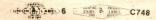
Twice-Weekly Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League

**VOLUME TEN NUMBER NINETY SIX 432** 

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1974



TWENTY CENTS

# **NEW YORK CITY** LABOR COUNCIL **MUST CALL**

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE NEW YORK, NY-The slashing of over 7,300 additional workers from the city payrolls by January 1 requires immediate action by the city labor movement.

Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame intends to destroy the jobs of city workers as the answer to a budget deficit that could reach a billion dollars by June 30.

The cuts are the most massive to hit the workers of New York since the Great Depres-

The jobs of 2,200 civil service workers will be axed, including 232 sanitationmen and 150 fire-

Another 1,525 provisional workers will be fired, along with 1,950 tenured teachers.

In addition, 2,700 workers will be forced to retire by June 30, and the city will hire 875 fewer substitute teachers per day.

Big business is demanding the destruction of jobs and the complete dismantling of social services in New York. If the largest city in the United States can be turned into an economic disaster area, the same fate is in store for every other city and town in this country.

New York has been bankrupted by the soaring interest rates it must pay to the bankers and investors who have financed city operations through loans and bonds.

#### **DEVASTATION**

The policies which led to this devastation will be continued by the government. It was reaffirmed by President Ford in a speech to leaders of the business world December 12 when he said no antirecession programs would be introduced even though "the economy is in difficult straits.

"In short, I am saying that insofar as I can prevent it, the fundamental rules of the economic game are not going to be changed...either in the short or long haul."

The money that is feeding into the fat accounts of the bankers every month is being stolen from vital public services.

The city admits that the cutback in available substitute teachers will mean a vicious "anti-absenteeism" campaign against teachers. Students in teacherless classrooms will be randomly parceled out to other rooms.

Adult public education programs will be sharply cut back, while the City University of New York will lose 200 staff members in addition to the \$10.8 million budget cut already assessed to it.

From the Health Services, 162 workers are to be cut; 23 daycare centers will close; libraries and museums will lose 200 staff

#### **DEMONSTRATIONS**

City workers' families will not accept this destruction. Thousands have already turned out for protest demonstrations against the fire department and CUNY cutbacks. Motions for consideration of strike action have been passed by at least two unions, Local 371, Social Service Employees and Local 983 Motor Vehicle Operators.

The leaders of the city unions must be held responsible for these attacks on jobs. To a man, they supported the election of Beame as the man who could solve New York's financial crisis. To a man, they have conducted meeting after meeting with Beame, who told reporters that the staff cuts had been made in consultation with the union heads.

Uniformed Firefighters' head John Vizzini has campaigned for layoffs, as long as they do not include his men. The same position is put forward by members of the Professional Staff Congress at CUNY.

Albert Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers called the cuts "intolerable," but pledged cooperation with the drive against absenteeism.

At the meeting, DC 37 head Victor Gotbaum and John DeLury, president of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association, are expected to discuss a proposal for city workers to take unpaid furloughs, as they were forced to do during the depression, or work without pay at least one day per week.

The December 12 New York Times, calling the layoffs "a painful but necessary response," demands that workers give up their grossly inadequate eight percent raises and goes on to propose: "Payless work days-not one a year, as some unionists are suggesting, but one a month or even a week..."

There must be an immediate end to the conferences with Beame. These trade union leaders have no mandate to negotiate the terms of these layoffs.

Every city local must demand a massive mobilization of the entire New York City labor movement in defense of every

The Central Labor Council must call for a massive demonstration against the cuts.

Hospital workers, sanita-tionmen, firemen, DC 37 members, and every worker in

(Continued On Page 11)



Mass demonstration of New York City firemen at City Hall against the budget cuts

This is the final week of our fund campaign. Every attention must now be given to ensure this fund goal of \$50,000 is completed on time.

We have \$37,094.25 towards our goal. There has been a big response in many areas over the recent weeks. Last week, \$6,448.57 was received.

Over the recent weeks, public meetings of the Workers League and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party have raised hundreds of dollars. In the Bay Area, we raised \$160; Los Angeles, \$110; Minneapolis, \$75; and Chicago, \$100. These meetings are continuing. In San Jose, a very successful fair raised \$755 for the fund.

In addition, we wish to thank the reader in Dallas, Texas for sending \$25, a reader in San Francisco for \$50, and one in New Jersey for \$66.

Because of the support from our readers and supporters, we were able to send two teams to the mines in West Virginia during the recent strike. The Bulletin was very well received, laying a base for building the Workers League and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in this vital industry.

The decisive question now is the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the working class to lead the fight

against the layoffs and the plans of this government to destroy the very right to live. We have seen the importance of the Bulletin as our main weapon in leading these struggles.

We cannot allow this Fund to fall back. We must raise close to \$13,000 in the next week. We cannot stress too much the necessity of reaching our target.

We urge every supporter, reader, and member to go into action now to see to it that we go way over the top. We have every confidence that we can do this. Mail all donations to: Labor Publications, 135 W. 14th Street, New York, N.Y. 10001.

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A General Strike in Spain involving 50,000 workers has broken out in the northern provinces of Navarre and Gui-**DUZCOA** 

The strikes, which are illegal, are in response to the hunger strike of 150 members of the illegal Basque nationalist organization ETA which began on November 25. Police reinforcements were moved into the capital cities, San Sebastian and Pampiona, to break the strikes.

Political prisoners, shopkeepers, and students have joined the strike movement. A demonstration of students in San Sebastian was recently broken up by police. The ETA prisoners are demanding amnesty for all political prisoners in

In Valladolid, north of Madrid, 13,000 car workers struck the Rasa-Renault plant. The work stoppages and strike finally resulted in a running battle between the strike leaders and riot police. The leaders were arrested and the men were locked out

In Barcelona, 26 workers were arrested for trying to organize a general strike in Catalonia. The SEAT auto plant in Barcelona, the largest in the country, has been the scene of occupations and demonstrations by 16,000 workers fighting against short-time, lockouts, and victimizations.

Bank workers in both Madrid and Barcelona have staged lightning strikes in the last month for pay demands.

The Portuguese government, with the full support of the Stalinists, whose leader Cunhal is a minister, banned a demonstration organized by the Portuguese Society of Authors in solidarity with Spanish political prisoners.



Dayan meets with Israeli generals.

# General Strike In Spain | Srae Plots **Nuclear War**

BY FRANK MARTIN

The Palestine Liberation Organization has blamed Israeli agents for the firing of eight rockets into PLO headquarters in Beirut, Lebanon on Tuesday.

The rockets, fired in two separate salvos, completely wrecked the offices.

This murderous attack set the background for the Washington talks held by Israeli foreign minister Yigal Allon with Ford and Kissinger. The main point on the agenda was the Zionists new war preparations in the Middle East.

On December 3, Israeli President Ephraim Katzir told American and European science journalists that the Zionists have nuclear weapons and are prepared to use them in a new war.

"It has always been our intention to provide the potential for nuclear weapons development.

"We now have that potential. We will defend this country with all possible means at hand.

'We have to develop more powerful and new arms to protect ourselves."

This was followed the next day by a statement from former Defense Minister Moshe Dayan to the effect that nuclear warfare "should not be eliminated in envisaging future wars in the Middle East.'

#### **NUCLEAR**

Israeli Premier Rabin said: We must know that under certain circumstances, there is no avoiding war.'

Israel has had nuclear reactors in operation for at least 10 years. One is located near Dinona, in the Negev Desert, and the other is at Nahal Sorek near Ashdod. Israel has never signed the nuclear nonproliferation treaty.

It has been thought up to now that the major problem facing the Zionists was their ability to accurately shoot their nuclear

weapons. But the London paper, the Guardian, quoted Katzir as stating that Israel could convert nuclear capability into fact "in a short time-even a few days.'

The Zionists' nuclear threat brings in a whole new element into their latest war preparations in the Middle East. Katzir sought to justify it by stating: ... The withdrawal of support by countries formerly friendly to Israel simply because of their vulnerability to an oil embargo, and the incredible UNESCO decision to expel Israel under pressures that were falsely based, signalled the beginning of an attempt by the Middle Eastern countries to destroy western civilization.'

This is a fraudulent attempt to cover for the naked aggression of US and Zionist imperialism against the Palestinian and Arab

By publicizing their nuclear capacity, the Zionists are also answering those inside the US ruling class circles, like General George Brown, who are prepared to abandon the Zionists in favor of a deal with the Arab bourgeois rulers against the Arab masses. The Zionists are declaring that they are prepared to go it alone and risk world war to defend their imperialist interests.

Rabin warned the Americans: "But this does not mean that this body (the Americans) has the ability to dictate to us.'

#### **FORTIFICATIONS**

The Israelis have strengthened their fortifications along the Golan Heights in occupied Syrian territory and have shored up their positions in the Sinai, despite recent offers by Rabin of territorial concessions to Egypt in exchange for a deal.

Rabin has stated categorically that he will refuse to hand over control of the Mitla and Gidi passes in the Sinai's central mountain range. This is less than 30 miles from the Suez



Moshe Davar

The Zionists also have no intention of surrendering the Sinai's oil fields in Abu Rodeis, which supply 60 percent of Israel's oil needs. In other words, the Zionists have no intention of surrendering anything voluntarily to the Arabs.

All this sets the stage for a new Middle East conflict. But the greatest danger facing the Arab masses is the continued collaboration of their leaders, backed by the Soviet Union, with Kissinger and American imperialism. President Sadat of Egypt has indicated he is willing to accept a separate deal with the Zionists.

At the same time, Sadat is calling for the reopening of the Geneva conference on the Middle East. It was this conference that in the past opened the door to new Zionist aggression.

Latest reports indicate that the PLO is also directly in contact with the US.

The Soviet Union, especially since the Vladivostok summit with Ford, has been the most enthusiastic supporter of the Geneva conference. In extending its policy of detente into the Middle East, it has cut down arms shipments to the Arab

Thus the Arab nationalist leaders and the Soviet Stalinists play directly into the hands of Kissinger and Ford who are prepared to go to war against the Arab masses to defend their oil supply.

Only a revolutionary policy in the Middle East aimed at smashing the Zionist state. restoring the Palestinians to their conquered lands, and uniting Israeli and Arab workers and peasants, can stop the war aims of imperialism in the

## SPECULATORS SET FOR NEW YEAR'S GOLD RUSH

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

On January 6, the US Treasury will release two million troy ounces of gold for auction.

This is an emergency stopgap measure designed to dampen the impact of the American gold rush which will begin on December 31 when US citizens will be permitted to buy, sell, and hold gold.

American gold ownership has been banned for 41 years. The Congress has only taken the step of removing this restriction under pressure from important sections of the capitalist class determined to protect themselves from the recession by speculating in gold.

For months, the price of gold in the European markets has been rising in anticipation of a huge influx of American buyers. The treasury move was calculated to drive down the price, but after an initial fall, gold has begun to rise again to a price now approaching \$180 an ounce.

With the dollar as the cornerstone of international trade and the American gold hoard down to little more than \$10 billion at the \$42.22 official price, the American ruling class has a vested interest in demonetarizing gold.

US Treasury Secretary Simon

has proclaimed that the steps to legalize American ownership and to sell off treasury supplies are part of a plan to reduce gold to "soybean status" treated as any other commodity.

But there is not the slightest chance of accomplishing this. With inflation out of control and every paper currency continually depreciating, there will now be big movements by US speculators, businesses, and banks to unload dollars for the yellow metal.

#### **INSATIABLE**

The American gold hoard is only 276 million ounces. To sell two million ounces is one thing, but to continue to release these supplies to feed the insatiable appetites of the oil sheiks, panicked businessmen, and other speculators is quite another.

Already, Arthur Burns, Federal Reserve board chairman, has sounded the alarm in testimony before Congress last Thursday.

Burns warned that private trading in gold will "complicate a financial situation that is already beset by strains and stresses.'

He predicted that an "uncomfortably large sum" of money will be pulled out of stocks, savings banks, and other assets to buy gold. The withdrawal of these funds threatens disruption to credit markets just at the point that the economy is reeling into a slump and will serve to open up wild speculation in the gold market.

Burns also warned that although he supported the two million ounce sale, gold was by no means finished as a monetary asset and "it would hardly be desirable to dispose of any sizable part of our reserve assets.'

The American decision in the late 1960s to suspend gold convertibility of foreign held dollars led to the free gold market.

On August 15, 1971, when the dollar was taken off the gold standard entirely, the present inflationary orgy began with confidence in all paper currencies collapsing.

The American capitalists have neither the desire nor the ability to restore the old gold convertability system. Instead, they are signalling their intention of getting into the speculation in a massive way.

Every reduction in the American gold supply must undermine confidence in paper money. In addition, a big outflow of dollars to pay for gold purchases will add to the American payments



deficit and increase speculation against the dollar.

Predictions of an ever-widening recession are now nearly universal. The stock market is well below 600. The moves toward trade war with Europe and Japan and hot war in the Middle East are barely disguised.

Under these conditions, gold must become an even greater lure to the investor as the only reliable store of value.

The latest moves toward gold are a sign that the capitalists are able to do nothing to resolve the crisis and panic shattering their system.

THE BULLETIN, Twice-weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Seventh Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York NY 10011. Published twice-weekly except the last week of December and the last week of August. Editorial and Business offices. 135 W. 14th St., New York NY 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subcsubscription rates: USA-1 year, \$8.00; 6 months, \$4.00; 3 months, \$2.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK NY Printed in USA.

# FIREMEN RALLY AGAINST LAYOFFS

BY A REPORTER NEW YORK, NY—Over 4,000 people rallied at City Hall December 10 to protest plans to disband eight fire companies and several support units and to fire at least 150 firefighters.

The rally was called by the Uniformed Firefighters Association. It got wide support from firemen, their families, and residents of the areas that will be left without adequate fire protection. This was the first city hall rally to protest the crippling budget cuts and firings announced by Mayor Beame at the end of November.

Firefighters told the Bulletin that their main concern was the increasing rate of fire deaths. During the past eight years, the average number of citizen deaths by fire has risen from 173 to 279

Over the past year, 70 civilians have been killed and over 2,000 civilians and firefighters injured in fires in areas where companies were disbanded during a previous round of budget cuts.

Firemen are also angry about department decisions to take a brand new ambulance off the road, discontinue a field communication unit, and disband the safety battalion that has been responsible for checking all department equipment

In addition, two fireboats are to be discontinued and sevenman operation of engines in the Bronx will be ended.

Engines are already forced to run with five and six-man crews everywhere but the Bronx, since the adoption of "rapid water" several years ago. Department officials claim that fewer are needed since the chemical additive allows the use of lighter Firefighters say the use of rapid water actually requires the same size crews since the nozzle is harder to control and the smaller hoses are more subject to kinking which causes an abrupt cutoff of water and endangers their lives.

