

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER TWO 277

JANUARY 15, 1973

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

## PRICES UP, UP, UP

BY THE EDITORS

With farm prices leading the way, the overall wholesale price index jumped 1.8 percent in December, the largest monthly increase in 22 years.

The latest report by the Bureau of Labor Statistics revealed that the wholesale prices have risen at a 6.6 percent annual rate since Nixon began his wage freeze in August 1971, compared to the 5.2 percent annual rate during the eight months before the controls were established.

Officials reported that the wild increase in wholesale prices will be felt immediately in the supermarket. There will be a dramatic increase in food prices.

All the essential food commodities recorded spectacular increases last month. The wholesale price for eggs went up 16.9 percent, livestock went up 9.4 percent, 21.1 percent for grains, .8 percent for poultry and .1 percent for milk.

The Nixon Administration, which has given the agricultural conglomerates the right to raise prices as much as they like, blamed the price rise on bad weather.

The leap in wholesale food prices, which are now rising at an annual rate of 30 percent, gives proof that Nixon has no intention of controlling inflation. Only wages are to be policed.

Administration spokesmen announced that Phase Three of wage controls will be unveiled later this week. Nixon's top economic advisers are pressing for a lowering of the guidelines below 5.5 percent.

The Price statistics mean one thing above all: that the wages of American workers have been cut by Nixon below the level at which they stood in August 1971. Not since World War II has the Government undertaken such a vicious drive against the wages of the working class.

Immediate action by the entire trade union movement must be prepared to destroy the Pay Board. The AFL-CIO, UAW and Teamsters must call for a Congress of Labor to prepare general strike action to last until the Pay Board is dismantled and to construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

The fight to mobilize trade unionists in every section of industry will be taken forward at the meeting of the Continuations Committee in St. Louis on February 18.



"We are fighting for a voice." Pattonville, Missouri teachers picket Board of Education's highly touted new high school. Board seeks to force down educational standards and working conditions in the school. See article Page 16.

### National Committee Meeting

## Twice-Weekly Bulletin To Be Launched

#### SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

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### Louisiana Cops Practice For Civil War

The massive military operation of the police to gun down a single man closed off in a cubicle on the roof of a New Orleans hotel is a sharp warning that Nixon and the United States government are prepared to use the methods of terror now employed in Vietnam against the American working class.

The government, spearheaded by Nixon, is now attempting to use the events in New Orleans as an excuse to open a racist and anti-communist witch-hunt. Even the police, however, are forced to admit they do not have a shred of evidence of "conspiracy." It is now revealed that the man found on the roof, Mark Essex, was chased to the motel, even though the police deny they did the chasing.

In order to "capture" this one man, reported to be a sniper, New Orleans, a city of over a million people, was completely shut down and turned into an armed camp. Hundreds of police

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International through a twice-weekly paper as a step towards a daily paper. This project was cut off by the bitter faction fight with the Shachtman group, itself related to the preparations of imperialism for a new world war.

One time before American Trotskyists issued a paper more frequently than weekly and that was in 1933. At that time, the American Trotskyists expanded the Militant to three times a week to cover the struggle then taking place in Germany against Hitler.

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# Nixon Plans New Terror Bombing Of Hanoi

BY MELODY FARROW

American fighter pilots have been given permission to strike North Vietnamese targets above the 20th Parallel in preparation for the resumption of saturation bombings over Hanoi and Haiphong.

Having suffered massive aircraft losses during the genocidal attacks on the main population center of North Vietnam, Nixon has dispatched Henry Kissinger to Paris in order to buy the time necessary for reassembling the air force.

Before the Paris talks resumed last week, Nixon warned that he was not ending the saturation bombings but merely "interrupting" them.

The talks between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho are on the verge of breakdown. North Vietnamese spokesmen declared that the workers and peasants of Indochina would not be bombed into submission by the American

## Turkey Jails Teachers For 8 Years

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Fifty nine members of the Turkish Teachers Union have received jail sentences from 10 months to 10 years and 8 months for an "illegal" strike for better conditions in 1970.

Union President Fakir Baykurt and Secretary General Dusan Akcam both got sentences of 8 years and 10 months. The government accused the union of being an "illegal leftist organization with the goal of making Turkey into a communist state."

The editor Bulent Habora was sentenced to seven years in prison for publishing Leon Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution*. He will be condemned to permanent residence in the town of Kutahya after his sentence is served.

## German Union Cancels Strike

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Leaders of Germany's largest union, I.G. Metall, have called off a strike by more than 200,000 steelworkers in the Ruhr that was scheduled to begin January 11.

The agreement signed with the steel industry, which provides for an 8.5 percent wage increase, is certain to meet heavy opposition within the ranks when they vote on the terms later this week.

Steelworkers, whose growing militancy during the past year has alarmed both the trade union bureaucrats and Social Democratic Chancellor Willy

imperialists.

They also announced that military measures are being taken to defend Hanoi and Haiphong against a new bombing wave.

### BUREAUCRACY

The Soviet bureaucracy was the key to pressuring Hanoi to return to the Paris talks. While issuing only the mildest protests against the bombings, Moscow deliberately allowed North Vietnam to be isolated and refused to mobilize the working class against Nixon.

In contrast to this stab in the back, the Australian dock workers initiated a boycott of all American ships and the Scandinavian unions threatened to do the same. Shippers openly fear that boycotts could spread throughout the world and cripple US shipping.

On Sunday January 7, Le Duc Tho issued a statement on the negotiations. He called the bombing the "most barbarous and inhuman ever seen in the history of the war."

Eyewitness reports of the bombings have completely exposed the Pentagon's lies that only military installations were targeted. The entire industrial zone in western Haiphong has been razed to the ground. Three hundred and five people, including 76 children were killed and over 800 were wounded.

### SOLIDARITY

The solidarity of the Australian workers shows the way forward. It is the power of the working class in every country against imperialism that will assure victory for the Vietnamese people.

A fight must be launched in every union to demand full withdrawal from Vietnam now, a boycott of all US ships and the construction of a labor party now to throw Nixon out.



England's entry into the Common Market means massive transfer of plants to countries like Spain with cheap labor. Here British oxygen workers from Edmunton, North London staged a one-half day strike and demonstration and threatened to occupy plant if the company attempts to move.

## Sadat Orders Shutdown Of Cairo University

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The Egyptian government of Anwar el-Sadat has sealed off Cairo University and ejected all the students after thousands of students staged a march January 3 against the arrest of 50 of their leaders.

The marchers, carrying banners that read "Free Our Comrades," were attacked by riot police armed with bamboo staves and tear gas. Sadat has cancelled the remaining nine weeks of the semester.

The origin of the student uprisings is Sadat's clamp down on democratic rights and his refusal to take any action to regain the

lands occupied by Israel.

The government has inspired a virulent press campaign against Heykal, the editor of the main Egyptian newspaper *Al Ahram*, for being defeatist and "sabotaging" the country's morale.

A few weeks earlier Sadat launched what he called a "National Committee for

Battle" and claimed he had "no recourse but force to re-establish our rights."

Sadat is desperately seeking to cover up his collaboration with Israel by using scapegoats like Heykal and pretending he is gearing for war. But the movement of the Egyptian workers and peasants has now caught up with Sadat.

## Trudeau Introduces Anti-Strike Bill

BY JAN ROSLYN

OTTAWA—Leaders of the New Democratic Party joined with the Social Credit Party today in giving Prime Minister Trudeau the votes for a majority in Parliament. Trudeau's government has been in a minority since the October 30 elections.

In a criminal betrayal of the ranks of the NDP and the trade unions, NDP head David Lewis said in Parliament that the purpose of the NDP was to give Trudeau "a chance to live up to his promises." Lewis is seeking a coalition with the capitalist parties which are responsible for the vicious attacks on the Canadian working class.

This cowardly appeal to the working class to support Trudeau takes place after the NDP gained tremendous strength in the last election and ousted the Social Credit government in Vancouver. Lewis and the leaders of the NDP seek to disarm the working class at a time when Trudeau is preparing to launch new attacks on the Canadian labor movement.

Trudeau could not last a minute without the collaboration of these leaders. The ranks of the NDP and the trade unions must now demand that the NDP fight for a new election to bring the Liberals down now and replace them with an NDP government pledged to socialist policies.

The real meaning of Trudeau's

"promises" is clear in Quebec, where the government has introduced new legislation to ban all strikes in both the private and public sectors.

For government employees, a breakdown in contract negotiations will now automatically lead to a public hearing before a parliamentary committee.

Failing a settlement after such a hearing, the workers involved will be forced to accept or reject the government's final offer by secret vote. This voting will be supervised by a government official permanently employed by the National Assembly specifically for this work. If the offer is rejected by the unions, the National Assembly will impose a settlement by decree.

The same procedures will be followed in relation to workers in the private sector, but will be referred to the Labor Department's Commission on Disputes instead of to the parliamentary committee.

When all talks fail, both employers and employees must submit a final proposal for the contract to the Commission. The Commission will then choose the proposal "that seems most

reasonable" without making any changes.

Driven on by the crisis of its own economic system, the capitalist class is fast removing any possibility of a compromise between itself and labor. Any refusal to comply with this legislation is punishable by fines ranging from \$50 to \$250 for individual workers and from \$5000 to \$50,000 for trade union executives.

Leaders of Quebec's teachers unions described the bill as "the last straw in a history of government repression." Captain Charles Simpson, a member of the Canadian Airline Pilots Association, said in an interview regarding Bill 89: "It smacks of fascism. They have this kind of thing in Australia, but it hasn't worked. You can order somebody to do something, but you can't take them by the hand."

The Liberals are showing that they have every intention of forcing the working class to pay the toll in the trade war. They intend to do this by stripping the working class of all its basic rights.

This legislation is really the program that right-wing Conservative Party leader Stanfield ran on in the recent Federal election.

# Philadelphia Teachers Strike Schools As Rizzo Threatens Police Attacks

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—"I'm prepared to walk this picket line for four months if that's what it takes to get a decent contract. That's how I feel and that's how most of the other teachers on this picket line feel," stated a teacher at Benjamin Franklin High School as 13,000 Philadelphia public school teachers went on strike this week.

Despite threats of police intervention, court injunctions and sub-freezing temperatures on the first day of the

strike, picket lines were solidly manned at almost all the 300 work locations, bringing the school system to a virtual standstill.

The strike was called after the largest membership meeting in the history of the union voted overwhelmingly 8745 to 1850 to resume the strike that started last September.

The union's central demands are a 5.7 percent annual wage increase, paid preparation time for elementary school teachers and wage parity for "Get Set" (day care center) workers. The School Board is demanding the increase of class size to eliminate 385 teachers, 40 more minutes of teaching time a day by high school teachers and 15 more minutes by junior high school teachers.

There is to be no wage increase this year. An unspecified amount, in the neighborhood of \$170 to be gotten from the above cutbacks, is promised for next fall "if it is available."

Democratic Mayor Rizzo, ex-police commissioner and supporter of President Nixon, is urging the courts to issue an injunction and is demanding heavy fines against the union. Clearly determined to break the union, he has promised full police protection for scab teachers.

Taking his lead from Nixon's policies, Rizzo has pledged that "teachers will not get one nickel in raises. This all has to stop somewhere and that somewhere is now."

### STOP PRESS

ALBANY, Jan 10—Following the collapse of negotiations yesterday, New York legislators today introduced a bill that would place striking Long Island Rail Road workers under the jurisdiction of the Taylor Law, which prohibits strikes by state and local employees.

Union leaders dismissed possibilities of an early settlement of the strike.



Both photos: Philadelphia public school teachers out again on strike. This time they face threat of Rizzo's cops.



## Budget-Slashing Nixon Ends Housing Money

BY DAVID NORTH

Not even one more cent is to be spent on housing and community development for the next 18 months, in accordance with the budget cuts ordered by Richard Nixon.

In a statement made Monday, outgoing Housing and Urban Development chief George Romney announced that all federal aid to subsidized housing programs will be frozen immediately and that support to the Model Cities programs will be frozen as of July 1.

"I am personally delighted that the administration has decided to stop doing business-as-usual in these programs," declared

Romney, the multi-millionaire, ex-president of American Motors.

He added that criticisms of the cuts "just goes to show you how quickly people can feel deprived if their pipelines to the public treasury are affected in any way."

Nixon is nearly finished with his new budget, which is to be published a week after the inauguration. The elimination of funds for housing shows that Nixon plans to dismantle every social program won by the working class since the turn of the century.

"This will be one of the greatest years of real budget cutting this town has ever seen," a Washington official reported.

## Farinas Committee Launches Campaign For March Parole

BY NANCY FIELDS

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee is currently launching the final stage of its campaign to win parole for Juan when his case comes up for a hearing before the U.S. Board of Parole in mid-February.

Juan Farinas, a 24 year old Cuban born worker and supporter of the Workers League, was convicted and sentenced to two years imprisonment on framed up charges of violation of the Selective Service Act on January 31, 1971. He has been in the Federal Penitentiary in Danbury, Connecticut since March of 1972.

Farinas was first eligible for parole in August 1972, after serving six months of his sentence. At that time, hundreds of trade unionists supported the demand for Juan's release.

They understood that the jailing of Farinas for handing out a leaflet at his induction, which opposed the Vietnam War as a class war waged in the interests of American big business, was a preparation by the Nixon Administration for an all-out attack against the fundamental rights of all workers.

### PAY BOARD

In spite of this massive support, Nixon's Parole Board refused to grant Juan parole or to issue any reason for its denial.

Now, in the face of Nixon's savage bombing of Vietnam and his preparation for the destruction of the trade unions, the fight for Juan's release becomes critical and can be strengthened by the massive opposition of the working class internationally to the Vietnam War.

The Defense Committee is appealing to unions and individual trade unionists to answer this attack on working class rights by flooding the US Board

of Parole with telegrams demanding Juan's release on parole.

In addition, the Committee is circulating petitions in the factories, communities, campuses and high schools and at local trade union meetings to collect signatures of support for Farinas' release. We urge all trade unionists and students to contact the Defense Committee for petitions to carry out this fight in their locals and schools.

At this stage of the campaign, the Committee urgently needs contributions in order to ensure that this case receives the broadest possible support. We urge all trade unionists to take up this fight in their locals to demand that their unions send contributions to the Committee. All funds should be sent to the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th St., New York, New York, 10011.

Telegrams of support have already been sent to the US Board of Parole by Local 1199E in Baltimore and Local 68 of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers.

In addition, support for Juan's immediate release has already been received from the National Committee of the Workers League and Young Socialists, as well as the British Socialist Labour League, which voted unanimously to send their greetings to Juan on New Year's weekend.

Letters, telegrams and petitions should be mailed to: US Board of Parole, 101 Indiana Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20537 and copies should be sent to the Committee in New York.



## Emergency Meeting of Trade Unionists

Called by the Continuations Committee of the National Conference For A Labor Party Now

To Answer Nixon's Attacks

Sunday February 18  
St. Louis Gateway Hotel  
822 Washington Ave. (downtown St. Louis)  
9:00 AM

Registration & Room \$8.00

For reservations and more information write Continuations Committee at 135 West 14th Street, 6th Floor, New York 10011. Tel. 212-924-0852

# Big Banks Credit Squeeze Gives Wall St. The Jitters

BY OUR ECONOMIC CORRESPONDENT

Calls for a tightening of credit by top Government and banking spokesmen have confronted manufacturers and speculators with the real danger of bankruptcy and collapse.

The recent statement by Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, calling for a "stabilizing" of fiscal policy in order to control the wild increase in the money supply has raised the fears of businessmen that it will be difficult to obtain the credit necessary to meet increased spending needs for plant, equipment and inventory buildup.

A top business analyst, Aubrey G. Lanston & Company, noted last week that there exists "growing market nervousness over the possibility that near term Federal policy will become increasingly restrictive."

The decision of Pittsburgh's Mellon Bank to raise its interest rates to six percent will set the trend for all the major banks.

## FEAR

The fear within business circles that the banks will cut off the flow of money necessary to remain in operation was ex-

pressed by Congressman Wright Patman, who declared last week: "In typically callous manner, the big city banks are preparing these Pearl Harbor attacks."

1973

The actions of the banks express far more accurately the insoluble crisis of the capitalist system than the rosy New Year's Day forecasts by business leaders of a boom in 1973. The massive oversupply of paper currency, which has no backing in gold, threatens the holdings of the banks which are now forced to take decisive action.

The restriction of credit will have devastating effects. During the last two months of 1972, business demands for credit were so enormous that it was necessary for the Federal Reserve to allow a wild growth in the money supply.

If this supply is cut off, manufacturers will immediately face the prospect of shutting their plants and laying off thousands of workers.

## Nixon's Florida Men Seek TV Monopoly

BY BRUCE McKAY

MIAMI—As Richard Nixon moves ever closer toward Bonapartist dictatorship in his desperate effort to smash the strength of the working class, every democratic right won by workers after decades of struggle will come under the most severe attacks.

First on the chopping block is the crucial right of the working class to a free and uncensored press. In television and radio, Nixon is going much further than intimidation and attempts to stifle criticism in a move to transform the broadcast media into an instrument of direct government propaganda.

## LOOMIS

His first step was the appointment of Henry W. Loomis, formerly a deputy director of the U.S. Information Agency—the government's external propaganda arm—as president of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which controls the Public Broadcasting System.

Next is a proposal currently under study which would make local TV stations directly responsible for the "balance" of network news and public affairs programs.

## CONTROL

This pattern has now been completed with the overt attempt of close Nixon associates to wrest control of two Florida TV stations away from the *Washington Post*, which itself

has come under heavy attack for its criticism of Administration policies.

## ATTACK

Central to this new attack is the direct influence Nixon can exert over broadcasting through the licensing of radio and TV stations by the Federal Communications Commission.

A group headed by Wallaceite industrialist Ed Ball and the Florida finance chairman of the Committee to Re-elect the President, George Champion Jr., has challenged the license of WJXT in Jacksonville, while in Miami, a group which includes two law partners of close Nixon friend and former U.S. Senator George Smathers has challenged the license of WPLG-TV.

Both stations are owned by Post-Newsweek Stations Inc., a subsidiary of the Washington Post Co.

