to the German capitalists, the Free Democrats are on the verge of splitting with the Social Democrats in preparation for the return of the major right-wing bourgeois parties—the Christian-Democratic and Christian-Socialist-to

#### **Auto Layoffs** In Europe

The unemployment facing European auto 'workers is steadily worsening.

German and Belgium auto workers are being especially hard hit. In Germany, Ford plans on closing its Sarrelouis plant from February 13 to 28 and several plants in Cologne from February 21 to March 1.

General Motors' Russelheim plant will close down for two weeks as well as the British Motors Works in Munich. GM will close its Bochum plant one week.

In Belgium, Ford's Genk plant will only function seven days out of this month and on February 11, 500 workers at Peugeot Cragheno will be unemployed two days out of every week.

In France, Simca-Chrysler announced a partial layoff on February 8 and Renault is expected to do the same at its large model facility in Sandouville. र रहिती है। इस्तर के अपने कर है कि से क्षित्र

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# Strikes Paralyze Germany

BY DAVID NORTH A work stoppage of transit workers paralyzed West Berlin Mon-

day as broader sections of workers join the strike wave that began last weekend. Social Democratic Chan-

cellor Willy Brandt has indicated that he may raise the 9.5 percent pay offer he originally made to the more than two million striking civil service workers.

However, they have declared

Indira Gandhi's Congress farmers.

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by the central government.

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The bureaucracy was forced to

Managing Editor: Melody Farrow; Labor Editor: David North Art Director: Jeannie Cooper

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# Common Market Splits At Oil Talks

BY MELODY FARROW

The thirteen-nation energy conference recently concluded in Washington was not convened by the United States to achieve cooperation, but to prepare action, with the European countries if possible, against the Arab nations.

The conference has created an irrevocable split between the European Common Market countries. The conference was extended an extra day because of France's opposition to the proposed joint communique.

French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert will not accept any mention of "working groups" and is opposed to US attempts to establish a "new world energy order."

The West German, British, Dutch, and Belgian representa-

#### Libya Orders Takeover Of US Companies

Another blow has been struck against three giant oil companies based in the United States by the government of Libya.

All the holdings in Libya of Texaco Incorporated, California Asiatic Oil Company, and Libyan American have been totally nationalized and brought under Libyan state control.

Libyan leader Colonel Muammar el-Quaddafi took this action in retaliation for the US sponsored meeting of oil consuming countries, aimed at launching a counterattack against the oil embargo.

The Libyan government has been one of the staunchest supporters of the Arab oil embargo against the US. In September of last year, the government nationalized 51 percent of these companies.

Total oil production in Libya alone comes to 2.3 million barrels a day. The three nationalized companies can produce 50,000 barrels a day.



Kissinger with Douglas-Home from Britain, left; Scheel from Germany, center; and Jobert from France, right.

tives have openly repudiated the French position.

West German Finance Minister Walter Scheel said the conflict could not be "papered over" and that a breakup of the Common Market could not be excluded.

All of Henry Kissinger's pious statements about conservation, joint research, energy sharing, and aid to poor countries were hypocritical lies to obscure the real aims of the US.

The American capitalists face a deep crisis as a result of the Arab countries' determination to maintain the oil embargo and the high price of crude oil.

At the same time, the nine Common Market countries in Europe as well as Japan have independently signed their own agreements with the oil producing countries to assure a regular supply in return for investment funds on specific projects.

France just concluded a five billion dollar deal with Iran to build five nuclear power plants, a petrochemical, steel, and electric plant and a pipeline direct from Iran to France.

Japan is offering economic and technological assistance totaling three billion dollars. British, French, Italian and Japanese companies are taking over hunks of American interests such as Aramco which will soon be completely placed under the control of the Saudi

Arabian government.

In his opening statement to the conference, Kissinger stated that failure to resolve the energy crisis would "threaten the world with a vicious cycle of competition, rivalry, and depression such as led to the collapse of the world order in the thirties."

He admitted that while the US has large national oil reserves, the US would still suffer because of the overall economic crisis, created by the oil embargo.

He stated that the refusal of the Arab countries to recycle their oil revenues back to the main capitalist countries through the money markets would aggravate the balance of payments crisis and weaken all currencies. He warned that the Arab nations could create monetary chaos and that bilateral oil deals would keep the oil prices at Kissinger's proposals were vague, calling for a further study, a future conference with the oil producers and the setting up of new organizations if necessary.

Walter Scheel, representing the Common Market countries supported the proposal for a working body, while France, represented by Foreign Minister Michel Jobert, opposed anything more than an "exchange of views."

Jobert advocates a European-Arab conference that would exclude the United States. France fears that if it endorses Kissinger's proposals, the Arab countries will cut off its oil supply.

The United States would clearly like to isolate France, the most outspoken proponent of separate deals, from the other European countries

Kissinger's "Project Independence" is a declaration that the United States will embark on a path of all-out confrontation with the Arab countries in order to gain control over the world's oil reserves.

The United States wants to force Europe to subordinate its national interests to the interests of the American economy and allow US capitalism to dominate relations with the Arab nations.

If this cooperation is not forthcoming, Kissinger is prepared to retaliate by stepping up the trade war and driving Europe into the ground.

Thus, the energy conference can only be a prelude to an intensification of national antagonisms within the Common Market and between Europe and the US, as US imperialism prepares for a new war over oil in the Middle East.

# Gold And Silver Soar In Price On Market

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

Waves of speculation are once again bidding the price of gold up to record levels.

Last week, the demand for gold in London was so heavy that supplies were unavailable to many of the speculators.

On Monday, the price of gold reached a record high of \$147 in London and more than \$150 in Paris.

This time, wild speculation in the silver markets has accompanied the gold fever. In the last year, silver has gone from \$1.93 an ounce to \$4.80 last week.

On Monday, it rose another 46 cents. Almost two-thirds of the rise has been in the last two weeks.

A good portion of this latest boom is accounted for by American buyers who are unable to purchase gold and have turned to speculation in silver instead.

#### SWITCHED

The rise in silver prices may even have intensified the swing to gold as silver holders unloaded stocks for big profits and switched their holdings to gold

All of this movement reflects a panicked flight from paper, money, stocks, and bonds as qua-

drupled oil prices, devaluations, and uncontrolled inflation rip apart the economies of the industrial countries.

#### INTENSIFY

The policies of the United States intensify the scramble for gold as the depreciation of the dollar forces bankruptcy on Europe and Japan.

Following the announcement that the US intends to remove all controls on dollar exports to Europe, the American government is threatening that unless the Common Market countries

agree to compensate the United States for "trade losses," the US will raise tariffs on a series of European imports.

William D. Eberle, Nixon's special representative for trade negotiations, has given Europe a March 10 deadline adding: "We're deadly serious."

The British miners strike and the massive strike wave now sweeping Europe is the product of the international economic crisis, intensified daily by the trade war and inflationary measures taken by the US government

# **Exxon Executive In Italy Charged In Oil Hoarding**

BY A REPORTER

The former president of Esso Italiana, Exxon's operation in Italy, has been charged with oil hoarding and bribery.

Vincenzo Cozzaniga fled to the United States just two days before a warrant was issued for his arrest.

The scandal involves not only Exxon, but the entire petroleum industry in Italy and many highly placed political figures.

Exxon paid out two million dollars to bribe politicians through Enel, the state electrical company as part of thirty million dollars paid out in the last several months.

The companies hoarded the petroleum, and diverted oil tankers to foreign ports because their storage tanks were full.

At the start of the oil embargo, they falsified their reserve records and reported having 40 percent less oil than they actually did.

The scandal was uncovered just when Exxon was about to get its third price increase, which would have raised the price of gas to \$1.44 a gallon.

# Navy Officials Ordered Spying

#### BY MITCH PATTERSON

Efforts by high ranking officials on the Joint Chiefs of Staff to cover up the Pentagon spy ring have been completely unsuccessful.

Yeoman Charles E. Radford, who was a military liaison unit stenographer in the White House, openly stated that he was under orders from his navy superiors to steal top secret documents from the White House and turn them over to Admiral Thomas H. Moorer in the Pentagon.

Radford admitted that for a period of fifteen months, the full length of his tenure in the White House, he stole hundreds of documents.

He stated that among these was a copy of Henry Kissinger's special report to Nixon after a trip to China in 1971.

Moorer, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, claims that as a member of the National Security Council, he is entitled to see all of its files.

The information recently disclosed by Radford, however, shows that the pilfered documents were not official "Council" files.

Instead, they were private papers and memorandums that were intended to be read only by Nixon himself or his close advisors.

Moorer added that he recommended a court martial against Radford, but that "civilian leadership" put a stop to the proceedings. He has made every attempt to hush up the investigation into the spying operation.

# Support Grows For **Teachers**

BY LARRY SYMONS

BALTIMORE. Feb. 13—The teachers strike is now in its eighth day. Eighty-five percent of the teachers are supporting the strike, while only eight percent of the city's 184,000 students are attending classes.

On February 11, Circuit Court Judge James Murphy extended the back to work injunction for another 60 days. Hours later, a rally of 2000 teachers vowed to continue defying the order.

No arrests or fines have been imposed yet and Robert F. Hillman, the city's labor commissioner, still insists that "We aren't going to make martyrs of striking teachers.'

Hillman and Mayor Schaefer have not dared to harass teachers on picket lines because of the tremendous support for the strike among teachers, parents, students, and the city labor movement.

#### **JOINED**

Many parents and students have joined teachers on picket lines. Oil and milk delivery trucks have refused to cross picket lines at several schools.

A team from the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service has been called in to try to reach a settlement. Meanwhile,

bargainers for the Public School Teachers Association (PSTA) are now asking for an increase in the current year's wage demands to match the money the city saves each day of the strike.

At a regional strike meeting on Monday, Oscar Jones, a PSTA representative, spoke on the association's policy towards possible police intervention. He advised that once a picketing teacher has been read the injunction, he or she was to "go home and sit out the rest of the strike.'

#### **ELIMINATE**

A teacher from the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party spoke out against this policy, saying that it would allow Schaefer and his police to eliminate picket lines and eventually break the strike.

TUALP members insisted that the defense of the picket lines as well as winning the strike demands depends on the mobilization of Baltimore labor for general strike action.

Jones replied: "Well, we have had labor leaders speak at our rallies." This is a cover for PSTA's refusal to demand a commitment from the city unions for joint action and support.