#### 1938

Firemen told the Bulletin that the fire department staff today is at the same level as 1938. Now Beame proposes to cut fire-fighters, while calls are coming in at 360,000 a year compared to the 1938 rate of 7,500 a year.

In South Brooklyn, 73-year old Frances Lofassa said that the fire house in her neighborhood was just opened eight months ago. "It cost three million dollars and took years to build. Now, they will close it.

"It's the most foolish thing Beame has done. We need that protection. There are many houses, but also restaurants and factories and garages that are a fire hazard in our neighborhood."

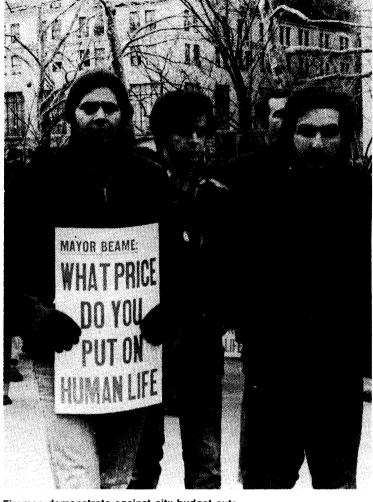
Robert Gollman, from Engine Co. 256, said: "The rich people don't have such a problem with fires, their houses are built to protect them. The service cuts Beame is proposing are going to affect those who need it the most, the poor."

Tom Mundy, of Engine Co. 26 in Harlem pointed out that his unit had backed up Co. 91-2, in East Harlem, which will also be cut. "East and West Harlem are going to notice a big difference because when they call the company, we won't be there. That's about 5,000 times a year when there will be delays."

"As far as I'm concerned, they're not going to take our fire houses and they're not going to take my job."

"If this demonstration doesn't do something, I'm counting on my union to take further action," a Brooklyn fireman said

But the answer of UFA President Richard Vizzini could be



Firemen demonstrate against city budget cuts.

read on the printed signs at the rally, which said: "Budget Cuts, Yes—Firemen, No."

Vizzini planned the protest to provide a platform for local politicians, whose "solutions" included foisting the budget cuts onto a different section of city workers or cutting salaries throughout the city work force in place of layoffs, a proposal now being seriously considered by the Beame administration.

Vizzini has made it clear that he stands with the leaders of every city workers' union in his refusal to fight for the defense of every city job and full city services.

Just when the entire city labor movement can be mobilized in a

powerful fight against the Beame administration, Vizzini helps Beame to split sections of city workers.

At the same time, he urges the firefighters to rely on the very politicians who are engineering the cutbacks and engineered the probation terms that could send Vizzini to jail if the firefighters strike against the cuts.

It is only the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party that is campaigning throughout the city work force for strike action to defend jobs and services and for the construction of a labor party to unite the entire working class against the Democrats and Republicans

# Money Talks, Rocky Walks

BY A REPORTER

The Senate confirmed the nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller as vice-president on Tuesday by a vote of 90-7.

This puts Rockefeller halfway towards his goal of becoming vice-president. The House of Representatives votes on the nomination next week and is expected to confirm it by an equally large margin.

The liberals in the Senate, including Edward Kennedy, gave the nomination unreserved support. The major opposition came from the right wing of the Republican Party led by Barry Goldwater from Arizona.

James Buckley from New York, another notorious right-winger, voted for the confirmation, and said this "should not be construed as being in favor of Rockefeller as vice-president, but rather I find there's no disqualification."

Both Rockefeller and Ford were jubilant. They met in New York the day of the vote and went to a meeting of Rockefeller's National Commission on Critical Choices for Americans.

It is expected that once Rockefeller is confirmed, he will not play second fiddle to Ford. Indeed, it may well work the other way around.

Already, Ron Nessen, Ford's press secretary, announced that Rockefeller's commission will continue to function after the confirmation, probably in a semiofficial capacity. The commission is made up of right-wing academics and corporation representatives who have been bought off by Rockefeller for years. It includes: William Ronan of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, whom Rockefeller gave \$650,000; John Foster, in charge of the energy department of the huge TRW Inc.; George D. Woods, former head of the World Bank; and Hans Mark, director of Ames Laboratories.

Rockefeller now enters the government as the bankers' representative. He will be responsible for leading the assault on the basic rights of every worker in this country.

That he has gone unopposed by liberal Democrats shows these people stand in the same camp as Rockefeller. They are lining up behind him in order to defend the profits of their class against the working class.

# **Basic Rights Under Attack In England**

#### BY A CORRESPONDENT

The machinery of the police state is being set into motion by Britain's Labor Party government in order to arm the capitalists for all-out war against the working class.

American workers should believe none of the news reports which claim that the laws recently passed in Britain are aimed at stopping bombings attributed—without a shred of firm evidence—to the Irish Republican Army.

The defeated Tory government drew up these laws more than one year ago and the Labor Party has been anxiously waiting for the best moment to introduce them.

The announcement December 10 that the Persian Gulf oil-producing states are no longer willing to accept sterling as payment for oil drove the British pound to historic lows.

Saudi Arabia's declaration that it does not "desire" further payment in sterling means that Britain is considered bankrupt by the international business community.

It is this catastrophic economic situation that is the driving

force behind the government's drive to establish the legal framework for a police state.

So extensive are the powers given to the police that even bourgeois legal experts have expressed alarm that the oldest of legal guarantees, the right of habeas corpus granted by the Magna Carta of 1215, may be threatened. Habeas corpus established the legal principle that an individual is innocent until proven guilty and that one must be informed of the crime for which one has been arrested within 24 hours and given a public hearing.

The National Council for Civil Liberties stated that the new law allows people "no legal rights at all."

Workers Press, organ of the Workers Revolutionary Party, outlined the functioning of the new law:

"Homes are raided indiscriminately without warning and men and women are dragged into police cells without charge. The present number of detainees is 40.

"Police are not obliged to reveal names, addresses, or circumstances of arrest. The whole operation takes place under a blanket of secrecy.

"Those detained are denied any access to the outside world. Not only are relatives refused visits, but lawyers are denied access to people who may be accused of murder or conspir-

acy or any other charge that the police care to eventually lay.

"Even when they appear in court, the detainee's name and address need not be given...

"This legislation establishes the framework for police dictatorship. It is a major step towards bringing the Ulster regime to Britain."

The Tory Party has hailed the Laborites for introducing this law. The most reactionary elements in the ruling circles have been given a green light to step up their attacks on the basic rights of the working class.

This week, a debate on reintroducing the gallows will be held in Parliament.

The Labor Party, led by bankrupt reformists determined to save capitalism and make the working class pay for the crisis, is doing the dirty work of the Tories.

Their policies completely vindicate the warnings made by the Workers Revolutionary Party last February when Prime Minister Harold Wilson first took power that the Labor Party will prove to be a "Trojan Horse" for the Tories.

To defeat the reactionary program of the Laborites, the Workers Revolutionary Party is stepping up its drive to recruit thousands of workers.

subscribe now to the Twice-weekly <b>Bulletin</b>	□I would like information about the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party and the Workers League.
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# Press Witch-hunts Milk Drivers

Milk drivers stop scab truck from entering the Elmhurst Cream Co.

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE
NEW YORK, NY—
Three dairies returned
to full operations
December 11 as Teamster, industry and city
officials prepared to
ram through a sellout of
the week-long dairy
workers strike.

The dairies are now supplying milk to every hospital, nursing home, school, and day care center in the city under terms agreed to by Local 584 President John Kelly without consulting union members.

The ranks of Local 584 rejected a new contract offer by a two to one vote December 9, in spite of enthusiastic support for the pact from Kelly and IBT Vice-President Joseph Trerotele

The city immediately threatened moves to break the strike if deliveries to the schools and centers were not resumed. Mayor Beame prepared to

declare a state of "health emergency" in the city and allow delivery of milk from out of state dairies.

This threat was accompanied by the biggest antiunion campaign since the firefighter's strike in 1973. The press is glorifying families and shop owners who bring in milk from out of state, while the milk drivers are portrayed as violent and heartless men who are causing children to suffer.

The facts clearly establish who really deprives children of milk. In the first place, the federal government has virtually ended subsidies that used to pay for milk in the schools, and Ford now plans to cut back on food stamp programs that increase food supplies at home. In addition, the government refused to send in extra supplies of powdered milk that were expected by the board of education to replace fresh milk during the strike.

The city has allowed the sale of out of state milk, not certified as safe by health inspectors and not required to carry an expiration

The dairies have raked in profits by raising wholesale prices eight cents or more since Octo-

The 115 dairies that make up the Greater New York Milk Industry Labor Committee estimate they are losing \$1.2 million each day of the strike. The upstate farmers who provide the city's milk supply would have made less than a quarter of that

Dairylea, the biggest company in the industry group, has been hauled into court on criminal charges for adulterating virtually every one of its products over a five-year period.

Industry and government have united against the dairy workers. An editorial in the December 11 New York Post stated: "This is not an ordinary labor dispute.

"It involves a critical food commodity... There is no justification for prolonging this folly another day.

"Milk is perishable. So is the patience of the citizenry."

Bulletin reporters interviewed drivers and utility men at Elmhurst Cream Co., which brought milk in over the weekend anticipating a settlement. They attempted to provoke a battle between strikers, police, and scab truckers after the "no" vote.

Drivers are determined to defend the established commission system, which raises their take home pay whenever their route is extended or milk prices rise. They have the full backing of the inside utility men, who were angered by the bigger pay increase they were offered, in an attempt to split the local.

"We were stuck with a lousy contract last time," one driver said, "because Nixon slapped on a wage freeze just before it expired.

"This time they don't want to just freeze us, they want to cut us back. But we are not going to go back, no matter who says what.

"If we have to take on the government, we will, and your labor party sounds like a good way to do it."

The drivers said that the \$11 a week raise in their base pay would not even cover the tax raises in the last three years, much less living costs.

"I had to send my wife to work already to pay the bills, and pretty soon I'll have to send my kids out on paper routes or something so they can pay for their own milk."

Industry is demanding drastic productivity measures to prepare massive layoffs of drivers.

The dairies are demanding the right to make deliveries to small stores every other day and to introduce 24-foot trucks.

Tom, who has driven for Elmhurst since 1962, explained: "We now carry 350 to 400 cases of milk out each day.

"With the bigger trucks, that would go up to about 600, every one of them weighing 74 damn pounds.

"You have to understand that we don't have any time clock in

these trucks. If it's snowing, you can spend 20 hours on the road, but you better deliver every case. The new trucks would mean maybe 50 stops a day instead of 30."

The dairies are also demanding a revision of commission schedules that could cut take home wages by \$50 a week or more. Drivers now get 1.5 percent of the wholesale cost of their deliveries; those with a longer route get more pay.

They rejected industry demands to calculate commissions on new business at a fixed ceiling of 32¢, the October price.

"This is a money question, but it's a question of jobs, too," another driver said. "Since the lower price would only apply to new routes, they would reshuffle everything so they could cut back.

"You could find yourself with double the work you did in October, which is a slow month, and still taking home the same commission."

Faced with the betrayal of their local leadership, the ranks of Local 584 must demand support from the New York Central Labor Council and then force an emergency local meeting to insist that there be no compromise on the commission or productivity clauses.

At the same time, the fight must be begun for a congress of labor to construct a labor party to nationalize the dairy industry and all food and basic industries without compensation and under workers control.

# Guild Accepts 20% Pay Cut At Star-News

BY DAVID NORTH
WASHINGTON, DCLeaders of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild have accepted a 20 percent pay
cut for union members
and pledged an increase
in worker productivity
to stop layoffs planned
by the Washington StarNews

Editorial and business office employees will be going on a four day week at four days pay according to the terms of an agreement made with the newspaper.

Last month, the Star-News had threatened to dismiss 100 workers by early February. Management claimed that the layoffs were necessary because of losses exceeding \$15 million since 1970.

Rather than fighting these planned layoffs, leaders of Guild Local 35 proposed that the management accept the union offer of a four day week.

"We don't like doing this, but I think it's definitely the better way to go in the current economic situation," stated Mi-

chael Stewart, a local representative.

"This agreement gives the Star-News greater flexibility. The Guild and membership have agreed to greater productivity"

Stewart said that the four-day week "is basically an attempt to boost productivity."

The Star-News will continue to publish every day, and management is in the process of reorganizing the work schedule of every employee.

"The workers will now be doing in four days what they used to do in five days," said Stewart.

Union members voted 374 to 44 to accept the reduction in pay and working hours after the union leadership offered no alternative policy to defend jobs.

The action of the Guild leadership shows that the existing trade union leadership has no policy to meet the economic crisis except slashing the wages and working conditions of the ranks

The defense of jobs requires plant occupations and a political struggle centering on the building of a labor party to nationalize all newspapers and industry under workers control with no compensation

## **UAW Meeting Breaks Up In Uproar**

BY A REPORTER

DETROIT, Mich.—The December membership meeting of United Auto Workers Local 51 broke out in chaos when President Tony Janette and other officers stormed out of a meeting with a motion concerning the layoffs still on the floor.

Over 3,000 workers at the Mound Road engine plant and at the Lynch Road assembly plant are on permanent layoff.

At the December 8 meeting, Janette blocked a motion for the formation of an emergency unemployment committee which was supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Union movement and the United National Caucus.

tionalize all newspapers and industry under workers control with no compensation, The meeting showed the growing anger of auto workers at the refusal of the UAW leadership to take any action against the layoffs. But the proposal for unemployment committees offers no way out for auto workers who want to defend their jobs.

An unemployment committee, without a program to fight the layoffs, poses no alternative to Woodcock's bankrupt policies because it actually accepts lay-

It commits the union to only helping members collect unemployment benefits and food stamps. Even these meager benefits will run out and there is no guarantee the government will renew them.

The Maoists in the RU and the Stalinists in the Communist Party are in reality only proposing a protest against the layoffs. A CP supporter proposed a demonstration in Lansing to put pressure on the government.

These forces are united in their refusal to challenge Woodcock and to fight for alternative leadership. Neither RU nor the UNC will demand national strike action or raise the central political fight against the government that is required to defend jobs.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party in the UAW is demanding an emergency UAW conference to fight for a national auto strike to stop the layoffs.

At the same time, this will create the basis to throw out the entire 1973 three percent wage agreement and reopen a struggle on wages, job security and working conditions.

Auto workers, steel workers, miners and all those now being hit by the crisis must take the lead in the fight for a congress of labor to build a labor party.



Boston police officers, some mounted, pushing back crowds outside South Boston High School on Wednesday.