## DISCLOSURE

It was WJXT which in 1970 uncovered a newspaper article written in the 1940s by G. Harold Carswell in which he advocated white supremacy. It was this disclosure which led directly to the refusal of the Senate to confirm Nixon's appointment of Carswell to the Supreme Court.



The 7-week strike of 32 members of Pressman's Local 74 against New Haven Register Publishing Co. was dealt a big blow when the 200 members of the ITU refused to go out when contract expired on Jan. 1.

## 46 N.Y. Dockers Thrown Off GAI

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—Last month, 46 members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) were thrown off the Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI) under Attachment A of the Collective Bargaining Agreement.

Attachment A provides that a man can be denied the guarantee for a year for holding another job between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m., for refusing

to accept a list job, for leaving a list job, or for continuously "failing to make himself available for employment."

Dockers at the Renwick Street hiring hall in Manhattan told the *Bulletin* that men are being thrown off the GAI for refusing to work overtime, or for accumulating five double debits in one year. One longshoreman among the 46 driven off the guarantee told the *Bulletin* that he will now lose any possibility of achieving the 700 hours guarantee time or work time needed to qualify for pension or medical benefits.

Men can be debited for refusing to take any job offered them, no matter how far away it is, or how far it is below their old job category under the old seven-category system.

## GLEASON

ILA President Gleason blamed the ranks entirely for problems with the GAI. He told the *Bulletin*:

"The men don't want to shape in the morning. Some guys may have a second job on the side, so maybe they want to do that. Where you have a guarantee and employment is decreasing, you will eventually drive business out of the port."

"It's like a welfare plan—we want to keep it solvent. We've got enough trouble getting ships into the port as it is. You've got to work a ship when it comes in."

In order to keep the GAI fund "solvent," Gleason intends to run it the way the shippers demand, reduce its protections to a mere shell, and help drive thousands of men out of the industry.

## NYSA

An official from the New York Shipping Association (NYSA) (Continued On Page 18)

## 10th Month Of Trailways Strike: 'We Won't Give In'

BY A REPORTER  
NEW YORK, Jan. 8—Close to 300 members of United Transportation Local 1699 have entered the tenth month of their strike against Continental Trailways, still determined to win a decent pension plan and job security.

APRIL

"Management forced us out in April, and now we're going to stay out until we get what we want," one driver told the *Bulletin*.

The bus company, which is owned by Holiday Inn, is notoriously brutal in its treatment of drivers. Under the present contract, there are no fringe benefits, inadequate overtime provisions, and no job security. During the past year, 15 drivers were fired.

## PENSION

But the strikers are most concerned with the pension issue. At present, they receive only \$100 a month after 15 years.

"None of us can forget what happened to a driver a while back," said one of the men on the picket line. "This guy had 14 years of service when he got cancer and lost an arm. He was a few months short of the 15 years and Trailways didn't want to give him those \$25 a week. We had to fight like hell to get him his pension."

## SERVICE

While Continental Trailways has been unable to keep up regular service between New York, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C., it has maintained service in other parts of the country because the leadership of the Amalgamated Transportation Union and smaller unions, which organize a number of Trailways subdivisions, have not called their men out.

The drivers are determined to continue the strike, and have set up a collection box in the Port Authority. Many commuters passing by the picket line were seen placing bills and change into the box.

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# Young Socialist®

Send your letters to:  
 Abby Rodriguez, Editor  
 Young Socialist  
 6th Floor, 135 W. 14th Street  
 New York, N. Y. 10011

## Don't Let Nixon Destroy Our Schools

For youth all across the country, 1973 will be unlike any other in the history of education. Tremendous explosions within the school system are rising to the surface as Nixon prepares to eliminate public education for working class youth and make it a privilege for the rich.

This means a head-on confrontation of workers and youth against the capitalists to defend the right to a decent education. This means mobilizing youth nationwide, around the program of the Young Socialists and making the sharpest of breaks with protest politics.

The massive cutbacks and teacher layoffs of 1972 will now be followed up with school shutdowns and the use of physical force against teachers' unions and any militant student opposition as in Baton Rouge. The Young Socialists are the only ones with a revolutionary strategy to defend the youth against these attacks. In our Draft Program, we stated that "The fight for the right to an education becomes a central part of the struggle to defend the working class."

This can be understood most clearly in the fact that budget cuts, tuition rises and teacher layoffs will drastically affect the same working class youth who cannot find jobs, are paid low wages and forced to inhuman speedup. In the 40s and 50s, large amounts of money were pumped into education so that scientists, technicians and skilled workers could be "produced" to meet the needs of expanding capitalism. Today, with the complete and irreversible collapse of the boom period, educated youth are not required for jobs needing manual operation. Instead, the cost of education actually becomes a burden for the government.

In this context, we have to prepare the youth to consciously battle those forces who destroy the schools and create unemployment. The only conscious fight can be a political fight against the government. This means turning toward the trade unions to demand that they convene a Congress of Labor immediately for the purpose of constructing an American labor party. This labor party can only be built in a decisive break with both the Democrats and Republicans who spearhead all the attacks on working people. At the same time, all those tendencies who seek to tie the youth to mere whimpering and protest as Nixon sharpens his knife, must be exposed as very dangerous in this period.

The demands of the YS on education must be brought into the January 20 anti-war demonstration to unite the fight for education with the struggle against war.

This must then be taken forward into the building of branches for the May 26 conference which will launch the YS nationally.

## Rockefeller's Life Sentence

BY A YS REPORTER

NEW YORK—In his State of the State address last week, Governor Nelson D. Rockefeller called on the state legislature to make mandatory a life sentence without parole or review for convicted drug pushers.

The governor said that he had "tried every possible approach to stop addiction and save the addict through education and treatment. But let's be frank—let's 'tell it like it is.' We have achieved very little permanent rehabilitation and have found no cure. The crimes, the muggings, the robberies, the murders associated with addiction continue to spread a reign of terror."

This is a complete lie created to blame youth for the addiction problems. Further, it will legalize the mass roundup of youth under the pretext of being drug pushers.

The multi-millionaire governor who engineered the brutal repression during the Attica rebellion could not care less about the dangers of drugs to the youth. His constant slashing of jobs and educational funds has created the conditions on which drugs flourish aided by his police and state officials who direct the traffic.

The move by the government is to create a frantic atmosphere to



enable it to push through reactionary legislation that will eliminate democratic rights such as hearings, paroles, and suspended sentences.

The government can then accuse political organizations of being just as dangerous to the public as narcotics pushers and jail any leaders of the working class.

The unions are the main target of this kind of legislation. The capitalist press always screams that the intolerable strike actions of the trade unions endanger the "public."

## Detroit Board Dumps Teacher Substitutes

BY  
 KEN WESTON

DETROIT—The School Board here, which has threatened to shut down every school during January and February, is pressing ahead with its plans to lay off at least 1000 teachers who have been hired as emergency substitutes since last fall.

Emergency substitutes not only earn less than contracted teachers but may be fired with only two days notice. Detroit's shaky school system, which has a projected budget deficit of over 80 million dollars, could shut down at any time now.

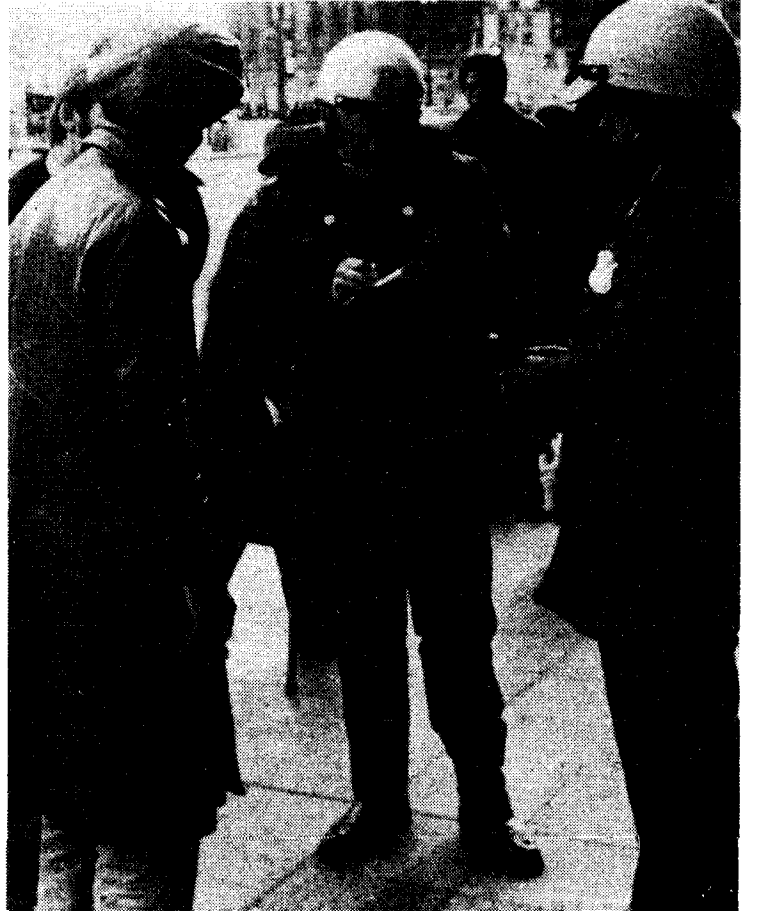
The Detroit Federation of Teachers filed suit last week in Wayne Circuit Court demanding that the 1000 teachers hired as substitutes be given regular contracts with the Detroit School Board. The School Board began early last year to refuse to give contracts to certified teachers.

AFT president, Mrs. Mary Ellen Riordan, told reporters: "The Federation believes this practice is blatantly illegal. These teachers carry the full load and responsibility of regular full time contract teachers. It is most unfair for them to lose benefits such as job security, seniority, and the extra salary to which they are entitled."

CYNICALLY

The general superintendent of the schools, Dr. Charles T. Wolfe, has cynically admitted that the School Board deliberately hired 1000 of Detroit's 10,500 teachers as emergency substitutes as a way to save money if the school year is shortened. To the youth who must go to overcrowded and decrepit schools, Wolfe merely says that the Board's policy is "not necessarily good for education."

At the same time, the Detroit



Detroit STRESS (special police). Operating with unrestricted powers, they are used to terrorize youth and eliminate opposition to the City's plans to destroy education and living conditions. See article page 17.

City Council is busy searching for new ways to discipline students who are growing more and more rebellious against the barbaric conditions they face. The undercover agent STRESS program, which has run riot over the constitutional rights of youth and workers in Detroit, is being used to terrorize youth into submission.

A vicious witch-hunt and hysteria campaign against the youth has been mounted by Detroit's capitalist press. The Detroit News is leading the campaign with its "secret tipster" program which offers \$18,000 for

information leading to the arrest of persons connected with the shooting of a STRESS cop.

The Michigan Chronicle, a paper owned by the Black middle class, rants with increasing hysteria against "trouble makers" and "outsiders in the schools," blaming the rotten conditions on working class youth.

These attacks on the teachers and youth must be answered by the AFT taking forward its fight against Nixon's wage freeze into a political fight aimed at building a labor party which will defend the workers and youth of Detroit against such attacks.

## Beginning This Week on page 9.

This new series by Guy Williams explores the full history of the building of the revolutionary youth movement in the United States.



## Building the Revolutionary Youth Movement in the U.S.

1. The Origins

by Guy Williams

# An Interview with Ray Barretto



Ray Barretto with: Manny Duran, Papi Roman, Bobby Rodriguez: Trumpets; Artie Web: Flute; Julio Romero: Bass; Luis Cruz: Piano; Ray Romero: Timbales; Tony Fuentes: Bongos; Carlos Santos: Vocal.

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

Ray Barretto is one of the top Latin performers in the music industry today. He grew up on 110 Street in East Harlem. He began playing with many of the great jazz musicians. Today he is the leader of one of the most popular Latin bands in the country.

Interviewed by the Young Socialists, Ray Barretto spoke about his experiences inside the industry.

"I've been in the music industry with my own band now for 11 years and before that I was playing for six years.

"A great part of the music industry abuses musicians and all artists, although certain sections of the industry treat the artists fairly.

"But I think that more than ever today artists are becoming conscious of the industry. They are taking a more active part in the industry. It's not all peaches and cream. There is less ripping off today than say 15 years ago.

"Still the companies are swamped with hungry young bands. So the companies have the ability to take advantage of these young bands. They can justify themselves by saying that since they are laying out the money the gamble is theirs.

"It's a false argument because if the record won't sell, it wouldn't sell even if they had a contract. If the public likes it and will accept it, it will sell. It is a very competitive business and it is rough for young groups to make money.

"I got taken in the beginning. I didn't have the business know how necessary. I got a small percentage of what I sold. But I got lucky and had a national hit, 'El Watusi.' An established artist would still have gotten more of a cut than I did.

"It takes years and years of hard work to be a good musician. Writing, studying and understanding the backgrounds of music is not easy.

"It is very rough for someone or some group to come off the streets into a professional studio and under professional conditions. It can happen but most groups need more time and

studying.

"There is no such thing as an overnight success. Whenever you hear about someone becoming an overnight success it is because he has been plugging away at it for years.

"Before you can get any money from a recording, you must at least sell 15 to 20 thousand albums so that the company can liquidate the amount they spent for the recording studio and publicity. Then, the amount of percentage gotten depends on the artist or group. We get around six percent.

"Sometimes the word 'play' can be very deceiving. I have to work for you, not just play. Four hours per night and four nights a week is the average work we do.

"We are workers working hard all our lives to be good musicians. It's not as glamorous as it seems. We don't make as much as the public thinks but compared to a factory worker it's better.

"The amount of money that a band player in a group gets depends on what he does as well. If he writes or arranges, he would receive more than the others.

"But for every musician that 'makes it,' there are 200 that don't. In the musicians union alone, there are 35,000 members. If times were good and people had money to go out more musicians would probably be able to perform.

"However, art is always seen as unimportant. Where I live the budget cuts in a nearby school first hit the music and art department. As well as cutting the facilities, some of the music teachers were laid off. The parents got together and helped these teachers get back their jobs. Today, this system does not allow young people to develop their creativity."

## Young Socialist

### Behind The Big Promises Of The Taxi Owners

BY BOB ROSE

NEW YORK—"I only took this job because I really needed the money. This job is murder. It must be 18 degrees out here today. And look at what this kind of work does to the older men around here. The pay is bad, the management is always on your back and the union representative doesn't help you."

This statement by a young worker, Ricky, who works on the gas line of the taxi garage, expresses the growing hatred of most young employees towards the conditions in the taxi industry.

These "inside men," as they are called, make between \$90 and \$110 a week. This is completely inadequate with the growing inflation.

In New York City, taxi fleets place want ads which claim a cab driver can earn \$150 a week. But in reality in most garages, workers must "shape up" and wait as much as three hours without pay just to get dispatched in a cab.

All new drivers—the majority being under 25 years old—receive only 42 percent commission on their bookings. The Van Arsdale Local 3036 leadership is deepening its hostility for the rank and file by opposing a commission increase for all drivers to 60 percent.

They blame the 42 percent on

the young drivers. They openly state that if the young drivers do not like the commission, they should not take the job.

#### FIRED

A young driver, Mike, told the Young Socialist: "I just got fired for supposedly taking a fare off the meter. I haven't had my hearing yet. They just take the Taxi Commission's word for it. I don't know what I'll do. I don't know how I'll pay the rent. The fleet owners and the city just want to push us around to keep us disorganized."

It is the standard policy of the Taxi Commission and the employers to assume that the driver is guilty before his hearing. In three months, the Commission has collected \$1.1 million in fines.

"I can't find any union representative here to defend me," Mike continued. "The garage just opened and we're mostly young, new 42 percent drivers. The Van Arsdale leadership

doesn't do anything to protect us. The boss is making a lot of money off us."

Union elections have been indefinitely suspended by Van Arsdale to "save money." In many garages, there is either no committee or a committee that mostly supports Van Arsdale. Without new elections to repre-

sent the rank and file, many youth and older workers are virtually without any defense in their garage.

"I used to think I could fight it out just by myself," Mike went on, "but I think the Bulletin is right. We need a new leadership in the union that is going to fight for a labor party."

### McDonald's Attacks San Francisco Unions

BY

A YS REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The McDonald's hamburger chain in San Francisco is bringing an \$11.1 million suit against the Golden Gate Restaurant and Hotel Employers Association and the San Francisco Local Joint Board of Culinary Workers, Bartenders and Hotel, Motel and Club Service Workers for their opposition to allowing McDonald's to flood San Francisco with non-union stands.

McDonald's wanted to build a series of shops throughout San Francisco and applied to the Board of Permits to get permission to begin construction. But, during the hearing, both restaurant owners and workers tes-

tified that if McDonald's were allowed in, it would mean destruction of unions and lowering the living standards of thousands of food service workers throughout the City.

Union members spoke of the horrible conditions that youth work under at McDonald's, working for minimum wages and for long hours, with massive speedup.

In this suit, McDonald's is announcing that it is opening up a war on the restaurant workers unions. Every union must demand that the decision of the Board of Permits to refuse McDonald's permission to build in San Francisco is upheld and that all unions come to the support of the unions that McDonald's is suing by fighting to unionize McDonald's.

### Minnesota Classrooms Stand Empty

BY

A YS REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—This week, Governor Wendell Anderson of Minnesota, in his "state of the state" message, sharpened his attack on youth by proposing to economize the state government by turning it into a business-like firm because of "waste and inefficiency in our state government."

In doing so, this Democratic politician stated: "For example, more than 3000 dormitory beds are empty—more and more elementary school classrooms are standing empty. One of our state college campuses, the newest facility in the system, stands with twice as many classrooms as it needs."

Anderson consciously avoided mentioning the massive layoffs of teachers and professors in the education system. With these layoffs, classrooms are crowded and the conditions for learning decay under the cover of saving the taxpayer money.

Students are forced to leave school because of higher tuition, room and board, and the rotten conditions imposed upon them. It is this situation which causes the 3000 empty beds.

Young Socialists Draft Program

# The Fight Against The War

This is the second part of a series on perspectives proposed for discussion at the YS National Founding Conference in May. We encourage everyone to send their opinions and suggestions to the Young Socialist.

## YS PROGRAM ON VIETNAM

The war in Vietnam rages on as Nixon makes clear his intention to create mass murder, attack the workers states, and bring the world to the verge of atomic warfare in the interests of capitalism.

