

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER THREE 278

JANUARY 22, 1973

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

SMASH PHASE 3!

January 13, 1973

Dear Brother:

Last October 21-22, we met in Chicago at the National Labor Party Conference and voted unanimously to carry forward the fight for the Congress of Labor to build a labor party as the only way to defend the American working class.

At that time, just three weeks before the election, we foresaw that the deepening economic crisis would force the Nixon Administration to launch the most savage attacks on the trade unions. We said that the bankrupt Democratic Party could present no alternative to Nixon during the election campaign and would support all his actions against the working class after the elections.

Events since the Chicago meeting have proven the correctness of our perspective and the urgency of the fight for the labor party. Now, the crisis situation facing the labor movement with the beginning of Phase Three requires an emergency meeting in St. Louis on February 18 of the Continuations Committee that was formed at the Chicago Conference to develop the struggle for the labor party throughout the country and in every section of the working class.

Every basic right of the working class is under attack. While prices skyrocket, Nixon is more determined than ever to drive down the wages of workers and throw back living conditions to the Depression level. Phase Three means that Nixon will have dictatorial powers to roll back wages if Meany, Woodcock and Fitzsimmons don't live up to their promise to police the so-called "voluntary" pay guidelines.

The Government is making serious preparations for an all-out battle with the trade unions. Nixon is about to introduce a bill that would force the striking Long Island Rail Road ranks back to work and open the way for the destruction of the right to strike.



Nixon's elimination of federal disaster loans to farms provoked a mass meeting of 4300 angry Minnesota farmers, whose fight against the government won support from the State AFL-CIO. See story, page 16.

Nixon has shown that he will use brutal force to smash the unions. He has encouraged the use of riot cops against the picket lines of Newspaper Guild workers in Cleveland and Wilmington. His favorite mayor, ex-cop Rizzo, has threatened to break up the picket lines of striking Philadelphia teachers. Nixon's pledge to end "permissiveness" was a green light for the Baton Rouge police to murder working class students at Southern University.

But the genocidal saturation bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong shows most clearly what Nixon is prepared to do when the working class defies his attacks.

The arsenal of weapons that the ruling class invented for Vietnam is ready for use in this country. Just last week, 600 police in New Orleans were mobilized

with marine helicopters, artillery, elephant guns and flame throwers to slaughter one man. This shows what the Nixon government has in store for millions of striking workers on picket lines outside plants.

Millions of workers are ready to answer Nixon blow for blow. Nearly five million workers are up for new contracts this year and will fight for decent wage increases to defend their living conditions against the wild price increases in food and clothing.

The Continuations Committee must lead the fight against Phase Three and Nixon's decision to keep compulsory controls over workers in hospitals, construction and the food industry. We denounce the Government's attempt to blame inflation on trade unionists. During Phase Two, the wages of the meat-

cutters were cut by the Pay Board but this did not stop food prices from rising at their highest rate in a quarter-century.

•No wage controls on any workers! The Continuations Committee must fight for strike action by the food, hospital and construction workers and demand that the entire trade union movement be mobilized in their support.

•Furthermore, the AFL-CIO now must take immediate action to restore the contract cuts made by the Pay Board during Phase Two and at the same time fight for wage increases that defend the living standards of American workers in the face of the runaway inflation for which the banks and big business are responsible.

•Every contract for the 4.5 million trade unionists up for

bargaining in 1973 must include in addition to the fixed wage increase, the following: 1) A 100 percent cost-of-living escalator clause to protect the paycheck against inflation; 2) Full compensation for productivity gains in the industry; 3) No speedups. A 30 hour week for 40 hours pay.

Nixon is determined to stop any of these gains. Phase Three does not mean a relaxation of controls. He has ended the compulsory controls of Phase Two the same way he "ended" the bombing of Vietnam last October—only to carry out more brutal attacks. Under Phase Three, the controls have actually been strengthened. Nixon has stepped up the attack.

There is nothing "voluntary" about the controls under Phase Three. Rather, the trade union (Continued On Page 18)

There is no peace in Vietnam

Political Committee Statement page 2

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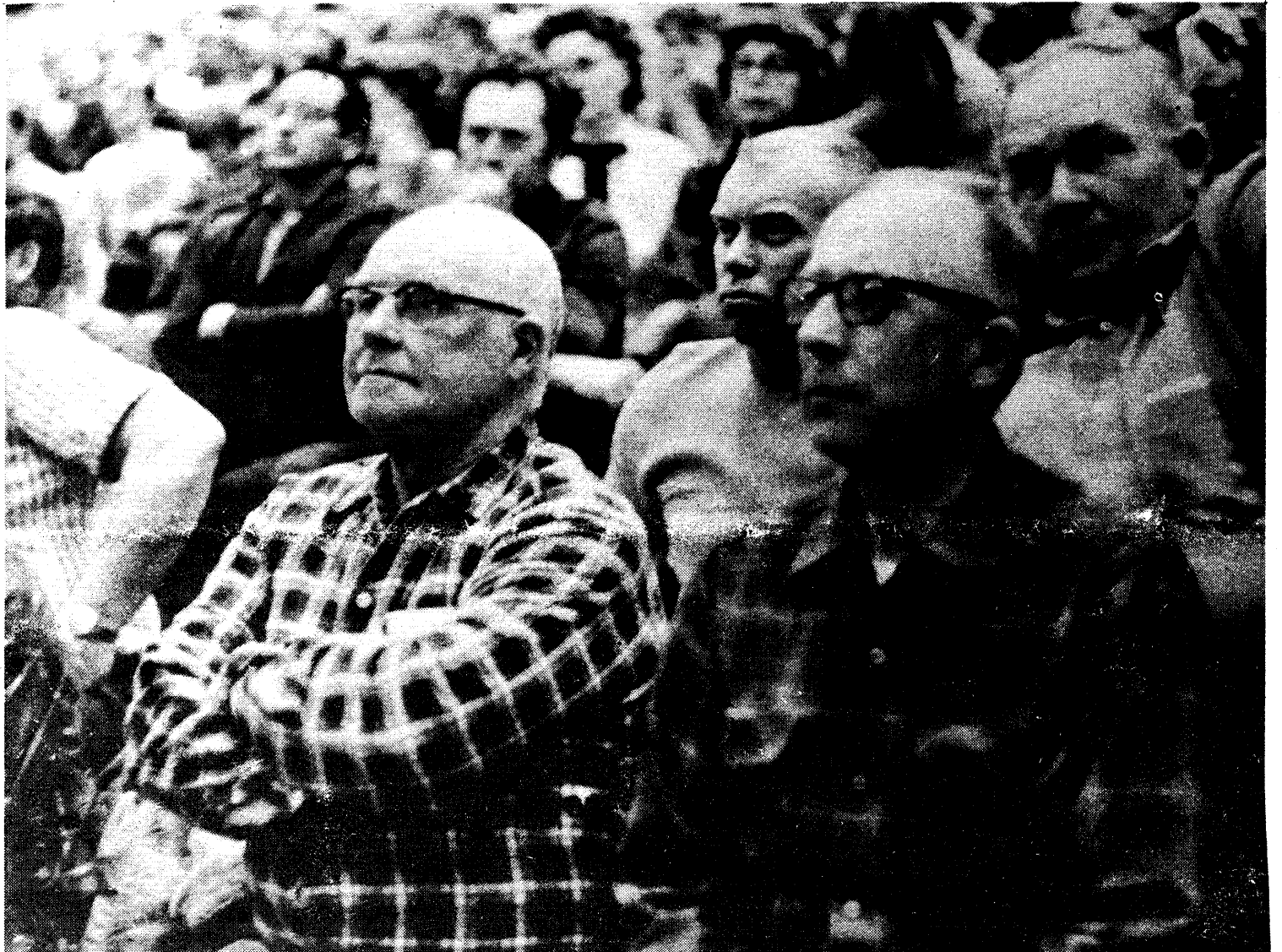
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500 London contracting electricians joined the thousands of British trade unionists taking action against Tory government. Tory Employment Secretary issued an order stopping a wage increase due the electricians on January 3.

267 Face Mass Trial In Turkey

BY
MELODY FARROW

On January 10, the mass trial of 267 Turkish oppositionists opened before a military tribunal in Ankara. One hundred and eighty-five of the defendants are accused of being members of the Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Party of Turkey.

The government has charged them with attempting to overthrow constitutional government, insulting state authorities and of having close relations with the Popular Liberation Army. Many of the accused could get the death penalty.

Dogu Perineck, alleged to be the leader of the RWPP, declared before the tribunal that he had been tortured during his interrogation and called the regime a "military-fascist dictatorship."

Four hundred people are awaiting trial next month and 200 youth and students will also be tried for organizing university demonstrations.

On January 9, an emergency meeting of the Turkish Union of Journalists issued a statement denouncing Prime Minister Ferit Melen's claim that a free press exists in Turkey. The statement condemned the regime's new laws on the press which has already put a number of journalists in jail.

Statement Of The Political Committee

There Is No Peace In Vietnam

From the reports in Saigon, Washington, Paris and North Vietnam, it now appears that the Stalinists are getting ready to sign a deal with Nixon and US imperialism against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. The Stalinists, who were instrumental in getting Nixon elected with their fraudulent campaign that peace was just around the corner, are now preparing to give Nixon another boost on inauguration day as he prepares to implement Phase Three against the American working class.

The Stalinist bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and China have criminally used the massive bombing of North Vietnam to force the North Vietnamese and the NLF to the bargaining table and into a "settlement" with imperialism.

But there are some quarters that have not been heard from—that is from the Vietnamese workers and peasants and the international working class. It is the movement of workers which is now developing in the advanced countries of Europe and America against the attacks on their living standards that now joins with the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese masses. It is this movement that is fundamental, not the maneuvers and travelling of Henry Kissinger. It is

this movement that threatens to destroy any deals made in Paris.

There can be no peace under imperialism. This is the meaning of the mass extermination of the Vietnamese people unleashed by Nixon after the last talks broke down. This is the real face of imperialism. Because of the deep crisis of the capitalist system, Nixon must break the resistance of the working class with mass murder, repression and the destruction of the means of production.

This is the meaning of the statement by Nixon's appointee as Deputy Secretary of Defense, William Clements, who said before a Senate Committee that he would not rule out the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam. We have said from the beginning that the war against the Vietnamese people and the massive bombing

of Vietnam is the testing ground for imperialism's war against the workers' states of China and the Soviet Union. In its trade war with its capitalist rivals and the European working class, American imperialism will not hesitate to open up a military conflict if necessary.

All of Nixon's talk of peace is really preparation for this new stage of war. The Stalinists are giving Nixon vital time to do this, disarming the Vietnamese people and the international working class.

We warn that Nixon would like nothing better than to get a deal

and then use any pretext to launch a war of mass destruction which will stop at nothing, including nuclear war.

Not only has Nixon shown the real face of imperialism in Vietnam, but today in the United States he is preparing his Phase Three under which the working class will have its living standards slashed by inflation and he will have dictatorial powers to intervene against the unions.

This is why the Workers League does not begin with the maneuvers of Nixon, Kissinger and the Stalinists in Paris. We

(Continued On Page 18)

Civil Servants Fight Tory Pay Ban

BY MELODY FARROW

For the first time in Britain's history, thousands of angry government employees staged a two hour work stoppage against the Tory government's laws banning wage increases. The action of these workers, considered to be among the more conservative sections of the labor movement, is an indication of the desire among large sections of workers to fight the Tory offensive. The civil service employees' 20 percent wage increase has been held up since last November.

Their demonstration came after weeks of one day strikes throughout the engineering industry against the 61,000 pound (\$140,300) fine levied

against the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers by the Industrial Relations Act.

On January 8, in the port of Tyneside, 30,000 engineers struck. The shipyards and several large factories were closed down.

Engineers on Merseyside held their second 24 hour stoppage against the fines.