# **Labor Must Smash Racism**

BY FRED MAZELIS

A national "Freedom March for Human Dignity" will be held in Boston on December 14.

This demonstration takes place amid continuing tension and incidents of racial violence.

The school year in Boston began with weeks of bitter confrontations outside of schools as the federal desegregation order was implemented with the busing of black students into white neighborhoods.

While the racist agitation had fallen off in the last six weeks, it has been revived. The whipping up of the campaign against busing must be understood in the framework of the economic crisis and the class struggle. The source of racism is the capitalist system. The capitalists consciously seek to step it up as the crisis brings huge attacks on the living standards and basic rights of all workers.

Unemployment is growing and living conditions are deteriorating very rapidly in Boston, as everywhere else in the country. Shipbuilding, electronics, construction, and nearly every other industry has been hit by layoffs as spending for housing, education, and health care is cut back drastically and prices continue to rise at a record pace.

The racist antibusing campaign is not new in Boston. Most of the local Democratic politicians like Louise Day Hicks have built their entire careers around this single issue. But now, this campaign has been consciously brought to a fever pitch to divide workers, precisely as the economic crisis throws all workers into tremendous struggle.

The crisis also brings forward the opportunity to smash the racists through the united struggle of the working class against the attacks on its rights, a struggle which must be taken forward-politically by building a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans.

The only way to fight the racists is by taking a program of immediate action into the labor movement, in the fight against high prices, unemployment, and the cuts in social services.

From the very beginning of the struggle in Boston, the Bulletin fought for the labor movement to call a mass demonstration in defense of the students against the racists, unemployment, and police provocation and brutality.

We raised the demands of defense guards organized by the trade unions, massive aid to education, job training for all youth, jobs for all through the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, and the building of a labor party.

The December 14 march has absolutely nothing in common with this basic working class program. Instead, it will completely mislead any students or workers who are searching for a means to defeat the racists, the employers, and government which stands behind them.

This is a march against the workers of Boston which seeks to place the responsibility for racism on the working class itself.

The march was initiated by the newly elected Massachusetts Democratic State Senator, William Owens, a member of the Legislative Black Caucus. This capitalist politician has appealed to all "justice-loving people" to march behind a program which does not raise a single demand on behalf of any workers, black or white, but instead calls upon the government to protect the rights of the black school children

#### SOURCE

We are opposed to unity with the very source of racism: with big business and the Democratic Party. Their pious denunciations of racism are lies. Their policies are wage cutting, unemployment, and savage cuts in spending for education and other basic needs, which are responsible for the rise of racist agitation, endangering every worker. They stand with the Wallaces and every other capitalist politician who seeks to

pit white workers against black.

Within the working class movement, the trade union leaders are primarily responsible for the racist attacks on all workers. They refuse to mobilize their members against the conditions which leave them prey to the racist scum. Some of the union bureaucrats go so far as to openly support the racists. But all of them allow the racists to do their dirty work. The union officials, by refusing to channel the hatred of millions of workers against the Democratic Party into the building of a labor party, were responsible for Wallace's ability to build a serious base in the 1972 elections.

The trade union leaders who support the December 14 march oppose an economic and political struggle which would unite workers against the system.

This is not just some mistake: they stand with the capitalist system. They refuse to do anything about unemployment or inflation, as well as racism.

From the beginning of the Boston events, the Socialist Workers Party has placed itself at the service of the Democratic Party politicians.

The SWP revisionists have assumed political responsibility for this march. With their abstract call for "human dignity" and "justice," they are completely prostrate before the Justice Department of the capitalist state. The SWP has led the call for federal troops to occupy the working class neighborhoods of Boston.

#### OFFENSIVE

According to the SWP: "The situation in Boston constitutes an emergency for the entire black movement. The racists have gone on the offensive there and are continuing to mobilize... The events in Boston represent a new level in the attempt to revive a racist

counteroffensive against the demands of the black community in the US."

They see only the racist offensive and not the offensive by the entire working class which impels the capitalists and the government to unleash the racists. "The problem is that the white neighborhoods have certain privileges and the opponents of busing are saying that they intend to fight to keep from sharing these privileges with blacks."

The SWP claims that those who refuse to see that busing is "the main issue" are adapting to racism and the backwardness of white workers. But they completely agree with the most backward elements that the disgusting conditions in South Boston represent some kind of "privileges" which it is necessary to defend against the black workers. This represents nothing but complete arrogance and contempt for the working class.

On this demand that the working class pay for the crisis and sacrifice some of its "privileges," the SWP stands with the liberals.

#### PRESSURE

According to the SWP, the problem is that the ruling class is "biased in favor of the racists," that the racists are not a tool of the capitalist class. Instead, the government must be pressured to act against the racists, says the SWP, with demonstrations which "indicate to the ruling class that it will have to pay a heavy political price for going along with the racists."

In the idealist world inhabited by these renegades from Trotskyism, the actions of the capitalist state and the government stem not from the need for it to defend itself against the movement of the working class, but from the pressure of the forces of evil, the racists. They organize the broadest possible counterpressure, not wage a political struggle against the government.

Of course, if the government must be asked to detach itself from the racists, why can't it be demanded that it also take an independent stand against the employers? Why not go the whole hog and, together with the Stalinists, advocate support to the Democratic Party or at least to certain Democrats?

This is the outlook of the trade union leadership. As Trotsky pointed out in Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay, the bureaucracy contends for the cooperation of the capitalist state and is driven objectively into the arms of that state as the crisis deepens. The SWP begins with the same method. Its policy in Boston is part and parcel of its appeal to Ford to attend the inflation "summit" and its complete capitulation to the Miller bureaucracy in the recent miners' strike.

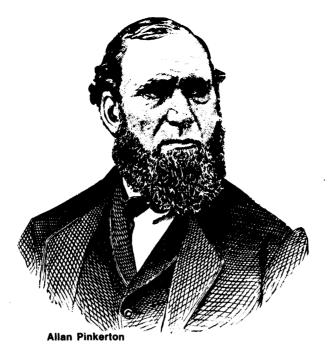
The working class can expect nothing but attacks from the government of the capitalists.

The concrete beginning steps taken by the Workers League and Young Socialists in Boston show the way forward. Thousands of workers were reached with a program to fight back. Hundreds were mobilized in their unions to demand that the Greater Boston Labor Council take action to defend students and workers against the racists, launch a fight for jobs, schools, and housing, and call for a congress of labor to build a labor party.

We have taken a stand on principles and we have taken this fight into the labor movement. The struggles of the working class, which will now grow very rapidly, will make it possible to isolate and smash the racists.

# The unity of the working class and the fight for a labor party

saturday, december 14 7:30 pm MIT student lounge cambridge, mass. workers league meeting







**Bulletin** 

Voting among Penns











Michael J. Doyle

# MOLLY

The miners today are at the forefront of the American working class as it enters battles with the government to defend its rights, working conditions, and trade unions.

A century ago, the miners, particularly in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania were also leading the struggle to organize against the brutal exploitation of the capitalist system, starting to mature into the massive industrial combines of today.

The great anthracite strike of 1875 which brought about the Molly Maguire frame up trials was a direct prelude to the massive general strike movement that swept the nation in 1877 as a result of the depression of 1873-1878.

In many ways, it can be considered the first modern strike in American history. Many of the methods later employed by the corporations to try to stop the great CIO movement were used against the miners of 1875. These methods will be revived and further developed by the employers today as they attempt to drive the working class back into semislavery.

The tremendous development of industry in the years immediately following the civil war led also to the formation of the trade unions. The American Civil War was one of the most critical turning points in world history. By destroying the system of chattel slavery in the South, the northern capitalists cleared away the last major obstacle to the development of modern industry.

The tremendous growth of industry that followed the war went far beyond the wildest expectations of everyone, including such infamous swindlers as Jay Gould, the gold speculator and railroad manipulator, and Jay Cooke, the banker.

It was the dawning of the age of the great robber barons, when corruption and graft completely dominated industry, finance, and especially politics.

When a judge scolded Cornelius Vanderbilt, owner of the New York Central Railroad and the richest man in the country, for plundering the country for his private profit, he replied: "Can't I do what I want with my own?"

It was dog eat dog, as the nation's rising capitalists competed for favors from the government and grabbed up as many markets as possible. By 1870, the centralization of industry in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania had placed most of the area's mines in the hands of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and its notorious president, Franklin B. Gowen.

Throughout these years, many workers, especially among the skilled trades, had attempted to build trade unions on a nationwide scale to fight for basic trade union rights such as the eight hour day. In 1866, the National Labor Union was formed under the leadership of an iron molder named William H. Sylvis, to advance this demand. The NLU was the first attempt to build a nationwide federation of trade unions and it grew rapidly in the late 1860s.

#### **IMMATURE**

However, it suffered from the weakness of an immature working class, which was just beginning to grope for methods of defending itself against the relentless exploitation of the all-powerful robber barons. It considered the eight-hour day a cure-all for the system itself, as did the middle class radicals of the day. It resisted Sylvis's attempt to fight for the organization of black workers in solidarity with their struggle for complete political freedom.

Upon Sylvis's death, it collapsed as spectacularly as it had grown, when it succumbed to Greenbackism, a utopian scheme to reform society through the massive circulation of worthless paper dollars.

The nation's miners had also attempted to form a nationwide union in this period. In 1861, the American Miners Association was formed in St. Louis, Missouri under the leadership of Daniel Weaver, a soft coal miner from Illinois who had played a revolutionary role in the Chartist movement in Britain before emigrating to America.

Many of the leaders of the early miners struggles had participated in the revolutionary movement of English workers which won many of the basic rights of trade unionism.

The American Miners Association grew very rapidly at first, as did the NLU.

However, since it was only loosely organized, it gradually dwindled, as its badly isolated local unions were crushed one after another. By 1868, it had all but disappeared.

The miners continued to organize local unions. In 1864, the Workingmen's Benevolent Society of Carbon County, Pennsyl-

vania, was formed.

In 1868, the local societies of the southern part of the Pennsylvania anthracite region were united to form the Workingmen's Benevolent Association of Schuylkill County John Siney, an Irish immigrant who had been a Chartist during the period in which he worked in the English mines, was its first president.

Earlier in the year, 20,000 anthracite miners had unsuccessfully staged a fourmonth strike in an effort to win an eighthour day. These men spent their whole life in the mines, from the day they were old enough to separate slate from coal as children until the day they died, old men capable of performing nothing more than minor chores. These men were to fight through countless strikes until they finally achieved the right to the union.

Although the leadership of the WBA favored arbitration and other measures of class collaboration, the union was forced to call a strike in the spring of 1869 when the pressure of the ranks had become unbearable. The WBA had already accepted the principle of the sliding scale of wages, which rose and fell according to the fluctuations of the price of coal. However, the price of coal was falling precipitously, so the miners demanded a basic rate below which wages could not fall.

The leadership attempted to call off the strike after only four weeks, but many miners stuck it out through August.

The strike was unsuccessful. However, a terrible disaster at the Avondale Mine in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania on Septem-

ber 6, 1869 became a rallying point which immediately brought thousands of new members into the union.

John Siney spoke to the thousands of miners from Luzerne and Schuylkill Counties who had gathered at the mine:

"Men if you must die with your boots on, die for your families, your homes, your country, but do not longer consent to die like rats in a trap for those who have no more interest in you than in the pick you dig with."

The miners powerful response to the union forced the operators to negotiations with Siney and on July 29, 1870, the first joint agreement was signed by the company and the WBA. The agreement fixed the details of the sliding wage scale including the basic rate. It also provided a clause which guaranteed that the operators could not fire a man for "actions or duties imposed upon him by the WBA."

This contract was short-lived. A four month strike in 1871 against wage cuts was betrayed by Siney who persuaded the men to return to work under an umpire's decision.

This time no contract was signed and the operators refused to deal with the WBA. However, the WBA continued to grow and joined in a call for a new national union of miners.

The Miners National Association of the USA was organized at a convention on October 13, 1873, in Youngstown, Ohio. It included delegates from Illinois, West Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana.

Siney was elected president and withdrew from the WBA to assume this post. He brought with him his methods of class compromise, and the new organization recommended arbitration as a better means of pursuing its aims than strikes.

This treacherous illusion was shattered when the post-civil war boom collapsed into the depression of 1873-1878. Huge fortunes were lost in this depression, such as that of Jay Cooke, a Philadelphian who had been the nation's most powerful banker. The col-

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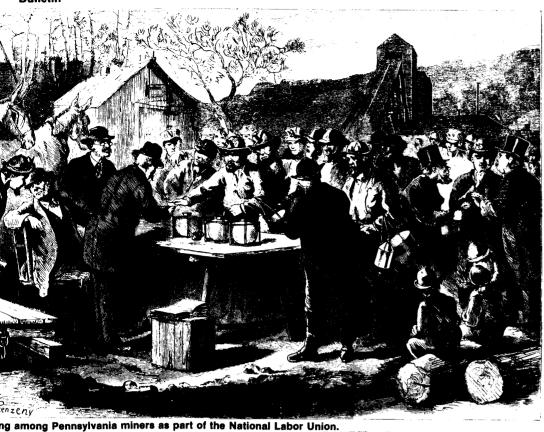
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Thomas Duffy saying goodbye to his family before being lynched as a "Molly Maguire.

by hal tanton

lapse of his bank signalled the beginning of the long depression, which strengthened the growing hold of the monopolies as thousands of smaller companies went bank-

By 1877, as many as three million workers, 20 percent of the work force, became unemployed. Most of those who remained at work were put on shorttime with drastic cuts in wages. Thirty national trade unions, including the MNA had existed in 1873, but by 1877, only eight or nine remained. The MNA was one of the

Such were the conditions under which Franklin B. Gowen, president of the Philadelphia and Reading RR and custodian of the company's anthracite monopoly, prepared his assault upon the WBA. He united with him all of the major coal companies that remained in the anthracite region into the Anthracite Board of Trade.

Under his leadership, they marshalled the power of the government, the press, the church, and their vast fortunes, for their attack. Millions of pounds of British money was also obtained from the banking houses of London for the struggle, as the British banking magnates had provided much of the capital for the development of the Philadelphia and Reading.

The Anthracite Board organized the Coal and Iron Police, an infamous private army which was despised by miners and steel workers throughout Pennsylvania for years

The coal operators were preparing to destroy the miners union and wipe out every last vestige of organized resistance to their

To prepare public opinion for his assault, Gowen created his "Molly Maguire conspiracy" myth. In reality, there was never any such organization in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania. There was a semisecret organization of

Irish miners known as the Ancient Order of Hibernians. This was a militant nationalist organization which had been formed in Ireland to resist the rule of British imperialism, and operated in strict secrecy.