PSTA has even stopped inviting labor leaders to rallies at a time when Raymond Clark of AFSCME Local 44 has joined another labor leader in threatening a general strike if offered a similar wage package.



Toby Henry addresses meeting of the Stella Wright Tenants Leadership

Committee. See story page 12	
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Police confront truckers during strike in East Liverpool, Ohio.

# **Kings County Lab Shuts**

A HOSPITAL WORKER

BROOKLYN-The 75 lab technicians at Kings County Research Laboratory in Brooklyn were thrown out of their jobs last February 11.

Workers were given absolutely no notice other than telephone calls over the weekend telling them not to report for work Monday.

#### **PRIVATE**

KCRL is a private lab taken over a few years ago by the giant pharmaceutical firm, Hoffman-Laroche.

As in the case of Rheingold, mergers and takeovers lead to layoffs as huge corporations seek to dump unprofitable sections of investment.

Many workers with 10 to 20

years seniority have been thrown out onto the street at a time when practically no research jobs are available.

#### NOTICE

The workers are organized by Local 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Emplovees. Union officials have done nothing, claiming they had no notice of the coming layoffs, although the company had warned it could not run the lab profitably.

Over the last few years, the work force at the lab has been reduced from 140 to 75

The union has suggested that the men register at the union hiring hall.

At a time when closings and layoffs are hitting hospital workers, the 1199 leadership

convening a Congress of Labor to plan action to force Nixon out. Con Ed Gets

refuses to fight back by calling

on the entire labor movement to

unite against Nixon's unemploy-

ment and wage cuts by

# Rate And **Fuel Hike**

NEW YORK, NY-Consolidated Edison has announced that all its customers will be billed \$2.23 more for electricity this month than in January.

Con Ed declared that the raise was to compensate for higher fuel prices. Con Ed can automatically pass higher fuel costs on to the consumers without seeking approval.

In addition to this, Con Ed has applied to the Public Service Commission for a 29.3 percent rate hike. The PSC has already granted Con Ed a nine percent rate increase pending approval of the whole amount.

At the same time as it rakes in huge profits from the oil crisis, Con Ed is saving money burning millions of barrels of high sulfur fuel.

# **Court Rejects Appeal By Rheingold Workers**

NEW YORK, NY-The Federal Court of Appeals here has refused the appeal of Local 3 and Local 46 of the Teamsters union to allow the Rheingold brewery to stay open pending arbitration of pensions and benefits.

Production is now near a total halt and the plant is expected to be dismantled within the next few days. Fifteen hundred Rheingold workers, many of them having worked at that plant for 20 or 30 years, face immediate unemployment.

The determination of the workers at Rheingold to defend their jobs, as expressed by the four day plant occupation, was headed off by the union leadership who refused to mobilize the full strength of the Teamsters in defense of these men.

Instead, they created the illusion that the plant could be kept open by court appeals and negotiations with businessmen to keep Rheingold functioning.

On February 11, Teamster representatives met with New York's Mayor Beame, members of the City Council, owners of Rheingold, Pepsico, and a team of businessmen who mentioned their interest in buying the brewery.

The Teamsters leadership has conducted these talks behind closed doors, leaving the Rheingold men in the dark about their

#### Gas At 68° A Gallon In Massachusetts

#### BY A REPORTER

**BOSTON—Gas** rationing was instituted in the state of Massachusetts last Monday.

The rationing has done nothing to solve what it supposedly was instituted for. In the weeks preceding the plan, lines extended for two to three miles. Service areas on the Massachusetts Turnpike declared a one dollar limit on gas purchases after large numbers of Boston motorists paid tolls and drove several miles onto the Turnpike looking for gas.

Gas prices in many stations have risen to 68 cents or more. Only the most expensive stations are actually filling tanks and many stations are running out before the end of the month. Several of the suburban gas stations were offering late night fillups at a flat rate of 10 dollars.

William Simons's federal energy office has declined to increase the state's monthly allocation, which is 82 percent of last year's average.

#### **CLOSED DOWN**

Almost 14 percent of the state's gas stations have been closed down. However, storage tanks of abandoned gas stations have been discovered to be full by fire departments in such suburban towns as Saugus.

The Bulletin spoke to motorists lined up at a service station in the Dorchester section of Boston. A University of Massachusetts student said:

"I think Nixon made this shortage to get attention away from Watergate. But his policies have just drawn more attention to the government."

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# Third Congress of the Communist International:

36. The communist press must be developed and improved by the Party with indefatigable energy.

No journal must be recognized as a communist organ unless it is under the control of the Party.

This principle must also be applied to literary productions such as books, pamphlets, and periodicals, taking into consideration their scientific, propagandist or other character.

The Party must strive to have good journals rather than a great many. Every Party must above all have a central organ, as far as possible a daily.

37. A communist journal must never become a capitalist enterprise like bourgeois journals and often self-styled "socialist" ones. Our journal must be independent of capitalist credit institutions. A skillful use of advertisements, which can improve considerably the means of existence of our journal, must, however, never be allowed to make it dependent upon a few big publicity firms. Rather will an inflexible attitude on all social questions concerning the working class secure for the papers of our mass parties strength and absolute respect. Our paper must not try to satisfy the taste for sensationalism or diversion of a varied public. It must not give way to the criticism of petty-bourgeois literary men or specialists in journalism in order to create a drawing room public.

38. A communist journal must above all defend the interests of the oppressed workers in struggle. It must be our best propagandist and agitator, the leading propagandist of the proletarian revolution.

The task of our journal is to bring together the experiences acquired by all members of the Party in the course of their activity and to make it a political guide for the revision and improvement of communist methods of work. These experiences must be exchanged in the meetings of the editorial staffs of the whole country, meetings which should aim to create the maximum unity of tone and tendency in the entire press of the Party. Thus this press, as well as each journal taken alone, will be the best organizer of our revolutionary work.

Without this conscious work of organization and coordination of communist journals and in particular of the central organ, the application of democratic centralism, as well as a proper division of labor within the Communist Party, and consequently also the accomplishment of its historic mission, is impossible.

39. The communist paper must strive to become a communist enterprise, a proletarian combat organization, an association of revolutionary workers, of all those who write regularly for the paper, who compose it, print it, administer it, distribute it, collect news, who discuss and explain it in the Party cells, who work every day to sell it and so on.

To make the paper a combat organization, a powerful and living association of communist workers, a series of practical measures are necessary.

Every communist must be closely linked to his paper by working and sacrificing for it. It is his everyday weapon which, to serve its purpose, must become every day stronger and more effective. It is only thanks to the

# ON THE PARTY PRESS



#### INTRODUCTION, BY NANCY FIELDS

The following document, "On the Party Press," was part of the "Theses on the Structure of Communist Parties and on the Methods and Content of their Work" which was passed at the Third Congress of the Communist International in July 1921.

Today, as we enter the period of revolution both here and internationally, we are reprinting the document because the lessons set forth in it become critical for the development of the Workers League in this new situation.

The understanding that the party's paper is the central instrument in building a mass revolutionary party and in training the new forces who join the party both theoretically and in the practice of reaching others through the sale of the paper, must be fought for on a day by day basis by the entire party.

As Lenin noted in his bitter struggle against the Mensheviks, it would only be through the development of the All-Russian newspaper that the forces would be gathered and trained and that the ideas of communism would become more accessible, and would come alive for the working class as a

Lenin understood that the fight to bring socialist consciousness into the working class from the outside, that is, from the party, could only be carried out through the creation of a mass paper that was fought for by each member of the party. Each member must see that the press is his daily weapon to organize, agitate, and educate broad masses of workers and youth.

It was with this understanding that the Fifth National Conference of the Workers League voted to launch the twice-weekly **Bulletin** as a step toward the daily press. A central part of that decision was to expand the **Bulletin**'s circulation into new areas, and through that fight, to actually establish party branches in those areas. For that reason, **Bulletin** trailblazing teams have been sent out, on a monthly basis, to reach into these new areas.

The teams do not simply go into new cities as **Bulletin** salesmen, but rather they enter the area as a combat organization: fighting to sell subscriptions at every door in an entire neighborhood and through this fight to raise all the funds necessary for their expenses, to construct new Young Socialist clubs, build mass meetings, and recruit new members to the revolutionary movement.

In this way, whole areas have been organized in new cities. In East Cleveland, Ohio, there are now 2000 readers of the **Bulletin** and every house on entire blocks receive the paper.

In Youngstown, Ohio, both the South Side neighborhood and the North Side neighborhood have been organized through the fight of the January trailblazers. Through that drive, the team brought 50 workers and youth to the Midwest Young Socialist Conference against unemployment and created two new YS clubs at Rayen High School and at South High School.

Thus, while we constantly campaign in new areas, we must conduct the most systematic renewal drives, seeing those drives as the heart of winning and developing new forces for the party. It is only through this fight, on two levels, that socialist consciousness will be brought into the working class in a broad way and that whole neighborhoods will be organized for the revolutionary tasks that lie immediately ahead.

greatest financial sacrifices that a communist paper can be maintained. The members of the Party must constantly provide the means necessary for its organization and improvement until it is established as part of large legal parties and placed on a solid basis for the communist movement.

It is not enough to be a zealous agitator and seller of the paper, it is also necessary to become a useful collaborator. It is necessary to inform it as quickly as possible of anything worthy of interest from a social or economic point of view, in the trade union fraction or cell, from an accident at work to a union meeting, from the bad treatment meted out to young apprentices to the balance sheet of the enterprise. Trade union fractions must inform it about all meetings, and about the most important decisions and measures agreed on at these meetings or by the secretaries of the unions as well as about the activities of our enemies. Public meetings and street demonstrations often offer attentive Party militants the opportunity to observe details with a critical

sense which could be used in our journals to make clear to the most indifferent reader our attitude on the different problems of life.