Vietnam has become the testing ground in which the methods to crush the working class in every country will be perfected. Using unprecedented bombing, the government shows the extent it is willing to go in order to destroy the movement of workers and peasants.

These steps have been taken in order to preserve the profits of capitalism's giant banks and corporations. American youth face the possibility of dying in an imperialist war which they know nothing about and disagree with.

The Vietnamese War is a class war. It is a war between the workers, peasants and youth of Vietnam and US imperialism. It reflects the deepening crisis of the capitalist system and reveals the future

facing all mankind.

The drive for more profits lies at the heart of the war. Giant corporations are desperately seeking new markets for the exploitation of millions of youth.

Nixon's ultimate goal is the conquest of all the gains made by the working class in the workers states. In carrying out his Vietnam policies, capitalism has revealed its savage nature.

The bombings of hospitals and factories, of thousands of innocent people is the warning of what the future holds and that there can be no compromise with the capitalist class.

The greatest dangers facing the revolution come from the attempt of the Stalinist bureaucracies of Moscow and Peking to make deals with imperialism. The bureaucracies are willing to sacrifice the Vietnamese revolution in order to make trade agreements with Nixon. Such deals pose the greatest dangers to the working class in the Soviet Union and China.

The Stalinist leaders of Hanoi, supported by the American Communist Party, share responsibility in creating the il-

lusions that there is any basis for agreement with Nixon. Their "Sign Now" campaign is geared to making youth believe there can be any such thing as a just settlement outside of the complete victory of the Vietnamese.

The Young Socialist Alliance, by calling for protest demonstrations with Stalinists and sections of the Democratic Party, also adds to the confusion by not posing the necessary all-out fight against the government.

Protest demonstrations which appeal to the feelings of politicians or to pressuring them are idealist rubbish when the genocidal bombings reveal that the morals of the capitalist class are suited entirely to preserving their own interests.

Youth must call on the trade unions to take action against the war. The actions in Vietnam will be used by the government against the trade unions as workers strive to defend their living standards against Nixon's unemployment, Pay Board, budget cuts, and every other attack.

The struggle against the war can only be seen as part of the fight to bring the working class to power by uniting the fight against the war with the economic and political struggles against the government. Within this context, we must pose the necessity of breaking from the capitalist parties responsible for the war.

We demand:

\*Support for the struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants not only against American imperialism but also against Thieu's government.

\*Immediate withdrawal of all US troops and war materials from Indochina.

\*We say that the war in Vietnam is a class war. It is a war against the workers and peasants in Indochina and all the workers and youth in the US. We demand that the labor movement call a general strike against the war.

\*We give full support to the struggles of our brothers in the army against the war and against the brass.



YS demonstrates for U.S. labor to defend the Vietnamese revolution. Below: protest.

## The YSA Packs & Unpacks NPAC

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

The 12th Annual Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance which took place in Cleveland, Ohio last November marked a decisive stage in the rightward movement of these revisionists.

It was at that convention that the deep crisis within the YSA was expressed most clearly when just as Nixon was preparing massive attacks against the Vietnamese revolution, the YSA voted to shut down its anti-war activities.

The report on the convention which appears in the latest issue of the Young Socialist is therefore a dishonest fraud because it omits the fact that the YSA packed in both the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee at that convention.

The YSA has called for demonstrations on January 20, when just a few weeks ago the report in the Militant on the convention quoting Andy Rose, YSA National Chairman, stated the following:

"The most likely variant is that the cease-fire will be signed and that at least for the time being Nixon will stop the bombing and withdraw the U.S. troops from South Vietnam itself.

"The anti-war movement must be prepared to respond if Nixon continues or re-escalates the war, but the rapidly shifting course of the negotiations and the

likelihood of a military cease-fire within weeks mean, in our opinion, that it would be incorrect to plan at this time for demonstrations next spring."

### COVER

The abandonment of even meager protest demonstrations at the most critical time in the history of the war is being covered over. The turn that these revisionists took in November reflects the bankruptcy of their perspectives and hostility to the working class.

The revisionists, in refusing to base their movement on the working class and in refusing to fight against the war on a class basis, have substituted for it a middle class movement. An unprincipled coalition based on compromises has been built with middle class radicals, liberals, sections of the Democratic Party, and the counterrevolutionary Stalinists.

The Young Socialists on the other hand has always campaigned against the war by turning toward the working class and posing that the only solution is through the American working class' struggle for power. The fight against the war must be linked with the struggle of workers and youth against Nixon's Pay Board, unemployment and budget cuts. We fight to break the working class from the Democratic Party, which demands a fight against the Stalinists.

The results of the YSA's abandonment of principles is that they have no independence in the fight against capitalism from the Stalinists and liberals. They are engulfed by these forces to whom they have appealed at a time when it is these forces who are attempting to cut the throats of the working class.



This is why they closed down their anti-war activities at the convention in total agreement with the Stalinists who conspired with Nixon and aided his re-election by creating the illusion that peace was at hand. Every politician who has ever spoken on the platform of NPAC and SMC was appealing for Nixon to be given a chance to work out an agreement. Nixon in turn was preparing the plans which we have now seen killing thousands of innocent men, women and children and bombing hospitals and factories.

The Stalinist Communist Party continue to campaign for Nixon to sign an agreement to aid the bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking in their deception.

The YSA is complicit in this betrayal which gave assistance to Nixon's re-election. By giving up the peace movement they helped the Stalinists foster the illusion that a settlement was near.

### JUMPING

All the jumping from one political position, to another, of dropping and renewing demonstrations, reflects a class movement. It is based on the moods of a section of the middle class which is moving farther to the right in a vain attempt to preserve its position.

The YSA is in panic with no clear perspective ahead of them. They are being thrown from side to side as the struggle deepens. With no clear strategy, they find

themselves subject to Nixon's will.

The hostility to the working class which the revisionists hold can be seen as they resume the protest demonstrations. Even after the traitorous role the Stalinists have played is now clearly exposed, the YSA is desperately begging the Stalinists for an agreement on the demonstrations.

The Stalinists in return have gone all-out on the "sign now" campaign and the revisionists are adapting to them. These are criminal acts by the YSA, who know very well that the Stalinists are only too happy to leave the fight on the level of protest. Everyone wants protest. A considerable section of Congress is supporting the protest demonstration, because this is used to hold back the fight of workers and youth.

What is posed to the working class is general strike action, boycotts and work stoppages to end the war and Nixon's attacks at home. This will go forward only through the call for the convening of a Congress of Labor and the building of a labor party.

The refusal of the YSA to take this action and to remain with the treacherous Stalinists makes them a transmission belt for the capitalist class, who seek to deceive the masses.

The Young Socialist contingent will intervene in the January 20 demonstrations to mobilize the trade unions into a political fight against the government.



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Nixon's 'Shock Therapy'

Richard Nixon has decided to slash every social program now on the books and place the American working class on what amounts to starvation rations.

With the help of his super cabinet, Nixon is in the final stages of completing a budget for 1973 that will authorize drastic cutbacks in federal spending which will lead to the elimination of funding for housing, education, medical care, welfare, job training and public services.

This new budget, to be published on January 29, will be a blueprint for the destruction of the living conditions of the working class. "It's going to hurt in some areas," said a top Nixon aide, "but it's got to be done."

While working on this budget, the Nixon administration is pressing ahead with its demands for tighter wage controls after those now in effect expire on April 30.

All these actions are being taken under the pretense of "fighting inflation," but the prices of everything from food to clothing continue to soar.

It is now clear that after his inauguration, Nixon will carry out the brutal program that the banks and industry are demanding—a program that Federal Reserve Board boss Arthur Burns described last week as "shock therapy" for the working class.

The labor movement must be mobilized against these attacks. The fight for the Congress of Labor to take immediate action against this labor-hating administration and to build a labor party assumes the greatest urgency.

The St. Louis meeting on February 18 of the Continuations Committee of the Labor Party Conference will be a critical step forward in developing a Marxist leadership in the trade unions that will fight for the Congress of Labor. We call on all trade unionists to prepare a delegation from their locals to attend this Conference.

## Danger In The Mines

Arnold Miller, the new president of the United Mine Workers of America, after taking his oath of office said that the "most serious problem" in the mines is "safety." It should be clear that it is impossible to run an election in the UMW without talking about safety.

For Miller this has been the long and the short of it. But on the question of the political fight against the attacks on wages, jobs and working conditions and above all the intervention of the government behind the mine owners, Miller is silent.

In fact, it was through the appeals of Miller's Miners For Democracy to the Labor Department that the government established a dangerous precedent effecting the entire trade union movement—direct intervention and the power to police internal union affairs. The government's intervention was not motivated by any concern for the mineworkers but precisely to hit at the independence of the unions.

The election of Miller was a result of the tremendous hatred of the Boyle leadership and the determination of the miners to defend their union. But a great danger now lies in pushing illusions in Miller. This is the role of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

Reformist trade unionism must inevitably compromise with the government because it begins with the acceptance of capitalism. Without revolutionary leadership, the trade unions cannot win.



## Editor's Notebook

### Birthday

While some of his buddies were on trial for their part in the Watergate Conspiracy, Richard Nixon was holed up in the White House celebrating a very private holiday—his sixtieth.

Only Nixon's closest confidants were invited to join the birthday dinner of cherrystone clams, New York strip steak, cheese souffle, broiled tomatoes and spinach salad. Industrialist Robert Abplanalp, who owns an island where Nixon likes to sun himself, was at his place in the Blue Room. And, of course, there was the omnipresent Bebe Rebozo—the mysterious financier.

Reporters were anxious to hear whether Nixon had a birthday wish; one journalist, who had the nerve to ask for more than the usual "froth," was icily reprimanded by Press Secretary Ron Ziegler: "It's his birthday. He can express what he wants to."

But Nixon was not entirely uncommunicative on his birthday. Two reporters were hauled into the White House in the morning to listen—no



questions allowed—to Nixon's inner reflections on the beginning of his seventh decade.

It seems he's become quite a philosopher. Admitting that he never expected to find himself in the White House on

his sixtieth birthday, he said: "A man can never judge what time will do."

Nixon will be even more convinced of this by the time his next birthday comes around.

### A Royal Surprise

Last June, in Hartford, Connecticut, Royal Typewriter closed down completely. Three thousand workers were simply thrown out as the company decided to move to Hull in Great Britain. The plant was closed down and all the machinery was packed into cartons by the last workers in the Hartford plant.

Now all the machines have arrived at their destination in England. A foreman was sent over from Hartford to supervise the English workers in unloading the machines at the Royal Plant in Hull.

Opening the boxes, the

British workers found something left by their American brothers. All the workers in Hartford had placed in the cartons their time cards, stating how many hours they worked and at what pay.

Naturally, the British workers were infuriated to learn that they were doing the jobs of their American brothers so that Royal Typewriter could make larger profits by paying them less money. All that the foreman could say upon returning to the U.S. was that, "There was a great commotion in the Hull plant."

### Money Can Buy The Finest

New York's finest they're called and there is not a one of them, says the Knapp Commission, that is not on the take. The Commission states that "police corruption was found to be an extensive, department-wide phenomenon, indulged in to some degree by a sizeable majority of those on the force."

The cops are divided into two categories. First are the "grass eaters" who take payoffs of from \$5 to \$20, but supposedly "do not aggressively pursue corruption." (!) The second category are the "meat eaters" who "spend a good deal of working hours aggressively seeking out situations they can exploit for financial gain, which yield payments of thousands of dollars."

Some of these "meat eaters" it has recently been reported gobbled up some 300 pounds of cocaine and heroin from the storeroom of the Police Department.

According to the Commission "the single largest source of police corruption" is organized crime. But the corruption of the police is the corruption of the capitalist class whose property and interests they are hired to protect and who today will stop at nothing to maintain their profits.

It is no accident that the head cop, Nixon, is reported to have connections in the same quarters as New York's finest.

### Biggest Drive In History

In a tremendous last minute wrap up of the subscription campaign a total of 966 subs have come in the last week. This brings the final total on the 6500 drive to 7695.

Baltimore and Washington led the way in the final push with 193 and 202 respectively. Philadelphia, which had much difficulty at the beginning, went over the top with 81 subs.

A total of 28 branches completed their quotas or went over with only five branches not making their goal. Hartford brought in 298 on a 225 quota while Los Angeles brought in 387 on a 300 quota. The largest single number of subs from any branch was 406 from Brownsville.

Next week we will announce plans for the new Spring Subscription drive to be held March 1 to June 1. This drive will be critical in laying the base for the twice-weekly publication of the Bulletin this Fall.



# Building the Revolutionary Youth Movement in the U.S.

by Guy Williams

## 1. The Origins

THE CONSTRUCTION OF a revolutionary youth movement is an absolute necessity for the overthrow of capitalism. The building of this movement is an integral and urgent part of the fight for revolutionary leadership in the working class as a whole.

The opportunities for building a movement among youth have never been greater. World capitalism, with Washington in the lead, has launched the most ferocious attacks against the working class and youth. The rampant inflation, unemployment, cutbacks in social services and political repression are the opening shots of a period of tremendous revolutionary struggle. Nixon has no choice but to unleash these battles.

Everywhere youth are in the forefront of the fight against these attacks. From the United States to Ceylon, from Britain to Bolivia, as well as in the Soviet bloc, the youth are among the first to move into action, and into political as well as economic struggle against capitalism and its agents. But everywhere a Marxist leadership among the youth must be built in order to penetrate all

layers of the working class.

The objective situation demands more urgently than ever that a revolutionary youth movement be built. This can only be done through a fight on the theoretical as well as the political and economic fronts. The youth movement must be a battleground for Marxist theory. A cadre can only be trained as Marxists in struggle against the opposite of Marxism, against revisionism and Stalinism. It is for this reason that we turn to the history of the youth movement, and of the Young Socialist Alliance in particular. The YSA had its origins 15 years ago in the rebirth of the Trotskyist youth movement. Today it has become the opposite of that movement, and only through a struggle against

it can the revolutionary movement be built.

At a time of tremendous upheaval, the Young Socialist Alliance has turned its back completely on Marxism and on the working class. It tails after the Stalinists and liberals in the most disgusting fashion. It is openly hostile to the working class, the youth, and the trade unions.

After providing the vital cement to hold together the middle class antiwar movement for seven years, it drops what it has created without a word of explanation, confessing bankruptcy and announcing that Nixon has won re-election as a "peace candidate." After an election in which nearly 50 percent of the population abstained, in a period of tremendous

hostility to both the Republican and Democratic Parties, the YSA is completely prostrate before a second-term Nixon Administration which is greatly stepping up its war on the working class.

It is not enough to reject the middle class policies of the YSA today. The history of the YSA and of the fight to build a Trotskyist youth movement must be studied and fully understood. Only in that way can a fight be taken up today both against the revisionists themselves as well as against their method and perspectives in our own movement.

Today the YSA has suddenly discovered its own past. It talks of the past, however, not to shed light on the tasks today, but to run away from those tasks, to attempt to avoid having to answer for its disastrous policies. It cannot examine and explain its own history, since that would require facing up to the revolutionary tasks it seeks to run away from.

For the revolutionary movement history must be brought, in the form of fundamental lessons and principles, into collision with the appearance today, with the objective situation. Out of this collision will come a development of both theory and practice. There must be a collision between the principles and method of Trotskyism and its negation today, which the YSA has become. The purpose of this conscious struggle is not to leave theory or its material expression at the same point as it was in the past. That is impossible in any case. The only way in which there can be a development is out of this conflict.

### LESSONS OF THE SHACHTMAN FIGHT

The Trotskyist movement developed as the International Left Opposition in struggle against the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its betrayals in the



Soviet Union and all over the world. In the United States, as well as in other countries, the new forces which came to Trotskyism came primarily from the youth. In every period it is the young generation of workers as well as students who first take up the struggle for revolutionary Marxism. The task falls to them to revive the older generation.

In the United States, the first youth organization of the Trotskyists was the Spartacus Youth League which published a monthly paper called *Young Spartacist*. Its orientation was primarily towards youth around the Communist Party which reflected the general strategy of the International Left Opposition up until 1933. The paper also concerned itself to some extent with struggles of young workers.

The real development of a Trotskyist youth movement comes from a later period. The crisis of capitalism in the 1930s had its impact on the youth of the Socialist Party. Some were drawn towards the Stalinists but others, the vast majority of the Young Peoples Socialist League, turned in a revolutionary direction. This was part of an international phenomena affecting not only students but trade unionists as well.

The turn of the Trotskyist movement into the Socialist Parties, known as the "French Turn" after the country where it was first tried, was aimed at reaching this strata before the Stalinists could. In the United States, it meant the entry of the Trotskyists into the Socialist Party. Almost immediately the majority of the YPSL went over to the Trotskyist movement.

When the Trotskyists were expelled from the SP in 1938, the YPSL majority split, becoming known as the YPSL (Fourth), the youth affiliate of the Socialist Workers Party.

Trotsky had for some time struggled with the leaders of this youth movement to turn them towards the working class. He recognized the great dangers posed by the essentially middle class composition of the youth and their social democratic training. It was Trotsky who urged the youth to turn towards working class youth, to develop a uniform and in other ways drill and prepare to answer the attacks of the fascists.

The paper of the YPSL (Fourth), *Challenge Of Youth*, made certain gestures to carry material on working class youth. However, it never broke from its middle class propagandistic character. The youth organization of the SWP in 1940 was therefore a middle class student based group whose leadership had been trained in the social democracy and whose members had not really broken from the petty bourgeois circles they had come out of.

Within weeks of the beginning of World War II, with the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact and the Nazi invasion of Poland, a sharp conflict broke out in the leadership of the SWP. The minority bloc was formed in opposition to the defense of the Soviet Union and in opposition to the "bureaucratic regime" in the SWP, led by James P. Cannon.

The minority was an unprincipled combination maintained solely on the basis of hostility to Marxist philosophy and the Leninist conception of the party. One of its leaders, James Burnham, maintained that the USSR was a new class society. Shachtman said at first that he wasn't sure. Abern continued to maintain agreement with the majority that it was a degenerated workers state. On the philosophical front, Burnham maintained that dialectics was useless metaphysics. Shachtman again took an agnostic position, claiming to be a supporter of dialectical materialism but insisting that it was completely subordinate to questions of politics and program.