Industrial action is now threatened in the gas industry where leaders of the gas workers union have backed a rank and file call for a nationwide ban on overtime and possible selective strikes to begin this week.

Prime Minister Heath has just served notice on the General and Municipal Workers Union, which has been involved in pay talks with the Gas Company, that further wage negotiations are banned. This applies to all trade unions who are presently negotiating new contracts such as the Ford auto workers.

The leadership of the Trades Union Congress, which collaborated in establishing state control of wages, is now in discussion with Heath over Phase Two of the state pay plan to be introduced in the next Parliament. Phase Two will mean a permanent legal wage freeze while prices are allowed to soar. The price of beef has already gone up 50 percent to 60 percent.

These laws will be backed by the criminal courts. Any union or section of workers who defy the state regulations will be open to unlimited fines or prison.

More than pay is involved here. The Tories are in the process of constructing a corporatist plan to tie the unions to the state and abolish the right to collective bargaining.

Heath is using talks with the TUC leaders, who spread illusions that Heath will make concessions, to buy time to prepare a total crackdown on the trade unions.

Tensions are so sharp in Britain that any decisive move by a strong section of the labor movement, such as the auto workers, could rapidly lead to a general strike, posing the defeat of the Tory government.

Heath is preparing for this showdown by building up secret armies of police and strikebreakers connected to the military and by training and equipping the police for "riot control." For the first time, the police are being issued guns which fire CRS gas.

The Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists in Britain are fighting to build Councils of Action in all areas to defend the working class, to force the Tories out and return a Labor government pledged to socialist policies.

Mao Hails Common Market

BY A

FOREIGN REPORTER

The Stalinist bureaucracy of China has warmly endorsed the enlargement of the Common Market and the moves of the capitalist countries for a European Security Conference.

This was the main topic of discussion between Chinese leaders Chi Peng-fei and Chou En-lai and the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Giuseppe Medici who arrived in Peking January 7 for a six day visit.

Chou En-lai declared that the "detente" between the European rulers and China and economic integration was vital but that cooperation had to extend to the political and military spheres. Chou En-lai said that without such cooperation the European Security Conference could not succeed.

The daily papers in China have published reports of Britain's en-

try into the Common Market under the headline: "West European Countries Strengthen Their Alignment of Counter-Balance To The Two Super-Powers."

In short, the Chinese bureaucracy is willing to make any kind of reactionary alliance with the European capitalists in order to weaken a military threat from the US or the Soviet Union.

AIRLINES

Chou En-lai and Medici have signed an accord that, for the first time since the Chinese Revolution, will allow the Italian airlines Alitalia and CAAC to fly over China.

The Common Market, which is the conspiracy of the European monopolists to drive down the working class, destroy its trade unions and create massive unemployment now is backed by the Chinese Stalinists out of fear of the revolutionary developments in the working class.

General Strike Of Italy Unions

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Over 20 million Italian workers answered the general strike call of the three major trade union federations on January 12. Huge rallies and marches were held throughout the country.

The strike, directed against the policies of the government of Premier Giulio Andreotti, lasted four hours but in Rome and among school teachers the strike was scheduled for 24 hours. Postal, telegraph and telephone workers planned to stay out for two days to press their demand for a wage increase.

Luigi Lama, head of the General Confederation of Italian Labor, said the strike was "clearly political. It is levelled against the whole socio-economic policy of the government."

The unions are demanding low cost housing, decent schools and health services and more jobs, especially for the poverty stricken South.

1199 Caucus Calls For Strike Over Phase 3 Controls

BY A LOCAL 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—In view of Nixon's announcement that during Phase Three hospital workers, together with food services and construction workers will remain under mandatory controls, the Rank and File Committee of Local 1199, Hospital and Drug Union, has issued the following statement:

"Hospital workers face compulsory wage controls under Nixon's Phase Three. The government will try to slash our wages and rob us of all the gains we have made while the lid is taken off all prices and rents.

"This announcement poses an immediate threat to the 7.5 percent increase we have waited for over seven months.

"Phase Three means a deliberate offensive by the government together with the hospitals

to bust our union. The health budget is being slashed, creating huge cutbacks in jobs and services. Knickerbocker Hospital in New York has threatened to close. An organizer in Philadelphia was killed on a picket line last year by a private hospital guard and in Boston the hospitals have launched a multi-million dollar campaign combined with open police terror to prevent a 1199 organizing drive.

"The entire trade union movement must call a Congress of Labor to prepare united action against these attacks. We support the call of 1199 President Leon Davis for a conference of the unions still under mandatory controls as a step in this direction.

"We must prepare strike action if our 7.5 percent increase is cut and fight for the support of the other unions. We must fight in the labor movement for a policy of defiance of the controls and for a:

- General strike to smash Phase Three;

- The immediate construction of a labor party.

"Leon Davis has refused to prepare any action to defend our contract. He has done nothing to fight the increasing speedup and deteriorating working conditions.

"In order to defend our rights and defend our union, we must build a new leadership in 1199 that is prepared to fight politically against the government. The 1199 Rank and File Committee is holding a meeting Wednesday, January 24 at 135 West 14th Street at 6:30 PM to discuss this fight and to send a delegation to the emergency meeting of trade unionists on February 18 called by the Continuations Committee of the Labor Party Conference."



As the strike enters its second week, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers vowed to stay out for a 5.7 percent wage increase and no increase in class size. Strike is rapidly developing into a major confrontation with City as School Board has issued contempt charges and a court injunction which could involve massive fines and jailings. Mayor Rizzo is already spending over \$100,000 a day for extra police. Teachers have received a resolution of support from Phila. AFL-CIO Council.

Anger Over Food Prices

BY DIANNE ISAACS

NEW YORK—American housewives will find it increasingly difficult to serve meat on their tables, along with most other essential foods, as prices continue to skyrocket in 1973 under Phase Three.

The last half of 1972 saw the annual rate of farm and food prices, measured by the wholesale price index, increase by 24 percent. Workers and their families have only just begun to experience this in the supermarkets.

The Bulletin spoke to shoppers in the Fort Greene area last week. One young woman with four boys said: "My boys want to play basketball and football, but I can't even afford to buy food healthy enough to keep them from catching winter colds all the time.

"I'm fed up to the teeth with nothing but beans, chicken and hamburger," another housewife said. "I have dreams about inch thick T-bone steaks."

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Nixon Drops Price Controls As Inflation Goes Wild

BY DAVID NORTH

Prices will rise at a rate unparalleled in the history of the United States during 1973. Economic analysts are frankly predicting that the annual rate of inflation will be not less than eight percent, and some are suggesting that the Consumer Price Index could jump as much as 20 percent in February.

An indication of what is in store for prices this year has already been given. During the 11 day period between December 29, 1972 to January 9, 1973, the price index of the authoritative Journal of Commerce rose at an annual rate of 102 percent. Its index for primary industrial material leaped 156 percent during the same period.

It is this runaway inflation that exposes the real story behind Phase Three. While threatening that trade unions will face government intervention if they demand more than the 5.5 percent guidelines, Nixon has scrapped price controls because inflation has become uncontrollable.

INFLATION

In the coming months, inflation will be used as a battering ram against the living conditions of the working class. Unless the wage controls are smashed by general strike action, workers will be hit by cuts in their incomes of at least 15 percent.

Behind this wild inflation is the massive pumping of worthless paper currency into the economy by the Federal Reserve Bank in order to supply easy credit to industrial concerns who are desperate for cash.

The last two months of 1972 witnessed the most spectacular increase in the money supply. The deliberate inflation of the economy by the Federal Reserve Bank, required by industry in order to head off a collapse, has ruled out any sort of price controls.

Under heavy pressure from the top banks, the Federal Reserve has finally moved to tighten credit, raising its discount rate last week from 4.5 to 5 percent. Even this modest increase has raised fear among businessmen and speculators that it will not be possible to meet the increased cost of credit.

However, the major banks,

which refuse to lend out money which is worth much less by the time it is paid back, are demanding a much tighter restriction on the money supply, and will raise their own lending rates regardless of what the Federal Reserve Bank, bound to Nixon's political interests, does.

COLLAPSE

In addition to the growing credit crisis, there was another sharp indication that the American capitalist economy stands on the brink of the most devastating collapse since 1929. There was a big rise in business inventories at the end of 1972 but a considerable decline in sales. Manufacturers are now faced with an inability to find an outlet for goods produced during the last inflationary increase in production.

This economic crisis finds the trade union bureaucracy collaborating with the Nixon administration and agreeing to police wages while prices skyrocket.

The fight must begin in every trade union for the calling of a Congress of Labor to prepare action to smash the wage controls, win big increases during the 1973 contract negotiations, and to build a labor party that will fight for socialist policies as the only way to defend the working class against the crisis.

It is to begin this fight nationally that the Continuations Committee of the Labor Party Conference will meet in St. Louis on February 18. We urge workers in every section of the trade union movement to make preparation to attend this meeting.



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

LIRR Strikers Defy Threat Of Injunction

BY DAVID NORTH

NEW YORK, Jan. 16—Overwhelming support for defiance of a threatened back-to-work injunction is building up among 5000 striking Long Island Rail Road workers.

State politicians, led by Governor Rockefeller, have launched an all-out drive to bust the seven week old strike through new laws and court actions. An action was filed in Brooklyn Federal Court today by Nassau County Executive Ralph Casso to force the ranks back to work by Monday.

Union officials told the *Bulletin*

UTU Stalls Penn Central Strike 30 Days

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—The United Transportation Union (UTU) announced on January 10 that it will delay its strike against the Penn Central Railroad for 30 days.

The Penn Central stated it will delay for 30 days its plans to change work rules to eventually eliminate 5700 operating personnel by cutting standard train crews from three to two men. The delay was arranged by Assistant Secretary of Labor William Usery.

One UTU member in New York told the *Bulletin*: "Secretary Usery got the pressure put on to let the trains run for the inauguration. Then there'll be a Congressional injunction and then probably some other kind of injunction. The men won't stand for it if they try to delay things too long."

An explosion by Penn Central workers against these cuts is inevitable. Penn Central has already eliminated 14,000 jobs since going bankrupt in 1970, under the direction of US District Judge John Fullam in Philadelphia, who also gave the go ahead for the latest cuts.

TARGET

On January 8, George Daniels, the senior labor relations officer of Penn Central, stated, "Our target, of course, is to reduce the size of as many crews as we can in the quickest time we can." Two hundred and seventy-two crews have already been cut to two men with the agreement of the UTU bureaucracy.

A young conductor in New York said: "If the Penn Central cuts all these jobs, the union has all the right in the world to protest it. There's two things involved: politics and labor. President Nixon is not going to give in."

"If you start this unemployment, you're looking for trouble. If you take a man's job away from him, what's he going to do? They try to get rid of you for all sorts of reasons."

Only nationalization of the railroads under workers control can defend railroad jobs.

that they would not be able to call the men back to work.

"If I tried to end this strike without winning the wages the men have been out for, they'd hang me from the nearest telephone pole," declared Ernie Varricchio, president of the Carmen.

"There is no way I could recommend going back to work," he said. "Everyone knows this is a clear case of union-busting."

The recent Executive Board meeting of Local 886 rejected arbitration of the union's demands.

The struggle of the non-operating engineers, who have received 100 percent support from operating engineers since the walkout began November 30, has been weakened by the attempts of the national leadership of the United Transportation Union to pressure the striking 12-union coalition to come to terms with the Metropolitan Transportation Authority in order to head off anti-strike laws in the railroad industry.

The only way to fight attempts to pass reactionary union-busting laws is for the UTU to pledge nationwide strike support to the LIRR ranks in their fight against an injunction or new state laws.

Last week, Democratic and Republican politicians began action to make the LIRR workers, now under Federal jurisdiction, subject to the state Taylor Law, which makes strikes by state employees illegal.

The united action of the Democrats and Republicans shows the vicious anti-labor character of both parties. Only through the building of a labor party will the LIRR ranks have the political weapon to this union-busting campaign.