The editorial committee must treat with the greatest affection and attention news about the life of the workers and of the workers' organizations and must use them either as brief news items giving our journal the character of a real community of living labor or in order, in the light of these practical examples from the daily life of the workers, to make the teaching of communism more accessible, which is the quickest way to make the idea of communism come alive and have meaning for the great mass of workers. As far as possible, the editorial committee must be available to see workers who visit the journal at convenient times, to take note of their desires and their grievances about their conditions of existence in order to take note of them and to use them to give life to the paper. Certainly, in capitalist society none of our journals can become a real association of communist labor. One can, however, even under

the most difficult conditions, organize a revolutionary workers' paper by starting out from this standpoint. This is proved by the example of the Pravda of our Russian comrades during the years 1912-13. This journal constituted a really permanent active organization of revolutionary workers in the most important centers of the Russian Empire. These comrades compiled, published, and dis-tributed the paper at the same time and together: most of them collected the funds necessary from their wages. The journal in return gave them what they required in the movement at that time and still serves them in their work and in the struggle. Such a journal can become, indeed, for the members of the Party, as well as for all revolutionary workers, what they call 'our paper.''

40. The essential element in the activity of the communist combat press is direct participation in campaigns led by the Party. If at a particular time the activity of the Party is concentrated on a particular campaign, the Party journal must put out

all its columns, all its features, and not only the main political articles, at the disposal of that campaign. The editors must find material in all fields to support this campaign and to supply, in the most suitable way, material for the whole journal.

41. Recruitment of readers for our journal must be carried out according to an established pattern. In the first place every situation must be used in which workers are brought more fully into the movement and in which social and political life is more agitated as a result of some political or economic event. Thus, after each strike or lockout in which the paper has vigorously defended the interests of the workers in struggle, a recruitment drive must be organized directed at every person who took part in the strike. Not only must the communist fractions in the unions and occupations involved in the strike movement carry out propaganda for the paper through lists and subscription forms, but as far as possible lists must be compiled of workers involved in the strike with their addresses so that special groups concerned with the interests of the paper can carry on an energetic agitation at their homes.

In the same way after every election campaign which has awakened interest in the mass of the workers, house-to-house visits must be organized by special groups of workers charged specially with this task in the working class districts.

During the periods of latent political and economic crisis whose effects are felt by the workers in the form of an increase in the cost of living. unemployment and other troubles, lists of trade union members should be obtained and the special group concerned with the interests of the paper should continue a systematic agitation at their homes. The last week in the month is the best time for such readership drives. Any local organization which lets slip this last week in the month to carry out propaganda in favor of the press is guilty of delaying the growth of the communist movement. The special group concerned with the paper must not let pass any public meeting of workers or any big demonstration without at the beginning, during the intervals and at the end making a drive to win subscriptions to the paper. Trade union fractions must carry out the same tasks in all the meetings of their union.

Our journal must be constantly defended by the members of the Party against all its enemies.

All members must lead a pitiless struggle against the capitalist press, reveal to all and attack energetically its corruption, its lies, its distortions and its intrigues.

The social-democratic and independent socialist press must be overcome by unmasking its treacherous attitude by examples drawn from daily life and by continuous attacks, but without getting lost in insignificant polemics. The trade union fractions and others must take measures to win away from the dangerous and paralyzing influence of the social-democratic press members of trade unions and other workers organizations. The work to win subscribers to our journal, as well as agitation in workers' homes and in the factories, must also be carried on in a well-conceived manner against the press of the socialist traitors.

# ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

Recently, developments in England signify that we have now reached a new stage in the relations between classes internationally. The Heath government has been consciously exaggerating the energy shortage in order to create unemployment. It placed the entire working class on a short work week, thus reducing its income at a time when prices were skyrocketing. At the same time, the army has maneuvered with tanks at Heathrow Airport.

What this means is that the capitalist class has sought to break the miners' partial strike by attempting to pit a section of the working class against the miners, stirring up the middle classes, while continuing its efforts to get the collaboration of the labor bureaucracy against the working class. This can only mean one thing—preparation for civil war.

The capitalist class now openly emerges as the central factor in destroying the productive apparatus itself. It openly introduces unemployment, scarcity, disruption of the productive process, and economic anarchy in order to break the powerful working class and reestablish a different relation between classes which preserves the profit making system, but at the cost of the destruction of the life of the masses and the partial dismemberment of the economy itself.

The capitalist class is quite willing to combine these attacks with attempts to bring sections of the Labour Party, with trade union leadership support, into the government. But any such coalition "national" government will be a cover for the military preparations for dictatorship as much as was the case in Chile.

We repeat—we are no longer in the period of preparation for revolution. We have now entered the period of revolution itself.

Precisely because of the combined character of the relationship between revolutionary developments in Europe and America, what is now happening in England expresses the immediate future for America as well as an aspect of its present. The United States is still able to force upon Europe part of its own crisis. However, it does this under conditions when it must also act against its own working class.

Therefore, just as in England, the United States government is consciously exaggerating the extent of the oil crisis, which is real, in order to encourage unemployment, weakening the working class for attack. At the same time as it carries out this conscious policy, the influence of the military within the American government grows.

Preparations for civil war, though more advanced in Europe, are nevertheless well underway in the United States. We must conduct all our work on the basis of the urgency this new turn in the international situation requires of us.

#### Development Of American Capitalism

The United States today is the very center of the crisis of world capitalism. All the contraditions of imperialism in decay are concentrated in the United States. The crisis of the American dollar now creates conditions of civil war and revolution in Europe, Japan and the colonial countries. Every crisis anywhere in the world immediately spills back into the US, giving a tremendous explosiveness to the development of the class struggle here. This means that the American working class must take up the struggle to construct its own party, a labor party based on the trade unions, in a revolutionary period, a period which requires a revolutionary party. That revolutionary party can only be constructed through confronting this contradiction in the practice of the labor movement.

There is no American exceptionalism.

There never has been. There is only the specific way in which American development has expressed the general development of the world capitalist system. The US from its earliest days was tied to the international market as a major producer of agricultural goods for European industry and to feed European industrial workers. Cheap agricultural goods made possible by slave labor in the South and labor of the small family farmer of the North and Northwest, combined with the rich natural resources of the country, fed the industrial revolution of Europe. American industry developed subordinate to this agricultural export business.

With the conclusion of the Civil War under the protection of high tariffs, American industry went through a frantic development up to World War One. This development was made possible by the tremendous internal market created in turn by the continuing export of agricultural goods to Europe. Only with World War One did the United States export more industrial goods than it imported and industrial goods edged out agricultural goods as the major export category. In turn, this great industrial expansion was made possible by the import of tens of millions of workers from Europe as well as the migration of Black and white farmers into the cities.

From its earliest days as a British colony up to World War One, American industrial development was made possible by, and dependent on, the development of capitalism in Europe. America put Europe's millions to work, built up an industry, and sold the goods to a people whose wealth came from providing Europe with agricultural goods. American development was in no case independent of the development of European capitalism. In fact, its great internal market was itself a by-product of the industrialization of Europe. Its foreign policy was determined by this, concentrating on the struggle for new lands for the expansion of agriculture as in the Mexican

In the period from the turn of the century to World War One, American industry extended more and more decisively outside the limits of the American market. At the same time, the dependence of this industry on raw materials from colonial areas, particularly Latin America, became dominant. Within the capitalist class itself, a shift took place as finance capital developed its dominance over manufacturing capital and began to seek investment outlets not simply in the US but in the rest of the world. The Spanish American War marked the opening of this new period and World War One marked its consummation.

Enriching itself off of war-torn Europe, America quickly achieved world dominance by the conclusion of World War One. It did so at the point when capitalism as a world system had entered its imperialist period of decay and death agony. It entered World War One for the purpose of dictating the terms of inter-imperialist relations after the war. Following the war, America placed Europe on rations as it sought to defend American capital at the expense of Europe.

Trotsky assessed the role of America in that period in Europe and America and The First Five Years of the Communist International. He saw the role of American capitalism as revolutionary in the sense that it was forced to destroy the political and social equilibrium of Europe, bringing Europe to the brink of revolution. At the same time, the US was forced to bring into itself the weaknesses of European capitalism. On this basis, Trotsky saw revolution first taking place in Europe and the American working class developing from this experience. At the same time, he insisted that the US could only temporarily maintain its own economic stability. The collapse of Europe destroyed the basis for the future viability of American capitalism

The Great Depression of 1929 proved the complete correctness of Trotsky's assessment. The crisis, expressed first and most sharply in Europe, was now clearly the crisis of American imperialism, the dominant capitalist nation. Trotsky always began from the international character of capitalism and from an international strategy for the working class of all countries. It was only on this basis that he assessed the possibilities of particular countries. He always insisted that the central characteristic of the world situation following World War One was the emergence of US imperialism as the dominant world capitalist country. At the same time, the US

# PERSPECTIVES FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(Revised)



was forced to internalize within its economy all the weaknesses of European capitalism. From this situation stemmed the combined character of revolution in Europe and the revolutionary struggles of American workers. The relative unevenness of development in the 1930s was actually an expression of this combined character.

#### Europe & America

The US entered World War Two for the same reactionary reason it entered World War One. This time it was forced to enter sooner and involve itself more deeply. The entry only postponed the insoluble crisis of world capitalism which centered in the US. Once again Europe emerged devastated and America stronger in relation to all its capitalist rivals.

The very crisis of the depression years strengthened within the US the grip of the large monopolies and the role of the banks in dominating these monopolies. These monopolies in turn were international in character. The very fate of American capitalism became inseparably bound up with the fate of Europe. The only alternatives open to it, because of the collapse of European capital, would have been a direct confrontation with the European and American working classes or a turn towards an inflationary boom. It retreated before the strength of the working class and, with the aid of the Stalinists, rescued capitalism from the immediate postwar revolutionary crisis through inflationary investment in Europe. Finance capital, bloated by inflated war goods production, had to have Europe as an outlet for investment and manufacturing capital had to have it as a market. Important as the colonial countries continued to be, the US could not survive without Europe.

Thus in 1944 the US was forced to begin a course of action fundamentally different than it followed in the wake of World War One, a course of action which would shape the very character of the capitalist crisis we now face. The decision taken at Bretton Woods to accept the dollar as the equivalent of gold as the basis of all other currencies created conditions for a tremendous world inflationary development. It made possible the large scale pumping of

dollars, already inflated by the war, into Europe as the basis for European recovery. The economic growth of Europe and

America was spurred on primarily by American banking interests. American banks sprang up in Europe reaching even into smaller cities. Along with them came larger and larger quantities of paper dollars used to buy up whole sections of European property and industry. The American banks then engineered large national and international conglomerates organized, not on any rational basis of manufacturing or technology, but solely for the profit making of the financial interests. As a result, the very growth of Europe, its very strength, became an expression of the ever larger mountains of dollars, and thus of the underlying crisis of American capitalism itself.