It was Burnham, soon to leave the workers' movement entirely for the camp of right-wing imperialism, who set the tone for the opposition both politically and philosophically. At the root of the rejection by the minority of the defense of the Soviet Union was impressionism, pragmatism, beginning from the narrowest national considerations and bending completely to the dominant "democratic" public opinion.

James P. Cannon discusses the situation with the youth at the time of the 1940 fight: "...Here we had to begin from nothing.

The youth had all been lined up before the fight started on the basis of gossip or small grievances of one kind and another. A great many of them were so poisoned and disoriented that a serious political discussion has had difficulty in making its way among them...It should be mentioned that the national apparatus of the YPSL is to all intents and purposes a faction apparatus of the opposition. It routes organizers for faction work, etc., without any consultation whatever with the National Office of the party."

Cannon describes a general membership meeting in New York held just after Trotsky wrote "From A Scratch to Gangrene" as a last warning to the opposition:

"Shachtman—true to himself—spent his whole time twisting and squirming around those points in the document which dealt with him personally, ignoring the fundamental principled sections, and joking—above all joking—in a manner which even for Shachtman was exceptionally clownish. The opposition followers, especially the high school and college students, enjoyed the jokes immensely. As for the speech of Goldman—they did not even listen. They laughed and joked among themselves and engaged in buzzing conversations most of the time."

Trotsky assessed the situation with the youth in his document "From A Scratch to Gangrene" which was received with such derision by the opposition youth:

"The reasonings of the opposition in regard to the youth are false in the extreme. Assuredly, without the conquest of the proletarian youth the revolutionary party cannot develop. But the trouble is that we have almost an entire petty-bourgeois youth, to a considerable degree with a social-democratic, i.e., opportunist past. The leaders of this youth have indubitable virtues and ability but, alas, they have been educated in the spirit of petty-bourgeois combinationism and if they are not wrenched out of their habitual milieu, if they are not sent without high-sounding titles into working-class districts for day-to-day dirty work among the proletariat, they can forever perish for the revolutionary movement."

The support of the mass of the youth for the anti-Marxist opposition can only be explained by the failure in the period prior to 1940 to train these youth through a struggle against American pragmatism and to turn these youth into the mass of working class youth. As early as 1936, Trotsky had stated:

"Pragmatism, empiricism is the greatest curse of American thought. You must inoculate younger comrades against its infection."

This was not done. Of course, for this situation Shachtman and those around him must take a major responsibility. They were the ones in closest touch with the youth. But James P. Cannon had his responsibility as well. He was, after all, the leader of the party. He had not himself tackled theoretical and philosophical questions. He left such matters to Shachtman and Burnham and he left the youth as well to them. Thus he found himself in 1940 beginning "from nothing."

What was required after the split in 1940 was a searching assessment of the cause of the loss of a promising youth movement. On the basis of such an assessment, a new youth movement could be built. After all Trotsky had insisted, and in this he only repeated Lenin's view and the position of the Transitional Program: "Without the conquest of the proletarian youth the revolutionary party cannot develop."

What actually happened was that the struggle to construct a revolutionary youth movement was completely dropped and never taken up again for seventeen long and eventful years. This alone had a tremendously deleterious effect upon the development of the SWP as a revolutionary party for that long critical period and in turn distorted the political situation within which the YSA was to be born.

The reason for this neglect can best be understood if we turn to the discussions Trotsky held with the SWP just before and after the 1940 split on the Negroes and on trade union work.

In the course of a discussion on Negro work in 1939 Trotsky stated:



"I believe that the first question is the attitude of the Socialist Workers Party toward the Negroes. It is very disquieting to find that until now the party had done almost nothing in this field. ...It is not a good sign. It is a bad sign. The characteristic thing about American workers' parties, trade union organizations, and so on, was their aristocratic character. It is the basis of opportunism. The skilled workers who feel set in the capitalist society help the bourgeois class to hold the Negroes and unskilled workers down to a very low scale. Our party is not safe from degeneration if it remains a place for intellectuals, semi-intellectuals, skilled workers and Jewish workers who build a very close milieu which is almost isolated from the genuine masses. Under this condition our party cannot develop—it will degenerate."

Immediately after the split with the Shachtman group, Trotsky returned to the same subject in a discussion with party leaders and trade unionists on trade union work and on a tactical approach to the Stalinists. Hansen asked Trotsky point blank:

"I am wondering if Comrade Trotsky considers that our party is displaying a conservative tendency in the sense that we are adapting ourselves politically to the trade union bureaucracy?"

Trotsky answers frankly: "To a certain degree I believe it is so..."

The refusal to turn sharply towards the youth, particularly the working class youth, both Black and white, was an expression of the same conservative aristocratic tendency which refused to develop work among the Black working class and which adapted to anti-socialist layers within the trade union movement. This tendency was covered with demagogy about a "proletarian orientation." The development of a revisionist opposition was attributed simply to the middle class character of student youth and thus it was felt, if only the party did not develop a youth movement and instead recruited older trade unionists, it would be free from degeneration.

But Trotsky had insisted that the trade unions themselves, outside of a party fight for Marxism, could also be a basis for revisionist tendencies and that no revolutionary party could develop which

did not reach the proletarian youth and the minority workers.

Because the party virtually ignored the construction of a youth movement, the centrists were better able to construct something in this period. The Shachtmanites were able to attract some youth, but not, of course, able to turn them towards Marxism. In proportion to their success in reaching youth, the crisis within the Shachtmanites also developed.

More important, the Communist Party was able to build a very sizable youth movement through the Labor Youth League, which was affiliated with the CP, and the Young Progressives of America which they dominated. They dominated the American campuses in the immediate postwar period right up to 1951, the year the Shachtmanites founded the Socialist Youth League (SYL). Also in existence in this period was the small social democratic Young Peoples Socialist League, affiliated with the Socialist Party and a number of pacifist groups of a centrist or social democratic orientation.

The SYL was founded during the height of the postwar boom when capitalism had been temporarily restabilized and the McCarthyite anti-Communist hysteria swept the country. Socialist youth activity on the campuses quickly withered away and even the large Stalinist youth movement was reduced to a handful of people.

Most important, the Shachtmanites reacted to the new outburst of anti-Soviet hysteria just as they had in 1940 except that the development was more extreme. They developed the theory that Stalinism was a new imperialist force threatening to take over the world. Their "third camp" became more openly a cover for support to American imperialism in its war against the workers states.

After a brief effort at reunification with the Fourth International, the Workers Party began an evolution farther and farther away from even formal adherence to Trotskyism. In 1949 it changed its name to the Independent Socialist League, stated it was in no sense a vanguard party, and turned its attention to the liberal and social democratic milieu seeking to pose as the most consistent "democrats."

In 1953, the SYL fused with the YPSL which had broken away from the SP to form the Young Socialist League. The move came at a time when both groups were virtually moribund, the SYL, with



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perhaps 60 people and the YPSL no more than 20. The unification was, however, of considerable importance for it gave to the YSL a certain life right at a moment when the international situation was beginning to change. 1953 was the year of the East Berlin uprising and of the strikes throughout the Soviet labor camps in Siberia, a foretaste of the Hungarian and Polish Revolutions to come.

The YSL formation was an extremely contradictory development. For the YPSL members it was a move to the left, a search for an alternative to the bankruptcy of the social democracy. But it was a fusion with a centrist group dominated by an anti-Soviet hysteria which represented a major concession to U.S. imperialism. It represented no clear break with the essence of social democratic politics. But the conditions for such a break were not there because of the refusal of the SWP to turn its attention to the youth.

For the Shachtmanites, it was largely an opening to the right, the foretaste of plans to come to completely liquidate their small organization in the social democracy. This was facilitated by the fact that the YPSLs were anti-Leninists who blamed Lenin for the degeneration of the Soviet Union and this issue was submerged and compromised within the fused YSL organization.

The most important recruit from the YPSL unification was Mike Harrington. Harrington had become radical as a member of the very reactionary Catholic Worker group which fused Catholicism with welfare efforts on the Bowery. He then passed through the YPSL, to join the YSL and by 1955 became its National Secretary.

Harrington never broke fully from the Catholic Church. In this period, he was an open advocate of pragmatism, claiming that there was no dialectic of nature and actually defended a belief in God in an internal debate with a leader of the Shachtmanites. This is the man who was until recently National Chairman of the SP resigning only to defend McGovern against Humphrey!

#### THE FIRST OPPOSITION

The YSL, like the Shachtmanites, was based on the conception of the third camp road to socialism. What this meant was that it was impermissible to support either the imperialism of the capitalists or

what was termed the imperialism of the Stalinists. Objectively, this meant that they were siding with the capitalist class against the working class of the Soviet Union but they were able to maintain the third camp formulation of no support through the war years. After the war, with the development of the cold war and the anti-Communist witch-hunt, the pressures began to mount for the Shachtmanites to give more direct support to capitalist imperialism.

Along with the evolution of the YSL toward supporting U.S. imperialism, they began to develop an orientation to the liberals, actually in preparation for liquidation. In the 1953 draft resolution on Indochina by Max Martin, back handed support for imperialism became even more open when the resolution declared: "The responsibility would rest squarely on the shoulders of the French and American imperialism who, by their policies, led to the victory of Stalinism." The YSL and ISL's position was to advise the imperialists in their struggles against Stalinism. Later in the development of the YSL, it was stated that in the future war it might be necessary for the working class to save capitalism and democracy in the struggle against Stalinist totalitarianism and take hold of the government to prosecute the war.

For the Shachtmanites, the characterization of a Vietminh victory in Indochina as a defeat for the working class went hand in hand with the need to educate on a democratic foreign policy, in other words, to make a war against the Vietminh by the capitalists truly a progressive one.

In opposition to this line, a resolution was put forward by Henry Gale, in which support to the Vietminh was argued on the basis that the decisive problem was to achieve national independence, while at the same time carrying out a fight against the sell out policies of the Stalinist leadership.

In an opposition resolution entitled Socialist Policy for the War in Indochina, by Jake Barnes and Henry Gale, they stated that the attitude of socialists toward any struggle must be based upon an analysis of the historical character and aims of the conflicting sides. They characterized the war as a war of national liberation, in spite of the Stalinist leadership.

At this time Scott Arden, Jake Barnes, Henry Gale and Charles Radetsky announced the formation of a tendency to fight against the direction in which the YSL was moving, stating that the organization was in a theoretical and organizational crisis. The Henry Gale mentioned in this struggle was the pen name of Shane Mage, who was to play an important role in the 1956 struggle leading up to the founding of the YSA.

The opposition assessed the situation as follows:

"We consider that the present drift in the independent socialist movement in the U.S. is toward abstentionism with regard to the labor movement and the trade union struggles, coupled with adaptation to the 'liberal intelligentsia' in orientation, and centrist in general, particularly in questions of the world anti-imperialist wave of revolution."

The tendency described what it felt had to be done in order to correct the situation: a thorough reevaluation and an intensive period of thought and study. They projected that a whole series of documents and resolutions be written on all these questions.

In spite of all their weaknesses and confusion, this tendency began the fight against the rapidly rightward moving centrism of Shachtman and his supporters. Of course, in the beginning it did not probe to the roots of this centrism. But for the first time the questions of the colonial revolution and of Stalinism were posed against what Shachtmanism had stood for since 1940. For the first time Stalinism was looked upon as something the working class could break out of and destroy. The basis was being laid for the unraveling of Shachtmanism, for an understanding of how the break from Marxism in 1940 led inexorably to direct capitulation to imperialism.

While these developments were taking place within the Shachtmanite movement, the Socialist Workers Party was thrown into its most fundamental crisis since 1940. A tendency had developed around Michel Pablo, International Secretary of the Fourth International, which was symmetrical to Shachtmanism. While Shachtman gave up the construction of a revolutionary party rooted in the working class and moved toward liquidation into the social democracy and liberalism, Pablo abandoned the party and the working class and moved toward liquidation into the Stalinist movement. Methodologically the two tendencies, opposed so sharply on the surface, were identical. Both caved in to middle class pressures and went over to impressionism under conditions of a lessening of the class struggle during this temporary boom period.

A tendency emerged within the SWP in 1952-53 around Bert Cochran which supported Pablo. While some in this tendency around George Clarke were moving towards the Stalinists, the majority were trade unionists around Cochran who were seeking a way out of the party and into middle class existences and the labor bureaucracy.

James P. Cannon conducted a bitter struggle against this tendency and in the end expelled the group. At the same time, he broke publicly with Pablo. This led to the birth of the International Committee of the Fourth International. This struggle was in no sense a clear struggle and after it was concluded it was essentially dropped. However, it was only because of this struggle that the SWP survived into the next period. This was to be decisive for the development of the revolutionary youth movement as well as for the Fourth International as a whole. Entrapped within the sick middle class environs of Shachtmanism, these leftist stirrings could have gone nowhere outside of the development of the SWP.

The question of the SWP began to be posed sharply within the YSL particularly in 1954 and 1955 in the period directly preparatory to the factional struggle which led to the formation of the YSA. Scott Arden and Shane Mage found themselves drawn towards the SWP, despite their deep theoretical differences with Trotskyism, because of their response to the revolutionary developments in Vietnam, China and Korea.

Because of this, Scott Arden approached James P. Cannon in the summer of 1954 at

the annual SWP Summer Camp in New Jersey. Arden proposed that the SWP send into the YSL the small number of youth who had joined the party in various cities. He felt there was sufficient basis for agreement with the SWP to form a joint caucus within the YSL to fight the right-wing Shachtmanites.

Cannon rejected the proposal out of hand stating that unless the YSL minority came over to the Trotskyist position on the Russian question there was no basis for common collaboration. But the matter did not rest there. Quite independently of the wishes of Cannon, or for that matter Arden, the changes in the world situation were bringing about a new turn towards Trotskyism among youth. This turn, in the absence of an SWP youth movement, inevitably would flow through the YSL, forcing the YSL to consider the question of the SWP and the SWP to consider the question of the YSL.

In the meantime, a very messy situation developed in Chicago. Several young members of the SWP, supporters of a small state capitalist minority within the SWP, began to join the YSL together with some peripheral people. The YSL right wing reacted in great fear and quickly proposed a resolution barring SWPers from membership in the YSL. The SWP leadership in Chicago also reacted fearfully and sought to remove the SWP youth in question from the YSL.

At the 1955 YSL Convention this matter exploded into the open and was resolved for the moment in favor of the right-wing Shachtmanites. The SWP was barred from membership in the YSL and several of the SWPers involved resigned from the SWP in favor of membership in the YSL. This was to be a dress rehearsal. The real battle would go the other way. For the moment, it became clear that the SWP was becoming entangled in the YSL whether it wished that or not and the YSL was forced to deal with the SWP at a point when its right-wing leadership were looking for a good excuse to dissolve into the social democracy.

The 1955 Convention was to prove to be significant in another respect although it did not appear that way at the time. It was the first Convention attended by Tim Wohlforth, who was to become the first National Secretary of the YSA. Wohlforth had first come into contact with the YSL immediately after its merger convention when it sent two members on a national speaking tour of college campuses. Wohlforth formed the Eugene V. Debs Club at Oberlin College in Ohio which was actually dominated by the YSL and was one of the three or four socialist clubs on any campus in 1953.

He soon joined the YSL but never joined the adult ISL. He attended the 1955 Convention representing the Cleveland-Oberlin Branch and voted with the majority on the questions in dispute with the Mage-Arden minority. But he voted with the opposition over the admission of SWPers to the YSL. It was at this convention that he was elected to the National Action Committee, the leading body of the YSL.

Soon after this convention, Wohlforth went into opposition to the majority over its adaptation to liberalism. This was, however, a dispute which avoided the central theoretical issues at stake and did not lead directly to the 1957 factional division. The importance of the evolution of Wohlforth lies in the fact that he was one of the few new forces to come into the YSL in that difficult period and thus his movement reflected the stirrings which were beginning to take place in the international working class. It is only by turning to these that we can fully understand the explosive political developments which were to lead to the formation of the YSA.

What is important to understand about the new opposition, which was to arise, was that it was not simply a repeat of the first opposition formation. Rather, it reflected the change in the objective circumstances brought on by the Khrushchev revelations, the Polish events and the Hungarian Revolution. It was these events, and the movement of the working class particularly in Hungary, that created the conditions for a fundamental break from centrism and for Trotskyism on the part of a significant number of youth in the YSL.



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This break from Shachtmanism could not have happened if it was not for the intervention of the SWP. Because of the boom period and its isolation from the working class during the 1950s, the SWP had fallen into an almost moribund state. But, the events in Hungary broke all that up and propelled this organization forward. This movement of the working class also precipitated the greatest crisis for the Stalinist movement, especially in the United States.

For these reasons, it is necessary to examine the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian Revolution. Both events occurred in 1956. That year marked the beginning of the breakup of the boom and the stability of world imperialism. This stability had been established following World War II with the aid of the Stalinists. The movement of the working class to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy marked the heightening of the contradictions within the capitalist system.

In 1953, Joseph Stalin, the man who personified the bureaucracy, died. After a series of power struggles, Khrushchev became Premier in the Soviet Union. This period was marked by deep dissatisfaction by the working class in the workers' states with the bureaucratic distortions which constantly acted as a fetter on the economy. With the development of the economy and the marked increase in the standard of living of the working class, the revolt by workers against the bureaucracy began to grow. In 1953, in both Czechoslovakia and East Germany, workers' uprisings occurred. Thus, the secret speech by Khrushchev to the Twentieth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union must be placed within the context of the growing movement of the working class. Khrushchev's speech on the crimes of the Stalin era was not delivered out of strength on the part of the bureaucracy but rather was the result of the profound social crisis they were facing and this speech was an attempt to contain it.