Members of the striking Amalgamated Transportation Union traveled from all over Connecticut to demonstrate at the State Capitol against Governor Meskill, who is aiding the bankrupt Connecticut Bus Company's attempt to replace the ATU with scab labor.

Boston Mayor Cuts Jobs, School And Hospital Funds

BY PAT CONNOLLY

BOSTON—Mayor Kevin White last week announced the slashing of 1600 city workers' jobs. While 10 percent of the city labor force is to be thrown onto the streets, the mayor also announced plans to slash the school budget increase to zero, and to cut funding for Boston City Hospital by 20 percent.

Seven hundred workers' jobs will be wiped out through attrition, with no new workers being hired, and speedup vastly intensified. Nine hundred workers, according to White's plan, will be removed from provisional jobs, laid off or fired. The city has hired the consulting firm of H.B. Maynard from Hartford to do efficiency studies to locate "excess" jobs and workers.

Clearly stating the government's aim to smash up Civil Service and union protection which covers 90 percent of those facing layoffs—health, hospital, parks, maintenance, firemen and other city workers—the Deputy Mayor Sullivan announced that by

eliminating job titles and by defining jobs as "excess," Civil Service protection could be decimated.

The vicious nature of this attack was only intensified by the mayor's statement that they would attempt to find jobs for some laid off workers in private industry.

Private industry in the Boston metropolitan area is in a state of collapse, with shoemaking, electronics and shipbuilding closing down, moving out of state to low wage areas, and conducting

massive layoffs themselves. Unemployment in areas in the eastern part of the state is up to and over 10 percent.

The head of District Council 45 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which covers thousands of city workers, only stated that "there undoubtedly will be some bumping down in jobs" and that more reductions could be expected. The head of the Firemen and Oilers Union, Joseph McNamara, has lodged a protest with the Mayor's office.

Watergate Trial Farce

BY A REPORTER

Defendants in the Watergate Conspiracy breezed through court this week, pleading guilty to all charges and avoiding even a partial disclosure of the details behind the spying on the Democrats during the 1972 campaign.

One by one, the defendants stood before the judge, smiled, and confidently refused to do more than enter a guilty plea.

That the trial of the Watergate conspirators is itself part of the conspiracy was made clear by reports by the *New York Times* that the defendants were under "great pressure" to waive their defense.

The *Times* also revealed that the defendants had received assurances from unnamed but powerful individuals of substantial financial compensation for their willingness to plead guilty.

The Government is trying to use the Watergate trial as a vehicle for a witch-hunt against the left. When McCord appeared in court, he said that his actions were prompted by the threat of violence against leading Republicans, "including, but not limited to, the President."

Gerald Alch, lawyer for McCord, suggested that the National Peace Action Coalition and the Peoples' Coalition For Peace and Justice had infiltrated the

McGovern campaign.

"Since these would-be violent groups were pro-McGovern, it's possible he could have ascertained some of their plans," Alch said.

LAWYER

Henry R. Rothblatt, the lawyer of the Watergate defendants, quit the case after his clients decided to change their pleas to "guilty." However, presiding Judge John Sirica promptly found a defense lawyer who had no objections to handling the guilty pleas.

Sirica appointed an old friend as defense attorney, Alvin Newmyer, who is 89 years old.



The 5000 Long Island Rail Road workers hold out for their demands as the strike enters its eighth week.

Rent Strike Head Enters Newark Jail

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEWARK—Toby Henry, leader of the two year old rent strike of tenants in the Stella Wright project, began serving a 45 day prison term last week for contempt of court. He defied a judge's order to hand over to the Housing Authority \$94,000 in rent money collected during the first months of the rent strike by the Tenants Association.

The rent had long since been returned to the tenants, after it became clear that the Housing Authority would do nothing about the conditions in the projects.

Since his imprisonment, Henry has been virtually barred from any contact with the outside world. He has been limited to only six visitors.

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Chicago's school teachers took to the picket lines last week after School Board rejected their request for a 2.5 percent wage increase. See article, page 17.

\$100 Million Cut Hits Vocational Schools

BY MIRIAM ROSARIO

NEW YORK—The proposed federal budget for the fiscal year means that every program developed over the last two decades will be eliminated or drastically cut by Nixon.

Tremendous cuts are aimed at elementary and secondary educational programs, and no funds have been allocated for some new programs which Congress approved last year.

Vocational schools are to have funds cut by \$100 million, a 20 percent reduction, while programs for scholarships such as the National Student Defense Loan have no money. The proposed budget abolished \$90 million for federal aid to libraries.

Nixon has stated that even if Congress appropriates enough money, he will refuse to spend it. The reforms which brought about

the poverty programs are on their way out because the administration is demanding a \$320 million cut—which means no money at all—for the Office of Economic Opportunity.

SLASHES

These budget slashes will mean that thousands of teachers and youth will lose their jobs. Both high school and college education will be eliminated for working class youth.

The unions must not allow this to take place. Throughout the country, teachers have taken to the picket line for decent wages and working conditions. In

Chicago and Philadelphia, tens of thousands of teachers are out on strike against the cuts in education.

The trade unions must take immediate action against Nixon's policy. Strike action against the budget cuts and wage controls must be the first step forward.

Students and youth must take up a fight against the actions organized by reformists who use these protests to open the door for the Democratic politicians.

CONGRESS OF LABOR

The unions must convene a Congress of Labor to take action against Nixon's attacks and build a labor party.

The Young Socialists are taking forward this fight by building for the emergency meeting called by the Continuations Committee for a Labor Party Now on February 18 in St. Louis. This can only be done on the basis of the draft program developed by the Young Socialists.

This means fighting as part of a revolutionary youth movement to bring about a new leadership within the trade unions which will fight the attacks of the Democrats and Republicans.

Life And Death Of Mark Essex

The recent murder of Mark Essex, alleged New Orleans sniper, reveals the future which capitalism must prepare for militant youth today.

As schools everywhere are being boarded up, as young workers are sped up and harassed, as unemployment rises, the government whips out its guns to silence the youth.

The lifting of wage and price controls under Phase Three is only the start of a new offensive. Nixon's inability to control inflation prepares the way for the further driving back of the living conditions of the working class.

Mark Essex reflected the determination of youth to take on the state and fight the rotten conditions which it faces. The murder of two students in Baton Rouge was only the beginning, and only a prelude for the attacks which now must be launched against the entire working class.

While stirring up a frenzied witch-hunt against Blacks and militant youth, the real situation is buried beneath a mountain of lies and distortions by the press. No evidence has yet been established that there was ever more than one sniper, although the police claim there was.

It is not known who started the hotel fires or killed the hotel guests. It is further acknowledged that at one point in the melee, police were firing at each other.

Although the real motives of Essex cannot clearly be determined, the motives of the police are beyond question. When hundreds of cops are mobilized in war-time fashion to shoot down ONE man, it becomes clear that the panic of the government stops at nothing short of absolute savagery. It is this same savage face which showed itself in the bombing of North Vietnam.

The capitalists fear a resurgence of the ghetto rebellions of the 1960s, so the slightest "provocation" or resistance from the working class must be met head-on. Rebellions today will not be confined to the ghettos, but will carry the full force of workers and youth internationally. The very foundation of the trade unions—the right to fight for decent living conditions—has been kicked aside by the Pay Board.

What is now required is the immediate construction of a massive revolutionary youth movement rooted in Marxist theory. It is only by turning toward the trade unions, to demand that they construct a labor party to fight for the American working class, that youth can lead the revolutionary struggle.

This fight must be carried forward in the February 18 Continuations Committee in St. Louis, called by the Workers League, to answer Nixon's attacks with the call for a Congress of Labor.

Individual acts cannot substitute for the conscious movement of the working class. This movement alone can destroy capitalism and build a meaningful future for ALL workers and youth.

California Phasing Out Colleges

BY A YS REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—In a chilling report commissioned by the California State Legislature, the blueprint for the dismantling of California's state colleges and universities has been laid out.

The broad outline of the plan is to phase out the universities and the colleges, either entirely eliminating their programs or turning them over to "educational entrepreneurs" and private colleges. Only the junior colleges would remain, and these would be strictly confined to their present functions.

The report states "As Americans move into a time when transmission of knowledge need not involve a teacher, and research will be carried out by institutes, the only future for the university will be to do what is not being done elsewhere." In plain English the two functions of universities, education and research, are no longer needed by capitalism as it plunges into crisis.

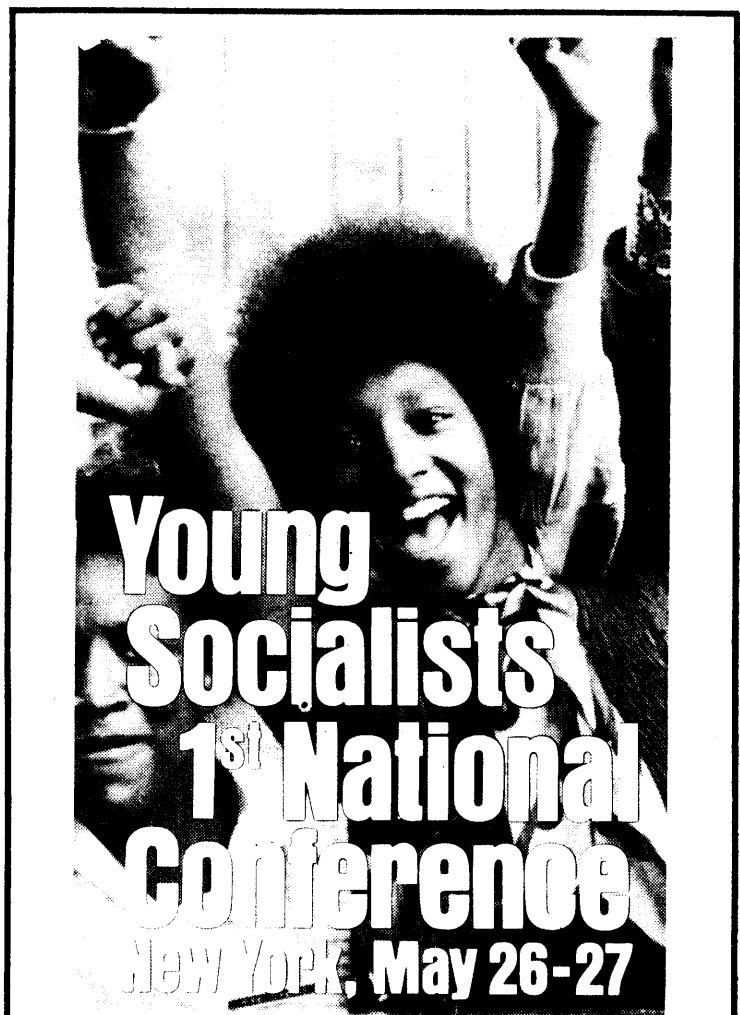
The report recommends concretely that budgets be frozen indefinitely for the state colleges and universities, and that a "College of California" be set up to replace them. This so-called college would have no campuses or full time educators, but would hand over the functions of the schools to "leaders of industry, labor, and communications media."

This lengthy report calls for an end to the right to higher education that has existed since the land grant colleges were set up after the Civil War.

The attacks that must now be made against California's education system, which emerged out of the postwar boom into the largest and most highly rated public education system in the world, is now to be dismantled as the boom collapses.

Under these conditions students must take up the struggle to build a revolutionary leadership within the working

class. The only way to defend the right to an education is through this struggle to bring the working class to power.



Hunter College Playhouse,
 68th St. & Lexington Ave., New York City
 \$2.50 includes registration and Saturday night dance.

For more information write: Young Socialists
 135 W. 14th Street, 6th Fl.
 New York, New York 10011

Young Socialist 26,000 Detroit Teachers Face March Firing

BY MICHAEL JAMES

DETROIT—Detroit's Board of Education is preparing dismissal orders for 26,000 teachers to be mailed 60 days before schools close because of a lack of funds.