The whole period from 1944 to 1967 was based on the maintenance of relative social equilibrium within the advanced capitalist nations at the expense of an underlying disequilibrium of the economy. At the same time, wealth was drained out of the colonial countries, particularly in the form of cheap agricultural products and raw material. For a period, the class struggle in the advanced countries remained on a relatively low level while revolutionary movements, largely based on the peasantry, swept the colonial world. This led impressionists to develop theories about the revolutionary potential of the "third world" and "neo-capitalist" stability in the advanced countries. However, the uneven development of the 1944-1967 period created the conditions of the present combined character of the struggle in the advanced and colonial countries. The very unevenness was part of the massive accumulation of credit, paper money and other forms of fictitious capital bearing down upon the actual value created by the working class of the advanced countries. The contradictory character of the Bretton Woods agreements and the inevitable tendency for the inflationary measures upon which the boom was constructed to serve to rip it apart at a later date manifested themselves from the late 1950s on, in the form of a growing deficit in the US balance of payments. These deficits arising from the export of huge amounts of dollars in the form of aid. military spending and private capital investment as well as an unfavorable tr boom, rebuild ening the US necess trade, The howev

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truckers fight fuel price increases. Below, young steel worker from St. Louis on strike.

able trade balance were the backbone of the boom, providing not only the basis for the rebuilding of capitalist Europe and for softening the pressure on the rate of profit in the US, but they also provided the liquidity necessary for a massive expansion of world

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The other side of these deficits were. however, the fact that they meant a growing disproportion between the growing mass of US paper currency held abroad and the stock of American gold backing these dollars in Fort Knox, threatening thereby the ultimate convertibility of these dollars into gold. This growing question mark over the dollar led in turn to a run on the American gold hoard by European central bankers who, spurred on by the ever larger US payments deficits, cashed in more and more of their inflated dollars for gold. This had the effect of running down the stock on American gold from \$25 billion possessed by the US as late as 1950 to \$10 billion worth in 1968. Against these \$10 billion in gold held in 1968, some \$70 billion in US dollars were held abroad. In a series of efforts to come to grips with the balance of payments crisis, the US first under Kennedy undertook a program of sharp cuts in aid and a series of investment restrictions aimed against the colonial countries. Unable to stem the crisis on this basis, however, the US was inevitably forced to turn its guns toward Europe. This turn came to a head first in 1967 when the refusal of the US to continue to supply credits to prop up the sagging pound led to its devaluation, albeit against the wishes of

#### 1967-The New Crisis Surfaces

The devaluation of the pound in 1967 marked the end of the whole postwar period dominated by the Bretton Woods agreement. The attack on the pound was actually directed against the dollar. It was followed by an intensive dollar crisis in December 1967 which in turn brought tremendous pressure upon gold in March 1968. As a result there was the establishment of Special Drawing Rights as a form of paper gold, and finally the establishment of a two-

tier system where the price of gold was artificially frozen for monetary purposes. At the same time, tremendous trade imbalances between Germany and Japan on the one hand and primarily the US on the other led to great pressure on these two countries to revalue their currency. Thus, even the successful world capitalist traders could not escape the crisis of American

It is this international monetary crisis which created the conditions for the revolutionary movement of the European working class in May-June 1968. (Once again it became clear that the economic needs of American imperialism forced it to play a revolutionary role in Europe.) The very agreement which had created the conditions of relative stability between classes in Europe was now ripped up, creating the conditions for revolutionary struggles in Europe. The most unsettling element in Europe would prove to be the great mass of American dollars laying claim to an ever decreasing rate of profit produced by the European working class.

The contradiction between Europe and America is sharper today than when Trotsky assessed it in the 1920s. The center of the world capitalist crisis has now shifted to America. In the 1920s the stability of American capitalism—which still continued to advance—was undermined by what was essentially the historical crisis of capitalism in Europe. In the postwar period the very action of the US in using what still remained of its relative vitality to take onto its shoulders the weight of Europe's historical decline had the effect of transforming the historical crisis of world capitalism as a whole in such a way as America and the crisis of the dollar becomes its center. The bankruptcy of world capitalism as a whole centers on the bankruptcy of the US.

#### **Bretton Woods &** the Postwar Boom

The magnitude of US involvement in Europe can be seen in both the expansion of industrial and finance capital into this area.

Today America owns upwards of a \$100 billion investment in other countries, the largest concentration of which lies in Europe. The total American products in non-financial industry produced abroad is upwards of 40 percent of what America produces within her borders. The preponderance of this comes from Europe. This investment of bank capital in Europe was both in the form of the growth of American branch banks and the growth of subsidiary organizations of American banks throughout the world. From 1957 to 1967 alone, deposits in US branch banks abroad grew seven times the rate of deposits at home, while the number of foreign branches of American banks increased by 300 percent in the same period. At the heart of this development lay the growing contribution of these foreign operations to the profits of American banks and monopolies which rose from 10 percent in 1950 to 22 percent in 1964. Above all the higher rate of profit exacted on such foreign investment became in this period a decisive factor in offsetting the tendency of the rate of profit to fall in the US.

Today Europe is even weaker in relation to America than in the 1920s. The dependence on the dollar as the major currency absolutely precludes any independent development of Europe. The rivalries in Europe make it impossible to set up an alternative currency against the dollar based on the European gold hoard. Every attack America launches on Europe is a blow struck against itself because of its huge holdings in European industry and finance. The situation is most sharply exposed in that those very countries such as Germany and Japan which have consistently run a balance of payments as well as a balance of trade surplus against the US are the countries most sharply hit by the crisis. These are the countries which face runaway inflation because of the flow of dollars into their banks. For the first time in history the debtor country, the US, turns around and demands that its creditors take upon themselves the financing of the debt by absorbing American exports and agreeing to hold continuously depreciating American

#### 1971 Decisions

The period prior to August 15, 1971 was marked not only by the revolutionary movement of the French working class but also by the first mass actions of the American working class in the new period. This is the significance of the great ghetto rebellions in which hundreds of thousands of minority workers rose up spontaneously against not only racism but economic oppression as well. The ghetto rebellions were actions on a mass scale in which whole working class neighborhoods rose up and fought back against federal troops. The ghetto rebellions were only a foretaste of the massive movement of the American working class which will come in the next period.

This same period saw the rise of SDS and massive student revolts on the campuses. While these revolts were futile as isolated actions of the students, they were an anticipation of the mass movement of the American working class to come. Thus, the breakup of Bretton Woods found its expression not only in revolutionary movements in Europe, but in massive actions of American students and minority workers. These actions in turn played a leading role in shaping the struggles of workers and

students in other countries.

In the period following the dollar and gold crisis, the American working class was hit by the combined impact of rising prices and unemployment. Within this framework a new movement began in the trade unions. The General Electric strike in the fall of 1969 ushered in this new period which also saw a postal strike, broken by the army, a Teamster rebellion which swept the Midwest, and finally the auto strike in the Fallof 1970. In the midst of this strike wave, new student rebellions broke out in May 1970 over the Cambodian invasion. This time masses of students looked toward the trade unions for the way forward against the government and the capitalist class.

The August 15, 1971 decisions of Nixon were thus prepared by the whole period which had preceded them. The attempts to resolve the capitalist crisis, which took this inflationary form because of the Bretton Woods agreements, had completely collapsed. The action of the French workers in May-June 1968 made it clear that European

workers would not pay for, through the destruction of their wages and working conditions, the tremendously bloated condition of American capital. At the same time, any effort to shift the burden to American workers met determined resistance, first from Black workers, then students, and finally in a wage offensive of the labor movement itself. It was this offensive above all which brought American capitalism to the very brink of a complete collapse and required Nixon to take the August 15 decisions. This makes it crystal clear that it is not possible for American imperialism to shift the burden of its crisis solely on the back of European workers, while any attempt to take on American workers will precipitate a revolutionary situation here as

The August 15 decisions meant a whole new stage of the struggle internationally and within the US Most fundamental was the decision of Nixon to remove the gold backing from the dollar altogether. This represents the end of the entire structure of international economic relations set up at Bretton Woods. Even more fundamental, it challenges the very laws of capitalist development which are based on the production and exchange of goods on the basis of value. This indicates that the crisis of capitalism is now deeper than it was even in the 1930s. There can be no resolution of this crisis now outside of a confrontation between the two classes on an international scale leading to either the victory of socialism or the destruction of the workers' movement through fascism.

The August 15 decisions also initiated a policy of trade war internationally and attempts at wage restrictions within the country. However, Nixon held back from any serious efforts at credit restrictions or any other steps to decrease money supply and the general level of business growth. For this reason, prices were held partially in check in an artificial manner while the very forces which fed the inflation went ahead at a feverish pace. Nixon acted this way out of fear of bringing down the entire capitalist system through widescale bankruptcies of major corporations who are completely dependent on inflated credit arrangements and an expanding market.

This situation is now characterized by a tremendously explosive expansion of credit and uncontrollable inflation. As all fixed relationship between paper currencies collapses there is not the remotest possibility of finding any replacement for the Bretton Woods agreement destroyed by Nixon on August 15, 1971. As never before the crisis is now dominated by the closest interpenetration of politics and economics. The collapse of monetary stability now drives the ruling class to attack every basic right of the working class and to prepare new dictatorial forms of rule. The paralysis of the government in the Watergate situation reflects the tremendous strength of the working class which will not peacefully relinquish its democratic rights. This enormous political crisis has the immediate effect of deepening the economic crisis.

The August 15 measures by eliminating the connection of the dollar to gold removed all barriers to an absolutely uncontrolled inflation. The collapse in confidence in paper currency has now driven the price of gold over \$100 an ounce and led to frenzied speculation in commodities in the hopes of something that will retain value. An unprecedented expansion of credit has accompanied a declining rate of industrial investment and the creation of masses of fictitious capital much of it based on outright fraud.