Khrushchev admitted to some of the most damning actions on the part of the bureaucracy as it fought to maintain itself as a privileged caste. He admitted that Stalin tortured his opponents and carried out mass executions, and perpetuated the greatest trampling upon the party and socialist democracy in history. He admitted "that of the 139 members and candidates of the party's Central Committee who were elected at the 17th Congress, 98 persons, i.e., 70 percent, were arrested and shot (mostly in 1937-38) by Stalin. Many party, Soviet and economic activists, who were branded in 1937-38 as 'enemies,' were actually never enemies, spies, wreckers, etc., but were always honest Communists...no longer able to bear barbaric tortures, they charged themselves (at the order of the investigative judges-falsifiers) with all kinds of grave and unlikely crimes. Stalin...(used) mass terror against the party cadres."<sup>10</sup>

Khrushchev admitted that it was because of Stalin that the borders of Russia were overrun by the Nazi forces at the beginning of World War II as he ignored warning after warning of the threatened invasion. The country was especially vulnerable because Stalin had liquidated the largest part of the leadership of the Red Army during the purges. On the Kirov assassination, which was used as the excuse for the great purge trials directed at the Trotskyists, Khrushchev admitted that "the circumstances surrounding Kirov's murder hide many things which are inexplicable and mysterious and demand a most careful examination. There are reasons for the suspicion that the killer of Kirov, Nikolayev, was assisted by someone from among the people whose duty it was to protect the person of Kirov."<sup>11</sup> In other words, he was killed with the help of the GPU, Stalin's agents.

While Khrushchev was forced to admit to a partial list of the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy, he attempted to dismiss them as only the result of the cult of personality around Stalin the man, and he completely reaffirmed support to the struggle against Trotskyism.

These revelations by Khrushchev threw the world Stalinist parties into the deepest crisis because they had always defended the actions of the bureaucracy completely. A reflection of this was the statement made by the National Committee of the

CPUSA on June 24, 1956, which appeared in the July 1956 issue of *Political Affairs*. It stated: "A basic analysis of how such perversions of socialist democracy, justice and internationalism were permitted to develop and continue unchecked for twenty years must still be made by the leadership of the CPSU. It needs also to be made by Marxists everywhere.

"We cannot accept an analysis of such profound mistakes which attributes them solely to the capricious aberrations of a single individual, no matter how much arbitrary power he was wrongly permitted to usurp. It is just as wrong to ascribe all the mistakes and violations of socialist principle to a single individual as it was to ascribe to him all the achievements and grandeur of socialist progress in the USSR.

"Also required is a further and deeper examination of such questions as the structure and operation of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

"We are deeply disturbed by the facts revealed in information coming from Poland that organs and media of Jewish culture were summarily dissolved and a number of their leaders executed. This is contrary to the Soviet Union's historic contributions on the Jewish question. Khrushchev's failure to deal with these outrages, and the continued silence of Soviet leaders, require an explanation.

"The Communist Party of the U.S. has some serious conclusions to draw from all this. For we are responsible to the working class and people of our own country. And to them we admit frankly that we uncritically justified many foreign and domestic policies of the Soviet Union which are now shown to be wrong."<sup>12</sup>

The crisis in the Stalinist Communist Party had assumed such proportions that the leadership actually called upon the bureaucracy to explain itself. The Hungarian Revolution followed Khrushchev's speech. It started on October 23 when 10,000 students demonstrated at Kossuth memorial in Budapest in support of the Polish workers and their program of 17 points for democratizing the state. They were met with police fire.

On Wednesday October 24, Russian tanks opened fire on demonstrators in Budapest, killing and wounding hundreds of men, women, and children. This sparked a general strike by the workers of Hungary and armed insurrection against the Stalinist bureaucracy. The bureaucracy was paralyzed and almost lost its power completely as the political revolution swept Hungary. It was only due to the absence of a Trotskyist party and the ruthless intervention of Soviet troops and tanks that the revolution was defeated.

The CPUSA defended the Soviet invasion and repressions as being necessary to put down a CIA-inspired counterrevolution. But the movement of the working class against the bureaucracy and the repression directed against it had a devastating effect on the American Communist Party. All through the years of the boom period, through the Cold War and McCarthy repressions, tens of thousands of workers had stood by their party; now they began to leave by the thousands. In less than a year, the CP had lost three quarters of its membership and its paper the *Daily Worker* was later forced to become a weekly.

This was the situation in which the faction fight took place inside the YSL. This was the situation which propelled the SWP forward into its intervention in the faction fight.

1. Cannon, James P., *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*. P. 115.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
4. Trotsky, Leon, *In Defense of Marxism*. P. 146. 147.
5. Warde, William F., "Trotsky's Views on Dialectical Materialism," *International Socialist Review*, Fall 1960, p. 111.
6. Trotsky, op. cit., p. 146.
7. Trotsky, Leon, *On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*. Transcript Discussion in Coyoacan, Mexico, April 11, 1939. Pp. 42-43.
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9. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
10. S. Arden, J. Barnes, H. Gale, and C. Radesky, "Tasks of the September Plenum," *Young Socialist Review*, publication of the Young Socialist League, Vol. 3, August 15, 1954. P. 19.
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12. *Ibid.*, p. 522.
13. Statement of the National Committee C.P.U.S.A., *Political Affairs*, July 1956, pp. 35-36.

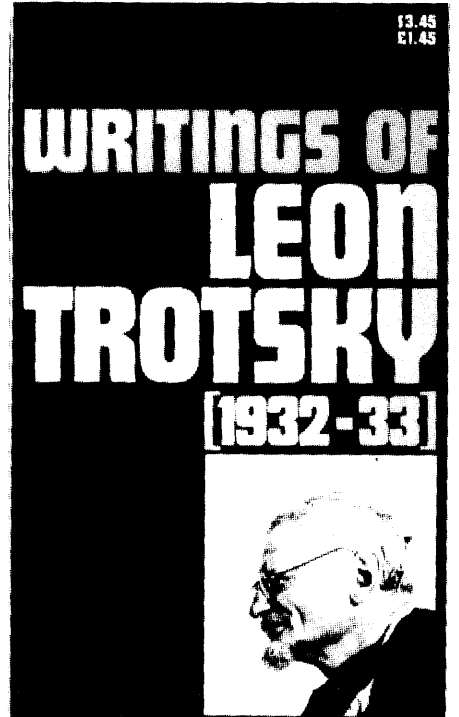
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# Dianne Isaacs Film

## ACROSS 110th STREET.

Produced by Ralph Serpe and Fouad Said. Directed by Barry Shear. Starring Anthony Quinn and Yaphet Kotto.

Three young Blacks from Harlem pull off a robbery which sends the Mafia, Black and white, and the cops after their lives. *Across 110th Street* is a chase, a battle for survival against those who rule Harlem.

The three youth are victims of Harlem: one an ex-con who can't find a job; another a worker in a dry cleaning store. They come together for the sole purpose of money, which they get by invading a house where Mafia men are counting out \$300,000 profits from a dope deal.

Anthony Franciosa, whose acting ability has come a long way since his TV days as "Valentine," is sent to the other side of Central Park to straighten things out—to save the family any embarrassment and to insure that those "independent Niggers" don't get too bold in Harlem. Franciosa is a racist and a sadist and he enlists the help of the Black Mafia to trace the robbers.

It is from this point, the steady stalking down of prey, that *Across 110th Street* moves. We couldn't help but get caught up with it, fell the claustrophobia and tension develop as hope for escape disappears and the Mafia and the cops close in, trying to outflank each other for the kill.

Despite their Hollywood "quick cash" character, these scenes where Franciosa catches up with his prey show something true about the real face of the capitalist class when it is pushed by crisis. As his Black cohorts stand by, Franciosa tortures each of the three Black youth—one castrated in a warehouse, one hung 20 stories up in a construction sight overlooking 110th Street. The last gets a word in before his ineluctable death with a machine gun which he uses to blast down Franciosa, other Mafiosa, and cops alike from a rooftop in Harlem. He flings his share of the cash down to children in the playground below before he dies.

It is his extreme bitterness and determination to fight off the Mafia and the cops until the last minute that gives the film its strength. The acting here is magnificent, completely alien to the plastic characters of "Shaft" and "Superfly."

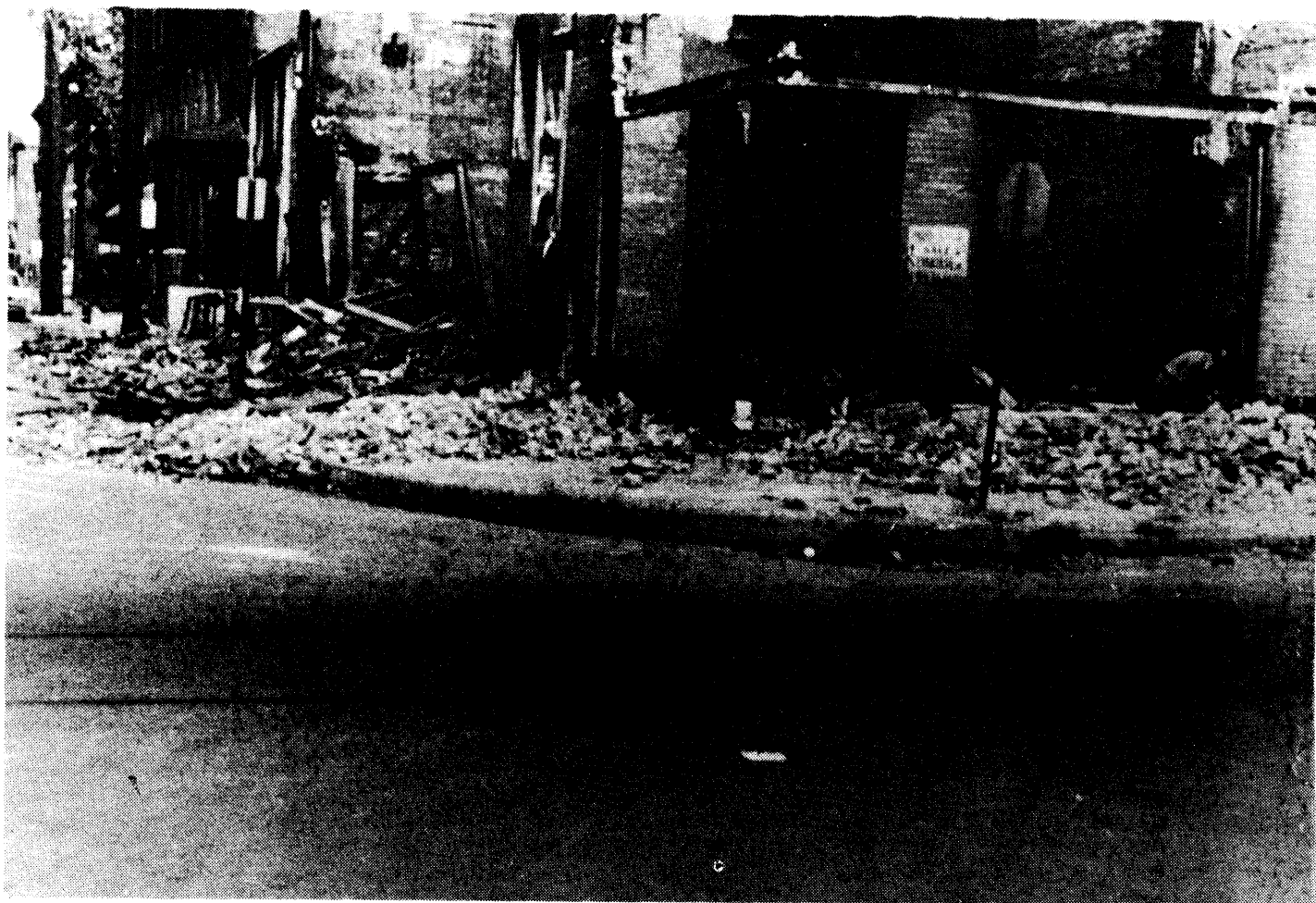
But this frustration and rebellious spirit of Black workers is brought out by the producers despite themselves, as all this becomes inextricably combined with a grimness and hopelessness about the possibility of breaking out of the ghetto. There is only senseless violence and death.

And there is also Hollywood and *Schaft* and *Superfly*. The film is made to follow in the reactionary vein of its predecessors. The producers refuse to identify the conditions in Harlem as necessary to both the Black and white capitalists and in fact they spend a good deal of time portraying the "sensitivities" of Black cops and how unpleasant it is for them to have the Mafia in "their" ghetto.

But the point is that all cops are more intimately linked with the Mafia than anyone, with perhaps the exception of the Federal government. All the preparatory training of Watts, Detroit and Newark will now be used on a massive scale as the whole working class moves to fight back.

It is here that we cannot agree with the conclusions of *Across 110th Street*: that one's only alternatives are to join the Man in stalking the streets of Harlem as a cop or Mafiosa or face death trying to find some way out. As the cops, both Black and white, turn New Orleans into a war zone, any implications that the crisis is somewhere other than in capitalism itself, become dangerous. But this is the least worry to Serpe and Said. After all, they pull in their \$300,000 and more from the box office.

# Fighting The Mob & Police Single-Handed



Ghetto streets offer nothing but misery and oppression.

## Ken Weston Books

**ORGANIZE!** By Wyndham Mortimer. Edited by Leo Feste. Beacon Press, Boston, 1971. \$3.95

*Organize!* is the autobiography of Wyndham Mortimer, who led important struggles of the American working class early in his life as a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, but who finally ended his career as an apologist for Stalinism and as a top bureaucrat in the United Auto Workers.

The importance of this book is that it reveals—unintentionally—the process of this degeneration in Mortimer's refusal to break beyond the limits of radicalism.

Mortimer grew up in the oppressive mining towns of Western Pennsylvania. He first came into contact with radicals of the Socialist Party in the steel mill town of Loraine, Ohio where his father had moved the family to escape the coal mines.

Mortimer joined the SP in 1908 and began reading the works of Marx and Engels, the pamphlets of the fiery prairie socialist Kate Richards O'Hara and the writings of John Spargo, a conservative, evolutionary socialist also in the SP. In this same period, Mortimer was influenced by the revolutionary but syndicalist IWW.

In the early development of the working class, the IWW played a pioneer role. It led some of the greatest class battles during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Reflecting the early development of the working class, the IWW never went beyond the limits of militant trade union struggle.

With this level of consciousness, Mortimer was able to organize the workers of the White Motor Company into a union and establish the Cleveland Auto Council which played a critical role in the building of the UAW.

## From The Wobblies To The UAW Bureaucracy

However, Mortimer never went beyond this radicalism and was unprepared theoretically to assess the international implications of the Stalinist Communist Party which he came into contact with in the 1930s. During the depression, Mortimer saw only the practical results of the CP's activities. He wrote:

"Thousands of little people's homes were saved largely through the leadership of the Communist Party and organizations it influenced. I became very active in this movement and worked with Communists organizing picket lines and demonstrations and other activities. In fact the only effective struggles against unemployment and evictions were those organized by the Communist Party. I did not know that I would even be working tomorrow and therefore my sympathies were all with the Small Home and Landowners League, Communist or not!"

### STALINISM

Without an understanding of the development of Stalinism, which is opposed to the struggles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky for socialist revolution, militant workers could easily adapt to the momentary practical successes of the CP activities. Mortimer clearly expressed this relationship with the CP.

Within the union movement, Mortimer became well known as a sympathizer of the CP. During the Flint sitdown strike of 1937, Mortimer's attitude toward Governor Frank Murphy, Democratic Governor of Michigan, suited the CP's line of the "People's Front" which advocated the alliance of workers with "progressive" capitalists like Roosevelt. This so-called progressive Murphy prepared 1500 National Guard near Flint to break the strike. Mortimer writes however: "Murphy impressed me as a friendly, human person. I am sure his sympathies were with the auto workers, the people."

In fact, it was only the tremendous show of strength by thousands of veteran strikers from Detroit, Lansing, Pontiac and Toledo, who rallied to the Flint workers' cause, that prevented the frightened Murphy from ordering the

troops to smash the strike.

Mortimer's position must be contrasted to the descriptions given by Art Preis in *Labor's Giant Step* of the Trotskyist leadership of the victorious Minneapolis Teamsters strike of 1934. He wrote: "The Local 574 leaders warned the membership over and over to place no reliance on hope government agents or agencies including Floyd B. Olsen, the Farmer Labor Party Governor, and the National Labor Board."

### STRIKEBREAKING

While Mortimer exhibited a certain independence from Stalinist policy at times during the 1930s, *Organize!* is a complete cover for the reactionary strikebreaking role which the Stalinists played in the 1940s, when they subordinated the rights of labor to imperialist war. In June, 1940, R.J. Thomas, president of the UAW and a member of the CP during the "People's Front," threw Mortimer off the international staff of the UAW for having participated in the North American Aviation strike, a peaceful strike that was brutally crushed with the armed might of Roosevelt's troops.

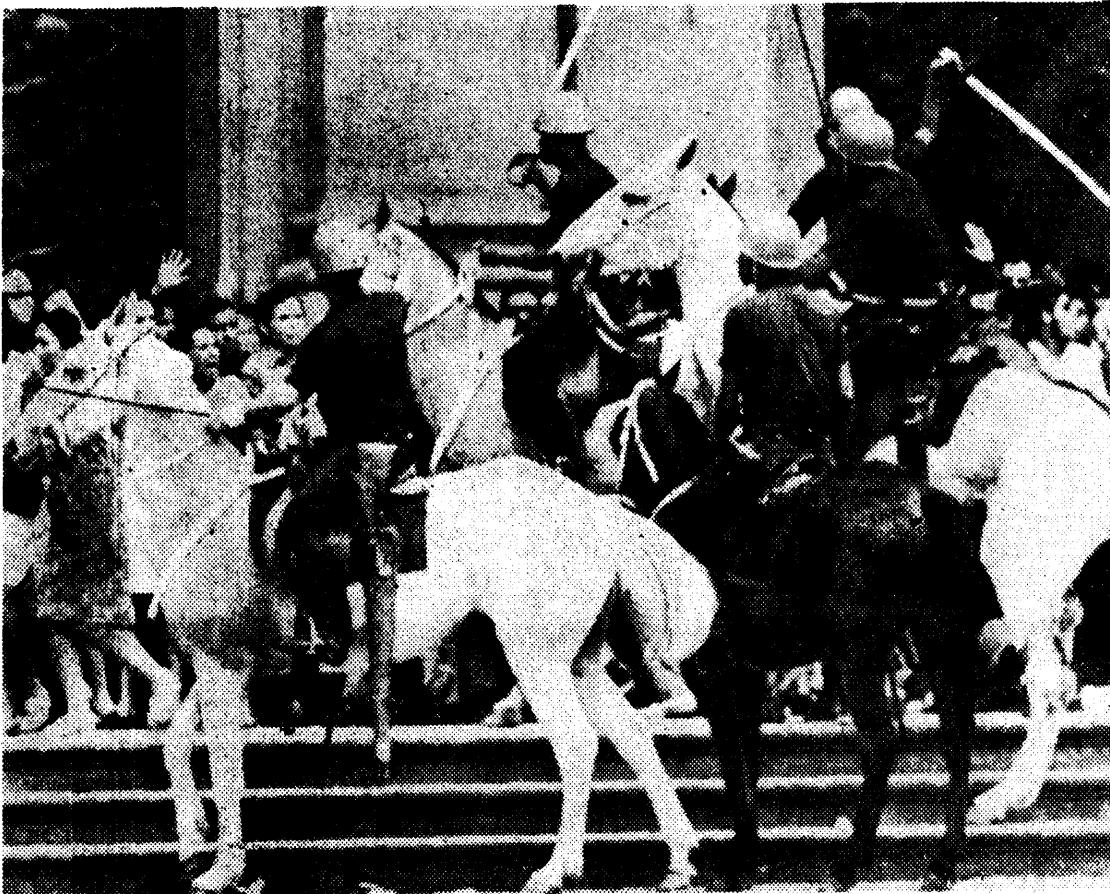
### NEW IMAGE

By this time, Stalin had signed the infamous Stalin-Hitler pact and the CP swung its support from Roosevelt to Lewis and assumed a new image of militancy. However, this militancy ended abruptly with the invasion of the Soviet Union by Nazi troops. The CP at once became one of Roosevelt's most slavish supporters and strikebreakers during the war.