What is becoming apparent as far as the Detroit School Board and State Legislature is concerned is that the doors of elementary, junior high and high schools will be shut as early as March.

The decision reached in November by Detroit's Board of Education called for the closing of schools for two months from December through February 1 was postponed because of the angry opposition from all eight of Detroit's school districts.

Youth are angered over this situation. One youth, Phillippe, told the *Young Socialist* that: "The closing will hold students back from graduating on time. When they were talking about

closing the school in December and January, the teachers said that last semester wouldn't count.

"Next year I am supposed to graduate. Now I don't know when I will graduate. They shouldn't close down the schools with no jobs and no place to go. Kids will be getting into more trouble with STRESS out there already. They are going to come down hard because they are going to be looking for more trouble.

After seeking help from the State Legislature, Detroit's School Board put off their previous decision until March with the promise that sufficient funds would be allotted.

But the only "solution" the state's Senate Education Com-



Detroit's STRESS cops.

mittee has come up with is a bill introduced last December 13 for a 21 mill minimum for Detroit's school property tax in all districts if they want their share of state education funds.

If Detroit accepts this proposal, which amounts to a 5 mill (1 mill equals one dollar per one thousand dollars' worth of property) increase, it will mean a 50 percent city income tax increase.

In other words, the government is arrogantly demanding that if students want free public education, the money will have to come out of the pockets of the working class.

Unions Back GIs Against Frame-up

BY NANCY RUSSELL

MADISON—On January 8, the Madison Grand Jury began hearings in the trial of the Camp McCoy Three. Steve Geden, Dannie Kreps, and Tom Chase are antiwar GI's being framed up over the bombing of the army's power, water and communications facilities at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin.

After two years of harassment and uncertainty over when the trial would begin, a sudden decision for a January 8 trial date was handed down only weeks after Nixon's re-election.

Geden and Kreps face a possible 35 year prison term and a \$30,000 fine. Despite a previous ruling dropping the charges against Chase, the government is determined to frame him up again.

SINGLED OUT

These three men are being singled out because of their or-

ganizing work for the American Servicemen's Union, an organization fighting for the rights of enlisted men against the brass.

The government's immediate purpose in the frame-up was to sabotage the ASU-scheduled strike at Camp McCoy, which was to take place only days after the bombing incident.

The trial has already, after only 5 days, revealed that even the most rudimentary police procedures were not undertaken to conduct an investigation of the explosions. No fingerprints or footprints were taken when the FBI arrived; no search was made of people with access to the tightly secured building grounds.

The defense, in trying to expose the government's inconsistencies and falsifications, is running smack against the policies of the Madison Grand Jury which will not record the testimony of government officials, so they may never be held accountable for testimony.

SUPPORT

During the first week of the trial, several demonstrations of about 200 demanded the release of the Camp McCoy Three. In Madison, Local 171 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has voted unanimously in support of the right of servicemen and women to organize and called for the freeing of Geden, Kreps, and Chase.

Nixon's use of the courts in attempting to break apart the union movement and slap militants with prohibitive fines and almost life-long sentences is being met with sharp resistance from youth and workers. The struggle in defense of the Camp McCoy Three must be taken on by the whole labor movement through the construction of a labor party to beat back all of Nixon's attacks.

Meskill: 'Get Tough' On Youth

BY ALAN BERENSON

HARTFORD—The State Legislature of Governor Meskill of Connecticut, Nixon's favorite governor, is now pushing through vicious new laws to attack the youth of the state.

Last month Meskill promised that he would "toughen up" the laws against crime. Now he is taking his promise into action.

Republican Congressmen, with the support of the Democrats, are now demanding two new laws. First, they are insisting on the reinstatement of the death penalty in Connecticut; second, they are demanding that the state should "provide for punishment of chronic juvenile offenders."

Meskill's attempts to reinstate the death penalty come immediately after Governor Rockefeller of New York has expressed the same intentions. These moves, aimed at legalizing the murder of workers and youth, are an integral part of the capitalists' strategy to destroy all the rights of youth in this period.

Youth in Connecticut face a situation of increasing unemployment, decaying schools, and massive cutbacks in state financed higher education. Police are now being given a free hand in conducting a terrorist war against the youth who are fighting against these conditions.

Just last month, an 18 year old youth was murdered by a policeman, who shot him when the youth was allegedly robbing a liquor store. The mother of the youth stated: "The government said he needed job training but they couldn't give him a job. Instead they shot him."



University of Minnesota Young Socialists held a meeting to discuss fighting the budget cuts.

Scheming For Big Profits In Watts

BY JUDITH HALE

LOS ANGELES—Black capitalists, under the guise of the Watts Labor Community Action Committee are selling the four store chain of Shop-Rite Supermarkets because of one million dollars in losses incurred during the two and one-half years of Committee ownership.

The stores claim thefts and poor management are the reasons for their sale and at the same time, they revealed that these federally funded projects are making a few Black capitalists very comfortable to the tune of 20 to 30 million dollars.

The Black community as a whole still faces the rising costs of food, the threatened closure of their markets, and the loss of jobs that accompany such a closure.

Ted Watkins, WLCAC project control over the pricing of 1970 purchase "the most significant for Blacks in the whole

country" because it was the only Black owned supermarket operation in the country.

BUSINESS

However, Watkins said he had expected too much out of the business. "We were under the illusion that through doing business you could help defray some of the high costs of food, but we found that in reality a store owner has absolutely no control over the pricing of merchandise in that store if he is going to stay in business."

He added: "If we had owned any of the resources—big cattle ranches, produce and poultry

farms—maybe we could have survived but none of these things are in control of Blacks."

PROJECTS

The Committee now plans to concentrate on projects that it hopes will bring bigger profits such as home improvement and commercial development.

Watkins' next scheme is a youth training program in a situation where the Watts youth face 50 percent unemployment.

The intention of this federally funded poverty program is to try to find more profitable ventures. Profit is the only criteria for staying in Watts.

Young Socialists Draft Program Racism And Nationalism



This is the third 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.

RACISM & NATIONALISM

In order for the Nixon Administration to carry out its plans to destroy the living and working conditions of workers and youth, he will accelerate the use of racism as a way of dividing and diverting the struggles of workers.

Speedup, decaying conditions in the schools, dilapidated housing and skyrocketing prices is what the government tries to blur over by whipping up racial tension.

Along with the government, the capitalist press helps with its screaming, bold headlines which declare that illegal alien workers are taking away jobs for the Americans. Meanwhile corporations, using cheap labor as a way of lowering all wages and conditions, feel secure that no workers would dare oppose these policies because of the scarcity of jobs.

Students from New York, Chicago, Baton Rouge and California are confronted with these same reactionary policies. As the government slashes into the budget, ripping apart the very educational system itself, reactionary forces are trying to blame the overcrowded and deplorable conditions of these schools on Blacks, as in Canarsie.

Racism is used by the most right-wing forces, like George Wallace, to try to destroy the trade unions and break up any organization of workers which will come forward against the policies of the government.

Historically, this has been the role of racism. The Ku Klux Klan appeared at a point in history where the Southern poor whites and Blacks were jointly running the

legislature. It was formed to terrorize and destroy the unity that existed between the ex-slaves and poor whites.

It is through political action to defend their rights that the unity of the working class will be achieved. This unity is the only force which can stop the government's measures to attack workers and youth.

Nationalism offers no solution to the conditions that youth face. Their program is based on the acceptance of racial divisions and opens the door to all the racist forces whose aims are to destroy the working class.

These nationalist politicians end up in agreement with the government. They blame the white teachers and the unions for the poor teaching methods and rotten conditions in the community.

They criminally blind many youth into fighting against other workers instead of fighting those who cause these conditions: the corporations and the government which protects them. They call for community control of schools while teachers are laid off, courses are cut and recreational facilities are eliminated.

Instead of beginning with a perspective of destroying capitalism, the root cause of all these conditions, they begin by protesting over the crumbs that the government sprinkles into the ghettos. This reformist outlook leads the nationalists straight into the camp of the capitalist parties.

At the Gary Convention in 1971, Black leaders from across the country met to discuss how to channel the frustrations and resentment of the Black people into the Democratic Party.

This is the role of the Black Party and the Chicano Party. Both parties start out with the acceptance of capitalism. There

Below left, Young Lords Party led a protest demonstration of thousands of youth in the 1960s, but had no program for mobilizing the youth against government. Below right, Huey Newton's complete acceptance of capitalism came shortly after a visit with Stalinist Chou En-lai. Directly below, a Young Socialist discusses Marxism with youth. Above, YS leads demonstration against unemployment, to turn youth towards trade unions.



can be no full employment and decent education for all outside of the destruction of capitalism. Instead of fighting to destroy capitalism, they seek to try and make it a little better by pressuring certain liberal sections of the capitalist class.

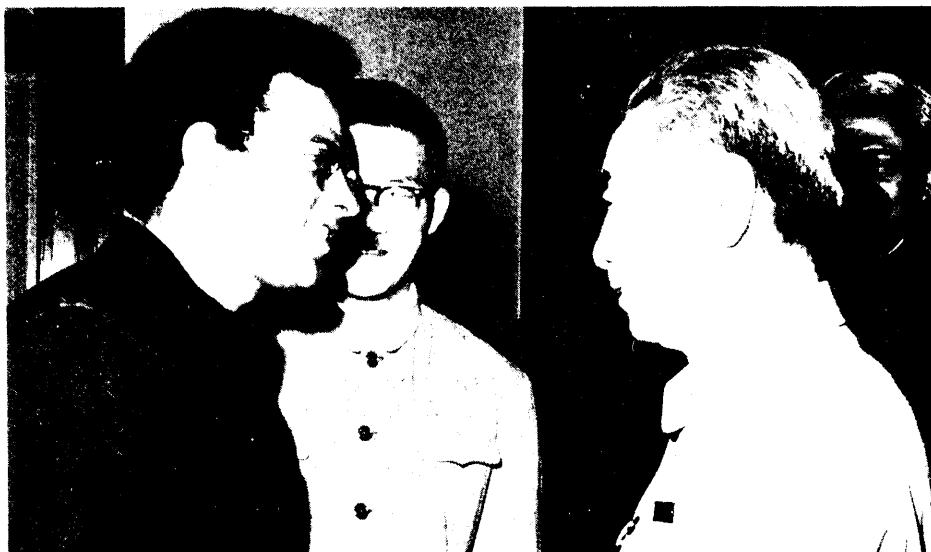
The only way workers can be guaranteed a decent life and youth provided with a future is through the destruction of all the illusions that this system will provide for the needs of workers and youth. All workers and youth must unite to fight against the attempts of the government to destroy all the gains they have won through years of struggle.

The unity of the working class is a political question. In the battle against the policies of the government, workers united in their own political party can begin

to break down all the racial barriers.

In the fight of the trade unions to defend their rights against the attacks of the government, they must take forward a fight against all forms of discrimination. Only through the united political action of the working class can the reactionary policies of the government be defeated.

- WE DEMAND:
- NO DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF RACE;
 - JOBS FOR ALL;
 - OPEN, INTEGRATED SCHOOLS FOR ALL;
 - NO ANTI-BUSING LEGISLATION;
 - OPEN THE UNIONS FOR ALL. UNIONS MUST ORGANIZE IMMIGRANT WORKERS.



Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Covering Up For The Kremlin

The pages of the *Daily World*, newspaper of the American Communist Party, are once again being filled with the most hysterical slanders against Trotskyism. In the midst of its treacherous preparations for the bankrupt protest demonstration in Washington on January 20 to cover Moscow's betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution, the CP lashes out viciously at the revolutionary program of Trotskyism.

In its issue of January 6, the *Daily World* labels as "Trotskyite Nixonism" the frank statements within the capitalist press that the leaders of the Soviet Union are willing to tolerate the saturation bombing of North Vietnam and the throttling of the revolution in exchange for favorable trade relations with the United States.