When millions of Irishmen fled their country as a result of the great potato famine of 1845-1850, they reestablished this organization here. In America, the AOH for the most part strived for "respectability."

The national organization, with headquarters in New York, was controlled by Irish capitalists and middle class, along with the Catholic clergy. Thus, while they opposed British rule in Ireland, they fully supported capitalist rule in America and denounced and expelled the AOH organization in the anthracite region, where most of the members were miners.

In northeast Pennsylvania, most of the leaders and most militant fighters of the WBA were also members of the AOH. The AOH was the backbone of the union and became the main class struggle organization after the union was smashed in 1875.

The label "Molly Maguire" was also imported from Ireland. There, the English landlords used the epithet to describe a group of revolutionary Irish peasants who, in order to avoid identification, wore women's clothes during their attacks upon the landlords and their agents.

Gowen, in preparing one of the first witch-hunts against the labor movement, blamed the mythical organization for countless murders and incidents of violence which took place in the anthracite region during that period of intense class struggle.

The capitalist press fully supported his vicious slander and used it to whip up hysteria against not only the miners in the anthracite region, but any workers who fought back against the tyranny of the rob-

For instance, the New York Herald printed banner headlines in its May 7, and 8, 1876 issues claiming: "Dynamite Explosion; A Horrid Plot; The Explosion on Bergen's Heights Caused by Strikers; New Jersey Laborers Following the Methods of the Molly Maguires."

Within this atmosphere of middle class hysteria against the "Molly Maguires," the anthracite miners faced their decisive battle of 1875. They fought heroically, with great strength and determination. It took all of the resources of Gowen's anthracite Board of Trade with the full support of the press, church, and state to defeat their isolated union.

The great strike of 1875 was from the start a life or death struggle for miners and

The strike began spontaneously on January 1, 1875, a few weeks after the operators announced a 20 percent cut in wages. After the strike had begun, the WBA leaders denounced it, demanding "peaceful behavior" and legality.

On May, 1875, the Miner's National Record, official newspaper of the MNA declared: "We are bitter oponents of strikes, and can see a justification of them as a last resort only against pure and unadulterated oppression or injustice on the part of the employers of labor.'

The insistence upon legality was an especially treacherous betrayal by the union leadership. The miners and their leaders faced outright terror from the operators' hired killers. The government was preparing to declare the organization of unions

In Clearfield County in central Pennsylvania, the bituminous miners had struck for a 10 percent wage increase per ton. After three weeks, scabs were brought in with local authorities to protect them. John Siney and Xingo Parks, a field organizer of the MNA, were arrested and charged with conspiracy when they attempted to speak to the striking miners.

A few days later, on May 13, 26 other miners were arrested at Houtzdale, Pennsylvania, on the same charge. While Siney was conspicuously acquitted, Parks and the Houtzdale 26 were convicted of conspiracy and riot and each sentenced to one year in jail. In his charge to the jury during the trial of Siney and Parks, the judge told the court: "Any agreement, combination, or confederation to increase the price of any vendable commodity, whether labor, merchandise, or anything else is conspiracy."

In 1875, the only way that trade unionists could conduct themselves according to "legality" was by disbanding and dropping all resistance to the iron rule of the capital-

But the ranks were determined to defend themselves. As the strike dragged on, and the miners faced starvation, the union revised its wage demand to provide only for a union voice when their wages were to be lowered. The operators, however, steadfastly refused to negotiate anything at all.

After the crucial court test which outlawed trade unionism, the erstwhile advocates of "peaceful behavior" and legality on the MNA Executive Board issued this plea to their "officers, members, and other friends: Men of Pennsylvania, their fate today is your fate tomorrow. If these men are criminally guilty, so are you—so is every trade unionist in the land and they are few from the flock who are chosen, as expiation for the sins of the whole.

After five months on strike, the miners were desperate. They intensified the strike. On June 3, about a thousand men assembled at Glover's Hill in Shenandoah to march from colliery to colliery in an attempt to close the few mines remaining in operation.

The coal operators provided a force of 25 of the Coal and Iron Police armed with Winchesters to defend the mine opposite Glover's Hill, beating back the miner's attempt to shut the West Shenandoah Mine.

Rather than drop their fight, however, the miners regrouped on Glover's Hill and led by a drum corps, they marched on Mahanoy City, Pennsylvania, gathering force as they went.

After a brief shoot-out, the sheriff of Schuylkill County fled with his posse, and the miners controlled the town. They broke open the town jail, freeing many of their striking brothers, and closed all the mines

Only when the miners faced certain starvation did they finally succumb to the coal operators. Only the treachery of their own leadership and their isolation prevented them from achieving victory.

The defeat was a crushing one with catastrophic consequences. The miners, many of whom existed on the brink of starvation, were driven back into semifuedal conditions. Their leaders and militants were blacklisted and hounded from county to

Their determination to carry forward the struggle was never broken, however. Although, they could no longer fight openly

with a union, they continued the struggle underground through the Ancient Order of

Gowen knew that he could never completely crush the miners' resistance until he crushed the AOH. This is what led to the "Molly Maguire" frameup trials. He had prepared himself well for this task. Back in 1871-1872, Gowne had enlisted the services of Allan Pinkerton and his detective agency. With the incentive of an initial fee of \$100,000 under his belt, Pinkerton sent scores of spies and provocateurs into the anthracite region.

Pinkerton recruited his men from the slums and the ranks of the professional criminals. D.J. Brown, himself a former Pinkerton spy, described the operation and one recruit, a certain James McParlan, as follows: "McParlan used to be a uniformed watchman and, on account of his dexterity in opening doors, and making out imaginary reports, was picked out for the 'Molly Maguire' business.'

McParlan, a self-confessed murderer, who actually boasted that he had killed a man in Buffalo, New York, became Gowens star witness in many of the Molly Maguire trials.

When Pinkerton's agents were unable to invent any conspiracy, they often committed murders and other crimes themselves and blamed it on the miners.

The trials were carefully managed show trials. The outcome of each was predetermined, with Gowen himself acting as prosecutor for many of them.

The capitalist press had succeeded in creating a poisoned atmosphere which Gowen proudly described as "The name of a Molly Maguire being attached to a man's name is sufficient to hang him.

Most of the frame-up victims were not arrested until months or even years had passed since the alleged murder took place.

During the trials, the anthracite region was virtually under martial law. The state militia surrounded the court, along with the Coal and Iron Police. The jury was made up of well-to-do businessmen and some farmers. The prosecution appealed for solidarity among all property owners against the miners, and threatened open retaliation against anyone who would block a guilty vote.

General Albright, legal advisor for the coal companies and special prosecutor said: "If you disregard such testimony, you would be hooted and driven from the community. If they do not return a verdict of guilty in this case, it would result in the formation of vigilance committees and a resort to the 'Lynch Law'.''

Meanwhile, the Catholic Church publicly denounced and excommunicated all members of the AOH in the anthracite region. Gowen used this vicious attack on the part of Archbishop Wood of Philadelphia with great effect during the trials.

Such vicious methods were necessary for Gowen, as the actual evidence was entirely fabricated. McParlan provided the key evidence for most of the cases, and his testimony was in all cases hearsay. McParlan often claimed to have been informed of the crimes by the accused miners after they had personally committed them. Yet in the trials themselves, witness after witness refused to identify any miners as guilty.

According to official records, 19 were executed as a result of the trials.

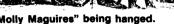
The executions themselves were treated with great fanfare by the capitalist press, which rejoiced in the slaughter of the militant miners.

On one occasion, a group of young girls, dressed in their finest clothes with parasols and ribbons, traveled over 20 miles with several Presbyterian ministers to view the executions.

But the victory of the coal barons was short-lived. No sooner had 17 executions been completed in June, 1877, than the entire working class of the nation arose during the great railroad strike of 1877.

The heroic struggles of the "Molly Maguire" martyrs laid the foundations for the building of the United Mine Workers. They wrote the first chapter in the long history of grim and bloody battles against the coal bosses and government waged by coal miners in the ensuing decades to build their union.

As miners today enter into decisive struggles to defend the UMW, these great traditions are trampled upon by Arnold Miller who works hand-in-glove with the government. The policies of collaboration with Ford and the employers must be fought through the building of a revolutionary leadership in the UMW.















# MOLLY MAGUIRES which won many of the basic rights of trade

The miners today are at the forefront of the American working class as it enters battles with the government to defend its rights, working conditions, and trade unions.

A century ago, the miners, particularly in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania were also leading the struggle to organize against the brutal exploitation of the capitalist system, starting to mature into the massive industrial combines of today.

The great anthracite strike of 1875 which brought about the Molly Maguire frame up trials was a direct prelude to the massive general strike movement that swept the nation in 1877 as a result of the depression of

In many ways, it can be considered the first modern strike in American history. Many of the methods later employed by the corporations to try to stop the great CIO movement were used against the miners of 1875. These methods will be revived and further developed by the employers today as they attempt to drive the working class back into semislavery

The tremendous development of industry in the years immediately following the civil war led also to the formation of the trade unions. The American Civil War was one of the most critical turning points in world history. By destroying the system of chattel slavery in the South, the northern capitalists cleared away the last major obstacle to the development of modern industry.

The tremendous growth of industry that followed the war went far beyond the wildest expectations of everyone, including such infamous swindlers as Jay Gould, the gold speculator and railroad manipulator, and Jay Cooke, the banker.

It was the dawning of the age of the great robber barons, when corruption and graft completely dominated industry, finance, and especially politics.

When a judge scolded Cornelius Vanderbilt, owner of the New York Central Railroad and the richest man in the country, for plundering the country for his private profit, he replied: "Can't I do what I want with my own?

It was dog eat dog, as the nation's rising capitalists competed for favors from the government and grabbed up as many markets as possible. By 1870, the centralization of industry in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania had placed most of the area's mines in the hands of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and its notorious president, Franklin B. Gowen.

Throughout these years, many workers, especially among the skilled trades, had attempted to build trade unions on a nationwide scale to fight for basic trade union rights such as the eight hour day. In 1866. the National Labor Union was formed under the leadership of an iron molder named William H. Sylvis, to advance this demand. The NLU was the first attempt to build a nationwide federation of trade unions and it grew rapidly in the late 1860s.

#### **IMMATURE**

However, it suffered from the weakness of an immature working class, which was just beginning to grope for methods of defending itself against the relentless exploitation of the all-powerful robber barons. It considered the eight-hour day a cure-all for the system itself, as did the middle class radicals of the day. It resisted Sylvis's attempt to fight for the organization of black workers in solidarity with their struggle for complete political freedom.

Upon Sylvis's death, it collapsed as spectacularly as it had grown, when it succumbed to Greenbackism, a utopian scheme to reform society through the massive circulation of worthless paper dollars.

The nation's miners had also attempted to form a nationwide union in this period. In 1861. the American Miners Association was formed in St. Louis, Missouri under the leadership of Daniel Weaver, a soft coal miner from Illinois who had played a revolutionary role in the Chartist movement in Britain before emigrating to America.

Many of the leaders of the early miners struggles had participated in the revolutionary movement of English workers The American Miners Association grew

very rapidly at first, as did the NLU. However, since it was only loosely organized, it gradually dwindled, as its badly isolated local unions were crushed one after another. By 1868, it had all but disap-

The miners continued to organize local unions. In 1864, the Workingmen's Benevolent Society of Carbon County, Pennsylvania, was formed.

In 1868, the local societies of the southern part of the Pennsylvania anthracite region were united to form the Workingmen's Benevolent Association of Schuylkill County. John Siney, an Irish immigrant who had been a Chartist during the period in which he worked in the English mines, was its first president.

Earlier in the year, 20,000 anthracite miners had unsuccessfully staged a fourmonth strike in an effort to win an eight hour day. These men spent their whole life in the mines, from the day they were old enough to separate slate from coal as children until the day they died, old men capable of performing nothing more than minor chores. These men were to fight through countless strikes until they finally achieved the right to the union.

Although the leadership of the WBA favored arbitration and other measures of class collaboration, the union was forced to call a strike in the spring of 1869 when the pressure of the ranks had become unbearable. The WBA had already accepted the principle of the sliding scale of wages which rose and fell according to the fluctuations of the price of coal. However, the price of coal was falling precipitously, so the miners demanded a basic rate below

which wages could not fall. The leadership attempted to call off the strike after only four weeks, but many miners stuck it out through August.

The strike was unsuccessful. However, a terrible disaster at the Avondale Mine in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania on September 6, 1869 became a rallying point which immediately brought thousands of new members into the union.

John Siney spoke to the thousands of miners from Luzerne and Schuylkill Counties who had gathered at the mine:

"Men if you must die with your boots on, die for your families, your homes, your country, but do not longer consent to die like rats in a trap for those who have no more interest in you than in the pick you dig with.'

The miners powerful response to the union forced the operators to negotiations with Siney and on July 29, 1870, the first ioint agreement was signed by the company and the WBA. The agreement fixed the details of the sliding wage scale including the basic rate. It also provided a clause which guaranteed that the operators could not fire a man for "actions or duties imposed upon him by the WBA."

This contract was short-lived. A four month strike in 1871 against wage cuts was betraved by Siney who persuaded the men to return to work under an umpire's de-

This time no contract was signed and the operators refused to deal with the WBA. However, the WBA continued to grow and joined in a call for a new national union of

The Miners National Association of the USA was organized at a convention on October 13, 1873, in Youngstown, Ohio. It included delegates from Illinois, West Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana

Siney was elected president and withdrew from the WBA to assume this post. He brought with him his methods of class compromise, and the new organization recommended arbitration as a better means of pursuing its aims than strikes

This treacherous illusion was shattered when the post-civil war boom collapsed into the depression of 1873-1878. Huge fortunes were lost in this depression, such as that of Jay Cooke, a Philadelphian who had been the nation's most powerful banker. The collapse of his bank signalled the beginning of the long depression, which strengthened the growing hold of the monopolies as thousands of smaller companies went bank-

By 1877, as many as three million workers, 20 percent of the work force, became unemployed. Most of those who remained at work were put on shorttime with drastic cuts in wages. Thirty national trade unions, including the MNA had existed in 1873, but by 1877, only eight or nine remained. The MNA was one of the

Such were the conditions under which Franklin B. Gowen, president of the Philadelphia and Reading RR and custodian of the company's anthracite monopoly, prepared his assault upon the WBA. He united with him all of the major coal companies that remained in the anthracite region into the Anthracite Board of Trade.

Under his leadership, they marshalled the power of the governmen the press the church, and their vast fortunes, for their attack. Millions of pounds of British money was also obtained from the banking houses of London for the struggle, as the British banking magnates had provided much of the capital for the development of the Philadelphia and Reading

The Anthracite Board organized the Coal and Iron Police, an infamous private army which was despised by miners and steel workers throughout Pennsylvania for years to come.