This uncontrolled inflation has meant a continuous devaluation of the dollar since August 1971 and the complete breakdown of the last remnants of the fixed parity system set up by the Smithsonian accords. Now the crisis is leading to the final breakup of the European joint float, the destruction of Common Market agricultural agreements and the disintegration of the Common Market itself. There is no possibility of a European solution to the crisis. The deterioration of the dollar now provides American capitalism with enormous trade advantages against its European and Japanese rivals and sets the stage for a brutal assault on European and Japanese capitalism through the development of trade war. This means the development of conditions of civil war and revolution in Europe and Japan. Trade war will intensify all the political tensions that lead to armed conflict.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

# PERSPECTIVES FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(Revised)





Workers from the Rheingold Brewery in Brooklyn face layoffs with closure of plant, left. Above, truckers fight fuel price increases. Below, young steel worker from St. Louis on strike.

was forced to internalize within its economy all the weaknesses of European capitalism. From this situation stemmed the combined character of revolution in Europe and the revolutionary struggles of American workers. The relative unevenness of development in the 1930s was actually an expression of this combined character.

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#### Europe & America

The US entered World War Two for the same reactionary reason it entered World War One. This time it was forced to enter sooner and involve itself more deeply. The entry only postponed the insoluble crisis of world capitalism which centered in the US. Once again Europe emerged devastated and America stronger in relation to all its capitalist rivals.

The very crisis of the depression years strengthened within the US the grip of the large monopolies and the role of the banks in dominating these monopolies. These monopolies in turn were international in character. The very fate of American capitalism became inseparably bound up with the fate of Europe. The only alternatives open to it, because of the collapse of European capital, would have been a direct confrontation with the European and American working classes or a turn towards an inflationary boom. It retreated before the strength of the working class and, with the aid of the Stalinists, rescued capitalism from the immediate postwar revolutionary crisis through inflationary investment in Europe. Finance capital, bloated by inflated war goods production, had to have Europe as an outlet for investment and manufacturing capital had to have it as a market. Important as the colonial countries continued to be, the US could not survive without Europe.

Thus in 1944 the US was forced to begin a course of action fundamentally different than it followed in the wake of World War One, a course of action which would shape the very character of the capitalist crisis we now face. The decision taken at Bretton Woods to accept the dollar as the equivalent of gold as the basis of all other currencies created conditions for a tremendous world inflationary development. It made possible the large scale pumping of

dollars, already inflated by the war, into Europe as the basis for European recovery.

The economic growth of Europe and

America was spurred on primarily by American banking interests. American banks sprang up in Europe reaching even into smaller cities. Along with them came larger and larger quantities of paper dollars used to buy up whole sections of European property and industry. The American banks then engineered large national and international conglomerates organized, not on any rational basis of manufacturing or technology, but solely for the profit making of the financial interests. As a result, the very growth of Europe, its very strength, became an expression of the ever larger mountains of dollars, and thus of the underlying crisis of American capitalism itself. The whole period from 1944 to 1967 was

based on the maintenance of relative social equilibrium within the advanced capitalist nations at the expense of an underlying disequilibrium of the economy. At the same time, wealth was drained out of the colonial countries, particularly in the form of cheap agricultural products and raw material. For a period, the class struggle in the advanced countries remained on a relatively low level while revolutionary movements, largely based on the peasantry, swept the colonial world. This led impressionists to develop theories about the revolutionary potential of the "third world" and "neo-capitalist" stability in the advanced countries. However, the uneven development of the 1944-1967 period created the conditions of the present combined character of the struggle in the advanced and colonial countries. The very unevenness was part of the massive accumulation of credit, paper money and other forms of fictitious capital bearing down upon the actual value created by the working class of the advanced countries. The contradictory character of the Bretton Woods agreements and the inevitable tendency for the inflationary measures upon which the boom was constructed to serve to rip it apart at a later date manifested themselves from the late 1950s on, in the form of a growing deficit in the US balance of payments. These deficits arising from the export of huge amounts of dollars in the form of aid, military spending and private capital investment as well as an unfavorable trade balance were the backbone of the boom, providing not only the basis for the rebuilding of capitalist Europe and for softening the pressure on the rate of profit in the US, but they also provided the liquidity necessary for a massive expansion of world trade.

The other side of these deficits were. however, the fact that they meant a growing disproportion between the growing mass of US paper currency held abroad and the stock of American gold backing these dollars in Fort Knox, threatening thereby the ultimate convertibility of these dollars into gold. This growing question mark over the dollar led in turn to a run on the American gold hoard by European central bankers who, spurred on by the ever larger US payments deficits, cashed in more and more of their inflated dollars for gold. This had the effect of running down the stock on American gold from \$25 billion possessed by the US as late as 1950 to \$10 billion worth in 1968. Against these \$10 billion in gold held in 1968, some \$70 billion in US dollars were held abroad. In a series of efforts to come to grips with the balance of payments crisis, the US first under Kennedy undertook a program of sharp cuts in aid and a series of investment restrictions aimed against the colonial countries. Unable to stem the crisis on this basis, however, the US was inevitably forced to turn its guns toward Europe. This turn came to a head first in 1967 when the refusal of the US to continue to supply credits to prop up the sagging pound led to its devaluation, albeit against the wishes of

# 1967-The New Crisis Surfaces

The devaluation of the pound in 1967 marked the end of the whole postwar period dominated by the Bretton Woods agreement. The attack on the pound was actually directed against the dollar. It was followed by an intensive dollar crisis in December 1967 which in turn brought tremendous pressure upon gold in March 1968. As a result there was the establishment of Special Drawing Rights as a form of paper gold, and finally the establishment of a two-

tier system where the price of gold was artificially frozen for monetary purposes. At the same time, tremendous trade imbalances between Germany and Japan on the one hand and primarily the US on the other led to great pressure on these two countries to revalue their currency. Thus, even the successful world capitalist traders could not escape the crisis of American capitalism.

It is this international monetary crisis which created the conditions for the revolutionary movement of the European working class in May-June 1968. (Once again it became clear that the economic needs of American imperialism forced it to play a revolutionary role in Europe.) The very agreement which had created the conditions of relative stability between classes in Europe was now ripped up, creating the conditions for revolutionary struggles in Europe. The most unsettling element in Europe would prove to be the great mass of American dollars laying claim to an ever decreasing rate of profit produced by the European working class.

The contradiction between Europe and America is sharper today than when Trotsky assessed it in the 1920s. The center of the world capitalist crisis has now shifted to America. In the 1920s the stability of American capitalism—which still continued to advance-was undermined by what was essentially the historical crisis of capitalism in Europe. In the postwar period the very action of the US in using what still remained of its relative vitality to take onto its shoulders the weight of Europe's historical decline had the effect of transforming the historical crisis of world capitalism as a whole in such a way as America and the crisis of the dollar becomes its center. The bankruptcy of world capitalism as a whole centers on the bankruptcy of the US.

# Bretton Woods & the Postwar Boom

The magnitude of US involvement in Europe can be seen in both the expansion of industrial and finance capital into this area.

Today Ame billion inve largest cor Europe. Th non-financia upwards of produces wi derance of investment both in the f branch bank organization out the wor deposits in seven times while the n American ba the same developmen these foreig American ba from 10 perc Above all th on such fore period a dec dency of the

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The Augu were thus I which had p resolve the c inflationary Woods agree lapsed. The May-June 19

#### **Woodcock And Unemployment**

The combined impact of the world financial crisis and the energy crisis have hit the automobile industry with devastating impact. Over 100,000 United Auto Workers members are laid off indefinitely.

These conditions are the direct product of the unprecedented financial crisis that is leading to runaway inflation, slump, and mass unemployment on a world scale.

Today, not even Leonard Woodcock, UAW president, can speak of conditions in the industry without raising the specter of the 1930s.

But Woodcock was quite conscious in the fall of 1973 that an enormous economic crisis was developing. In fact, he used it to hold back a movement for a national strike.

When negotiations began with General Motors, Woodcock stated: "We do not want to give GM the 'class struggle' issue of a national strike at this time that would bankrupt the union and strike the economy."

Rather than strike the industry, rally labor to smash government pay guidelines, and mobilize the strength of the unions to force Nixon out, Woodcock turned on the ranks, broke strike movements, accepted the pay guidelines, and signed a compulsory overtime agreement.

Every concession signed by Woodcock from wages and overtime to productivity has only strengthened the determination of the employers to intensify the attack.

Under these new conditions, tremendous political changes are taking place among auto workers. It is of great significance that in the middle of the truckers strike, with a powerful section of workers defying government troops, workers at GM's Lordstown plant called for a nationwide strike to force Nixon out.

It is precisely because the working class is seeking to confront the political issues involved in the defense of jobs and wages, that Woodcock is veering to the right.

The Woodcock bureaucracy is carrying out a policy of accepting mass unemployment, lining up with the most right-wing nationalist trade war measures and directly opposing every move of the working class towards political independence.

Thus Woodcock declares that "there is no escaping the fact that a shortage of oil means a shortage of jobs" and proposes not a fight to prevent layoffs, but increased and lengthened unemployment benefits.

Woodcock opposes any fight for a labor party, claiming that this would shatter the liberal Democrats.

With auto production collapsing in every major industrial country, Woodcock, while sending a fraudulent message of solidarity to the British miners, acts openly to split the American workers from workers abroad calling for import quotas on all foreign automobiles.

Even at this stage, the UAW leader continues to act as advisor to Nixon's Cost of Living Council.

Auto workers must take warning from the situation in England. The UAW leadership is modelling its policies on those of the treacherous leadership of the British trade unions.

The Trades Union Congress leaders cooperated at every stage with Heath's wage controls. Even when the government placed the country on a three day week and mobilized troops against the miners, these bureaucrats prolonged their negotiations to isolate the miners and avoid a struggle against the government.

Woodcock intends to aid the employers at every point in introducing unemployment as he cooperates with government measures against the unions.

But as the truckers strike shows, the working class has never been in a more powerful position to take up the fight against the government.

The struggle against unemployment is a political question. Jobs cannot be saved with trade union methods that accept the limits of capitalism and seek to negotiate compromises in a crisis.

The UAW ranks must take the lead in fighting to unite the unemployed with the employed by organizing massive trade union demonstrations in every city.

National strike action must be prepared to force the Nixon government out.

A Congress of Labor must be called to replace Nixon with a labor party committed to full employment through the nationalization of industry under workers control.

The Young Socialists unemployment marches which are being conducted all over the country and which will culminate in a mass demonstration in Washington are not protests to ask for reforms.

Their purpose is to rally and train a leadership of workers and youth to carry out a fight for these policies.

Trade unionists must begin the fight for an alternative to the Woodcocks by joining these marches and attending the National Auto Conference, organized by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, on March 31

# Wounded Knee Leader Ejected For Speaking Out

BY JEAN BRUST ST. PAUL, Minn. —The trial growing out of the 70 day occupation of Wounded Knee opened explosively on Tuesday, February 12.