The Communist Party, which is committed to the defense of the privileged Soviet bureaucracy and not to the international working class, is plainly worried that the counter-revolutionary diplomacy of the Kremlin has become so blatant that the true face of Stalinism will be exposed before millions of workers.

So, without explaining what Nixon's trip to Moscow was all about, without answering the motives behind the recent trade agreements, without mentioning the fact that Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin spent most of his time during the saturation bombing of Hanoi inside the US State Department (while Tricia Nixon was in Moscow), the *Daily World* simply says reporting these facts is "Trotskyite anti-Sovietism" designed "to corrupt the minds of peace-loving people."

At the heart of the Communist Party's policy of defending the Soviet bureaucracy's "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism is its deliberate program of disarming the American working class in its struggle against Nixon. It fears nothing more than the political mobilization of the working class for power.

That is why the Communist Party has no action to propose to the labor movement to smash Phase Three. It does not propose strike action against the new attacks. The *Daily World* says that "The people's defense must enlist the trade unions, all working people, consumers, all the victims of monopoly capital which Nixon serves." What is this classless "anti-monopoly" coalition supposed to do? Nothing.

How can the CP call for action against Phase Three when its favorite labor "progressive"—Leonard Woodcock—has told Nixon that Phase Three has the full backing of the UAW bureaucracy.

Against this criminal policy of preventing the defeat of Phase Three, the Trotskyist movement places before the American working class a strategy to defend its living conditions through political struggle against Nixon. This is why the slanders of the Stalinists are so desperate.

We call on all trade unionists to attend the meeting of the Continuations Committee in St. Louis on February 18. This meeting will take forward the national campaign for the Congress of Labor and the labor party. The struggle to hammer out a program to meet the crisis will open the way for building a new leadership in the trade unions and throwing the Stalinists and bureaucracy out.



"Now 'fess up, boys, and I won't go so hard on you!"

Bulletin Expansion Drive

25,000 Readers By June 1

This Spring the *Bulletin* will be launching a major circulation drive to raise its total paid circulation to 25,000 by June 1. This circulation drive will be part of the preparation for the twice-weekly publication of the *Bulletin* in the Fall. This in turn will lay the basis for going over to daily publication in the immediate period.

The decision to launch the campaign for the twice-weekly *Bulletin* was taken at the New Year's Weekend meeting of the National Committee of the Workers League. It was based on the assessment that Nixon must now launch a bitter attack on workers in the United States, while he drives Europe and the colonial countries to the brink of revolution. The reason for this is the intensification of the crisis of capitalism which has already unleashed uncontrolled inflation in every country of the world.

The Phase Three decisions of Nixon to drop any control of prices, while maintaining power to intervene against any union, combined with his budget slashes on schools, housing and other social services, verifies this assessment. The *Bulletin* must now play a critical role in constructing a new leadership in the trade unions and in building a revolutionary youth movement to answer Nixon politically with a Congress of

Labor and a campaign for a labor party.

We have set a goal of 12,000 new or renewed subscriptions in the period from March 1 to June 1. This will be combined with a campaign to raise individual copy sales by at least 2500 in this time period.

An important part of the subscription work this Spring will be three trailblazing teams doing sub work in new areas. Our first pioneer team was highly successful during this past sub drive in the Michigan-Ohio area. This time we will return to this area and, in addition, conduct trailblazing tours in the South and the Pacific Northwest. This work is important not only in building circulation but in laying a base for future branches of the Workers League and the Young Socialists.

Work has already begun on the Spring Subscription campaign. Some 462 subs have come in this week, our highest ever for a week in between drives. Palo Alto led the way with 43 but Madison was not far behind with 38. Northfield, Brownsville and Chelsea also did well.

It is extremely important for branches to maintain sub work as a regular part of weekly activities in the period before the formal opening of the drive. We will publish circulation reports in the *Bulletin* every other week until March 1 and then

proceed on a weekly basis.

We are now at an early stage of our plans for the twice-weekly. However, we can announce that the Midweek edition will be primarily devoted to trade union news and will represent a major expansion of our trade union coverage. Sales will be built up at factory locations. The Weekend edition will include an expansion of our feature material, a Spanish language section, as well as trade union, national and international news. The individual copy price will remain the same and the subscription price kept low to allow for the mass working class readership which is essential in this period.

We call on all our readers and supporters to help us in expanding the circulation of the paper so necessary to make it possible to launch the twice-weekly this Fall.

We urge our supporters to send in contributions for our Spring *Bulletin* Expansion Fund Drive. We must raise \$50,000 between March 1 and June 1 in order to complete the installation of equipment necessary for the twice-weekly publication schedule. We will be more than happy to receive contributions for this drive now. We will run fund drive reports from time to time in the *Bulletin* and at that date resume weekly fund reports.



First Bulletin Trailblazing Team set out on Michigan-Ohio campaign.



Building the Revolutionary Youth Movement in the U.S.

2. Struggle within the YSL

by Guy Williams

The Young Socialist Alliance originated in the factional fight which began in 1956 inside the Young Socialist League. In September 1956, at the National Executive Committee of the YSL, a motion was introduced that called for the YSL to support the Socialist Party's campaign in the 1956 elections. This represented a real turn in the orientation of the YSL for, in the past, the YSL had urged a general socialist protest vote in the elections. The policy had been simply to urge a vote for any of the three parties calling themselves socialist and running candidates—the Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party.

At the same time, they proposed that the YSL seek unity with the SP. This was originally proposed as a tactical maneuver of the ISL-YSL to enter the SP, based on the supposed strength of the SP left wing and the breakup of the right wing. They claimed that the ISL-YSL would almost immediately emerge as the leadership of the left wing and thus, would take over the SP completely.

In essence, this proposal marked the beginning of the actual liquidation of the Shachtmanites through their political adaptation to the social democracy. This adaptation would lead to support for the Democratic Party and the U.S. government. This became clear with the development of the factional struggle between the leadership of the YSL, represented by Mike Harrington and Max Martin—with Shachtman's support, and the left wing, led by Tim Wohlforth, Shane Mage and Scott Arden.

By January 1957, at the Plenum meeting of the YSL, the motivation for unity had

changed very dramatically. One of the Majority members stated that: "We could take over the SP in three days but if we did, it would be a horrendous mistake." Clearly the unity maneuver was more than a simple tactic. In fact, they were not entering the SP to recruit its best elements but rather, to preserve it as a social democratic party.

The Socialist Party is actually called the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation because of a merger between the SP and the SDF which occurred shortly after the original proposal for unity with the YSL had taken place. The SDF had initially split from the SP during the 1930s when a huge influx of revolutionary-minded workers joined the SP in response to the tremendous economic crisis and the misleadership of the Communist Party. The Trotskyists, led by James P. Cannon, entered into the SP at that time in order to win over these healthy elements. The SDF was formed as a right-wing split-off from the SP. Thus, the merger in 1957 was clearly a merger to the right.

The right-wing character of the merger was expressed in the unity statement issued by the SP-SDF. It stated that: "We (the SP-SDF) realize that until universal enforceable disarmament can be achieved, the free world and its democratically established military agencies must be constantly on guard against the military drive of Communist dictators." It characterized the Point Four proposal under the Truman Administration and the Marshall Plan as "expressions of the American spirit at its best."

Concerning domestic affairs, the unity statement held that: "In the absence of in-

dependent socialist election action and in the absence of independent liberal-labor candidates, it shall be the privilege of individual state and local organizations to allow their individual members to support candidates for public office who have been endorsed by liberal and labor groups."

Thus, the SP-SDF supported American imperialism and the Democratic Party completely in this unity agreement. This was precisely the road that Shachtman was taking in order to complete the political, as well as the organizational, liquidation of the ISL-YSL.

It was this open capitulation to the capitalist class of the SP-SDF that crystallized the opposition into the Left Wing Caucus. This left wing was an amorphous, heterogeneous grouping of elements, composed both of left Shachtmanites opposed to such blatant liquidation and fresh forces who were moving toward Trotskyism.

MURRY WEISS' LETTER

From the beginning, the development of this new opposition within the YSL was closely connected with the SWP. Shane Mage had entered into discussions with Murry Weiss of the SWP some time before the election controversy began in the YSL. These literary discussions soon involved many who would later form the Left Wing Caucus of the YSL.

Murry Weiss described the process of development of the left wing in a letter to James P. Cannon written shortly after the January 1957 Plenum of the YSL:

"We came into contact with the left wing formally through the initiative of Shane Mage, member of the YSL National

Executive Committee. I was assigned by the Secretariat to meet with Mage. At our first meeting we agreed there was the basis for fruitful political collaboration. Mage had functioned consistently as a left-wing opposition to the Shachtmanites over a period of two years on a number of questions; support of the colonial revolution, despite its Stalinist leadership; against the Shachtmanite flirtation with Democratic Party politics; and, against its conciliatory attitude towards the labor bureaucracy. At the time we met, Mage was a supporter of the State Capitalist viewpoint, which he developed in the form of a critique of Shachtman's bureaucratic collectivism. We agreed to undertake a discussion on the Russian question in the course of our relations.

"At our meeting last summer Mage and I discussed the immediate problem he was facing in a discussion on electoral policy at the YSL plenum which he was attending. The YSL was scheduling a referendum vote of the membership on the disputed views. The right-wing leadership proposed the policy of supporting the SP exclusively, motivating this proposal primarily on the grounds of their merger plans. Mage counterposed to this view the proposal that the YSL should favor a vote for any of the three Socialist candidates as against the capitalist parties.

"I differed with Mage on this, proposing that he advocate an SWP vote. He countered that his proposal did not prevent him from expressing his own preference for the SWP but that it had the additional advantage of providing a line of demarcation between the broad left-wing elements and the right wing over the ques-

tion of the orientation to the Social Democracy. He expressed the feeling that by taking an exclusively vote-SWP position he would tend to cut himself off from the possibility of influencing the other left wingers whose antagonism to the vote for only the SP position was an expression of hostility towards the liquidationist, Social Democratic orientation. Mage went ahead with his formulation and I think the experience proved him to be right. The entire subsequent discussion, which filled two thick internal bulletins, centered around attacks and defense of the SWP with Shane and others conducting an excellent polemic against the right wing.

"Ironically, the right wing regime rigged things so that the vote was postponed until two months after the elections. When the vote came in, the left wing position gathered 44 votes and the right wing, 34.

"Of the 44 who voted for the left wing position on the electoral issue, there are, of course, divergent elements. This was expressed in the statement by Owen F., called, 'Answer to the Electoral Muddle: A General Socialist Protest Vote Flowing from the Politics of the YSL, not from Pro-SWP Politics of Shane.' Of the 44 some 15 endorsed this statement. In any case the membership repudiated the position of the right-wing leadership on an issue which was fundamentally related to the liquidationist proposal to merge with the SP-SDF. The fight on the electoral issue was the first round of the fight on the unity issue—and it certainly gave an important victory to the left wing.

"Tim Wohlforth

"Shortly after my visit to Antioch early last November I met Wohlforth, the leader of the left wing in New York, and member of the National Action Committee (YSL PC). It was evident that Wohlforth was moving rapidly toward agreement with us and we began to meet frequently and work together in full political collaboration. Martha Wohlforth was drawn into the collaboration, and, from the first, held a militant left wing position on the unity question. Like many in the YSL left wing the Russian question has been re-opened for her, but not yet resolved. The same is true of Judy Mage.

"Wohlforth's views on the Russian question are noted in his letter to Mage. He is now planning an article on the Nature of the Soviet State from the point of view of Marxist dialectic method which I am sure will prove valuable to the education of the left wing.

"Mage on Eastern Europe

"At the same time Shane Mage has passed through an important evolution towards our position as a result of his thinking on the revolution in Eastern Europe. An interesting and productive correspondence has developed among the left wingers in Ohio, Chicago and New York (in which I actively participated) on the East European developments and their theoretical implications. We plan now to enlarge the circle of discussion to the entire left wing. No one is trying to force the pace of this discussion; its tempo and development is entirely in tune with the needs of the situation.