The coal operators were preparing to destroy the miners union and wipe out every last vestige of organized resistance to their

To prepare public opinion for his assault. Gowen created his "Molly Maguire conspiracy" myth. In reality, there was never any such organization in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania.

There was a semisecret organization of Irish miners known as the Ancient Order of Hibernians. This was a militant nationalist organization which had been formed in Ireland to resist the rule of British imperialism, and operated in strict secrecy. When millions of Irishmen fled their

country as a result of the great potato famine of 1845-1850, they reestablished this organization here. In America, the AOH for the most part strived for "respectability." The national organization, with head-

quarters in New York, was controlled by Irish capitalists and middle class, along with the Catholic clergy. Thus, while they opposed British rule in Ireland, they fully supported capitalist rule in America and denounced and expelled the AOH organization in the anthracite region, where most of the members were miners.

In northeast Pennsylvania, most of the leaders and most militant fighters of the WBA were also members of the AOH. The AOH was the backbone of the union and became the main class struggle organization after the union was smashed in 1875.

The label "Molly Maguire" was also imported from Ireland. There, the English group of revolutionary Irish peasants who, in order to avoid identification, wore women's clothes during their attacks upon the landlords and their agents.

Gowen, in preparing one of the first witch-hunts against the labor movement, blamed the mythical organization for countless murders and incidents of violence which took place in the anthracite region during that period of intense class struggle.

The capitalist press fully supported his vicious slander and used it to whip up hysteria against not only the miners in the anthracite region, but any workers who fought back against the tyranny of the robber barons.

For instance, the New York Herald printed banner headlines in its May 7, and 8. 1876 issues claiming: "Dynamite Explosion; A Horrid Plot; The Explosion on Bergen's Heights Caused by Strikers; New Jersey Laborers Following the Methods of the Molly Maguires."

Within this atmosphere of middle class hysteria against the "Molly Maguires," the

anthracite miners faced their decisive battle of 1875. They fought heroically, with great strength and determination. It took all of the resources of Gowen's anthracite Board of Trade with the full support of the press, church, and state to defeat their iso-

The great strike of 1875 was from the start a life or death struggle for miners and

The strike began spontaneously on January 1, 1875, a few weeks after the operators announced a 20 percent cut in wages. After the strike had begun, the WBA leaders denounced it, demanding "peaceful behavior" and legality.

On May, 1875, the Miner's National Record, official newspaper of the MNA declared: "We are bitter oponents of strikes, and can see a justification of them as a last resort only against pure and unadulterated oppression or injustice on the part of the employers of labor.'

The insistence upon legality was an especially treacherous betrayal by the union leadership. The miners and their leaders faced outright terror from the operators' hired killers. The government was preparing to declare the organization of unions

In Clearfield County in central Pennsylvania, the bituminous miners had struck for a 10 percent wage increase per ton. After three weeks, scabs were brought in with local authorities to protect them. John Siney and Xingo Parks, a field organizer of the MNA, were arrested and charged with conspiracy when they attempted to speak to the striking miners.

A few days later, on May 13, 26 other miners were arrested at Houtzdale, Pennsylvania, on the same charge. While Siney was conspicuously acquitted, Parks and the Houtzdale 26 were convicted of conspiracy and riot and each sentenced to one year in jail. In his charge to the jury during the trial of Siney and Parks, the judge told the court: "Any agreement, combination, or confederation to increase the price of any vendable commodity, whether labor, merchandise, or anything else is conspiracy."

In 1875, the only way that trade unionists could conduct themselves according to "legality" was by disbanding and dropping all resistance to the iron rule of the capital-

But the ranks were determined to defend themselves. As the strike dragged on, and the miners faced starvation, the union revised its wage demand to provide only for a union voice when their wages were to be lowered. The operators, however, steadfastly refused to negotiate anything at all.

After the crucial court test which outlawed trade unionism, the erstwhile advocates of "peaceful behavior" and legality on the MNA Executive Board issued this plea to their "officers, members, and other friends: Men of Pennsylvania, their fate today is your fate tomorrow. If these men are criminally guilty, so are you-so is every trade unionist in the land and they are few from the flock who are chosen, as expiation for the sins of the whole.

After five months on strike, the miners were desperate. They intensified the strike. On June 3, about a thousand men assembled at Glover's Hill in Shenandoah to march from colliery to colliery in an attempt to close the few mines remaining in

The coal operators provided a force of 25 of the Coal and Iron Police armed with Winchesters to defend the mine opposite Glover's Hill, beating back the miner's

Rather than drop their fight, however. the miners regrouped on Glover's Hill and led by a drum corps, they marched on Mahanoy City, Pennsylvania, gathering force as they went.

After a brief shoot-out, the sheriff of Schuylkill County fled with his posse, and the miners controlled the town. They broke open the town jail, freeing many of their striking brothers, and closed all the mines in town.

Only when the miners faced certain starvation did they finally succumb to the coal operators. Only the treachery of their own leadership and their isolation prevented them from achieving victory.

The defeat was a crushing one with catastrophic consequences. The miners, many of whom existed on the brink of starvation, were driven back into semifuedal conditions. Their leaders and militants were blacklisted and hounded from county to

Their determination to carry forward the struggle was never broken, however. Although, they could no longer fight openly with a union, they continued the struggle underground through the Ancient Order of

Gowen knew that he could never completely crush the miners' resistance until he crushed the AOH. This is what led to the Molly Maguire" frameup trials. He had prepared himself well for this task. Back in 1871-1872, Gowne had enlisted the services of Allan Pinkerton and his detective agency. With the incentive of an initial fee of \$100,000 under his belt, Pinkerton sent scores of spies and provocateurs into the anthracite region.

Pinkerton recruited his men from the slums and the ranks of the professional criminals. D.J. Brown, himself a former Pinkerton spy, described the operation and one recruit, a certain James McParlan, as follows: "McParlan used to be a uniformed watchman and, on account of his dexterity in opening doors, and making out imaginary reports, was picked out for the 'Molly Maguire' business.'

McParlan, a self-confessed murderer, who actually boasted that he had killed a man in Buffalo, New York, became Gowens star witness in many of the Molly Maguire trials.

When Pinkerton's agents were unable to invent any conspiracy, they often committed murders and other crimes themselves and blamed it on the miners.

The trials were carefully managed show trials. The outcome of each was predetermined, with Gowen himself acting as prosecutor for many of them.

The capitalist press had succeeded in creating a poisoned atmosphere which Gowen proudly described as "The name of a Molly Maguire being attached to a man's name is sufficient to hang him."

Most of the frame-up victims were not arrested until months or even years had passed since the alleged murder took place.

During the trials, the anthracite region was virtually under martial law. The state militia surrounded the court, along with the Coal and Iron Police. The jury was made up of well-to-do businessmen and some farmers. The prosecution appealed for solidarity among all property owners against the miners, and threatened open retaliation against anyone who would block a guilty vote.

General Albright, legal advisor for the coal companies and special prosecutor said: "If you disregard such testimony, you would be hooted and driven from the community. If they do not return a verdict of guilty in this case, it would result in the formation of vigilance committees and a

resort to the 'Lynch Law'." Meanwhile, the Catholic Church publicly denounced and excommunicated all members of the AOH in the anthracite region. Gowen used this vicious attack on the part of Archbishop Wood of Philadelphia with great effect during the trials.

Such vicious methods were necessary for Gowen, as the actual evidence was entirely fabricated. McParlan provided the key evidence for most of the cases, and his testimony was in all cases hearsay. McParlan often claimed to have been informed of the crimes by the accused miners after they had personally committed them. Yet in the trials themselves. witness after witness refused to identify any miners as guilty.

According to official records, 19 were executed as a result of the trials.

The executions themselves were treated with great fanfare by the capitalist press, which rejoiced in the slaughter of the mili-

On one occasion, a group of young girls. dressed in their finest clothes with parasols and ribbons, traveled over 20 miles with several Presbyterian ministers to view the executions.

But the victory of the coal barons was short-lived. No sooner had 17 executions been completed in June, 1877, than the entire working class of the nation arose during the great railroad strike of 1877.

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#### BY DAVID NORTH

The Stalinist Communist Party has sprung to the defense of UMW President Arnold Miller with a vicious slander against the thousands of coal miners who opposed the contract rammed through by the union leadership.

According to the Daily World, organ of the Communist Party, the opposition to the new contract is the insidious work of supporters of ousted UMW chief "Tony" Boyle.

"Attack on mine pact seen plot by the old Boyle clique" is the headline of an article which appeared in the December 4 issue of the Daily World.

Reporter Amadeo Richardson notes that UMW official William Finley "said it could not be ruled out that the followers of the ousted corrupt Boyle machine, in collusion with the coal operators, were intent on bringing the new UMW leadership to a fall."

Placing the word dissidents in quotation marks, Richardson offers as "proof" of his charge the fact that miners in Bellaire, Ohio, had the audacity to publicly burn copies of the new contract.

Writes Richardson: "Such an act, sources here said (what sources?), indicate not the concern for a favorable contract, but carry the smell of agents at work."

The Daily World continues: "Finley also showed concern over certain opportunist groupings in the UMW, including right-wing forces, who demagogically play the economic game in the hope that the Taft-Hartley Act would be invoked.

"Besides the repression that T-H would bring, experienced miners, who witnessed its use in the late 1940s and early 1950s, are convinced that it would crush the democratic process won by the Miners for Democracy in electing Miller as UMW president."

#### **INSULTS**

The attempt to label the massive opposition to this contract as the work of Boyle supporters shows where Stalinism really stands in relation to the movement of the working class in defense of its living standards and basic rights.

When confronted with the rebellion of miners against the efforts of the union bureaucracy to impose a contract prepared in secret talks with the Ford administration and the operators, the Communist Party responds with the vilest insults against the miners.

In defending Miller, the Stalinists line up with the most conscious spokesmen of the capitalist class who are hailing this newly-emerged "labor statesman" for his open advocacy of trade union subservience to the needs of the capitalist economy.

Leading newspapers and journals have expressed their profound admiration for Miller and horror at the refusal of miners to appreciate his leadership.

"Miller's voice is anti-Establishment without being extremist," writes Time magazine. "Above all, Miller's voice rings with a keen and painfully won knowledge of the workingman. This knowledge, along with a plain-spoken but tough style, made the tireless Miller a formidable negotiator."

The New York Times has been unstinting in its praise of Miller, invoking his example to the leader of the New York milk



Miller addresses District 29 miners.

# STALINIST LIE MACHINE AT WORK IN UMW

drivers who failed to win approval of a two year contract.

"If he (the leader of the drivers) had exhibited the same sense of responsibility shown by leaders of the United Mine Workers when they went into the field to face down demagogic opponents of their proposed contract last week, New Yorkers might be able to get milk without having to depend on emergency supplies smuggled in from unstruck areas."

The ultraconservative Journal of Commerce declared that the huge vote against the pact proves that miners are not ready for the kind of "democracy" which Miller stands for.

"After more than 50 years in 'bondage' of Mine Workers' officials, the coal diggers have demonstrated a lack of understanding of negotiated contracts, higher wages, and improved benefits.

"They even have questioned and challenged the word of the leader they elected, Arnold Miller, to give them that little bit of union democracy they now have for the first time in more than 50 years...

"Yet Mr. Miller, going into the small towns and settlements of coal mining areas almost like a patent medicine salesman, has been insulted and belittled as he explains terms and benefits of the contract."

The flattering portraits of Miller in the capitalist press are the surest indications of the treacherous role he plays as leader of the UMW.

The spokesmen for the employers are beside themselves at the sight of the miners actually taking Miller's promises of union democracy seriously. The government has sought in the Mine Workers, Steel Workers, and elsewhere to use "reform" campaigns in order to tie the unions more and more closely to the state. But the ranks have no intention of peacefully going along with this.

The Stalinists not only join in the praise of Miller but invent crude lies aimed at discrediting the movement against him. They fraudulently raise the specter of Boyle to attack the offensive of the miners against the government.

This is nothing new for the Stalinists. In 1943, the Communist Party labelled miners as "fascists" for breaking the "nostrike" pledge in the midst of the imperialist world war. The Stalinists called on Roosevelt to arrest John L. Lewis as a traitor and to place miners under the discipline of federal troops.

As in 1943, the Stalinists today denounce and slander the miners because their strike posed a powerful challenge to the Ford administration.

#### DETENTE

The American CP defends the interests of the ruling bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. The CP is determined to break up the movement of miners or any section of the working class against Ford because it undermines the policy of "detente" with imperialism advocated by the Stalinists in the Kremlin.

As Brezhnev met Ford in Vladivostok, the American Stalinists were demanding that the miners accept the contract approved by Miller.

They defended this contract which was carefully worked out by the government to fall within the old wage guidelines which existed under Nixon.

The Daily World has boosted the contract, quoting the official UMW leadership fact sheets which report that miners won wage and benefit increases totalling 64 percent.

There is not a miner in the coal fields who can understand how the UMW leadership came up with the 64 percent figure.

Miners know that they are getting nothing more than a miserable 17 percent wage increase over three years.

As for the benefits, they do not buy anything in the grocery store. Furthermore, the benefits reported by Miller have been grossly inflated.

If every miner would receive the maximum pension and benefits, it is conceivable that benefits would increase by 47 percent over three years in terms of labor costs to the coal operators. This is no big deal because inflation is averaging 12 percent per year.

But the coal operators are masters at the art of excluding miners from the benefits they are entitled to.

For example, the contract awards pensions on the basis of age and length of service rather than just length of service. This means that most miners who enter the mines in their early twenties and will soon be forced to retire because of illness with perhaps 20 to 25 years seniority but well below the age of 55 will receive perhaps \$250 less than the maximum pension of \$510 per month.

Nor does the Daily World mention the anger aroused by provisions in the new contract that allow operators to throw militant miners out of work.

The Daily World instead subjected miners' demands to bitter abuse, declaring on December 3: "They are calling for more money, more vacation, more sick leave and more everything, to stir up a negative vote."

What the Stalinists are saying is that workers should not demand any more than the capitalists are willing to pay them. In other words, workers must allow their living standards to be slashed and their working conditions made intolerable.

What the Stalinists defend in Miller is precisely the collaboration of the trade union officials with the government in attacking the working class.

When the Stalinists express alarm over Taft-Hartley, they are exposing their fear that the working class will actually defy the government and fight to defeat it. Throughout the strike, miners spoke openly of keeping the mines shut even if the government intervened.