During the war, thousands of militants became disillusioned with the Stalinists. Mortimer's book omits this development. Also omitted are the postwar years when the CP supported the Progressive Party presidential candidate Henry A. Wallace. This support derailed the tremendous postwar movement towards an independent labor party.

Today, a conscious leadership in the working class can only be built in a struggle for a Marxist understanding of the crisis of world capitalism and the reactionary role which the Stalinists must now play internationally.

# Brazil's "New Order" Starvation And Torture



Washington, D.C. is responsible for the training of Brazil's police, who have been in constant demand by the military dictatorships over the past two decades to suppress the working class.

**BY ED SMITH**  
Early in December, the Brazilian military government announced a new drive against the underground Brazilian Communist Party. It was announced that eight Communist Party members had been arrested for "spying" for the Soviet Union. Officials announced that the drive would continue until the Brazilian CP was destroyed for good.

Since the 1964 coup that overthrew President Goulart, Brazil has been completely under the grip of a small clique of high-ranking military officers. In the past few years, a number of articles have appeared in the American press lauding the "economic miracle" and "boom" that have transformed Brazil under the military's "New Order."

## SPECULATION

There has been speculation that Brazil will become the first of a new breed of Third World superpowers. Michael Clapham, an official of the big business Confederation of British Industry, has stated that following the "Brazilian example" may soon be the only way out for a Britain that is economically declining and torn by industrial strife.

Behind the economic miracle of the military "New Order" lies the destruction of all the rights and gains won by the Brazilian workers and peasants over the past century. The economic miracle has paid off for a small clique of the Brazilian upper and middle class and their military friends and yielded fantastic profits for the big U.S. corporations. For the vast majority of the Brazilian people, the workers and peasants, the "New Order" has yielded only mass poverty, unemployment, starvation and an ever increasing apparatus of military-police repression.

While the American press boosts the fact that Brazil's annual economic growth may reach 10 percent this year, the Brazilian working class faces a different situation. Paulo Schilling, a Brazilian economist, estimates that between 1958 and 1970 real wages declined 36 percent—over one-third. He estimates that in these years the Brazilian working class has lost two-thirds of its purchasing power.

Per capital income in Brazil is one-third lower than in Venezuela and one-half lower than that of Argentina and Chile, even though all these countries have massive underdevelopment and poverty problems of their own.

Perhaps the most damning indictment of the Brazilian regime's economic miracle is the fact that half of Brazil's people are estimated to be outside the money economy. That is, they are on so primitive an economic level that they do not even participate in the modern economic system. This is the situation after nearly a decade of military rule.

However, the leaders of the U.S. government and big business, as well as their wealthy Brazilian friends, are well satisfied with the military "New Order." Since its inception the military regime has run Brazil the only way it can be run if capitalism is to get its fat profits in a period of crisis, that is, by running the workers and peasants into the dirt.

The military regime originated out of the massive social unrest that permeated the late 1950s and early 1960s in Brazil. Part of this crisis was the breakup of "getulismo," that is, the populist nationalist movement. This movement was similar to that of the Peron regime in Argentina, led by the long time political figure and Brazilian President Getulio Vargas. Vargas had encouraged the formation of the Brazilian trade unions as instruments of "getulismo" and rallied working class political support through two "getulist" political parties: the Brazilian Labor Party (PTB) and the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB).

"Getulismo" was an attempt at nationalist-capitalist development of Brazil independent of imperialism, covered by "anti-imperialist" and "pro-labor" demagoguery. Even in the 1950s, the bankruptcy of such a course was evident. It was manifested in Vargas' dramatic suicide in 1954, after his plans for independent development of Brazil's petroleum and electric power resources were sabotaged.

By the early 1960s, under the government of Vargas' protege Joao Goulart, affairs were at a decisive point. Economic growth had ceased and the decline in the standard of living of workers and peasants which continues to this day had begun.

There was great unrest over the situation in the higher echelons of U.S. imperialism and among the Brazilian ruling class. Their concern was directed not so much at the ineffectual Goulart regime itself but at the fact that such a weak government would be helpless in the face of a movement toward social revolution.

Not only was there an unprecedented eruption of the Brazilian working class onto the political scene in the 1960s under the Goulart regime, there was the beginning for the first time of a mass movement of the millions of oppressed Brazilian peasants. Under the leadership of Francisco Juliao, peasant unions were formed to take up the struggle against the landlords. Political associations, often dominated by the Communist Party, began to spread inside the armed forces, particularly the Navy.

The Communist Party, which after World War II had emerged as one of the biggest CP's in the world, devoted its efforts in the years preceding the military coup to patching up the fraying remnants of "getulismo," which, however, was completely bankrupt to defend the working class. Though it had been banned since 1948, and had been wracked by an enormous crisis following the Soviet suppression of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956—party membership dropped from 60,000 to 35,000, the CP retained a massive influence in-



side the trade unions, and in the lower ranks of the armed forces.

The "getulists" under Goulart were being pushed from pillar to post by Brazil's worsening economic situation and the upsurge of the workers and peasants. They hoped to retain popular support by taking measures such as recognition of the Soviet Union, and refusal to join the U.S.-sponsored blockade of Cuba. These measures were heralded as proving Brazil's national independence. In reality, they contributed nothing to improving Brazil's economic situation or the lot of its people but they were like red flags to a bull for the Brazilian ruling class and their imperialist friends, who regarded them as precursors to revolution.

In 1964 things came to a head. To retain popular support, President Goulart announced a program of nationalization of private oil refineries and undeveloped property of more than 1200 acres near federal highways and dams. His announced program also included rent control and tax reform. Perhaps most frightening to the capitalists in this rather moderate program was the implied pledge that the Brazilian Communist Party, which had been acting as one of the pillars of Goulart's support, would be legalized in the near future.

**COUP**

The leaders of the armed forces swung into action. A military coup was executed on April 1, 1964 and Goulart went into exile. The left, and above all the CP, was completely unprepared for the coup and resistance soon collapsed.

The Brazilian military lost no time in putting their plans into operation. Announcing that their coup was for "order and progress" and "against communism," the regime proceeded to ban thousands of political figures from public life for a period of 10 years. Strikes were forbidden. Unions of workers, peasants and students were either suppressed entirely or their leaderships completely purged. In 1965, the regime decided to hold elections. These went against the regime so decisively that it suppressed the results of the elections and banned all political parties except for its own Alliance for National Renovation (ARENA) and the loyal opposition Brazilian Democratic (MDB).

The government introduced an austerity program to control inflation, which turned out to be a blueprint for the U.S.'s complete control of the Brazilian economy. Access to credit by Brazilian capitalists was curbed. But American and other foreign corporations of course did not face these credit curbs, since they raised capital in their own countries. The result was that after the April 1, 1964 coup well over 50 percent of all Brazilian industry fell into the hands of foreign investors.

Since 1969 the government has granted a tax rebate of 15 percent to corporations based on the value of their exports. Together with other tax rebates, concessions and incentives, this makes Brazil a haven for big American companies who produce goods under government subsidy at slave-labor rates. The average industrial hourly wage rate in Brazil for the last year available, 1965, was \$0.31; in the U.S. it was \$3.01.

The regime has given industry complete tax immunity for investment in the Amazon region, and 50 percent in the depressed

Northeastern region. Often companies take advantage of the government subsidies to build facilities that are under-utilized or not operated at all. They are, however, counted as part of Brazil's so-called rosy growth statistics.

One case history which reveals a lot about the relationship between the Brazilian government and American big business is the notorious case of the Hanna Mining Company of Cleveland. In 1963, the Goulart government had nationalized Hanna's workings in Brazil's rich iron ore deposits, which were yielding the company profits of forty percent per year. A year after the military coup, the mining claims were handed back to Hanna Mining for further exploitation. Talks are currently in progress to grant Hanna further mining claims in the Mato Grosso region.

Another example of government-corporate collusion is the Trans-Amazon Highway currently under construction by the government. Many articles have appeared in the U.S. press about this wonderful engineering achievement, which will open up the Amazon for economic development (and built for sub-human wages by the non-unionized laborers). What is not mentioned is that the highway coincidentally passes very close to certain rich iron deposits owned by the U.S. Steel Corporation. U.S. Steel thus gains a cheap means of transport for its hitherto inaccessible iron reserves at absolutely no cost to itself. Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely.

The government has actually enacted a law to prevent wages from rising as fast as prices. There is no organized system of welfare or unemployment compensation and as a result millions of jobless families are literally on the verge of starvation. Many are forced into crime, prostitution or begging in order to survive.

There are more such statistics, proving that Brazil's capitalist economic miracle is a cover for driving the mass of the Brazilian people deeper into economic backwardness for the benefit of imperialist profit.

Only 20 million out of 50 million eligible are permitted to vote in Brazil's elections. From 1966 to 1971, the proportion of the national budget devoted to education was cut in half, from twelve percent to six percent. Out of 60 million citizens classified as literate, only 20 million had any schooling whatever beyond the first grade. Only one percent of all youth are able to attend the outmoded university system. Teachers are continually harassed, and spend much of their time preparing political reports on each and every individual student. Housing, health, and other areas of social welfare are already in a completely wretched state, and they continue to deteriorate further.

Under such conditions, the military regime dare not allow any political freedom for opposition to its rule. Oppositional political activity was forced underground after the coup. In January 1967, a new Constitution gave the president the right to invoke martial law at will. A Press Law established formal censorship of the press.

**TORTURE**

On December 13, the Brazilian Congress was dispersed for refusing to expel a member who had criticized the government. The next month saw a purge in the judiciary of elements who might be critical of the govern-



"The average industrial hourly wage rate in Brazil for the last year available, 1965, was \$ .31."

ment. That same month, the government introduced torture on a widespread scale as a weapon against opponents.

The regime then introduced the infamous Institutional Act Five, which suspends the right of habeas corpus, freedom of speech, press and assembly. In October 1969, still another constitution was promulgated and E. Medici was proclaimed president. He announced the military would stay in power to build its "New State as long as it takes." The regime makes no pretence at popular support. It has made it very clear that it will maintain itself in power by sheer terror if that is what it takes.

One feature of the regime has been the establishment of police "Death Squads." These groups, supposedly unofficial groups of policemen disgruntled with official footdragging in investigation of "crime, corruption, and communism," in fact enjoy the protection of the regime. The New York Times reported on July 2, 1970:

"It has been unofficially estimated that the vigilante groups (Death Squads) have killed 500 to 1000 people in the last six years. None of the investigations carried out by the police have been completed or made public.

"Nelson Fonseca, chief of the criminal judiciary of Sao Paulo, told newsmen: 'The members of the Death Squad are policemen...and everyone knows it.'"

However, torture and murder of dissidents is not confined to the Death Squads. It is literally

part and parcel of the whole Brazilian legal system. The National Security Law, passed September 1969, sets down the death penalty for the "crime of psychological warfare and revolutionary or subversive warfare" against the regime.

Those accused of crimes against the regime are taken to the headquarters of the dreaded DOPS (secret police), where they are tortured until they confess. Among the tortures described in the many documented reports of ex-prisoners are electric shocks to the face and genitals, hanging upside down from a pole, and burning. The "accused" are tried before a farcical "court" of four military men and one hand-picked judge. If the defendant has the courage to repudiate his confession, the courtroom is immediately cleared and torture is once again applied. Thousands of prisoners have been held for years without trial. It has been reported that all but six of Sao Paulo's six thousand lawyers have been intimidated into not accepting the cases of opponents of the regime.

It should be noted here that the major part in arming and training the Brazilian police has been borne by the U.S. government. For the years 1950-1969, U.S. aid in this category totaled \$425.6 million. From 1960, senior Brazilian police officers have been brought to the International Police Academy in Washington, D.C. for training in anti-subversion and counter-insurgency. Over 100,000 police officers have received training in a U.S.-

staffed police academy in the capital city of Brasilia, whose curriculum leans heavily to anti-guerrilla strategy and riot control techniques.

**U.S.**

What the U.S. imperialists have in mind for Brazil is not merely a future of superexploitation at the lowest wage rates in Latin America, although this is certainly important to them. But the massive military-police buildup of the military regime shows they have it in mind as a sort of sub-imperialist power—one that will keep smaller colonial neighbors in line while itself being exploited by imperialism.

The Brazilian "economic miracle" is nothing more than a feast for the imperialists while the Brazilian people starve. It is a measure of the bankruptcy of capitalism that this reactionary regime of impoverishment is hailed as the best capitalism has to offer. It is the greatest warning to the working class as the capitalists, faced with the effects of their crisis, begin to call for a "Brazilian solution" to be imposed on the workers of Europe and this country.

They are calling for a regime of poverty, starvation and brutal dictatorship, not only in the colonial world, but the advanced capitalist countries like England, Italy, France and America as well. These dangers give the greatest urgency to constructing sections of the Fourth International in all countries, including Brazil, to lead the fight to destroy decaying capitalism.



Pattonville, Mo. teachers on strike. "We haven't had a raise of over \$100 in over 3 years."

# Midwest News

## St. Louis UAW Threatens Strike Against Layoffs

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—Conditions at the General Motors Assembly Division plant here were described by one auto worker as "extremely uncertain."

He said: "There have been a lot of layoffs, especially since we returned from the holiday break. Grievances are piling up and management is transferring guys all about the plant again."

The GM bosses are now renegeing on the St. Louis November 1 settlement, which led to the cancelling of the mini-strike here and at most other GMAD plants. The settlement was supposedly to bring back all 1400 workers laid off and to settle the work overload grievances (Paragraph 78) resulting from the introduction of GMAD at the St. Louis plant in October, 1971.

Actually, only 800 workers were called back to work and while a large number of the Paragraph 78s were settled, the overloading was transferred to the newly returned workers. It has been reported to the *Bulletin* that once again over 1000 grievances have accumulated with management stating openly it has no intention of settling.

A number of union committeemen are refusing to accept grievances from the men. They claim they are following instructions from the International United Auto Workers leadership in Detroit.

### STRIKE

Layoffs have been instigated since December 12 and are now expected to involve 350 men overall. The management is continually harassing workers under Paragraph 8 (interference with production) with discharges, suspensions and layoffs. UAW Local 25 has threatened a strike at St. Louis for sometime in January.

The crucial position of the St. Louis GM plant and the introduction of GMAD was shown by the production figures. In the first nine months of 1972, St. Louis surpassed Detroit in auto production for the first time ever. This record occurred while 1200 jobs were eliminated at the GM plant. Both Chrysler and Ford have plants in the area but they are nowhere near the size of GM.

GM management will go to all lengths to maintain this production. UAW Local 25 members face the brunt of these attacks on working conditions and the right to a job at all.

Woodcock and the Local 25 leadership must bear responsibility for these attacks. At every point they sought to stifle and sidetrack the struggle of the ranks.

### DIFFUSE

This was carried out with the long isolated strikes at Lordstown and Norwood. When the lid could no longer be maintained at every GMAD plant, the alternating two day mini-strikes were introduced. Neither tactic

touched GM production and was quite purposefully proposed to diffuse and confuse the fighting spirit of the GM workers.

The fight against the attacks of GMAD can only go forward in the struggle against Woodcock and those who speak for him in the locals. At St. Louis, auto workers must force Local 25 to carry out its threatened strike action, and at the same time call on Woodcock to carry out the original demand of the Local 25 membership: a national shutdown against GMAD.

## Teachers Fed Up With 2% Raises

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS, Jan. 7—About 300 teachers from the Pattonville School District, members of the Pattonville Community Teachers Association, picketed in front of a newly built high school in the district to call attention to their demands that the Board of Education "negotiate in good faith with its teachers for a fair agreement covering salaries, professional conditions and educational standards."

### BOARD

One picket said, "We are fighting for a voice." One of the picket leaders told the *Bulletin*:

"The School Board is not responsive to the needs of the students. They are more interested in bricks and mortar and prestige projects than the welfare of the students and teachers. We want the board to enter into meaningful discussions."

### \$800

One of the teachers' demands is for an \$800 raise on the starting salary which now is \$7200 a year. The School Board has offered \$200. One teacher said: "We haven't had a raise of over a \$100 in three years."

Picket signs read: "Inflation 6 percent—School Board Pay proposal—2 percent; Food up 48 percent—Our salary up .0229 percent."

The teachers are fighting to keep the teacher-pupil ratio low. As one teacher put it: "We are trying to keep the ratio as low as we can possibly get it. There are about 30 students for every teacher."

# City Workers Strike Paralyzes Milwaukee

BY PRUDENCE ARNDT

MILWAUKEE, Jan. 7—Twelve thousand workers walked off their jobs on January 4 at 12:01 a.m. in the largest public employee strike in Wisconsin's history. District Council 48 of the State, County and Municipal Employees Union called the strike against the city, county, School Board and Sewerage Commission after a unanimous strike vote for a 5.5 percent wage package.