"The YS Plenum

"As the January 26-27 plenum approached the struggle within the YSL accelerated rapidly. At first it appeared that the left wing was badly isolated. Just one month ago Tim stood all alone in the New York unit receiving only his own vote and one abstention in a test issue. Mage and Wohlforth seemed to be isolated in the national organization. They nevertheless decided that the struggle was unpostponable; it was either fight or default. They were determined to fight regardless of consequences.

"The right wing, as you will glean from Arlon's letter' conducted itself scandalously. Even when the SP right wing and centrists revealed their true attitude towards party democracy in their drive to expel the left wing in 1937 they never dared to launch the type of brazen, hysterical, bureaucratic assault as the right-wing Shachtmanite youth leaders have during the last months. A witch-hunt against Shane and Tim as Cannonite agents was coupled with a whole series of bureaucratic acts; suppression of two documents by Tim; a ban on Tim going to

the membership to protest the suppression of his internal discussion articles; threats of expulsion; ridicule and slander.

"By the time of the plenum it became clear that this campaign was not preventing the growth of the left wing. We noticed that the tone of the right wing was modified. Although they obviously hated to do it, they began to face the fact that the left wing had not been smashed by their onslaught but was beginning to thrive and take on a distinctly pro-SWP character. At the plenum itself, as you will see from Shane's letter to Ed in Chicago' and his article in the Left Wing Bulletin' the right wing was in complete control since neither Chicago nor the West Coast were represented.

"Despite this the plenum proved to be a big help to the left wing. The New York membership was present and, as subsequent events proved, a considerable impression was made by the left-wing speakers: Shane and Tim. After the plenum the left wing broke through in New York. It won over two supporters and a number of close contacts; it cracked open the previously airtight right wing domination and became a recognized force.

"In the elections to the New York Executive Committee, the left wing, to everyone's surprise, decided to put up a fight for minority representation—and won! The victory was all the more dramatic since the right wing had decided to remove Tim from the Executive Committee—as an opening move in the pre-convention discussion. Their claim was that Tim was insufficiently involved in local work.

"At the plenum we learned that the Chicago line-up was about 6 to 4 in favor of the left wing, but that the left wing was heterogeneous and somewhat disorganized. We also had learned from Asher' that, independently of the above described development, a left wing had evolved in Berkeley and had friendly relations to the SWP.

"Left Wing Strategy

"While Shane was in New York for the plenum, we had a full discussion of the left wing's perspective and tactics. Shane, Tim, Martha and I agreed to the idea of launching a national left wing caucus on the basis of a simple declaration on the SP unity question. Our feeling was that the left wing would make the strongest impact by coming out as a national caucus on the basic line of demarcation between left and right.

"Our concept of the caucus was very much as you outlined it in your proposal. The orientation of the left wing was to take the leadership of the YSL and defeat Shachtmanism. The first test of the validity of this approach came when the Chicago left wing leader, Ed, wrote a long letter to Tim expressing doubts as to the advisability and possibility of founding a faction with Tim and Shane as the leaders in view of their SWP 'taint.' Tim replied to this letter in an extremely effective way, displaying complete willingness to discuss the strategy of the left wing patiently and at the same time reporting the significant developments of the national left wing that was actually taking place. He also explained something that Ed was not aware of—the role of the centrists at the plenum as complete supporters of the liquidators. Ed's proposal for the left wing faction organization was based on the notion that a real center group existed that was waging its own fight against conciliation with the Social Democracy. Nothing of the sort exists. It's just a question of certain elements trying to give a more discreet verbal covering to the right wing line.

"Significantly the combination of information and argument convinced the leading left wingers in Chicago and brought them over to the caucus without any reservations. You will also see from the letters of Dave and Jim in Berkeley' that the caucus has met with their enthusiastic approval."

THE LEADERS OF THE LEFT

It is now necessary to take a closer look at the main figures in this left wing, the internal differences within it, and the political situation within the YSL-ISL as a whole. It was out of the Left Wing Caucus that the main leaders who formed and led the YSA from 1957 to 1962 came. It is also from this leadership that the leadership of

the opposition to the SWP's liquidation into Pabloism in 1963 came.

Shane Mage was a key figure in this development. In fact, his past theoretical activity prepared him to lead the new left wing within the YSL. It was Mage who defied all the Stalinophobic shibboleths of the Shachtmanites to confront the Russian question in the 1953-56 period. He was driven to do this in his attempt to develop a revolutionary perspective in relation to the Chinese Revolution and related developments in Vietnam and Korea. He thus confronted theoretical questions in the course of a search to comprehend the new revolutionary developments of that period.

But Mage did not actually lead the new left wing. In fact, if leadership had been left to him alone it is extremely doubtful if a serious faction would have been built even with the aid of the SWP. There is no question but that the YSA itself could never have been constructed with Mage as its leader.

The reason for this lay in Mage's position as an intellectual. He refused to begin at all times from the construction of the party, maintaining his distance and his illusions in various career possibilities. At the time of the left wing formation, he was living in Yellow Springs, Ohio where his wife Judy attended school at Antioch while Mage pursued private studies in 12 tonal classical music composition. His aim was to become a composer.

The contradictory class position of Mage was expressed clearly in a letter from a friend of his, a supporter of the state capitalist minority within the SWP, to Murry Weiss:

"Shane—I think he is in fine shape—has no doubts or suspicions on the new organization and is wholeheartedly behind it. This does not mean that he is without criticism—he has some of the same feelings about Tim, I understand, as do the Chicago people. But I think his inadequate participation at convention time reflects his lack of strength in organization-type activities in general and not any political hesitancy.

"Then there is something to what you thought about Shane's music. He had a very fine opportunity to study with a composer, and Judy is willing to work to support him provided he takes this opportunity seriously. She doesn't see how he can be a 'full-time' revolutionist and study or compose music. I think the only answer here—and it's the one both Shane and I gave her—is that while there is no doubt any organization needs full-time people to do the work, one is nevertheless no less a 'full-time' revolutionist if he has to work for a living—including music—or wants and has a family and the normal pursuits of other people. I said that it was praiseworthy of those who are willing (and enjoy) working around the clock for the party and doing nothing else—but this should not be raised to a principle with everyone who doesn't get their kicks in life this way being judged as something less than 'full-time.'"

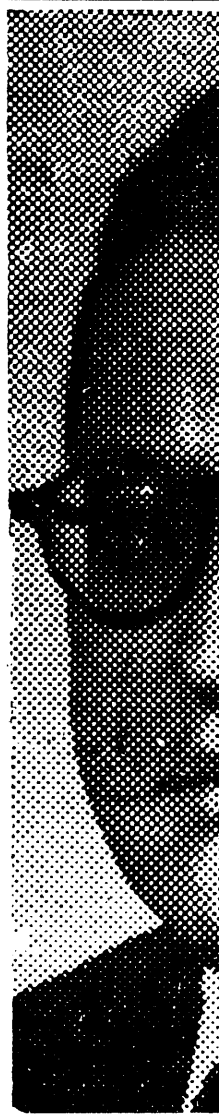
The question was not a matter of "normal pursuits of other people" and certainly not of what one gets one's "kicks" out of. The question posed in 1957 was a bitter struggle for the construction of a revolutionary youth movement which would become absolutely central to the continuity of Trotskyism in the United States. This situation required that Mage break with his middle class ambitions and come directly to New York City to lead the left wing from there. This he did not do. For this reason he found himself playing a centrist and politically hesitant role within the left wing and for many years thereafter.

The Chicago people referred to in the above letter were led by Scott Arden, a close collaborator of Mage in the old faction battles, and John Worth, referred to as "Ed" in the previously quoted letter from Murray Weiss. Worth was a former member of the SWP and a supporter of the state capitalist minority within it, who had broken with the SWP in 1955 over the question of remaining in the YSL. Like Mage, he had his academic pretensions. Arden was an incorrigible factionalist of the old Shachtman school who feared that what was at stake in the left-wing fight was something different which would require the construction of a serious revolutionary movement.

The Chicago group played an extremely perfidious role in the left wing. Their main concern was to resist the dominant tendency of the left wing towards the SWP. They wished to oppose the right-wing movement of Shachtman without confronting joining the SWP even though they found themselves in close political agreement with the latter. This led them to fight always on a petty secondary level picking over technicalities in the work of the left wing in New York and trying to maneuver so that the center of the left wing could be transferred to Chicago where they could dominate it.

Their central strategy was to urge an orientation towards the so-called center elements within the ISL-YSL around such individuals as Hal Draper and Sy Landy who were later to play a role in the leadership of the International Socialist group. However, this group was extremely rotten and even more bitter enemies of the SWP than Shachtman himself. They took it upon themselves to be at the head of the slander campaign against the left wing and they went fully along with

Page 9: On May 17, 1960 three Young Socialist Alliance members handed in 10,000 pledges to boycott Woolworths at the firm's corporate headquarters. This campaign is support of the sit-ins of the Southern Black students was a high point in the early activities of the YSA and was prepared for through the struggle to defend Trotskyism among youth. Left: Murry Weiss, who brought the left wing of the YSL into contact with the SWP.



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Mage's relationship with this group was one of compromise. He sought constantly to find some common ground between Chicago and New York, to confuse the issues at stake. He was drawn to this perfidious role by his refusal to break with the middle class and see theoretical development as only taking place when one puts oneself at the very center of the party fight.

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Shortly after writing this article, Robertson dropped out of activity in the YSL and ISL. He left a few of his followers in the YSL, while others followed him out of the organization. It was in this period that Robertson made contact with the SWP. He played no role in the election struggle of late 1956 and reentered the YSL for factional purposes after being contacted by other left wingers through the SWP itself. He shortly had majority control of the Bay Area YSL branches.

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"I have become increasingly sure of my agreement with you on China, Formosa, Indochina, the SWP, but not Korea and would like to hear and think more on this. Also I am convinced that the whole slogan of the third camp is misleading and centrist to the core. It should be 'Against Both Moscow and Washington! For the International Working Class!' For to conceive of bourgeois or state capitalist countries carrying out a real third camp position is a denial of the theory of permanent revolution and to hold that these powers can live without imperialist aid or one of the powers...I believe that at some point in the polemic we must turn our guns against Shachtmanite theory, against bureaucratic collectivism, and the third camp slogan."¹⁴

It was only shortly after this letter was written that Wohlforth broke completely with any sort of half-way formulations on the Russian question. He wrote James Robertson on February 3, 1957:

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It was one of the great weaknesses of the left wing that that document was never written and that discussion never held. The SWP, which in an earlier period found this question so pressing that it would not collaborate with Scott Arden until he changed his position on it, now allowed the matter to drop under pressure of the new opportunities opened up by the fast growth of the left wing. The others, including Wohlforth, let the matter drop as well under pressure of the fast moving events. The left wing developed under the difficult conditions of the SWP itself having turned away from matters of theory in 1953.

POLITICS OF THE LEFT WING

In March 1957 the opposition formed itself into an official faction, the Left Wing Caucus, and issued Volume One, Number One of its monthly Left Wing Bulletin which was issued all through the struggle. Thirteen members of the YSL were in the caucus. They were Tim Wohlforth, Shane Mage, Frank McGowan, Danny Freeman, Sherry Goldman, Martha Wohlforth, Scott Arden, John Worth, Jim Robertson, Roger Plumb, Dave Carlton, Stan Larssen and Judy Mage.

They united around the following declaration:

"The National Executive Committee has adopted a resolution calling for unity with the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. This action calls into question the continued existence of the YSL as an independent organization of revolutionary socialist youth.

"The NEC resolution states that it is for unity on the basis of the present political program of the SP-SDF. This program is reactionary and anti-socialist. In world politics the SP-SDF supports U.S. imperialism and its basic politics. In American politics, the SP-SDF supports the labor bureaucracy and its alliances with the Democratic Party.