But the Stalinists know that intervention by the government would set the stage for the most powerful mobilization of the working class in defense of its rights in history.

Millions of workers, now facing skyrocketing inflation and mass layoffs, would stand with the miners against Ford.

This struggle would pose sharply before the working class the need for a decisive break with the Democratic and Republican parties and for the building of a labor party based on the trade unions.

#### DISCREDITED

The slanders of the CP are now aimed at propping up the badly discredited Miller bureaucracy.

The December 6 article in the Daily World headlined "Miners ratify contract, defeat the Boyle clique" is a desperate attempt to undermine the great unity of the miners in opposition to the contract and their determination to continue the struggle against the bureaucracy.

Forty-four percent of the miners voted against the contract. Thousands more opposed the contract no less vehemently, but voted to return to work because they were absolutely convinced that Miller would do nothing to win a long strike.

The real situation is one of massive opposition to Miller and the contract. The Stalinists stand with a very small minority behind the trade union bureaucracy and against the view as well as the interests of the vast majority of the miners. None of their lies can erase that fact.

The powerful opposition to the contract will grow still more intense as the operators seek to implement the attacks on union conditions for which Miller has opened the door.

This opposition must be taken forward through the building of a revolutionary leadership in the UMW, based on the fight for a reopening of the contract and the building of a labor party to unite all sections of the working class in political struggle against Ford and the Democrats.

The Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party will fight to build this alternative leadership against Miller and his Stalinist supporters.

# Douglas Cancels UAW Contract

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—-McDonnell Douglas Corporation has terminated its contract with the United Auto Workers.

The 12,000 members of United Auto Workers Local 148 have been working on an extension of their old contract which officially expired August 1. The termination of the contract could very well mean that the tens of thousands of aerospace workers will be locked out this week.

An official for the local told the Bulletin: "This is a step 40 years back in history. Douglas is trying to blackmail us into accepting a low economic settlement to put them in a better competitive position with the other aerospace companies. If the proposals they offered us would be accepted, they would have a district competitive edge.

Douglas has offered the union a three year contract, providing only a three percent increase in wages each year, plus cost of living adjustments that nowhere meet the inflation. Douglas workers have received no cost of living adjustment since June.

The other major aerospace companies, Lockheed, Boeing, and North American Rockwell, have already signed agreements similar to what the Douglas workers refuse to accept. The Boeing settlement, for instance, is less than the present contract between Douglas and the UAW.

Originally, aerospace workers voted down the contracts, but were pressured into acceptance by union leaders who said it was better to sacrifice than face the possible closure of the industry.

The Douglas contract was actually ripped up before the company's announcement of termination, when the workers were locked out over the Thanksgiving holiday and denied their two days' vacation pay.

Like the rest of the aerospace firms, Douglas's future is shakey, although union leaders are predicting "an extremely healthy economic future.'

National Airlines has just announced the cancellation of orders for three DC-10s. Each cost between \$28 and \$29 million. The big dropoff in air travel was the reason for the cutback.

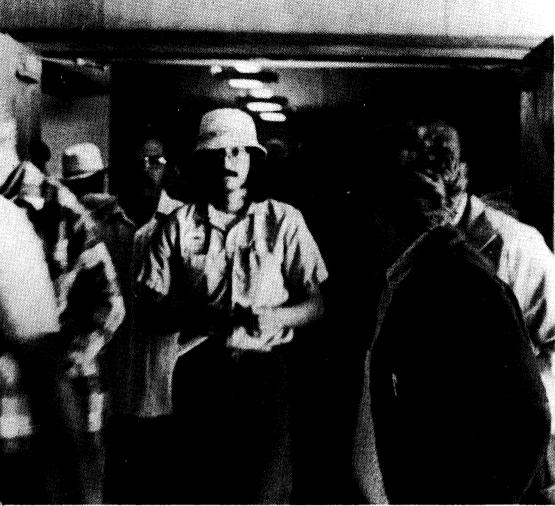
In addition, National Airlines has delayed the delivery of four DC-10s, which are ready now, until next year.

The UAW's action to fight the threat of a lockout and the ripping up of the contract has been to file charges with the NLRB. Union President Clarence Gregory has stated he is opposed to any strike action at this time. There is sentiment in the Douglas facilities for a

Last week, the Long Beach facility laid off 366 workers. Since September, 500 have been laid off.

Douglas workers must open up a campaign demanding strike action to defend the union and the right to a decent contract. Other aerospace workers must rally to this fight in order to reopen their contracts which are completely inadequate.

No amount of sacrifice by aerospace workers will prevent the big layoffs on the agenda, or closure. The only answer to these threats is the nationalization of the aerospace industry under workers' control.



Striking Greyhound mechanics, IAM Local 1186 members, after union meeting in Los Angeles where they rejected the latest Greyhound offer.

## Delco Ranks Want Action

BY A LOCAL 696 **MEMBER** 

DAYTON, Ohio--Angry Delco-Moraine workers jammed into the Local United Auto Workers 696 hall here to demand action against the recent layoffs and the denial of their holiday pay.

Workers warned 696 President Duff that if he was not willing to fight Ford and GM they would replace him with someone who would.

Duff tried to evade the barrage of questions by putting on a big show of fake militancy. For 20 minutes, Duff denounced the UAW international and the Democrats and Republicans, stating that they would probably refuse Woodcock's requests to extend unemployment compensation and public service jobs.

"I have tried everything. There is nothing I can do. You have my sympathy.

Before Duff could even finish, workers were on their feet.

"We don't need your sympathy," shouted one woman. 'You go to Woodcock if he won't come to you. What in the hell do you think we pay union dues tor:

Another young worker said: "General Motors is trying to destroy us. I say we should blast them now.

"You tell me I may never go back to work, Mr. Duff. Well, if you can't help me, I will find someone who can. If you don't do something, we will do it ourselves.'

A member of the Trade Union

tional call a conference of all the layoffs and bring all laid off workers back into the plants.

"We further demand Woodcock resign from Ford's Laborrights of the working class by

calling for the construction of an American labor party based on the trade unions.

Duff immediately tried to rule the resolution out of order, but another TUALP supporter took the floor to defend the resolution. When the resolution was put forward again, it received a thundering ovation.

Using his position as chairman, Duff prevented a vote on the proposals. But it was clear from the roasting that Duff received from the ranks for the next hour that it had overwhelming support. At the end of the meeting, union members were demanding that the local bureaucrats be replaced with TUALP representatives and rank and file militants.

The Local 696 TUALP calls on all auto workers to fight around a program for a congress of labor to build a labor party, pledged to the nationalization of auto and all basic industries under workers control. TUALP calls for a national UAW strike to fight for:

•Recall all laid off auto workers.

•30 hours work at 40 hours pay. •End speedup. Reopen the contract to win a 25 percent wage increase and a full cost of living clause.

•Call new elections. Throw out the Ford administration.

#### **ILWU Retreats** On Sugar Pact

BY TED BAKER

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.-—Hawaiian sugar workers have voted 97 percent to accept a renegotiated contract with the sugar companies.

ILWU Local 142, which represents the 8,000 sugar workers, voted to reopen the union contract on wages in October because of the enormous increase in the price of sugar and because of fears that the government would reimpose wage controls. When the old agreement was signed, after the sugar workers strike in April, the price of sugar was about \$360 a ton. Since then, it has skyrocketed to nearly \$900 a ton.

The new agreement provides for a bonus payment averaging \$1,000 for each worker over the next two years. Bonus payments will be based on the number of hours worked. One payment will be sent out before this Christmas, and the rest will be paid next November.

The new agreement, however, makes a major concession to the employers by extending the contract another year. Workers will receive a 65¢ an hour raise in the third year of the contract, an average of an 8 percent to 14 percent raise for sugar workers. The union did not win a cost of living escalator clause and it did not win hourly wage increases in the first two years of the con-

The settlement is already having repercussions in the longshore division of the ILWU, where both the West Coast and Hawaiian longshore contracts on wages have been reopened.

The West Coast longshore caucus is in session now to discuss the terms of reopening wages with the PMA. It has been reported that the Hawaiian settlement has already been a major point of debate in the caucus. The shipping industry is in a major crisis with the development of world slump, and is not in the same price boom as the sugar industry. This has been used in the debates to argue for accepting a worse settlement than that won by the sugar

ILWU President Harry Bridges is using the reopener to avoid a struggle with the government over wages.

Longshoremen must reject the PMA's proposals to negotiate all money issues such as wages, the guarantee and pensions and to send "noneconomic" issues (working conditions, steady men) to binding arbitration.

Preparations must begin now for a strike to win a large wage increase, a full cost of living escalator clause, and a job guarantee to protect longshoremen from the rapidly developing world trade slump.

The struggle for strike action must go hand in hand with a campaign for a congress of labor to unite the working class against unemployment and to build a labor party to nationalize the docks and all bankrupt industries under workers control.

# **GE Hotpoint Plans Big January Firing**

CHICAGO, Ohio-The Hotpoint Division of General Electric here has announced an indefinite layoff for 650 workers, about 25 percent of the work force, starting January 13.

The bulk of the production workers have already worked every other week in November and will be laid off from December 13 to January 6.

GE had announced that indefinite layoffs would begin on January 6, as soon as present orders were completed, and appealed to workers to speedup. But instead, production breakdowns increased nearly 100 percent during this period.

One worker stated: "The company wants you to work faster so you can work yourself out of a job. They must think we are crazy.'

Because of the breakdowns, the date for layoffs was changed to January 13.

Incentive workers say that GE is lowering their wages by altering incentive quotas. This led to a one hour work stoppage by about 40 workers on one assembly line. 222233

At the management investigation, workers claimed that they had been unable to make their quota for several months, and had stopped work to discuss ways that they could make and exceed their quota. Management gave the workers a one-day disciplinary layoff, but did not go further for fear of a full-scale rebellion.

Roger Earskins, president of Sheet Metal Workers Local 551, has no policy to fight the layoffs.

GE workers must call for an emergency meeting of Local 551 at which a fight can be taken up for strike action if the lavoffs are implemented.

**EXTEND** 

At the same time, such strike action must be extended to all GE facilities in the country, such as the Louisville, Kentucky plant where 2,000 have been laid off.

The only way jobs can be defended is through a political fight against the Ford administration around a policy for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, the nationalization of industries under workers control, and an independent labor party to carry this

Alliance for a Labor Party put forward a resolution that read: "Local 696 UAW members

demand that the UAW interna-UAW members in order to develop a program that will stop

Management Committee and defend the jobs and democratic

# NO ANSWERS IN COMMON MARKET CRISIS TALKS

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN
The Common Market
concluded its summit
meeting on Wednesday.

Two days of continuous dispute proved only that the government heads and foreign ministers of the nine nation bloc are able to do nothing to resolve the economic crisis that is ripping the Market.

British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, faced with economic collapse at home, argued for a reduction in British contributions to the Common Market budget and appealed for a number of economic concessions.

The dispute was papered over with a formula that postponed discussion and could possibly lead to lower payments.

Regarding funds for the depressed regions of Europe, which was pressed by Ireland and Italy, the Market agreed to a sum approximately one-half that recommended last year, largely to be supplied by West Germany and the Netherlands.

But these "agreements" mean nothing in the context of the slump developing throughout Europe and the impact of the American recession on European capitalist prospects.

Except for West Germany and the Netherlands, every one of the Common Market countries faces staggering deficits in payments for Middle Eastern oil.

With auto production facing depression conditions, unemployment rising, and a general production decline, the deficit countries must increase exports to pay the bills.

This takes place as the markets for these exports are shrinking. France has already announced plans to meet its deficit through export subsidies and tax relief to encourage production for export. At the same time, it is seeking to cut back imports and has already announced a program to slash oil imports by 10 percent.

Exactly the same policies are being prepared in every Common Market country, paving the way for trade war.

Italy, France, and Britain have thus far only been able to finance their deficits on the basis of huge loans and money recycled from the oil exporting states to European banks.

According to Arthur Burns, Federal Reserve board head, most of the \$16.5 billion in Eurocurrency deposits from the Arab states are in two-day call deposits and the remainder in deposits of six months or less.

Even short-term loans from these funds mean enormous dangers if the Arab depositors decide to call in their loans.

Germany, the only country in Europe able to finance its partners at all, is in no position to extend credit in the quantity required.

Most serious of all, access to the American market for exports is rapidly drying up. The European ministers could only issue a pitiful plea for the French president to inform Ford of "the importance of convergence between the economic policies of all industrialized countries."

The European capitalists are saying that unless Ford loosens up on the American anti-inflation program or a United States recession, Europe will be plunged into depression. America will not change its position.

French President d'Estaing told a news conference that the summit was a success "because it happened."

"The summit is dead. Long live the European Council," he said. His cynicism accurately reflects the hopeless position of European capitalism.



Striking longshoremen in Boston. The docks were shut December 10.

## Sales Slump Hits Retailers

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

It's beginning to look a lot like Christmas will be a nightmare this year.

The economic crisis has been undermining retailing operations all year and has now shaped itself up to deliver a death blow at the peak shopping season. National giants like Sears are in financial trouble, while neighborhood stores are boarding up their windows instead of trimming them.

The main factors hitting retailers are the rise in prices they pay for stocking their shelves, a devastating rise in interest rates, and the slump in buying as workers face the longest and steepest drop in purchasing power since the price surge just after World War Two.

Just as reports were coming in that unit sales have fallen for the first time in 15 years, the new wave of layoffs began to spread. Predicting the slowest Christmas in decades, stores are themselves cutting back plans to hire extra part-time help, firing office workers and buying staff, and in some cases even cutting salespeople.

DISASTER

The seven largest department stores in New York City showed a drop of 4.7 percent in sales during November, and admitted that the month was only saved from disaster because the weather was warm during the last two shopping days, the Thanksgiving weekend holiday sales period.

Figures for the New York area show the worst drop of any month in over four years. Nationwide, figures are not any brighter.

Sears is still showing a gain in dollar volume, but it is the smallest in three years. Penney's posted the smallest gain in nine years. Accounting for the inflation of the dollar over the year, these chains actually had sales six to nine percent less than last year.

Even before this sales slump developed, retailing profits were down. Penney's was showing a small loss by June, while Sears sunk nine percent at mid-year, and Woolworth's was down sixteen percent.

The McCrory Corporation, which owns McLellan and H.L. Green dime stores, the S. Klein department stores, and the Lerner Shops did not pay a penny in third-quarter dividends. With sales up to the billion-dollar range, McCrory's profits have slipped almost 50 percent.

Wieboldt Department Stores in Chicago show a similar picture, with sales up 1.1 percent and profits down 77.8 percent for the year. Sears suspended trading of its shares the day it announced a profit drop of 28.5 percent for the third quarter alone.