The District Council represents 12,000 workers including some 6000 in the county, 4000 in the city, 1200 in the School Board, and 300 in the Sewerage Commission.

The city truck drivers who haul garbage and plow and salt the city streets are members of the Teamsters Union and have refused to cross picket lines, thus stopping all garbage pickup.

There is also tremendous support from the public school teachers, who only got their own contract on Tuesday. One thousand two hundred and forty teachers were absent on Thursday because they would not cross picket lines set up by janitors and secretaries who work for the schools.

This action came despite a telegram sent by Edward Newdauer, School Board negotiator, which "reminded" the Milwaukee Teacher Education Association that there was a no-strike clause in the MTEA contract.

### DEMANDING

AFSCME District Council 48 is demanding a 5.5 percent improvements package, while the city and county have refused to talk about anything over 2.6 percent. Emil Muelver, director of DC 48 stated that: "The major issue is money."

But, food service workers at County General said: "We're not just striking for wages the way they're trying to put it. It's about working conditions and seniority rights. People retire or people go and they do not replace them. They've been on a hiring freeze

and one worker does the work of three or four. They talk about our salaries, but we certainly earn every bit."

One older woman explained: "We don't get time and a half. We don't get any doubletime. Base rate is about \$2.90. And we work. And we're not only food service workers, we're everything—pot washers, cook's helpers, we even have to mop—everything on this one job title."

Another picket from Local 1065 discussed other union-busting tactics which began last year. "They brought project (welfare) workers in about a year ago. They brought them here under the condition that they wouldn't do jobs we would normally do. But this is not true. They assigned them to our regular jobs at \$1.60-\$1.65 an hour. They essentially want to get rid of civil service."

Hospital workers were bitter about their pay demand especially since County Executive John Doyle helped himself to a

180 percent pay raise to make \$3500 a year. "He makes \$35,000 a year plus a house, a bodyguard, and free cars. And here we don't even have a place to take a smoke break. We have to sit on milk cartons, if we get one," remarked a dietician.

Real dangers are posed with the threat of a court injunction which could come Monday or Tuesday. Public employees do not have the right to strike in Wisconsin. The media has been broadcasting telephone numbers which scabs can call in order to break the hospital strikes and picketers have found themselves interviewed for TV only to see their words left out.

The Sheriff and police have already been called in to break up confrontations between scabs and pickets and are also being used as strikebreakers for the city.

The determination of the strikers was shown by one striker who said: "I'm not going back until the strike is over. I'm not going to let them work me to death."

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# Midwest News



Milwaukee public employees (AFSCME) lead the way in a strike which threatens to paralyze the city and turn into a citywide general strike. Moving against job cuts and the City's 2.2% wage offer, Teamsters and other unions have refused to cross their picket lines. Photo: City hospital workers.

## STRESS Cops Invade Detroit Workers Homes

BY ED SMITH

DETROIT—Workers here, entering a new year that will bring bitter battles for a new contract with the "Big Three" auto makers, have confronted an unprecedented wave of police strongarm operations in the past week.

Detroit Police Commissioner John F. Nichols has said of the city, "It's like a battle zone." This is certainly true in the sense that the police have utilized a hunt for three suspects in a December 28 shootout, that killed one member and wounded another of the notorious STRESS special police force, to literally invade and intimidate entire working class areas of Detroit, to break into private homes and arrest "suspects" without evidence, to move against workers' democratic rights on a mass scale.

Hardly bothering to retain the cloak of the "fight against crime," the police operations have become open attempts to strike fear into the hearts of working class communities.

One of the workers who testified to police terror was Mrs. Caroline Taylor, a Veterans' Administration social worker. Awakened shortly before 5 a.m. one morning by loud knocking on the door, Mrs. Taylor found what seemed to be "a whole platoon" of policemen with guns drawn demanding admission to search her house. She did not think to demand a search warrant.

After the search was over, the police told Mrs. Taylor they had been looking for the three suspects in the police shooting. "They told me they had a 'tip' that one of the suspects lived on this street, and had discovered there was no such address, so they came to my house because our number was 'close' to the one they had."

The statement of another Black worker, Ulysses Bryant, a

15 year employee of the Burroughs Corporation, carries even more ominous implications.

Bryant detailed how he had gone to bed early on Christmas night. He was awakened by noises from his dining room and found his wife and son surrounded by a group of men. When he rushed back to his bedroom to call police, one man ordered him to put the phone down—identifying himself as a policeman.

### GUNPOINT

The police had forced their way into the house at gunpoint. How they justified entering the house without a warrant was never explained. The officers stated that they were looking for Bryant's youngest son on "an armed robbery charge."

The police had been at the Bryant home several times before, Mrs. Bryant stated: "Three STRESS officers came one Sunday about a month ago and threatened my husband when he wouldn't open the door to let them in. He demanded a search warrant and when they didn't produce one, he told them a man's home is his castle."

"The officers told him that 'skunks like you are the reason the country's in the mess it's in today. We'll come back and blow your house up. It may be your castle, but you may not have a home pretty soon.' Then they left."

A STRESS commander, Inspector James Bannon, justified such operations by pointing out that Michigan law suspends the necessity for a search warrant when police "strongly believe" a suspect is on a premise or a felony is being committed.

Behind the current wave of repression and intimidation lie the activities of the special police force, STRESS (Stop the Robberies-Enjoy Safe Streets). STRESS was set up nearly two years ago, as a highly mobile, plainclothes elite operation, supposedly to act against muggings and other "street crime."

In its first 16 months of activity, STRESS officers killed 15 people, 14 of them below the age of 17, for crimes such as shoplifting.

The only way to answer these attacks is to take up the struggle in the unions to organize defense guards against police attacks and to construct a political instrument of the working class, a labor party.

## Farmers Protest Loan Cut-Off

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTEVIDEO, MINN.—An overflow crowd of over 500 small farmers from central and western Minnesota packed into the Chippewa County Courthouse today to protest the Nixon government's decision to cancel two farm conservation programs

## Chicago Transit Rejects Pay Rise, Threatens Closure

BY DEBRA WATSON

CHICAGO—The Chicago Transit Authority here has announced that unless the CTA gets federal money it will have to close before the end of the summer.

Since December 6, members of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Division 241, bus drivers and Division 308, elevated train workers, have been without a contract. Negotiations between the ATU and the CTA, which began in November, have deadlocked around the issues of wage increases, job security, and sick days and other particular fringes.

At the top of the list is the cost of living clause dispute. The Pay Board cut the c.o.l. in June. On the first of September, when the next adjustment was due, only two cents was granted, out of the twelve cents per hour raise due according to the contract.

Until December 6, the only action the leadership of either local had taken was to go to Washington and seek to win the raise in the courts.

have to pay a five cent fare increase beginning February 1. The fare for students and elderly will jump from 20 cents to 25 cents and the adult fare will be 50 cents, with 10 cents more for a transfer according to the Board's proposal.

The CTA board's attacks and the union leadership's acceptance of the Pay Board's c.o.l. cut has been met with sharp opposition among the ranks. A conductor on the Ravenswood Elevated told the **Bulletin**:

"I haven't heard anything about the bus drivers striking, but if they do you can be sure we'll go out too. Nothing in this city will move without us."

## Strikes Hit Cutbacks In Ohio Schools

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—The government's decision to cut back and destroy public schools is meeting bitter resistance in Ohio. Sixteen of Toledo's 76 schools shut down in protest against the layoff of 71 workers and excessive overtime.

The American Federation of Teachers is demanding that the school board open their books, stating that there is enough funds to avoid this cutback. The school board is asking the Lucas County Common Pleas Court to issue a temporary restraining order to force boiler operators, janitors, school bus drivers, secretaries and firemen back to work.

In Massillon, Ohio, teachers rejected a board request to call off their strike while talks resume. The Massillon strike is in its first week. Firemen refused to cross the picket line set up by the Massillon Education Association (MEA), leaving the buildings without heat.

All schools in Steubenville were closed last Thursday as the city's 230 teachers striking over wage demands, refused to bow to a court order issued Wednesday to return to work. The teachers struck after rejecting the 5.5 percent increase which would not be effective until April.

In Dayton the School Board is dominated by members of "Save Our Schools," which was formed around the anti-busing hysteria fomented by the Wallaceites. Accompanied by screaming headlines, the SOS fired superintendent Wayne Carle and appointed John Maxwell, principal at Meadowdale, who has made a career of witch-hunting high school students.

The Dayton Classroom Teachers Association (DCTA) issued a statement stating that Maxwell's hiring violates its agreement with the Board.

Only the political intervention of the Dayton trade unions can begin to turn back this attack on the public schools and trade union rights.

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# TWICE WEEKLY . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

fascism, his seering criticism both of the refusal of the Communist Party to take up such a fight and the actions of the Social Democrats in paving the way for Hitler.

### URGENT

Today the need for a twice-weekly paper is no less urgent than in 1933. However, the need flows from a radically different political situation. The 1930s was a period of retreat and defeat of the working class brought about by the betrayals of the labor movement by Stalin and his followers. Today, we enter a period of class struggle with an undefeated working class strengthened by 25 years of prosperity during which an extremely powerful labor movement has been built in the United States and in other countries.

The need for the twice-weekly **Bulletin** flows from the crisis of leadership posed by the contradiction between the strength of the working class on the one hand and the depth of the crisis of capitalism on the other which requires the capitalists now to fight to break the working class and its organizations. This situa-

tion can only be resolved through the struggle for socialism. Unless a socialist society is constructed, the capitalists will resort to fascism far worse than that of Hitler's in their efforts to smash the trade unions and all workers organizations. Today only a socialist leadership, a Marxist leadership, can defend the working class. The construction of such a leadership is the task of the twice-weekly **Bulletin**.

### PERSPECTIVE

The National Committee instructed the Political Committee of the Workers League to draft a perspective resolution which will assess this crisis in the light of the re-election of Nixon. The National Committee discussion on this resolution stressed the central role of the United States in the capitalist crisis. Postwar prosperity has been based on dollar inflation. With the inflated dollar American capitalists have amassed great wealth and developed immense economic interests in every corner of the globe.

The very growth of American capitalism today threatens its very existence because the total quantity of claims on real

wealth—dollars and other forms of credit—far outweighs the amount of real wealth that can any longer be produced. Thus, the whole system totters and the large conglomerates assembled by the banks threaten at any moment to collapse. This is why Nixon had to remove the gold backing of the dollar.

### NIXON

What this means is that Nixon will now lash out at the American workers, seeking to extract as much wealth as possible from them, while shutting down plants, continuing inflation and taking away every gain in social services workers have received since the 1930s. At the same time, his policies abroad, reflected most clearly in the savage bombing of Vietnam, will precipitate revolution in Europe and in the colonial countries.

The new period of class struggle was ushered in not only by the heroic actions of the French workers in occupying the plants in May-June 1968, but most importantly by the massive movement of Black workers in the ghetto rebellions in the great cities of Detroit, Watts, Newark. The rebellion of students was led

by the development of SDS and similar movements on American campuses. So the next period will see massive actions of the American working class taking place at the same time as revolution in Europe.

For this reason the National Committee insisted that the fight of the American working class for a labor party from the beginning will take on a revolutionary character and will require the organization of councils of workers in the working class areas as part of its development.

### YOUNG SOCIALISTS

The National Committee felt that decisive in the next immediate period is the development of the Young Socialists whose task will be to train youth as Marxists in the struggle to bring forward in the trade unions a political movement for a labor party. At the same time, the efforts to organize trade unionists around the fight for a labor party and a Congress of Labor which have been initiated by the Continuations Committee of the Labor Party Now Conference is a central task of both the Workers League and Young Socialists.

We are entering a period in

which each struggle of workers, whether it be over production standards, wages, health care, education, housing or unemployment, requires a pitched battle with the government which must now suppress the working class. Thus, every struggle is at its heart political and requires political leadership.

This leadership is posed each day in the very course of strikes and other struggles. Only by changing the frequency of our press can the **Bulletin** move forward to assume this leadership.

The National Committee laid plans to raise \$100,000 during the year in two drives—March 1 to June 1 and September 1 to December 1. The National Committee recognized that this is a very difficult task and thanked all comrades and friends who made it possible for the **Bulletin** to raise over \$58,000 in the Fall of 1972. However, these funds are essential to the publication of a twice-weekly. The twice-weekly is essential to meet the needs of the American and world working class in the next period. With this understanding, the National Committee is absolutely convinced it can and will be raised.

# NEW ORLEANS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

and state troopers with the most advanced military equipment were mobilized around the area of the Howard Johnson's Motor Lodge. This is the weaponry they had:

- Automatic rifles, handguns, and shotguns.
- "Elephant guns" of which one cop said, "If you miss, you could go right through the building and kill someone ten blocks away." Seven of these were used to blow a hole in the concrete cubicle where the police claimed there was a "second sniper."
- An armor-bottomed Marine helicopter designed especially for use in Vietnam and armed with military rifles.
- A 20mm cannon and a mortar.

It is clear from reports that the police were even considering levelling the hotel. The reason they decided against using the cannon was that it might have blown up a nearby bank and other buildings.

When the body of the man, assumed to be the sniper, was found, he had been shot over 100 times by tracer bullets. He was shot on Sunday night. Claiming that there were others, for the next day the police organized a force of over 100 and under massive gunfire reached the top of the hotel to find no one else.

Like the shooting of the two students little over a month ago

in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the "overkill" of the state's body of armed men is a sign of the panic of the capitalist class before the movement of the working class and of the sharp class tensions which will explode in the US, the center of the world capitalist crisis.

The capitalist media has used these events to open a campaign in the middle class against "terrorists," claiming the "sniper" was part of a "militant and revolutionary conspiracy."

Only hours after the firing began, Blacks simply walking in the area were arrested. The government will use this now to begin a witch-hunt against Blacks, trade union militants, and socialist organizations.

Heading this witch-hunt to whip up racist and anti-communist hysteria in the middle class is Nixon's man Richard Kleindienst who has enthusiastically received the Louisiana Attorney General's demand that the Justice Department investigate the "underground national suicide group bent on creating terror in America." This witch-hunt is preparation for Nixon's new assault on the trade unions and the living standards of American workers.

As the crossfire of police bullets has cleared, however, the real story of this supposed

"conspiracy" is revealed. In the first day of the gunfire the police and the press claimed that there were at least five or six snipers which had first started fires in the hotel in order to attract the police.

Not only are the origins of the fires in "confusion," but only one man was found on the roof riddled with bullets from the marine helicopter on Sunday night. The second man, who police claim was in the concrete cubicle, has miraculously disappeared.

When questioned by the press about the virtual impossibility of such an escape with a 200-man cordon surrounding the hotel, the Police Superintendent replied, "There's a gamut of possibilities, ranging from police negligence to a superbrain sniper."

What they will not admit is that the police mistook their own ricocheting fire for a second sniper. It has already been admitted that at least three of the cops wounded were shot by police from surrounding buildings. Seven police were injured when they opened a barrage of gunfire on the concrete blockhouses and were hit with the shrapnel and debris of their own fire.

We have stood against the methods of individual terrorism carried out in isolation from the masses and substituting individual heroism for the actions of the working class. But what is at

issue in New Orleans is the terror of the capitalist class, which is prepared to destroy the working class to preserve its decadent system.

When the Police Superintendent was asked why he thought the shooting was part of a conspiracy, the evidence he presented was, "It's my cop's intuition."

As the events unfold, it appears that the man on the roof went berserk. But this is not just a question of "insanity." It is an expression of the tremendous crisis of capitalism and the tensions building up between the two classes.

The press have attempted to compare this incident to the one in Texas in 1966 when a sniper climbed atop a university tower and began shooting. But in 1966 they used one cop to stop him.

The full-scale operation against the "sniper" in New Orleans today indicates the tremendous fear and desperation of the capitalist class, faced with the deepest economic crisis and the movement and power of the working class. They fear that the ghetto struggles of the 60s will now become the struggles of the working class to defend their rights.

# N.Y. DOCKERS . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

confirmed the suspicions of many longshoremen when he told the **Bulletin** that the NYSA-ILA Contract Board has full powers to make changes in the contract. This spokesman stressed that the ILA bureaucrats were doing a fine job from the shippers' point of view, working 10 to 12 hours a day in NYSA offices to enforce the contract.

The NYSA official stated that even one year ago 1200 dockers on the guarantee had not worked at all in a year. Some longshoremen at Renwick Street say they have not worked in two years.

Containerization and the drive for shippers' profits are at the heart of the attacks on the ILA ranks. As long as the ships and piers are run for profit, the companies will continue to try to drive 90 percent of the men off the piers and reduce the rest to a

completely flexible work force available for any job on any pier at any time.

These attacks are being pushed by the government, which refuses to enforce the eight hour day laws, and which, through the Pay Board, forced this contract onto the ILA ranks in the first place.

Longshoremen must fight to throw out Gleason, Scotto, and the rest of the ILA bureaucracy. The ranks must demand that the contract be reopened to restore all the job categories taken out of the new contract, end the Prior Day Order system and its debiting, and to spread the GAI to all men.

This requires a fight against Nixon and for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party which will demand the nationalization of the shipping companies under workers control and call a general strike to defeat the Pay Board.

**Bulletin**  
weekly organ of the workers league  
JULY 3, 1972

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**West Coast News**

**Ellsberg Judge Denies Political Questions In Jury Selection**



UFW Pres. Chavez addresses audience. As the UFW faces unprecedented attack from Reagan and the growers, Chavez refuses to campaign for support from ranks of organized labor.

**Teamster Ranks Defend UFW Organizing Drive**

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Overwhelmingly beaten back in the November defeat of Proposition 22, the multi-million dollar farmers of California agribusiness have launched fresh statewide attacks against the United Farm Workers.

At its recent 54th Annual Convention, the National Farm Bureau Federation received pledges of assistance in demolishing the UFW from Governor Reagan. Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons is aiding this.

Since July of 1970, Teamster officials have repeatedly signed sweetheart contracts with the growers, aimed at breaking the lettuce strike, crushing the UFW, and establishing jurisdictional hegemony on the part of the IBT.

The Bulletin interviewed rank and file Teamsters outside of IBT Joint Council 42. Many of the replies condemning Fitzsimmons are unprintable.