William Kunstler, Mark Lane and Kenneth Pilsen, attorneys for the defense, were all ejected from the courtroom by presiding Judge Nichols for attempting to defend Dennis Banks's right to make his opening statement in his own way.

Dennis Banks and Russell Means had been granted permission to make opening statements in their own behalf. Means's speech that morning made it clear that the defense would go on the offensive.

He attacked the US government for its treatment of Indians, for violation of the 1968 treaty with the Sioux nation and stated that he would prove that the Pine Ridge Reservation was a police state like Hitler's Germany.

He said that traitors on the post kept the people in economic bondage and drew parallels between the South African apartheid system and the US policy toward Indians. He concluded:

"Each time we appeared for aid we had a door slammed in our face. AIM is a court of last resort. We will prevent deprivation and tyranny on the Pine Ridge Reservation. When the evidence is in, we will ask you, the jury, to decide whether Indian people are going to survive or be destroyed."

The judge and prosecution became more restless as Banks continued. At one point, when Banks attempted to quote the judge on why change of venue was granted, he was ordered ejected from the court.

#### REMOVED

It was when Banks exposed the history leading up to Watergate that Judge Nichols ruled him out of order. When Lane objected, Nichols ordered him removed. Kunstler rose to support Lane, and was ordered out.

Banks concluded with a moving indictment of the government's treatment of Indians throughout history.

"The intent and motivation that led to Wounded Knee cer-



Demonstration in front of Federal Court House as trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means opens. 80 Ogala Indians came in support.

tainly must play a major part of our defense. The Ogala Sioux are being deprived of civil rights, human rights, all precious rights.

"I am guilty of asking that the Senate investigate all conditions the federal government imposed on all our people."

He described the town meeting where the Indian women pleaded with them to take action:

"They demanded a return of our fighting spirit so that there was no reason for Ogala men to drink themselves to death and for Ogala young to slash their wrists. One by one the Ogala chiefs stood up.

"We have reached the time in

history when we cannot tolerate this treatment any longer. We cannot see another Indian youth die. The evidence will show that I was at Wounded Knee to help in this fight."

On Monday, a motion by Kunstler to bar the introduction of a letter was denied. The letter, from expelled AIM member Carter Camp, was stolen from a Rapid City apartment by the FBI who had an apartment next door.

An additional motion to ask the judge to order the US Marshall and the FBI to "cease and desist" from harassing the defense was summarily dismissed

# Lordstown Men Back Labor Party

BY NANCY RUSSELL LORDSTOWN—At the February 10 meeting of Lordstown Local 1112, UAW membership meeting, a supporter of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party proposed a decisive resolution calling for general strike action to unite with truckers, to force Nixon out, and build a

labor party.

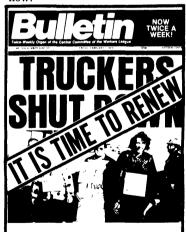
The resolution passed in a hand vote.

There was an enthusiastic response from the men on the assembly line the next day. Many told members of TUALP that the resolution was "really great."

One UAW member said: "The time has come with the situation with the truckers and their problems to have us come together to have a labor party

Another auto worker said: "The coal miners in England have a labor party there, but that labor party is not what it is supposed to be. It is a lot like the Democrats and Republicans here.

"We need a labor party with people that want to represent the working class, because there is no such a party here. We need something that is not a sellout now."



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#### Scab Hits Pickets

LANSING, Mich.—A 50-ton semi-trailer truck crashed through 60 picketing tradesmen last Tuesday, sending seven tradesmen to the hospital.

The tradesmen, Jerry Heiden, 25, and Joseph Fitzgerald, 62, were reported in serious condition after having been run over by the truck.

The tradesmen were in the second week of a protest against a nonunion construction site. This attack is the second violent incident in the last two days in Lansing.

On February 11, riot police attacked union pickets outside the strike-bound Motor Wheel Corporation as workers at-

tempted to keep scabs from crossing their lines.

At the building site, many

At the building site, many construction workers narrowly missed being crushed between the trucks and the cars. Teamster truck drivers have refused to cross the picket line. Police had escorted three trucks through when the fourth truck veered to the right into the pickets.

Police Commissioner William Cavanaugh of Lansing admitted that the pickets had been peaceful. When the driver of the truck, James A. James of LaPeer jumped from the cab of his truck, he was quickly surrounded by angry pickets, but police broke through the crowd and took James into custody.

Police claim that picketers had threatened the truck driver with "bodily harm."

by Jeff Sebastian-

# **Unemployment Hits Flint**

BY DAVID NORTH FLINT, Mich.—The conditions of the Great Depression of the 1930s are reappearing here in the capital city of General Motors as unemployment rapidly approaches the 15 percent

mark.

Another two week shutdown has hit the huge Buick assembly complex, and the 12,000 workers still left in the plant are increasingly disturbed by reports that GM plans to eliminate an entire line of intermediate-size models within the coming months.

Since the big layoffs began in December, 5000 members of Buick Local 599 have been permanently laid off. Hundreds of young auto workers have been thrown off their jobs at the AC Spark Plug plant.

The devastating impact of Nixon's deliberate drive to destroy jobs is revealed in the long line of workers and their families standing in the bitter predawn cold outside the welfare and unemployment offices of Flint.

#### 250,000

This scene is being duplicated throughout the state of Michigan where unemployment has climbed to 250,000 during the past few months. State officials have predicted that unemployment will reach the half-million mark by May.

Leonard Woodcock and the entire UAW bureaucracy have absolutely no policy to defend the jobs of the union members. Young auto workers receive no support from the union because those with less than one year seniority receive no Supplementary Unemployment Benefit payments. Older workers are covered with SUB payments for a maximum of one year.

At any rate, few workers expect the SUB money held by the union to last very long at the present rate of unemployment.

Angry workers milled through the union hall of Local 599 last Friday, trying to find out what the union leadership was planning to do about the situation. They hear their leadership talk about "coping" with unemployment rather than fighting it.

#### OFFICES

For example, Woodcock is urging that more unemployment offices be established in Flint—with adequate parking space and larger halls so that "the unemployed would not have to wait outside—exposed to adverse weather such as rain, cold, etc."

Local 599 President Al Christner told the Bulletin that the UAW expects help from the Nixon administration:

"I think that the government will eventually establish work projects for the unemployed, like fixing up railroads. I do not think that this will pay anywhere what auto workers are making in the plants, but it would be fairly good, sort of like the pay for hauling garbage."

Hundreds of young Flint auto workers without jobs spend hours at the Social Service Center where they fill out an endless series of forms and wait for interviews in which they are told how much welfare they can expect.



Unemployed youth, workers, and their families wait in Flint Social Services Center all day for news of jobs.

Often, after waiting three or four hours in the center's drab auditorium, a worker is called for an interview only to learn that he is not eligible for payments he had counted on. Then there are more forms to be written and another line to wait on

Twenty-four-year-old Don Follenn, who is married and has two children, was laid off last month from AC Spark Plug after only six months in the plant.

#### WORRY

"I cannot believe this is going on," he said. "I figured after I had my 90 days and got my union card that there was nothing to worry about. It sure did not work out that way.

but I cannot afford a doctor.

"Why won't the union do something? You pay your union dues and you do not even draw SUB pay.

"Every morning you have to be here before six. The place is packed at six. There are people standing in the cold outside all night so they will not miss their appointment. If you miss it, you will not get your check. If you get here before they are ready for you, you stay in the line."

Mike Belill was laid off from Fisher Body last January 10, just six weeks before he would have become eligible for SUB payments.

"I hope I get called back," said the 20-year-old worker, "because I cannot even get unem-

the Service Center for several hours with his wife Gloria who is six months pregnant.

"This whole thing is a mess," Dave said, "and I blame it on Nixon. The reason my boss ran out of work is that people cannot afford houses. Everything costs so much.

"This took me by surprise. I had no savings. Work was going so good that I did not figure I needed any.

"Then I got sick for a week, and when I called him up to tell him I was ready to come back, my boss said I did not have to because there was no work.

"The country is in a mess. Every day I know someone who is losing his job. I tell you, big business is really raking in money with this shortage stuff. They fire people, but they push prices up.

"People do not have any say in what is happening. It is all Nixon. Why don't they impeach him?

"People ought to have the right to get rid of Nixon if they do not like him. We should have a whole new election. The hell with Gerald Ford."

Pete Miles, recently laid off after two and one-half years in the Buick plant, overheard the discussion and said:

#### WELFARE

"I have worked just over two years and now it looks like I will be on welfare for 40.

"It is really fun when the bill collectors knock on your door, ask you where is your money, and you have got nothing to give them

"One thing I hate the most is being on welfare."

"Same here," agreed Dave. "but what can you do?"

Pete stated that the bill collectors are about to take his new car away from him.

The Woodcock bureaucracy is responsible for thousands of auto workers being driven onto the unemployment lines.

The sellout contract he signed last November with GM paved the way for further attacks on auto workers, and he now refuses to fight the Nixon government as it slashes jobs.

The fight to defend jobs requires a political fight to force the resignation of Nixon and the building of a labor party as the alternative to Nixon.

The demand of Lordstown workers at their last union meeting that the UAW lead the fight against unemployment and inflation through a general strike and the building of a labor party shows the way forward for all auto workers, and a new leadership must be constructed in every local on the basis of the fight for this program.

# THEORY & PRACTICE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

#### **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

#### **DAYTON**

Monday, Feb. 25 Dayton Christian Center 1352 W. Riverview 7:30 pm

#### **PHILADELPHIA**

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



Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, Workers League National Secretary

#### **BROOKLYN**

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

#### **BALTIMORE**

Saturday, Mar. 2 St. Katherine's Church Preston & Luzerne 7 pm

#### Donation:

\$1 trade unionists 75¢ youth

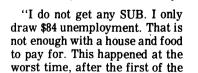
#### **BRONX**

Saturday, Mar. 9 St. Ann's Church St. Ann's Ave. & 140 St. South Bronx 4 pm

#### Dance

9 pm - 2 am The Hidden Star 286 Brook Ave. Btwn, 139-140 Sts.

Tickets: \$1.75 (includes meeting & dance)



Don Follenn, laid off from AC Spark Plug after working six months.

year when all the bills come in.
"The refrigerator is empty. I
keep the heating down because I
cannot afford the price of fuel. I
use the car less.