These figures are only the beginning of the sales slump. For the most part, they are the result of the tight-money policies of the economic advisors to the Nixon and Ford governments. These policies drove interest rates up as much as 49 percent during the last year.

Even more than manufacturing, retailing depends on a continuous flow of credit to carry on business. Loans are floated to purchase inventory and to finance expansion, but also to cover the gap in cash flow caused by credit purchases.

As workers' budgets tighten,

the few purchases that are made are likely to be charged. Today, giant chains like Sears and Wards conduct almost 50 percent of their business on a credit basis, with payment deferred anywhere from a month to years.

These stores push new accounts in order to prop up their sales figures. But when payments fall behind, they need credit to meet their operating expenses.

Sears ended 1973 with \$4.7 billion in outstanding charge account payments, and will not estimate this year's debts. Penney's reports that twice as many customers now compared with 1972 never make the payments at all.

McCrory arranged to borrow up to \$135 million to provide working capital between now and June, 1976. Wards is already owed \$64.6 million more than its entire projected income for 1974.

Since none of these stores can afford to raise prices in order to make up profits, the present situation must lead to attempted job cuts, speed-up, and attempted wage cuts throughout retailing.

# 1199E Calls Off Hospital Strike

BY LARRY SYMONS BALTIMORE, Md., Dec. 12—Workers on strike against three city hospitals were back on the job this morning after a settlement was accepted by leaders of District 1199E.

The settlement was worked out in secret meetings with federal mediator James Williams.

Union members at Johns Hopkins, Maryland General and Greater Baltimore Medical Center were hastily assembled to ratify the contract.

District 1199E leaders have ended the strike just as broad support for the workers was building up.

ISOLATE

Every effort was made by the union leadership to isolate the strike. Fred Punch, president of District 1199E, backed off from his threat to shut down the JFK Institute at the urging of the federal mediator.

Striking hospital workers had hoped that a strike at JFK would break the deadlock in the negotiations.

The hospitals have not granted the union demand for control over the pension fund and for funding of a training and upgrading program.

Sixteen workers at JFK have been fired for picketing without official strike authorization. Punch appears unlikely to do anything to defend these workers except to raise it at the next negotiating meeting for the JFK contract.

Before the strike ended, Punch had suggested that the strike deadline for 2,000 nursing home workers who are also in District 1199E be postponed from January 1 to February 1. He had also invited another mediator, Donald Brodsky, to intervene in the talks.

Rank and file hospital workers must insist that Punch fight for the reinstatement of the 16 at IEK

# Boston Longshoremen Shut Docks To Defend GAI

BY FRANK SLADE

BOSTON, Mass.—The Boston docks were shut down on Monday, December 10 by 1,100 members of the International Longshoremen's Association.

The strike began after dockers rejected the "final offer" of the Shipping Association which would have slashed living standards by lowering the guaranteed annual income.

The association is proposing to alter the wording of the GAI agreement, which began eight years ago, to state that the GAI would be up to 2,080 hours a year instead of not less than 2,080.

The association has also proposed a cut in the work gangs from 20 men to 16. As one docker said: "They've been on this contract since July. These bums know what they're doing.

"You can't live on that. It's the same old story. They want to take everything and give us nothing."

Chris Callahan, business agent for the Charlestown local, told the Bulletin: "We're not going back until we get the increase. We are really getting hit by containerization.

"We gave them flexibility and allowed them to bring in automation in exchange for the GAI. They haven't paid us anything in over eight years.

"Now that we're being hit, they want to change the wording so it won't cost them anything. We can't live with it.

"Our work force is 90 percent casual labor. We just can't get work for most of our men anymore.

"Last year, we used to call in the Teamsters and the furniture movers in the busy season. Not this year."

Earlier this week, ILA international President Teddy Gleason said there was a possibility of a coastwide ILA strike from Maine to Texas. But as one docker remarked: "Gleason has made a lot of proposals before."

If the shippers are allowed to get away with this attack on the GAI, the other ports will be next. There must be united strike action in defense of the GAI. The entire contract must be reopened to extend the 2,080 hours to every port.



Striking hospital workers outside Johns Hopkins in Baltimore. See page 10.

#### ...comment

## l Beg Your Pardon, Mr. Ford

In language usually associated with supplications of a humble vassal to his lord, hospital workers District 1199 President Leon Davis has addressed an open letter to Gerald Ford begging presidential pardon of a \$723,500 fine levied against the union.

In the domain of bureaucratic bootlicking, Mr. Davis has gone to considerable pains to demonstrate that he has few peers.

The fine was imposed by Federal Judge Robert L. Carter when hospital workers in New York City struck November 5 through November 12, 1973, to force Nixon's Cost of Living Council to act on a wage increase of 7.5 percent negotiated by the union.

For his part, Davis makes it clear that as a law-abiding man, he never had any intention of defying the judge's back to work order. He explains that he was unable to order his members to return without a vote in the union. The judge refused to allow time for the vote and increased the fine against the union and its officers for every day the strike went on.

The Cost of Living Council subsequently slashed the wage increase to 6 percent, cutting the raise from \$12 a week to \$9.

Mr. Davis now realizes that he and his fellow union officers did break the law. But there were extenuating circumstances and there is now a precedent for a presidential pardon.

"Under the circumstances, we believe our appeal to you merits favorable consideration. Certainly, in view of your all-inclusive pardon of former President Richard M. Nixon for all the crimes he has or may have committed against the people of the United States, we feel our request has merit.

"Richard M. Nixon's crimes are much more serious than any our members or officers could have committed..."

In addition, Davis feels that perhaps Ford is not aware that the fine "comes out of the pockets of our members and officers through increased dues which means additional hardships for all of us."

Of course, Davis realizes that Ford is a very busy man. Preparations for a Middle East war, recession policies, the development of mass unemployment, and holding the line on wage increases probably require his undivided attention and consume his entire working day.

So Davis makes it clear that: "We do not wish to add to your burdens in giving personal attention to our appeal." But perhaps the president in his infinite wisdom could assign some underling to meet with Davis and report back on the "injustice committed against the members of our union" to the

Since it is the Christmas season, Ford might be touched



Leon Davis

by the spirit of forgiveness and compassion. But we suspect that the crime of the hospital workers in challenging the right of the state to decide how much they will be paid is far more serious to Ford than that of Nixon who prepared the groundwork for a police state.

Every hospital worker will be revolted by Davis's disgusting appeal. The real lesson of the 1199 strike and every subsequent union struggle is that only political preparation to defeat the Ford government through the construction of a labor party will defeat these attacks.

# US Increasing Military Aid To Thieu Regime

BY FRANK MARTIN

The heaviest fighting since the 1973 Paris peace agreement has exploded in South Vietnam.

The latest offensive by North Vietnamese and NLF troops has already cost Nguyen Van Thieu's army 2,000 casualties in five days.

The offensive is centered in the Mekong Delta around the provincial capitals of Tay Ninh and Moc Hoa, near the Cambodian border. The object of the offensive is control over the Delta's crucial winter harvest of rice.

Meanwhile, President Ford's press secretary Ron Nessen issued a warning to the North Vietnamese: "The United States is following the situation closely and is hopeful that North Vietnam will recognize the futility of broadening their attacks and will end actions which are in violation of the Paris agreement."

Nessen, of course, does not mention that Thieu and the Americans have violated the agreement thousands of times in the last two years.

Since 1972, there has been a massive increase of US economic aid to Thieu's regime. US Defense Secretary James Schlesinger stated that US aid was less dangerous and cheaper than direct involvement of US military forces.

The figures cited by the National Liberation Front

indicate this shift in policy. In 1972 to 1973, at the climax of the war, US aid to Thieu totalled over two billion dollars.

According to testimony of former Defense Secretary Richardson, this rose to over four billion dollars between 1973 and 1974.

\$3.492 million was spent just on the use, maintenance, and purchase of weapons, according to the Senate Armed Services Committee, but the official US government figure put out by Nixon was \$1.126 million!

In 1974 to 1975, Nixon asked Congress for \$1.6 billion in direct military aid, \$750 million in economic aid, and \$183 million in the "Food for Peace" program. But even this is a completely false estimate. The US Agency for International Development (AID—a CIA affiliate) told Congress this April that the actual figure would be closer to over \$3 billion.

AID Director Daniel Parker declared that "if Congress reduced aid to Saigon, we would have to continue that aid by using aids reserved for other areas."

"Emergency" decrees and aid on logistic techniques are some of the names used to cover aid to Thieu. Even the "Food and Hay Decree" issued by Abraham Lincoln in 1861 was used to funnel money to Thieu.

#### PUPPET

The extent to which Thieu relies on US aid to maintain his puppet regime is enormous. In 1973, 86.3 percent of Thieu's budget was supplied by US aid. Under the "Food for Peace" program, Saigon officials sell the food at lucrative prices, and use the money to pay the salaries of their police and mercenary soldiers.

Since the 1973 agreement, Saigon aircraft have launched 40,000 raids, dropping 150,000 bombs, unleashed 5 million artillery rounds, killed and wounded 20,000 civilians, arrested for detention and tortured more than 70,000 people, herded 1,600,000 into concentration camps, and wiped out 1,700 hamlets and villages. And all this under conditions of a supposed cease-fire!

But all these facts and figures show the bankruptcy of the Stalinists who support the Paris agreement as a cornerstone of their policy of peaceful coexistence with US imperialism.

The renewed fighting expresses the determination of the Vietnamese workers and peasants in both the North and South to finish with Thieu and his US backers once and for all.

## Mine Builders To Stay Out

WASHINGTON, DC—-United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller suffered another setback Wednesday when the union's 38-man bargaining council rejected the tentative contract for mine construction workers.

By a vote of 30-5, the council ordered Miller to return to negotiations with the Association of Bitumunious Contractors and

MAYOR BEAME.

DUR FAMILIES

DESERVE
FIRE PROTECTION

TOO!

improve the package.

The rejection is a severe blow to Miller's drive to reopen all the mines originally shut down by the miners strike which began last November 12.

Many mines have remained closed because construction workers have set up pickets in coal fields to rally support for their demands.

The opposition to the Bituminous Wage Agreement rammed through by Miller two weeks ago has led rank and filers to organize support for the ABC workers in many areas.

The action by the bargaining council is certain to result in an extension of the mine shutdowns.

The ABC pact is similar to the sellout contract negotiated by Miller for bituminous coal miners.

Mine builders are to receive the same inadequate 17 percent wage hike over three years.

Miller did not win two of the major demands of the ranks: a supplementary unemployment benefits program and payment of travel expenses by the companies.

Both demands are critical because mine construction workers are hard hit by long spells of unemployment.

Union spokesmen were unable to say whether it would be possible for Miller to renegotiate the contract in time for weekend balloting by the ABC workers, as originally planned.

# The Labor Movement And The Defense Of Minority Workers date: Wednesday,

Dec. 18
7:30 PM
Grand St. Settlement
(80 Pitt St.)
Auditorium
Manhattan

call 924-0852 for more information

#### **GENERAL STRIKE...**

(Continued From Page 1)

the city must demand that the Central Labor Council call a general strike to force the rescinding of the threatened layoffs and the rehiring of all those already fired.

The trade unions must break all ties with the Democratic Party, the faithful political servant of the Chase Manhattan and First National City Bank.

#### SOCIALIST POLICIES

There is no solution to the economic crisis outside of socialist policies fought for by the working class through the construction of its own independent party—a labor party based on the trade unions.

A general strike in defense of jobs can be the springboard for the convening of a congress of labor to build a labor party to defeat Ford, Beame, and all the big business politicians.

The great power of the working class must be mobilized around a program to defend its interests.

•No layoffs! Recall all workers back to their jobs! Establish a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay!

•Defend living standards! A 25 percent pay increase for all city workers with a 100 percent cost of living escalator clause!

•Break with the Democrats! Throw out Ford and Beame!

•Call a congress of labor to build a labor party! Cancel all debts to the banks! Nationalize industry and city services under workers control!

Now is the time to take up this fight. Workers can defeat Beame's layoffs. The preparations for a general strike must begin at once.

# **PSP APOYA MILITARES PORTUGUESES**

POR LUCIA RIVERA

El Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP) ha publicado una serie de artículos acerca de Portugal desde el golpe de estado el 25 de abril contra el dictador fascista Caetano.

El apovo del PSP al gobierno de Allende en Chile, aún hasta el presente, luego de que la política de Allende de "vía pacífica al socialismo" y "alianza con los militares" ha costado la vida a miles de obreros v jóvenes revolucionarios chilenos, hace al PSP responsable de la traición a la clase obrera.

El apoyo que hoy día brinda a esta misma política en Portugal lo presenta como un elemento contrarrevolucionario frente a la lucha por la independencia y el socialismo en Puerto Rico.

El PSP, quien acaba de publicar su periódico diario Claridad, se presenta como un partido socialista y el defensor de los intereses de la clase obrera. En realidad el PSP es un movimiento nacionalista burgués, que tiene que mobilizar a la clase obrera para poder lograr sus intereses de clase y establecer una república capitalista.

El apoyo que estos le brindan a los stalinistas portugueses es muy significativo. Los stalinistas son una fuerza contrarevolucionaria que trata de mantener a la clase obrera y a los campesinos con las ilusiones de que el gobierno militar de Costa Gomes es democrático y progresista y que esta sección de la burguesía puede resolver los problemas económicos.

En este período de poder dual en Portugal, donde existen todas las posibilidades para que la clase obrera tome el poder, y a la misma vez, los capitalistas portugueses se havan en una situación imposible que tratan de resolver a través del establecimiento de una dictadura militar, el Partido Comunista Portugués (PCP) en su reciente congreso ha quitado de su programa la demanda de la dictadura de la clase obrera.

del PCP ha declarado: "El PCP apoyó activamente al movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas, apoyó el levantamiento del ya histórico 25 de abril, y las medidas democráticas tomadas desde entonces que condujeron a un rápido y radical cambio en la situación política portuguesa."

'En los últimos seis meses, este movimiento ha defendido la libertad y nuestro país. Por un lado, este movimiento (Fuerzas Armadas), ha confiado en nuestra gente y nuestra gente ha confiado en ellos."

Este mismo apoyo y confianza en los militares fue el que el PCP le brindó a Spinola, quien el 28 de setiembre trató de llevar a cabo un golpe de estado para poder establecer medidas fascistas en contra de la clase obrera.

Costa Gomes, el actual presidente, no es diferente a Spinola.

Ostentan los mismos intereses de clase. Costa fue comandante del ejército en Mozambique y responsable de operaciones militares en contra de las colonias africanas. El fue el representante del comando general de Portugal en la OTAN en el Atlántico. El colaboró con el gobierno fascista de Caetano. El PSP cataloga su gobierno de antifascista.