The sentiment was best expressed by one trucker who stated that: "Fitzsimmons is violating the most basic of union principles which is respect for another brother's picket line. I've had discussions with other Teamsters and everyone is completely disgusted. I don't know how we're going to do it but we're going to have to get new leadership."

**CONDEMNED**

The way forward has been shown by UAW Local 216 at Southgate GMAD. The membership of Local 216 condemned Fitzsimmons' actions at its December 17 meeting and called upon organized labor to defend the farmworkers union.

On December 6, the UFW initiated a strike against the Imperial Valley grower D'Arrigo. The courts acted swiftly the following morning on the pretext of union violence to invoke a temporary restraining order limiting the number of pickets.

Substantiating evidence of violence was an affidavit by a company labor contractor, who stated that he had heard a scab say he was afraid.

The situation has further unfolded as the Ninth Federal Circuit Court of Appeals has struck down a decision forbidding the

use of green card immigrants to cross the border to break a certified strike.

The availability of cheap labor mere miles away in Mexico, the support the growers have received from the courts, as well as Chavez' refusal to fight for the political mobilization of the labor movement has placed this strike and other union efforts in great jeopardy.

Chavez is now taking the Team-

sters to court in an attempt to win jurisdiction. This is a most dangerous development with the capitalist courts determined to smash the UFW.

The UFW must take the fight to the rank and file Teamsters, who are now headed for a big clash with Fitzsimmons. This must be combined with the fight to mobilize labor to answer Nixon's strikebreaking with a movement for a labor party.

**TUAD Leader Says 'Count On Congress'**

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—On January 7 at the union hall of United Steel Workers of America Local 2869 (Kaiser Steel) in Fontana, the San Bernadino-Riverside County chapter of Trade Unions for Action and Democracy, which supports the policies of the Communist Party, held its founding meeting.

The initial report was made by Fred Gaboury, national representative of TUAD. Although the meeting was called with the alleged perspective of mobilizing opposition to the wage freeze, Gaboury's proposal of fighting Nixon's attacks was summed up in his statement that "these Congressmen and Senators who are responsive to labor, we think we can count on these guys to put the heat on those who aren't."

Sighted as proof of the mounting opposition in Congress to the Economic Stabilization Act was the attitude of four senators, among them Barry Goldwater, against Nixon's controls.

**MISSING**

Consciously missing in Gaboury's report was any discussion of the bombing escalation in Vietnam or proposals by TUAD

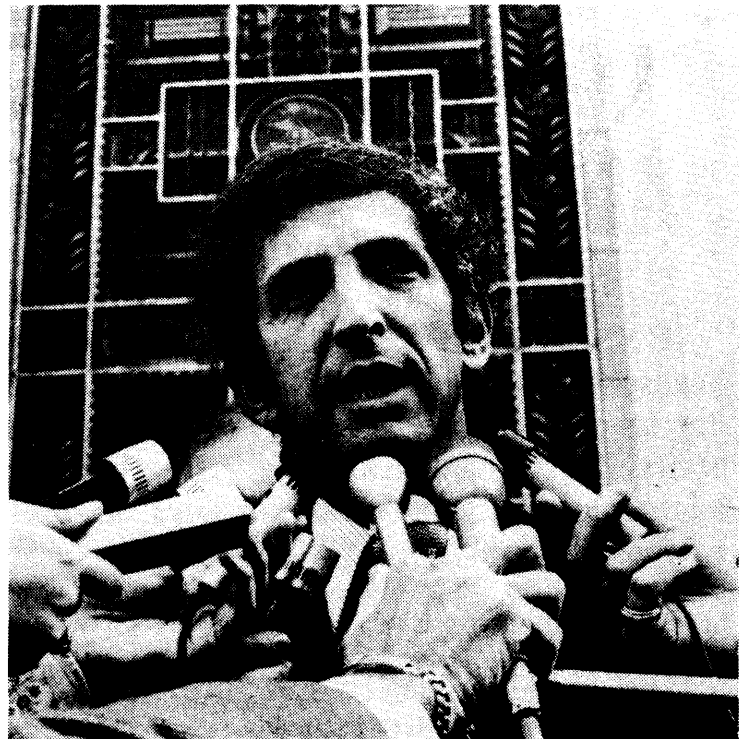
to mobilize American labor against the war.

The sharpness of the situation facing the working class was brought into the meeting by a steelworker from Local 2869 who stated: "It is Abel's betrayal on productivity in the 1971 contract that has led to Kaiser's moves within the last week here in Fontana to shift labor classification and begin the wholesale introduction of speedup and elimination of jobs in the Coke plant where I work."

It is precisely this contract which the Communist Party trumpeted their support for as the "best ever."

When supporters of the Workers League initiated a motion calling upon the body of TUAD to support the call for a Congress of Labor and immediate construction of a labor party, the Stalinists present mounted the most vicious lying attack. Fred Holloway (past president of Moulders 347) said: "We are for a labor party but a labor party at this point would split the labor movement and be completely divisive."

The Workers League was able to rally support from a section of the rank and file in attendance and will proceed with the construction of its January 28 Southern California meeting for a labor party now.



Daniel Ellsberg on trial in Pentagon Papers case. This is a test case as the court moves to strip defendant of rights and ban press coverage.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 3—The selection of jurors for the second Pentagon Papers trial of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony J. Russo began this week with Judge Matt Byrne, Jr. striking whole sections of the more than 300 questions submitted by the defense for questioning of the prospective jurors.

This trial is a test case for Nixon as he moves to crush the enormous opposition to his escalation in Vietnam and his vicious attacks on the rights and living conditions of the working class. The government delayed the case for four months and then dismissed the first jury in December, in order to railroad Ellsberg and Russo after Nixon's reelection.

**SQUASH**

The court and the capitalist press are trying desperately to squash all of the political questions at the center of the case. Among the questions eliminated by Judge Byrne were questions regarding the juror's attitudes towards Congress and the public's right to know. Also eliminated or modified by the judge were questions on the attitudes of the jurors towards authority, youth, student protest, the military and the war.

On the first day of jury selection, 23 of the 104 prospective jurors were released for hardship. The prospect of a prolonged trial immediately forced off workers and student prospective jurors.

The mounting attacks by the government on the press were brought into the courtroom when the judge suggested that the press table be removed. Defense attorney Leonard Boudin strongly objected, stating:

"I want to make it clear for the record just who is making the requests and who is making the decisions." Judge Byrne laughed and said: "I think it is pretty clear who is making the decisions."

**Lock-In Strike At San Quentin Prison**

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 1200 prisoners struck work last week against the inhuman conditions in San Quentin prison. Most prisoners refused to come out of their cells on Tuesday, in a lock-in strike that was well organized and carried out under tight discipline.

The San Quentin furniture factory, which makes furniture for state offices and prisons, was shut down completely. Prison workers in clerical and maintenance jobs also struck.

**AUTHORITIES**

San Quentin authorities have pursued a vicious policy of starving out the strikers. Under normal prison practice, anyone refusing to come out of his cell is fed in the cell.

But warden Louis Nelson, whose resignation was demanded by the strikers, decided that food would only be served in the mess hall, forcing prisoners to break the solidarity of the lock-in strike in order to eat.

Prison spokesmen denied that any formal list of demands had been presented and said that in any case no negotiations could be held while prisoners were in a state of "insurrection."

# West Coast News

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## Lockheed To Sack 900 From Trident Missile Project

BY ANN LORE

SUNNYVALE—Lockheed, the largest aerospace contractor in Northern California, has announced the laying off of five percent of its Bay Area work force, affecting both engineers and production workers of International Association of Machinists.

These layoffs, to take place over the next two months, will affect some 600 to 900 employees from Lockheed's Missile Systems Division in Sunnyvale.

These cutbacks are being blamed on a modified schedule for the development of the US Navy's Trident missile, the successor to the Poseidon. This rescheduling of the Trident, thought to be a cornerstone of the US's missile deterrent power, is certain to have far reaching effects on other aerospace industries, which are all bidding on a piece of this project.

Lockheed began laying off employee last October, in a general cost-cutting move. This time they are not even making promises about restaffing to the present capacity.

Lockheed, which barely survived bankruptcy a short time ago through an emergency loan of \$250 million passed by Congress, is again facing a situation which is beyond its control. Any recent restabilization which took place in the aerospace industry is being broken apart now by the deepening economic crisis which is affecting all major industries.

Simultaneously with this statement by Lockheed, an announcement was made in Washington by the National Aeronautics Space Administration of major space agency budget cuts. Nixon is slic-

ing \$400 to \$600 million off the space budget, to cut it back to a ceiling of three billion dollars.

All of the repercussions of this decision are not yet known. But numerous corporations, employing tens of thousands of workers will be affected by this cut.

Built up during the boom of the 1950s, Lockheed, along with Boeing, North American Rockwell, Rohr and others depend on NASA contracts and are faced with closure now. A list of programs was given out which will either be slowed down, suspended or just stopped. Already it is clear that the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena will face closure.

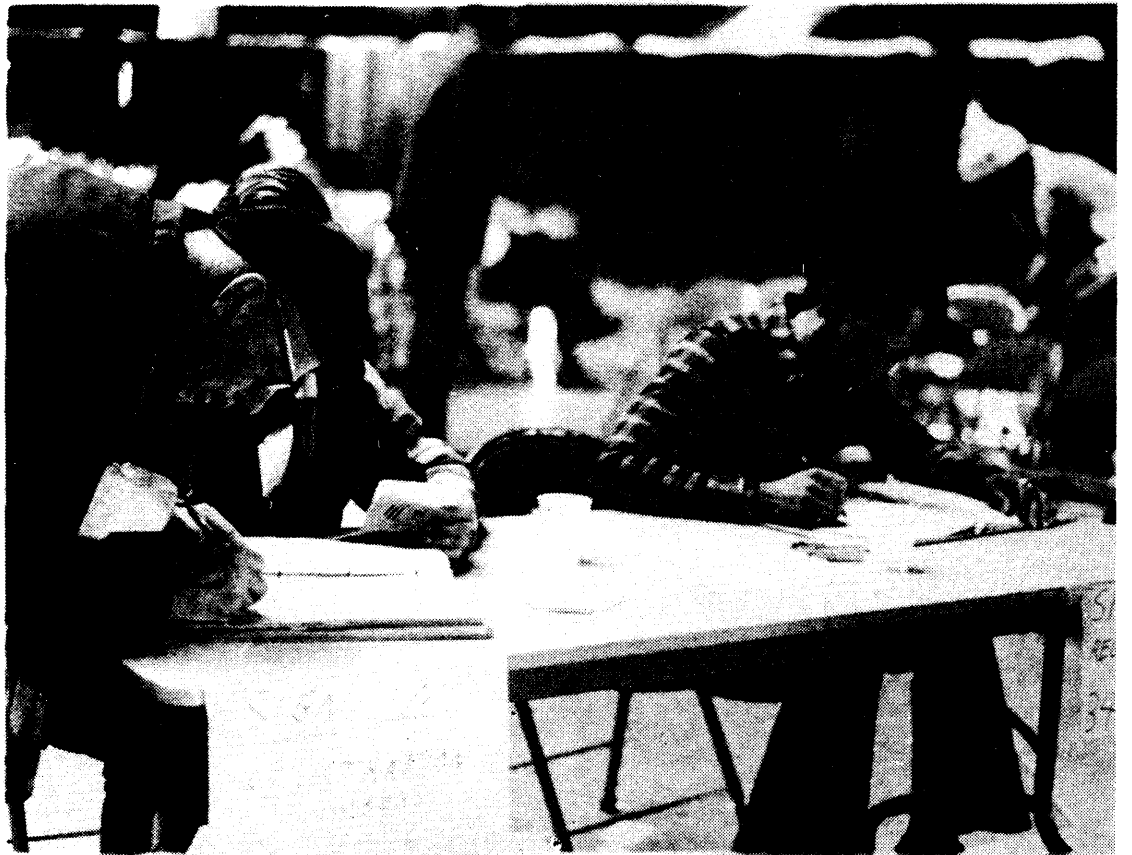
The major program cut back was the \$5.5 billion space shuttle. North American Rockwell, the main contractor for the shuttle has only said that the cuts may cost a year in the development of the program. What they do not mention is the cost in workers' jobs which will be brought about by Nixon's budget slashes.

The Executive Board of the National Association of Broadcasting Engineers and Technicians Local 532 passed a resolution for a Congress of Labor and the construction of a labor party.

Copies of this resolution are to be sent to the San Francisco Labor Council and to the national office of NABET.

### Build the National Continuations Committee Meeting!

West Coast Meeting  
February 4  
2 PM  
The Holiday Inn  
Gold Room C  
San Francisco  
(Free parking)  
50 8th Street



ILWU Local 10 votes in a new leadership in an election which offers no program to defend the ranks.

## Magee Thrown Out Of Court

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO—The legal railroading of Ruchell Magee is being conducted by throwing out all the legal books of the past period.

Magee is fighting for his very life with a court appointed attorney Robert Carrow, who refuses to carry out the type of defense that Magee insists on.

This week the jury was picked,

and all that remains is the selection of alternates and then the trial will begin. Throughout the pre-trial proceedings and the jury selection, Magee has been chained to his chair.

At every point, when he fought to defend himself, he has been

dragged out of the courtroom to a prepared isolation booth where the trial is piped in.

### THROWN OUT

Earlier this week, Magee was thrown out of court when he spoke to his lawyer. Superior Court Judge Colvin told him that if he spoke audibly, he would be removed. Since he is chained to his chair, he could not lean over to speak to Carrow and had to speak in a normal voice so that Carrow could hear him.

### ISOLATION

When he tried to talk to Carrow again, Judge Colvin had him thrown into the isolation chamber. Later, Carrow refused to use a peremptory challenge against a prospective juror. Carrow said "Pass," and Magee replied: "Hell, we do" and he was immediately thrown into the isolation booth.

Throughout the pre-trial, the Communist Party's West Coast newspaper, the *People's World*, has refused to say anything about the trial except to acknowledge that Magee exists. They have completely dropped the Magee trial since it was separated from the trial of Angela Davis.

In the side rooms of the courtroom are police armed with M-16s and police dogs ready to be used at any moment. Magee himself has said that "I'm a slave once again" and that is what the courtroom proceedings mean.

The only defense that can free Magee and other political prisoners is a class defense rooted in the working class.

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troops.

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The struggle for the contract in June must begin now with a fight for the guarantee to be paid out immediately.

# West Coast News

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## Lockheed To Sack 900 From Trident Missile Project

BY ANN LORE

SUNNYVALE—Lockheed, the largest aerospace contractor in Northern California, has announced the laying off of five percent of its Bay Area work force, affecting both engineers and production workers of International Association of Machinists.

These layoffs, to take place over the next two months, will affect some 600 to 900 employees from Lockheed's Missile Systems Division in Sunnyvale.

These cutbacks are being blamed on a modified schedule for the development of the US Navy's Trident missile, the successor to the Poseidon. This rescheduling of the Trident, thought to be a cornerstone of the US's missile deterrent power, is certain to have far reaching effects on other aerospace industries, which are all bidding on a piece of this project.

Lockheed began laying off employee last October, in a general cost-cutting move. This time they are not even making promises about restaffing to the present capacity.

Lockheed, which barely survived bankruptcy a short time ago through an emergency loan of \$250 million passed by Congress, is again facing a situation which is beyond its control. Any recent restabilization which took place in the aerospace industry is being broken apart now by the deepening economic crisis which is affecting all major industries.

Simultaneously with this statement by Lockheed, an announcement was made in Washington by the National Aeronautics Space Administration of major space agency budget cuts. Nixon is slic-

ing \$400 to \$600 million off the space budget, to cut it back to a ceiling of three billion dollars.

All of the repercussions of this decision are not yet known. But numerous corporations, employing tens of thousands of workers will be affected by this cut.

Built up during the boom of the 1950s, Lockheed, along with Boeing, North American Rockwell, Rohr and others depend on NASA contracts and are faced with closure now. A list of programs was given out which will either be slowed down, suspended or just stopped. Already it is clear that the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena will face closure.

The major program cut back was the \$5.5 billion space shuttle. North American Rockwell, the main contractor for the shuttle has only said that the cuts may cost a year in the development of the program. What they do not mention is the cost in workers' jobs which will be brought about by Nixon's budget slashes.

The Executive Board of the National Association of Broadcasting Engineers and Technicians Local 532 passed a resolution for a Congress of Labor and the construction of a labor party.

Copies of this resolution are to be sent to the San Francisco Labor Council and to the national office of NABET.



ILWU Local 10 votes in a new leadership in an election which offers no program to defend the ranks.

## Magee Thrown Out Of Court

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO—The legal railroading of Ruchell Magee is being conducted by throwing out all the legal books of the past period.

Magee is fighting for his very life with a court appointed attorney Robert Carrow, who refuses to carry out the type of defense that Magee insists on.

This week the jury was picked,

and all that remains is the selection of alternates and then the trial will begin. Throughout the pre-trial proceedings and the jury selection, Magee has been chained to his chair.

At every point, when he fought to defend himself, he has been

dragged out of the courtroom to a prepared isolation booth where the trial is piped in.

### THROWN OUT

Earlier this week, Magee was thrown out of court when he spoke to his lawyer. Superior Court Judge Colvin told him that if he spoke audibly, he would be removed. Since he is chained to his chair, he could not lean over to speak to Carrow and had to speak in a normal voice so that Carrow could hear him.

### ISOLATION

When he tried to talk to Carrow again, Judge Colvin had him thrown into the isolation chamber. Later, Carrow refused to use a peremptory challenge against a prospective juror. Carrow said "Pass," and Magee replied: "Hell, we do" and he was immediately thrown into the isolation booth.

Throughout the pre-trial, the Communist Party's West Coast newspaper, the *People's World*, has refused to say anything about the trial except to acknowledge that Magee exists. They have completely dropped the Magee trial since it was separated from the trial of Angela Davis.

In the side rooms of the courtroom are police armed with M-16s and police dogs ready to be used at any moment. Magee himself has said that "I'm a slave once again" and that is what the courtroom proceedings mean.

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### Build the National Continuations Committee Meeting!

West Coast Meeting  
February 4  
2 PM  
The Holiday Inn  
Gold Room C  
San Francisco  
(Free parking)  
50 8th Street