"Genuine democratic socialism has nothing in common with these politics. On the contrary, the socialist movement can be built only by political struggle against the class-collaborationist and pro-imperialist politics of the social-democracy.

"If the YSL unites with the SP-SDF it will be abandoning this struggle—as is already shown by the refusal of the YSL national leadership to criticize the SP-SDF in public, and by the refusal of this national leadership to attempt to recruit members from the SD-SDF into our organization.

"We are members of the YSL because we want to assist in the formation of a revolutionary democratic socialist youth movement in the U.S. We are not sectarians. We are willing to unite with all socialist minded youth on the basis of the minimum program of genuine socialism: independent political action of the working class and the oppressed peoples here and everywhere throughout the world, against both Stalinist and capitalist oppressors.

"We consider that the basic question posed by the proposal for unity with the SP-SDF is: either to build the YSL on a socialist political basis or liquidate the YSL in its present form on the basis of the anti-socialist politics of the SP-SDF.

"We believe that this is a question of such vital importance that it is our duty to form a caucus in order to present our views to the members of the League and to save the socialist youth movement from the political disaster of the YSL liquidating itself into the SP-SDF.

"We call on all members of the YSL who remain committed to building a real socialist youth movement here, in America, and now, in 1957, to join with us in this undertaking."¹⁶

The formation of the Left Wing Caucus provoked the most desperate type of reaction in the leadership of the YSL. Instead of confronting the political challenge, they slandered the left wing as being sectarian Cannonite agents. In the Young Socialist Review of March 4, 1957 Michael Harrington wrote:

"With the formation of the 'Left Wing Caucus,' the YSL is confronted with an organized, sectarian tendency. But more than that, the politics of this grouping are not those of an ordinary, loyal faction: rather, they lead in the direction of a split toward the Cannonites.

"But more. This sectarianism is not simply that. For the leaders of the 'left wing,' for Tim and Shane, it is one further expression of their SWP politics. For comrade Tim has moved, and moved fast in a few months, and he is now in general political agreement with Shane. And take Shane's positions: the Cannonite position on Korea, Indochina, China, Russia, socialist regroupment, etc. In other words, these comrades are not simply turning toward an abstract sectarianism; they are turning toward the sectarianism of the SWP."¹⁷

Counterposed to the politics of the left wing, which he characterized as being "toward the creation of a new sectarian youth movement," Harrington wrote that: "We (the YSL leadership) were for breaking out of a sectarian existence. We now propose to do this on a wider scale. And that is our orientation toward unity with the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation."¹⁸

In spite of these attacks, the size of the Left Wing Caucus grew by April to 23, an increase of 10 members in one month. At the April plenum of the YSL-NAC, the draft resolutions for the next convention were formulated. It was in the draft resolution "On the Crisis of World Stalinism," that the fundamental class lines were drawn between the right and the left wing of the YSL.

It was over the question of Hungary that the YSL right wing laid bare its political and class position. This was no accident for it is the actual revolutionary movement of the working class that puts all tendencies to the test. The resolution read:

"The central political demands of the anti-Stalinist revolution consists of the demands for democracy. Its program can be summed up in this one word, for the social revolution against Stalinism is the democratic revolution. As against Stalinism, socialists will support every democratic movement, every democratic element, every move toward genuine democracy. Even if, as concretely history has precluded, the democratic anti-Stalinist revolution were under bourgeois leadership, or under the leadership of forces aiming to restore capitalism, socialists would be duty bound to give sup-

port to and participate in the revolution, so long as it was a genuinely democratic one."¹⁹

For the YSL to pose the question of anti-Stalinism as being one of pro-democracy was to completely confuse the question and in effect take the side of imperialism. This is shown very clearly in their insistence that the duty of socialists would be to support even elements aimed at restoring capitalism as long as they were also for democracy. The conception of democracy cannot be abstracted out of a class criterion and analysis, for what is considered democracy in the capitalist countries is really the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the working class and whatever democratic rights the working class possesses are the result of struggle against the bourgeoisie. When socialists speak of the political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy, it is not in order to establish democracy but to reestablish the dictatorship of the working class. Socialist democracy, not democracy in general, was what the Hungarian Revolution was about, and it is what future political revolutions against the bureaucracy will be about.

This formulation of democracy was reflected in several other important areas of the draft document, most importantly on the question of UN intervention, the role of the soviets and the need for a revolutionary party.

"One of the most significant features of both the Hungarian and Polish experiences was the overnight creation of workers-councils, of organizations which united the workers for the revolutionary struggle against the regime, and which at the same time could be the organs of future working class leadership in the democratic rule of the country. The working class made it abundantly evident that it desired to retain these, its class organs, after the revolution, both as instruments of workers control in the factories and as organizations of political leadership in the country as a whole. As against those who derogate the workers councils, or who would call for their abolition, or restrict or limit them, we stand as their supporters." (emphasis added)²⁰

It was no accident that the YSL right wing, instead of calling for all power to the Soviets, merely said that they were their supporters. This was made very clear when Tim Wohlforth proposed an amendment to this which called for all power to the soviets and it was voted down. Not to call for this was to remain passive while the struggle for power was being waged. But it was more than this. The YSL right-wing leadership refused to take a clear unequivocal position against the intervention by the UN that was being threatened by some imperialists and asked for by reactionary elements in Hungary.

"Not that socialists should have favored American or even UN military intervention into the Hungarian situation. UN military intervention would have immensely increased the danger of the outbreak of World War III and might have in all likelihood led to other reactionary consequences as well." (emphasis added)²¹

COLLAPSE OF RIGHT-WING PERSPECTIVE

UN intervention not only might have led to reactionary consequences, it would have been the complete destruction of any attempt to overthrow the bureaucracy. It would also have meant the restoration of capitalism. This is because of the very nature of the UN as an agency of US imperialism. So while refusing to call for power to the Soviets, the right wing also capitulated on defending the revolution against US imperialist intervention.

All these tendencies of the right wing of the YSL were reflected in the complete collapse of any perspective for building a revolutionary Marxist party in Hungary to lead the workers to power. Rather than this they looked toward the social democratic party of Hungary to do the best job.

It was only the Left Wing Caucus which put up a fight around these questions. Tim Wohlforth's amendments to the draft resolution showed the Trotskyist position being fought for against the revisionism of the right wing of the YSL. He demanded that the YSL declare itself completely against UN intervention, called for all

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"The National Executive Committee has adopted a resolution calling for unity with the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. This action calls into question the continued existence of the YSL as an independent organization of revolutionary socialist youth.

"The NEC resolution states that it is for unity on the basis of the present political program of the SP-SDF. This program is reactionary and anti-socialist. In world politics the SP-SDF supports U.S. imperialism and its basic politics. In American politics, the SP-SDF supports the labor bureaucracy and its alliances with the Democratic Party.

"Genuine democratic socialism has nothing in common with these politics. On the contrary, the socialist movement can be built only by political struggle against the class-collaborationist and pro-imperialist politics of the social-democracy.

"If the YSL will be abandoned already shown national leadership in SDF in public national leadership members from organization. "We are members want to assure revolutionary movement in tarians. We socialist minimum program independent class and the everywhere both Stalinist

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"But mor simply that. wing,' for Ti expression o rade Tim ha few months political agr Shane's posi on Korea, socialist re words, these ning toward they are tur of the SWP.

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In spite of Left Wing C increase of f the April pl draft resolu were formu resolution Stalinism," lines were o the left wing

It was ove the YSL rig and class po for it is the ment of the tendencies read:

"The cent anti-Stalinist demands for be summed social revolu democratic Stalinism, s democratic element, ev democracy. has preclu Stalinist rev leadership, forces aim socialists wo

power to the Soviets, and fought against the classless conception of democracy that was being put forward. Most importantly called for:

"Constructing revolutionary parties in the satellites and Russia as well as increasing the solidarity of the international revolutionary working class..."²²

Very important in the process of regroupment of that period and of the struggle to turn toward the crisis in the ranks of the Stalinists was the formation of the American Forum for Socialist Education. The AFSE was instituted by A.J. Muste. He of course thought of it as an alternative for building the revolutionary party, but when viewed objectively in the situation it could be used as a vehicle to reach out into the ranks of the CP. The AFSE was an organization open to all socialists and would sponsor forums on different topics related to socialism.

This organization was started in March 1957, at a meeting where all left-wing tendencies were represented. Norman Thomas, the head of the Socialist Party, withdrew his support. Following suit, Max Shachtman, who was listed on the call for the original meeting, wrote a letter to Muste asking that his name be withdrawn.

The ISL was persuaded to send a representative to the founding meeting but he came only to argue for the position that the Forum must come out for democracy everywhere before it could be considered respectable "in the eyes of the working class."

This position was also made the position of the YSL when the NAC voted to adopt this line. Tim Wohlforth was the only member of the NAC who voted against this position and voted for support to the Muste Forum.

On May 13 of that year, the *New York Times* reported the formation of the American Forum for Socialist Education and on May 14, in the *New York Post*, the SP-SDF was reported as characterizing the Forum as a "cover for totalitarianism." Also it was announced that a Sleeping Car Porters' union official had resigned from the National Committee of the Forum. It was later understood that this was only done as the result of pressure that had been brought to bear by high officials in the bureaucracy of the union.

On May 15, the *New York Times* wrote an editorial on the Forum. At about the same time, the *New York Daily News* wrote an editorial entitled "Look Into this Mob." It stated: "We suggest that the Senate Internal Security Committee look into this mob without delay; also that the Attorney General make inquiries as to whether he oughtn't to add it swiftly to his list of subversive organizations."²³

Immediately following this, the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee under acting chairman Senator Butler subpoenaed four members of the American Forum national committee and Senator Eastland wrote a letter to A.J. Muste requesting information. Butler, according to the *Chicago Tribune*, also asked for the Attorney General to inquire into the possible listing of the Forum. In the *Tribune*, Butler is quoted as saying that "if a Justice Department inquiry establishes that the new organization is a camouflaged adjunct of the Communist Party, it should be added to the list of subversive organizations in the United States as a warning to supporters unaware of its hidden control."²⁴

The June 13 issue of the *New York Times* reported that the Justice Department "is very much interested in the possible Communist control" of the American Forum for Socialist Education. It also reported that the matter had been referred to the Justice Department's Internal Security Division.²⁵

The SP-SDF reacted to this witch-hunt of the Forum as expected by declaring on May 16 that membership in the forum was incompatible with membership in the SP-SDF and ordered all of its members listed on the national committee to withdraw within 10 days. Their reaction to the State Department witch-hunt was to extend it into its own ranks. David McReynolds, who was the leader of the left wing of the SP-SDF, and had been a member of the national committee of the Forum, promptly resigned.

The Socialist Workers Party, which had been a member of the Forum from the

beginning, defended the Forum in action by staying with and participating in the Forum and championing its defense on the front page of the *Militant*.

Of Shachtman's and the ISL's role in response to the witch-hunt in the July issue of the *Left Wing Bulletin*, Tim Wohlforth wrote:

"The centrist wishes both to fight the witch-hunt in an intransigent manner and at the same time adapt himself to the pressures of the petty bourgeois circles he functions in.

"The ISL's role in the event is the best example of centrism today. It starts out, as does the SP-SDF, with a certain accommodation to the ideology of the ruling class. This takes the form of the desire for respectability. It claims to want to remain palatable in the eyes of the working class. But in reality it is bowing to the bourgeois influences and ideology which inevitably dominate the working class in a reactionary period. Instead of fighting this alien influence within the ranks of the working class, it hopes in some way to accommodate itself to it. It hopes to appeal to the right; it wants 'an opening to the right,' as Shachtman has put it. Instead of meeting bourgeois politics and ideology head-on, however, it hopes somehow to sidetrack this confrontation and to move the liberals leftward step by step. The net effect is that, instead of budging the liberals, the centrist himself moves to the right step by step."²⁶

On May 22, 1957 Tim Wohlforth wrote a letter to A.J. Muste informing him of his support to the American Forum and offering to serve on the National Committee. The Left Wing Caucus supported Wohlforth's actions and in a statement of the Left Wing Caucus issued on May 31, 1957, reaffirmed support to the Forum and to Wohlforth's actions. The right-wing leadership of the YSL reacted to Wohlforth's support statement, which he had the right to make according to the YSL constitution, with threats of expulsion.