Tanto los stalinistas como el Partido Socialista representados en el gobierno por Alvaro Cunhal y Mario Soares como ministros, juegan el papel de agentes de los intereses capitalistas. Ellos son los principales propulsores en romper las huelgas de los trabajadores. Ellos demandan que los obreros abandonen toda lucha por mejores salarios y condiciones de vida en contra del desempleo y la lucha en contra de aquellos elementos fascistas que aún se hayan libres.

El Movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas (MFA) es controlado por oficiales de alto rango quienes en el pasado eran parte del gobierno fascista de Caetano. En su periodico ellos señalan que quieren a Portugal como al Perú, "ni capitalista ni comunista." En el Perú existe una dictadura militar donde se acaba de imponer la pena de muerte, para ser utilizada en contra de todo militante o socialista.

Es la intensificación de la crisis capitalista la que en Portugal significa una inflación de cerca de un 30 porciento en ciertas áreas. Y en estos momentos requiere que los capitalistas lleven a cabo los ataque mas violentos en contra de la clase obrera.

Tanto el PSP como el PCP parten de la misma perspectiva de la teoría de dos etapas de la revolución. Para el PCP la economía capitalista portuguesa tiene que ser rejuvenecida para poder mantener la democracia, esto a expensa de la clase obrera. Ellos han organizado días de trabajo sin paga para ayudar a los capitalistas.

El PSP en Puerto Rico con "independencia ya, socialismoahora" mantiene que tiene que haber un período de desarrollo capitalista en Puerto Rico bajo la república. Esto en una época en que el capitalismo internacionalmente se hava en su más aguda crisis.

La clase capitalista no puede tolerar por más tiempo la situación a la que se enfrenta. Bajo la máscara de "democracia" ellos preparan establecer una dictadura.

El PSP concuerda con las perspectivas del PCP. Los stalinistas en Portugal como los nacionalistas del PSP en Puerto Rico han de llevar a la clase obrera a la misma masacre que en Chile.

Esta traición que prepara el Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño solo se puede prevenir con la construcción del partido revolucionario como parte del Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional. Esta es la tarea que al presente ha de tomar todo obrero y joven tanto en Puerto Rico como en este



Alrededor de 4000 bomberos, familiares y vecinos se manifestaron el pasado martes frente a City Hall en oposición a la eliminación de ocho compañías a través de la ciudad. Estos cortes tomarán lugar el sábado 14 de este mes.

Los cortes en el presupuesto del Alcalde Beame significan el despido de cerca de 150 bomberos. El departamento de Bomberos cuenta al presente con la misma fuerza laboral que en el 1938. A diferencia del 1938 en que las casualidades eran de 75 mil incendios al año al presente es de 360 mil al año.

Vinzinni, presidente de la unión de bomberos no ha presentado ninguna alternativa a los bomberos para luchar en contra de los cortes. En los cartelones distribuidos por oficiales de la unión en la demostración estos leian, "Cortes del presupuesto SI, Bomberos NO" señalando esto que el liderato de la unión acepta el corte del presupuesto en \$330 millones pero que han de ser otros servicios los que se afecten y no los bomberos. Esta táctica desarma completamente a todos los trabajadores, incluso bomberos, en luchar en contra de los ataques del gobierno.

## **NO A CORTES EN EDUCACION!**

POR LOS EDITORES

El recorte de \$24.3 millones en el presupuesto de la Universidad de la Ciudad de Nueva York (CUNY) es un ataque a los derechos básicos de todos los estudiantes, profesores y empleados.

En Queens College, \$2.2 millones serán eliminados del presupuesto, incluyendo 500 cursos y profesores a tiempo parcial.

Según el presidente del College, Joseph Murphy, el presupuesto de todos los deptos. será congelado, no habrán nuevas construcciones ni modificaciones a los edificios y todo el material hecho para las clases, como copias, será vendido.

También para el 30 de diciembre terminará toda ayuda financiera, becas para graduados, secretarias temporales, lectores y asistentes. Esto significa que miles de estudiantes no podrán continuar sus estudios por falta de apoyo financiero.

El presupuesto de Brooklyn College será recortado en \$2.6 millones, cerrando laboratorios, y eliminando clases y profesores.

La administración ha aceptado los cortes pero los estudiantes están furiosos. Muchos de ellos le dijeron al Bulletin que aún no han recibido su cheque de

En todos los campuses de CUNY las clases nocturnas son amenazadas. La administración de Community College amenaza con cerrar la escuela nocturna. CUNY es un complejo de 20 campuses con más de 100 mil estudiantes.

Los cortes van a afectar significativamente a la juventud hispana que depende de la ayuda financiera, trabajos parciales y clases nocturnas para poder recibir una educación.

Pero los cortes en el presupuesto de las universidades es parte del corte de \$330 millones de la Ciudad de Nueva York, El Alcalde Beame planea despedir a más de 30 mil trabajadores de la ciudad. Trabajadores de hospitales serán despedidos,

compañías de bomberos ya han sido eliminadas y miles de profesores de escuelas públicas tendrán que unirse a las colas del desempleo.

Los ataques contra los trabajadores de la ciudad y los cortes del presupuesto de CUNY son parte de la política de Ford de hacer que la clase obrera pague por la crisis económica.

Los líderes de las uniones de los trabajadores de la ciudad aceptan los cortes y los despidos. Ellos se limitan a declarar que los despidos deben de hacerse en otras partes, en servicios ''no esenciales.'

La verdad es que todos los servicios serán afectados. Durante la semana, Beame anunció 4000 despidos más entre bomberos, policías y sanitarios. Pero los trabajadores están dispuestos a luchar para defender su nivel de vida y el derecho al trabajo.

Es por esto que la Juventud Socialista de Queens College, Brooklyn College y todos los clubs del área de Nueva York llaman a los estudiantes blancos, negros e hispanos que luchen para que el movimiento laboral actue ahora.

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Miles de estudiantes, profesores y empleados marcharon el 12 de diciembre en la demostración organizada por profesores y estudiantes de CUNY.

La Juventud Socialista marchó haciendo un llamado a todos los estudiantes para adoptar el siguiente programa:

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fecha: Miercoles 18 de dic. a las 7:30 PM

> lugar: Grand St. Settlement

(80 de la calle Pitt) Auditorium

Auspiciado por: la Alianza Sindical por un Partido Obrero para mas informacion 924-0852



# PSP APOYA **MILITARES PORTUGUESES**

POR LUCIA RIVERA

El Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP) ha publicado una serie de artículos acerca de Portugal desde el golpe de estado el 25 de abril contra el dictador fascista Caetano.

El apoyo del PSP al gobierno de Allende en Chile, aún hasta el presente, luego de que la política de Allende de "vía pacífica al socialismo" y "alianza con los militares" ha costado la vida a miles de obreros y jóvenes revolucionarios chilenos, hace al PSP responsable de la traición a la clase obrera.

El apoyo que hoy día brinda a esta misma política en Portugal lo presenta como un elemento contrarrevolucionario frente a la lucha por la independencia y el socialismo en Puerto Rico.

El PSP, quien acaba de publicar su periódico diario Claridad, se presenta como un partido socialista y el defensor de los intereses de la clase obrera. En realidad el PSP es un movimiento nacionalista burgués, que tiene que mobilizar a la clase obrera para poder lograr sus intereses de clase y establecer una república capitalista.

El apoyo que estos le brindan a los stalinistas portugueses es muy significativo. Los stalinistas son una fuerza contrarevolucionaria que trata de mantener a la clase obrera y a los campesinos con las ilusiones de que el gobierno militar de Costa Gomes es democrático y progresista y que esta sección de la burguesía puede resolver los problemas económicos

En este período de poder dual en Portugal, donde existen todas las posibilidades para que la clase obrera tome el poder, y a la misma vez, los capitalistas portugueses se hayan en una situación imposible que tratan de resolver a través del establecimiento de una dictadura militar, el Partido Comunista Portugués (PCP) en su reciente congreso ha quitado de su programa la demanda de la dictadura de la clase obrera.

Cunhal, el secretario gener del PCP ha declarado: "El PCP apoyó activamente al movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas, apoyó el levantamiento del ya histórico 25 de abril, y las medidas democráticas tomadas desde entonces que condujeron a un rápido y radical cambio en la situación política portuguesa."

'En los últimos seis meses, este movimiento ha defendido la libertad y nuestro país. Por un lado, este movimiento (Fuerzas Armadas), ha confiado en nuestra gente y nuestra gente ha confiado en ellos."

Este mismo apoyo y confianza en los militares fue el que el PCP le brindó a Spinola, quien el 28 de setiembre trató de llevar a cabo un golpe de estado para poder establecer medidas fascistas en contra de la clase obrera.

Costa Gomes, el actual presidente, no es diferente a Spinola.

Ostentan los mismos intereses de clase. Costa fue comandante del ejército en Mozambique y responsable de operaciones militares en contra de las colonias africanas. El fue el representante del comando general de Portugal en la OTAN en el Atlántico. El colaboró con el gobierno fascista de Caetano. El PSP cataloga su gobierno de antifascista.

Tanto los stalinistas como el Partido Socialista representados en el gobierno por Alvaro Cunhal y Mario Soares como ministros, juegan el papel de agentes de los intereses capitalistas. Ellos son los principales propulsores en romper las huelgas de los trabajadores. Ellos demandan que los obreros abandonen toda lucha por mejores salarios y condiciones de vida en contra del desempleo y la lucha en contra de aquellos elementos fascistas que aún se hayan libres.

El Movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas (MFA) es controlado por oficiales de alto rango quienes en el pasado eran parte del gobierno fascista de Caetano. En su periodico ellos señalan que quieren a Portugal como al Perú, "ni capitalista ni comunista." En el Perú existe una dictadura militar donde se acaba de imponer la pena de muerte, para ser utilizada en contra de todo militante o socialista.

Es la intensificación de la crisis capitalista la que en Portugal significa una inflación de cerca de un 30 porciento en ciertas áreas. Y en estos momentos requiere que los capitalistas lleven a cabo los ataque mas violentos en contra de la clase obrera.

Tanto el PSP como el PCP parten de la misma perspectiva de la teoría de dos etapas de la revolución. Para el PCP la economía capitalista portuguesa tiene que ser rejuvenecida para poder mantener la democracia, esto a expensa de la clase obrera. Ellos han organizado días de trabajo sin paga para ayudar a los capitalistas.

El PSP en Puerto Rico con "independencia ya, socialismoahora" mantiene que tiene que haber un período de desarrollo capitalista en Puerto Rico bajo la república. Esto en una época en que el capitalismo internacionalmente se haya en su más aguda crisis.

La clase capitalista no puede tolerar por más tiempo la situación a la que se enfrenta. Bajo la máscara de "democracia" ellos preparan establecer una dictadura.

El PSP concuerda con las perspectivas del PCP. Los stalinistas en Portugal como los nacionalistas del PSP en Puerto Rico han de llevar a la clase obrera a la misma masacre que

Esta traición que prepara el Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño solo se puede prevenir con la construcción del partido revolucionario como parte del Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional. Esta es la tarea que al presente ha de tomar todo obrero y joven tanto en Puerto Rico como en este



Alrededor de 4000 bomberos, familiares y vecinos se manifestaron el pasado martes frente a City Hall en oposición a la eliminación de ocho compañías a través de la ciudad. Estos cortes tomarán lugar el sábado 14 de este mes.

Los cortes en el presupuesto del Alcalde Beame significan el despido de cerca de 150 bomberos. El departamento de Bomberos cuenta al presente con la misma fuerza laboral que en el 1938. A diferencia del 1938 en que las casualidades eran de 75 mil incendios al año al presente es de 360 mil al año.

Vinzinni, presidente de la unión de bomberos no ha presentado ninguna alternativa a los bomberos para luchar en contra de los cortes. En los cartelones distribuidos por oficiales de la unión en la demostración estos leian, "Cortes del presupuesto SI, Bomberos NO" señalando esto que el liderato de la unión acepta el corte del presupuesto en \$330 millones pero que han de ser otros servicios los que se afecten y no los bomberos. Esta táctica desarma completamente a todos los trabajadores, incluso bomberos, en luchar en contra de los ataques del gobierno.

## NO A CORTES EN EDUCACION!

POR LOS EDITORES

El recorte de \$24.3 millones en el presupuesto de la Universidad de la Ciudad de Nueva York (CUNY) es un ataque a los derechos básicos de todos los estudiantes, profesores y empleados.

En Queens College, \$2.2 millones serán eliminados del presupuesto, incluyendo 500 cursos y profesores a tiempo parcial.

Según el presidente del College, Joseph Murphy, el presupuesto de todos los deptos. será congelado, no habrán nuevas construcciones ni modificaciones a los edificios y todo el material hecho para las clases, como copias, será vendido.

También para el 30 de diciembre terminará toda ayuda financiera, becas para graduados, secretarias temporales, lectores y asistentes. Esto significa que miles de estudiantes no podrán continuar sus estudios por falta de apoyo financiero.

El presupuesto de Brooklyn College será recortado en \$2.6 millones, cerrando laboratorios, y eliminando clases y profesores.

La administración ha aceptado los cortes pero los estudiantes están furiosos. Muchos de ellos le dijeron al Bulletin que aún no han recibido su cheque de

En todos los campuses de CUNY las clases nocturnas son amenazadas. La administración de Community College amenaza con cerrar la escuela nocturna. CUNY es un complejo de 20 campuses con más de 100 mil estudiantes.

Los cortes van a afectar significativamente a la juventud hispana que depende de la ayuda financiera, trabajos parciales y clases nocturnas para poder recibir una educación.

Pero los cortes en el presupuesto de las universidades es parte del corte de \$330 millones de la Ciudad de Nueva York. El Alcalde Beame planea despedir a más de 30 mil trabajadores de la ciudad. Trabajadores de hospitales serán despedidos,

compañías de bomberos ya han sido eliminadas y miles de profesores de escuelas públicas tendrán que unirse a las colas del desempleo.

Los ataques contra los trabajadores de la ciudad y los cortes del presupuesto de CUNY son parte de la política de Ford de hacer que la clase obrera pague por la crisis económica.

Los líderes de las uniones de los trabajadores de la ciudad aceptan los cortes y los despidos. Ellos se limitan a declarar que los despidos deben de hacerse en otras partes, en servicios "no esenciales."

La verdad es que todos los servicios serán afectados. Durante la semana, Beame anunció 4000 despidos más entre bomberos, policías y sanitarios. Pero los trabajadores están dispuestos a luchar para defender su nivel de vida y el derecho al trabajo.

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