"My parents cannot really help me because they have eight kids and my dad's got to support them with his job in AC.

"Almost everybody I know is laid off. At the unemployment offices they do not even take down your name for a job because there is not any.

"Food prices keep going up and there is nothing coming in.
Then there are other expenses.

"One kid has a skin allergy,

ployment benefits. Whatever the state finally decides to give me is all the money I can get.

"It looks like I will be getting \$80 per month plus food stamps. No way you can support a family on that.

#### GRIN

"When I got my 90 days, I had the biggest grin on my face. I thought the job was permanent. That plant is the only place you can make money.

"This is going to get a lot worse. It really stinks."

The layoffs have hit all sections of industry in Flint. Dave Sisson was laid off by the contractor he worked for last December 28.

When he spoke to the **Bulletin**, Dave had already been sitting in

#### **Con-Man Extraordinaire**

#### -by Jeff Sebastian--

Alias Big Cherry: The Confessions of a Master Criminal, by Robert H. Adleman, The Dial Press, New York, \$7.95.

Inflationary booms create their own very special people, the speculators. These are the men who pyramid pieces of paper into great masses of paper and create huge empires and vast fortunes overnight.

As long as the economy keeps expanding and credit is cheap, these men can do anything. Everything they touch turns into money and nobody looks too closely at the books.

#### **Fictitious**

But when the crunch comes and the bills are due, many of the geniuses and "legitimate" businessmen of yesterday are revealed to be nothing more than crooks operating behind huge mounds of completely fictitious capital. In the bankruptcy courts, every entry in the books gets the closest scrutiny.

Bernie Cornfeld went from being a Brooklyn social worker to heading the billion dollar Investors Overseas Service to a Swiss jail cell.

Robert Vesco looted IOS and now shuttles between Costa Rica and the Bahamas.

C. Arnholt Smith, Nixon's oldest backer, now faces the courts for looting his own corporation and causing the collapse of the giant San Diego National Bank, while the Equity Fund printed and sold thousands of entirely imaginary insurance policies.

But Sylvan "Big Cherry" Scolnick, otherwise known as "Cherry Hill Fats," was truly the personification of inflation. Weighing in at 700 pounds, Scolnick used his knowledge of banking and insurance operations to train a gang of con-men to defraud innumerable banks and insurance companies. He and his gang set up and bankrupted 100 firms, pocketing over \$10 million. His take in his seven year career was between \$25 and

#### "Bucket Shop"

Big Cherry developed what is known in the trade as a "bucket shop'' into a science. Before Scolnick came on the scene, a shop would order a lot of goods, sell it out the back door as fast as it came in the front, and then disappear.

Scolnick made the bucket shop respectable. It would maintain a bank account, pay its bills and operate for months with a huge list of happy creditors.

"Then, when I am ready to blow, everybody would be breaking my doors down to ship me goods.'

Big Cherry describes the store just before the time to "bust out" came:

"I got a store that looks like a little basement and they come to me and I order three thousand electric frying pans and they send 'em to me. But Macy's only orders three dozen. Gimbels orders a dozen. But me they send three thousand. It's just sheer hunger.

"They're looking for the money, not at the size of my store. Who the hell ever heard of furniture store ordering ten

thousand bucks worth of antifreeze? Or five thousand boxes of Hershev Chocolate Bars?"

Scolnick unloaded the goods well below wholesale price to dozens of legitimate businessmen who asked no questions. Some even gave him the names of firms and suppliers to order

The legitimate businessman's job "is to buy merchandise cheaper than anyone else so he can sell it cheaper than anyone else. So when you're dealing in merchandise and not in threats, he doesn't feel he's doing anything wrong in getting together with you.'

In one scheme, Big Cherry swindled a bank for loans to operate a finance company that dealt in second mortgages.

The desperate customers of the finance company who could not secure a bank loan were charged \$1350 on a \$3000 loan in filing charges, brokerage fees, and appraisals, paid \$1200 in interest, and were forced to pay Scolnick the first three payments on the loan in advance.

In addition, they took out insurance on the amount of the loan and Scolnick would receive the first year's premium as a fee from the insurance companies.

#### Million Dollars

By keeping up the loan payments to the bank and constantly pyramiding the number of mortgages, Scolnick was able to swindle the bank for a million dollars before leaving them with a load of debts.

Scolnick, who concludes that the banks are the "biggest thieves going," concludes: "I know all this sounds crooked as hell, but it happens all the time with some of the most reputable real estate outfits you ever heard of.

"They clip the guy every way they can who comes in for his mortgage and it don't have to be a second either.'

When one scheme to loot a department store for \$28 million fell through because of the incompetence of an accomplice, Scolnick commented: "You know how hard it is to get good help these days.'

Karl Marx wrote about the credit system in Volume III of Capital. "It reproduces a new financial aristocracy, a new variety of parasite in the shape of promoters, speculators, and simply nominal directors; a whole system of swindling and cheating by means of corporate promotion, stock insurance, and stock speculation."

#### Confessions

Sylvan Scolnick operated in the shadowy underworld of the inflationary boom, but his confessions throw light on the functioning of the credit system, banks, credit cards, insurance companies, and stocks and bonds.

Scolnick finally did get caught when one of his schemes collapsed and his assistant turned over the evidence to the law. Needless to say, Scolnick wound up running the jail.

He's out now on thirty years probation and at last report is operating as a legitimate businessman.



Los Angeles independent truckers picket during shutdown.

# Labor Council Grants City Unions Strike OK

#### **BY SUSAN FREDERICKS**

SAN FRANCISCO—-Strike sanction has been given by the Central Labor Council to 15,000 city workers.

The city has deliberately provoked the city workers into strike action by refusing to grant any wage increase to 7000 workers, and only two and five percent increases to

The lower paid hospital and clerical workers will remain on the bottom, while food prices alone rose over 20 percent in the Bay Area last year.

The Joint Council of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), representing all but the Muni bus drivers and the firemen, have called for an \$80 a month across the board increase and a fully paid dental

#### WAGES

The leadership has played

down the wages demand, but the workers who attended a joint mass meeting recently expressed overwhelming determination to fight for the in-

One clerk stated: "I want the \$80. I do not want to have to go on strike just for a dental plan.

"It is not just for me, but for the people who are trying to raise a family off these wages. It is impossible.

The Joint Council has avoided setting a strike date and calling on all city unions to participate in a citywide shutdown.

Instead, they are spreading rumors that the Transport Workers Union (TWU), which represents the Muni bus drivers, will go out in early March, and then city workers will follow.

However, the secretary-treasurer of the TWU, Local 250-A, representing the bus drivers, told the Bulletin: "This is really not our battle. Our contract is dealt with separately."

The city is using this time to set up the Municipal Employees Relations Panel, (MERP) which does not provide for a contract and specifically states that any "memorandum of agreement" reached between labor and management must contain a nostrike pledge.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is organizing a new leadership in the city workers unions around the program of: \$80 a month increase for all, an end to MERP, a one year contract, and preparations for a citywide strike to win these

# **Truckers Agree:** Complete Sellout"

BY ALLEN SALTER

SAN JOSE-Independent truck drivers interviewed by the Bulletin at Jim Davis's truck stop here expressed their opposition to the sellout agreed to by their leaders and their determination to strike again.

"This agreement will not settle anything. I agree with Overdrive. It is a complete sellout," stated a driver from Los Angeles.

A driver from Illinois, when asked about the settlement. said: "Settlement, what settlement? All I hear is rumors.

"I will tell you one thing, if Nixon really lets off the price freeze, there is going to be the worst civil war in history.

A driver from Los Angeles who had just driven from Kentucky added: "The government and the National Guard only protected the oil companies.

"They don't care if they have to kill three or four people to get things moved. Nobody agrees with the settlement, but these guys said to go back.

"The FASH do not represent a thing. They are working together with the government.

"They represent Nixon, not us. Those leaders were getting paid

Drivers almost unanimously voiced the need for another strike, but this time with the full support of the Teamsters union.

A driver from LA stated: "I work for an independent, but the prices are so high that I got my wages cut 20 percent.

"This cannot go on. We have got to unite everyone to win this time. All the people should shut down everything. We should go back out on March 1.

'We have got to make it a strike to kick Nixon out. That way, everybody would be together. I agree we need a labor party so the working people can run the country, not the rich."

# **Move To Abolish**

BY ANN LORE

SAN FRANCISCO—The State Industrial Welfare Commission has proposed to eliminate the eight hour day for some three million workers in California.

At present, the overtime pay regulations which insure that employees working more than eight hours are paid time and one-half applies to the workers who would be exempted under the new proposals.

The revisions would apply to those who are not covered by the US Fair Labor Standards Law, which involves three million workers in restaurants, hospitals, convalescent homes, and packing sheds.

At a public hearing on the proposals, James Calvarese, secretary of the Culinary Workers Union in Richmond, asked: "Does this mean that hotel and restaurant workers will not have any overtime pay law?'

#### CORRECT

After initially refusing to answer the question, one commissioner finally stated that this was correct

John Henning, secretary of the California AFL-CIO, promised the AFL-CIO will sue if the commission adopts the current proposals.

This provision would mean a return to conditions that existed before the 1930s.



ILWU Local 10 members in front of union half at membership meeting of last Saturday.

# LA Truckers Warn: 'We Are Not Finished'

BY SHEILA BREHM LOS ANGELES—-Most LA truckers reluctantly ended their shut-

down late Monday after-

The previous night, 90 percent of the meat packing plants were closed when meat cutters and Teamsters refused to cross the picket lines set up by truckers.

Farmer Johns, Midwest, and Hoffmanan plants were closed.

Bridges

Pickets also set up at Teamster headquarters in efforts to get support. Most Teamster officials, however, crossed the line.

One driver explained why he was going back: "Nothing was won with the settlement. We did not gain a thing. We would look silly to stay out now.'

#### LEARNED

Gene Vaulkner, local leader of the shutdown, told the Bulletin: "We learned a lot from the first shutdown and we learned from this one

'In this one, the government

recognized us and Nixon even had to make a speech to us.

When we started this, I thought the government would listen to us, but when Nixon basically said we would get arrested or shot if we did not go back, I have got to think about what to do next.

"We have not lost, but we have conceded for a while.'

Vaulkner said that another shutdown will be called in the next 30 to 60 days. "We are not finished, because we have not

# Loses Loca

BY BARRY GREY SAN FRANCISCO--The newly elected officers of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 were installed at a mass membership meeting last Saturday.

They put forward no policy to defend dockers in San Francisco against either unemployment due to containerization or the encroachment of steady men on the hiring hall.

A whole new slate of officers was swept into office in Local 10 elections recently, reflecting the disgust of dockers with the incumbent leadership.

Frank Stout defeated Cleophus Williams for president, Willie Zinn ousted Bert Donlin as vicepresident and Herb Mills beat Carl Smith for secretary-treasurer.

The men were told at the meeting that Local 10 is losing \$10,000 every month. A motion was passed to up the dues by \$5 and to add a special \$10 assessment from each Local 10 member in order to cover the loss.

#### REVENUE

The decline in revenue cannot be stopped in this way. The dwindling membership is the result of containerization which more and more is replacing the men. Frank Stout had nothing to say about fighting the unemploy-

On the question of the steady men (dockers who work directly for the shippers and bypass the hiring hall), the new leadership merely proposed to discuss with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) to give more work to the regular dockers and less to the steady men.

NOTE CARSE UP DESCRIPTION

The steady men have become a dangerous lever in the hands of the PMA against union control of

Dockers are bitter over the lack of work, the growing power of the steady men, and the financial crisis of the local. Right now, the leadership is planning to sell the hiring hall to bring in more money.

One docker at the meeting told the Bulletin: "It has got to come to what it is like in England. Everybody being hit so that everybody unites against the government.'

A caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party must be built now to fight to reopen the contract around the demands:

•Unlimited 40 hour guarantee. •One dollar across the board raise and a full cost of living

escalator. •Abolish the role of steady

For Discussion on the Problems



### of the Fourth International

Statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International. Exposes the fraudulent claims of the SWP, who pose today as the defenders of Trotskyism against the Pabloite capitulation to Stalinism. Challenges the SWP and the Unified Secretariat to open up an international discussion on the questions of the 1953 split and Pabloite revisionism. .25.

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#### west coast news

# **Press Fans** Kidnapping Provocation

BY MARTY MORAN SAN FRANCISCO—-The kidnapping of Patricia Hearst, daughter of millionaire publisher Randolph Hearst, is being used to whip up a hysterical witch-hunt against left-wing organizations and the trade unions.

The West Coast press has splashed scare headlines on the front page day after day. The so-called Symbionese Liberation Army, which claims to hold Hearst's daughter, sent a letter and tape recording demanding that Hearst provide \$70 worth of free food to every needy person in California over the next five weeks. The total cost would be around \$350 million.

There is no independent evidence that the Symbionese Liberation Army actually exists, aside from letters and police statements.

There is every indication that a provocation is being instigated by the police themselves or a right-wing group to create the conditions for persecution and frameup of socialists and trade union militants.

This possibility is strengthened by the SLA's latest communique which calls for the United Farm Workers, the United Prisoners Union, and other Black nationalist groups to monitor the distribution of the free food and to report back any popular "dissatisfaction."

This enables the police to link organizations like the farm workers union, whom the state and growers are seeking to destroy, to the SLA.

#### **TAPE**

The tape recording by Patricia Hearst states that Joseph Remiro and Russell Little, imprisoned in San Quentin on charges of assassinating School Superintendent Marcus Foster last November, are members of the SLA. This is what the police claim.

Little and Remiro were arrested in a shootout and police claimed their van contained literature of the Symbionese Liberation Army, but police refused to show the evidence to the press. If the SLA is willing to identify its members, why have Remiro and Little made no statements?

Whoever is behind the kidnapping scheme, it can only aid the police and the government who are out to arrest all leftwing militants in the communities and in the unions. For this reason, the actions of the SLA, if it exists, are totally reac-

But all workers must be warned that the police are turning more and more towards fabricating "conspiracies" in order to attack the democratic rights of workers and youth and use arbitrary powers of repression.

The Communist Party has joined in the witch-hunt. Angela Davis, in the first public statement in months, stated: "You don't do things that alienate people. You do things that draw people to you."

This only serves to lend credibility to the police story and to preserve the respectability of the CP in its relations with the liberal politicians.

# **Youth Cleared** In Stratford Blaze

BY DENNIS BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Twentyfive counts of murder and one count of arson were dropped against Michael Altenburger, the 18-year-old youth who was charged with setting the fire at the Stratford Apartments.

The blaze, the worst in the history of Los Angeles, broke out on the night of November 15 and took 25 lives. The entire building was gutted in a few minutes because there were many fire violations such as no doors on the stairways

Altenburger was arrested less than 24 hours after the fire, while he was sleeping at a bus stop 15 miles from the fire.

The arrest was part of an attempt to cover up a city law that permits building violations to remain neglected for years.

The youth, who has been described as a transient, was originally from Tucson. He has been held in Central Jail since

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November 16 until Deputy District Attorney Stephen Kay asked for dismissal of the charges "in the interest of justice.

#### TRIAL

Just three days ago, Municipal Judge A. Chavez ordered the youth to stand trial for murder.

Chavez had ordered the trial to begin after five days of hearings where a police detective testified that Altenburger had confessed twice to setting the fire.

The newspapers carried huge headlines about the "confessions." On one tape recording of one of the confessions, Altenburger can be heard saying: "I can't believe it. I can't believe I set the fire."

Deputy District Attorney Kay said: "I think the boy was talked into thinking he set the fire.

The city, not the youth, are the real criminals who are responsible for the death of 25 workers at Stratford.

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Harold Wilson's Labour Party has entered this campaign without any policy to meet these dangers which flow from the breakup of capitalism in Britain. His election slogan "Back To Work With Labour" shows that Wilson plans to carry out the policies of Heath if elected.

The only program which can defend the interests of the working class is one which demands the nationalization of all basic industry under workers control as the foundation of a planned economy. All the banks, food concerns, and building corporations must also be nationalized.

The decisive task in Britain today is the construction of a revolutionary leadership to unite the working class around such a program. The national conference of the All Trades Unions Al-



Vanessa Redgrave.

liance—industrial arm of the WRP—on February 24 will be crucially important in building this leadership.

Developments in Britain have the greatest significance for American workers. It is the crisis of American capitalism that is the heart of the international crisis. The truckers strike has demonstrated that a powerful movement of workers in this country will take place under conditions of revolutionary struggle in Britain.

At the same time, the call-up of the National Guard against the truckers and the use of the FBI clearly reveals that Nixon is following Heath in preparing massive repression against the working class as it moves in defense of its living standards and basic rights.

British workers have shown that the working class has the power to force the capitalist government out, and that the central question in taking political power is the construction of a revolutionary leadership.

The full strength of the American working class must now be mobilized to force the resignation of Nixon in order to defend its basic rights.

This requires the preparation of a general strike to force Nixon's resignation and new elections and the calling of a Congress of Labor to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies that can stop inflation, unemployment, and all attacks on democratic rights.

We urge all workers to carry forward the fight for these policies by joining the Workers League.

# **Bulletin Monthly Fund** \$2200 Needed

This week \$750.28 was received for the February Special Monthly Fund for \$5000, giving us a grand total of \$1271.55. While this is an improvement over the slow start in

While this is an improvement over the slow start in February, we are now in a critical position. We must raise \$2200 this coming week to bring the grand total to \$3400, in order to complete the drive on time.

Outside of New York, only a few branches are campaigning to raise money. The Bay Area sent in \$137.50 and Chicago, \$40. But 12 branches sent in no money at all.

We can see what is possible by the work of the New York branches last Saturday. The Bulletin received a tremendous response in communities and shopping areas—over \$100 was raised in one day. During the week, the campaign continued, on street corners and visiting subscribers. In one week, Bedford-Stuyvesant raised \$76.40; East New York, \$62; and Queens. \$62.

Fund-raising campaigns must begin immediately in every branch.

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These actions sharply raise the danger of a military-police dictatorship set up by Heath in place of his defeated Parliamentary regime.

Harold Wilson's Labour Party has entered this campaign without any policy to meet these dangers which flow from the breakup of capitalism in Britain. His election slogan "Back To Work With Labour" shows that Wilson plans to carry out the policies of Heath if elected.

The only program which can defend the interests of the working class is one which demands the nationalization of all basic industry under workers control as the foundation of a planned economy. All the banks, food concerns, and building corporations must also be nationalized.

The decisive task in Britain today is the construction of a revolutionary leadership to unite the working class around such a program. The national conference of the All Trades Unions Al-



Vanessa Redgrave.

liance—industrial arm of the WRP—on February 24 will be crucially important in building this leadership.

Developments in Britain have the greatest significance for American workers. It is the crisis of American capitalism that is the heart of the international crisis. The truckers strike has demonstrated that a powerful movement of workers in this country will take place under conditions of revolutionary struggle in Britain.

At the same time, the call-up of the National Guard against the truckers and the use of the FBI clearly reveals that Nixon is following Heath in preparing massive repression against the working class as it moves in defense of its living standards and basic rights.

British workers have shown that the working class has the power to force the capitalist government out, and that the central question in taking political power is the construction of a revolutionary leadership.

The full strength of the American working class must now be mobilized to force the resignation of Nixon in order to defend its basic rights.

This requires the preparation of a general strike to force Nixon's resignation and new elections and the calling of a Congress of Labor to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies that can stop inflation, unemployment, and all attacks on democratic rights.

We urge all workers to carry forward the fight for these policies by joining the Workers League

# **Bulletin Monthly Fund** \$2200 Needed

This week \$750.28 was received for the February Special Monthly Fund for \$5000, giving us a grand total of \$1271.55. While this is an improvement over the slow start in

While this is an improvement over the slow start in February, we are now in a critical position. We must raise \$2200 this coming week to bring the grand total to \$3400, in order to complete the drive on time.

Outside of New York, only a few branches are campaigning to raise money. The Bay Area sent in \$137.50 and Chicago, \$40. But 12 branches sent in no money at all.

We can see what is possible by the work of the New York branches last Saturday. The Bulletin received a tremendous response in communities and shopping areas—over \$100 was raised in one day. During the week, the campaign continued, on street corners and visiting subscribers. In one week, Bedford-Stuyvesant raised \$76.40; East New York, \$62; and Queens \$62

Fund-raising campaigns must begin immediately in every branch.