The American Forum for Socialist Education, and the role the SWP played within it, was very important in the struggle against the Stalinists. This process not only went on in the U.S. but also in England where the British Trotskyists were able to win over many who were breaking from Stalinism. The SWP played a leading role in this situation and showed the way forward for the youth in the Left Wing Caucus.

On March 23 and 24, 13 members of the Left Wing Caucus from the Berkeley, Chicago, Dayton areas and New York units, gathered in Ohio to discuss the situation in the YSL.

At the NAC meeting held just previously, Tim Wohlforth stated his intention to go on a national tour to put forward the ideas of the left wing within the YSL. He also offered to use his tour for the benefit of the YSL as a whole by speaking in public for the YSL and under the discipline of the YSL leadership to speak only on "non-controversial" topics. The YSL leadership refused to allow him to speak in the name of the YSL because it felt that he did not represent the position of the YSL on any question.

In the April issue of the *Left Wing Caucus Bulletin* it was announced that 11 more people had joined the left wing, bringing the membership up to 34. This included an ex-member of the Stalinist youth organization, the Labor Youth League. In addition, a member of the Socialist Party came out in support of the Left Wing Caucus. The head of the Three Arrows Club of Temple University asked to join the YSL but on the basis of the left-wing program. The Three Arrows Club was a socialist discussion club.

Before the National convention of the YSL, the right wing began to step up its campaign against the left wing and made threats of expulsion. In response to Tim Wohlforth joining the American Forum, the NAC issued a statement on May 25 stating "In our opinion, the NAC has the clear and unambiguous authority under the YSL constitution to instruct Comrade Wohlforth to withdraw his offer for the forum of public support and willingness to serve on its board. In the event of a refusal by Wohlforth to carry out such an NAC decision, it would have the clear and unambiguous authority to call him to order, and institute proceeding for a hearing on such a refusal, a hearing aimed at dis-

ciplining him."²⁷

While the convention itself was being held in New York, the right wing of the YSL, with the ISL in Berkeley California, broke into the offices of the YSL and stole all the office equipment. The Berkeley area was a stronghold of the left wing.

In a confidential report by Bert Deck and Murry Weiss for the SWP on the 1957 YSL Convention, they wrote:

"The Left Wing emerged from the convention considerably strengthened in political cohesiveness and morale. It had waged a year long struggle for a principled revolutionary position in opposition to the Shachtmanite liquidators, and capitulators to Social Democracy. It had met the attacks of the right wing with noteworthy militancy and political firmness: the slander of 'disloyal Cannonite agents,' the charge of plotting to wreck and disrupt the YSL, the charge of pro-Stalinism, the charge of Ohlerite sectarianism, the special anti-left wing tour of Bogdan Denitch, the attempts to split the Left Wing Caucus, the malicious baiting of Tim Wohlforth, the suppression of left wing documents, the threats of disciplinary action and expulsion for participation in the American Forum, and the pressure of the right-wing majority at the convention. Instead of declining and disintegrating in the face of these attacks, the Left Wing Caucus grew stronger, deepened its political counter-offensive, grew in theoretical and political stature, refused to be silenced and intimidated and developed its collaboration with other left-wing youth, including the youth of the SWP."²⁸

The struggle of 1956-1957 inside the YSL laid the basis for the YSA, for the rebirth of the Trotskyist youth movement. It was thus of critical importance.

This was a struggle between reformism and revolutionary socialism, between a centrist tendency rapidly developing the logic of its position toward open reformism, and a tendency fighting for Marxism. The Left Wing Caucus was forced into a fundamental battle with the centrists in order to make a turn toward those youth breaking from Stalinism as well as all youth being shaken up by the crisis.

1. Quoted in "Lessons of the Recent NEC Meeting," by Shane Mage, *Left Wing Bulletin*, March 1957, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 31.
2. SP-SDF Memorandum of Understanding, appeared in the *Left Wing Bulletin*, April 1957, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 58.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
5. Arlon T. was considered a left winger in the ISL who had previously collaborated with James Robertson. He wrote the letter referred to here denouncing the Left Wing as "Cannonite Agents" and lining up with Shachtman.
6. The "Ed" referred to is John Worth, a member of the Left Wing Caucus hostile to the SWP, whose role is discussed elsewhere.
7. "Lessons of the Recent NEC Meeting," by Shane Mage, *Left Wing Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 1, March 1957, p. 29.
8. Asher H. was and is a leading member of the SWP in the Bay Area.
9. Dave Carleton and James Robertson were two leading members of the Left Wing Caucus in the Bay Area.
10. Letter of Murry Weiss to James P. Cannon with attachments, dated February 18, 1957.
11. Letter from Dot in Chicago to Murry Weiss, 1957. No date.
12. "Symmetrical Errors on Stalinism and the National Question," by Jim Robertson, Jack Walter and Arlon Tussing, *Young Socialist Review*, Vol. 1, No. 3, August 15, 1954, p. 2.
13. Letter of James Robertson to Tim Wohlforth, carbons to Ed, Scott and Shane, February 10, 1957.
14. Letter of Tim Wohlforth to Shane Mage, carbon to Scott, December 11, 1956.
15. Letter of Tim Wohlforth to James Robertson, carbon to Shane Mage, February 3, 1957.
16. YSL Left-Wing Declaration, *Left Wing Bulletin*, March 1957, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 3.
17. "On the 'Left-Wing' in the YSL," by Michael Harrington, *Young Socialist Review*, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 2 and p. 5.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
19. NAC Draft Resolution on the Crisis of World Stalinism, *Young Socialist Review*, Vol. 6, No. 4, April 18, 1957, p. 5.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
22. Amendments submitted by Tim Wohlforth to the draft resolution on the crisis of world Stalinism. *Young Socialist Review*, Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 2.
23. "In Defense of the American Forum, The Strange Case of the American Forum," by Tim Wohlforth, *Left Wing Bulletin*, July 1957, Vol. 1, No. 5, p. 40.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
27. Quoted in: "Reach For Your Wallet—an answer to our 'supreme Democrats' on being expelled," by Tim Wohlforth.
28. Mimeographed report by Murry Weiss and Bert Deck on the recent YSL Convention. Dated July 9, 1957, p. 1.

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Lou Belkin Film

Fellini's Favorite City



Above: Italian workers demonstrate in Milan in post-WWII strike wave. Below, mammoth bust of Mussolini.

ROMA. Directed, produced and edited by F. Fellini. Photography by G. Menzi.

Federico Fellini, best known perhaps for his monumental *La Dolce Vita*, has had a long and very interesting career in movies. Originally he studied to be an artist and did cartoon work in the mid-thirties. With the outbreak of World War II, he joined numerous other Italian intellectuals in the partisan movement against Mussolini. Although he was never a member of the Communist Party, the politics of Stalinism dominated the partisan movement.

Like many of the other artists and literati, Fellini was demoralized by the betrayals of Stalinism during and after the war in Italy. The Italian cinema dominated world cinema precisely during and after the war. Fellini became interested in films as a result of his association with Rossellini and DeSica. He collaborated on the script of DeSica's *Bicycle Thief* and was chief writer of Rossellini's *Open City*—two of the great movies of the period.

The Italian realist tradition has always been at the heart of Fellini's work. His extraordinary eye for actuality and detail of real life, with real life characters and language, his tremendous interest in the downtrodden and in the working class shows through all of his pictures. With the

possible exception of *Satyricon*, which takes place during the period of Rome's decline, Fellini presents in bigger than life imagery the world as it seems to him. He always does his pictures very much improvisationally. While there remain for him the devices of exaggeration and bursts of glorious color or the rapid-fire camera movements and angles, he never departs from his subject.

In *La Dolce Vita* he expanded on the earlier *I Vitelloni* which contrasted the futility of life for working class youth and young workers in the provinces with the opulent decadence of the middle classes. Fellini never really resolves anything because it is always left on the level of commentary, of documentary.

The latest Fellini picture is *Roma*, which is a semi-documentary account of present day Rome as it evolved from the Rome of Mussolini. It must be said to Fellini's credit that, when it comes to parodying the manners and morals of the working class and the rich, he observes with the keenness of a Goya, or a George Grosz. The eating scene, in particular, in the period of fascist Italy at once captures the very bravado and fortitude of the Italian workers and poor.

SEQUENCES

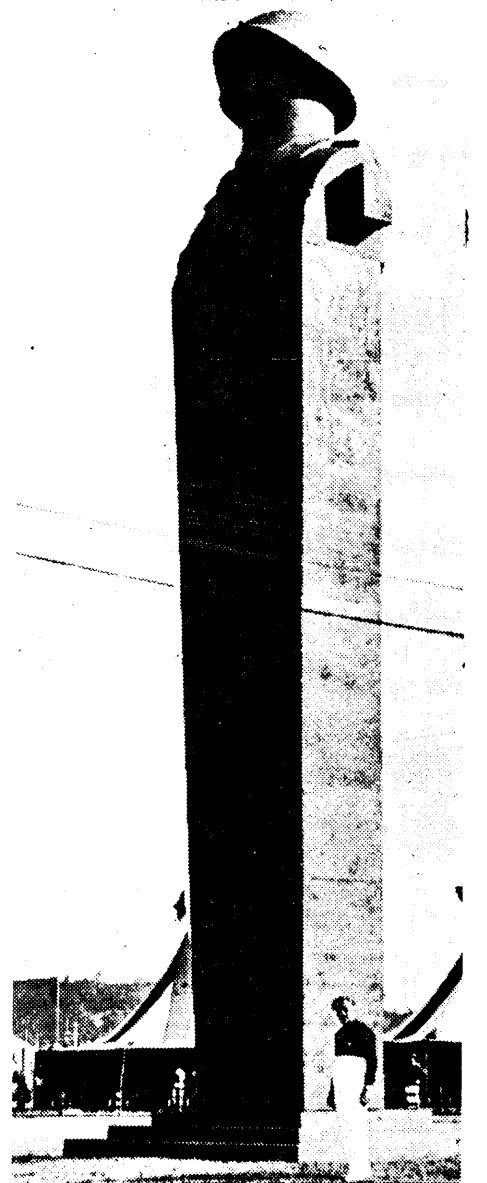
The mightily lit, incandescent church fashion show, shot in contemporary Rome, is one of the most hilarious sequences in all of cinema. A rich old dowager, and fascist supporter gives a church fashion show. She wishes to capture the glories of the past and weeps for the dear old days behind a veil. The guest of honor is a big shot cardinal. The place is strewn with finery and expensive decor. The table is royally set and laden with the most succulent and costly cuisine. The dowager suddenly brightens up, the cardinal dons his sunglasses and the fashion

show begins. We are then treated to twenty minutes of the most vulgar display of alms, vestments, cassocks and habits ever put on display. Two fine old gents dressed in ermine robes and sequined headpieces move about the circular stage, in time to music, on roller skates. Two nuns, aglow in white, come prancing out, wings flapping, supported by chicken wire. Topping the whole sequence off is a life-like mask of Pius XII stop the altarpiece. The dowager and her guests swoon.

GRASP

Yet despite the individual scenes of brilliance, there is no real grasp of the period of fascism or its relation to the very explosive situation in Italy today. Fellini tends to see little difference really in the periods and he mawkishly seeks to convey a skeptical and static picture of the way history actually develops. He cannot understand transitions. In fact, the only transitions are bits of narrative strung together as in a travelogue.

His refusal to even hint at the gross betrayals of Stalinism after the execution of Mussolini is further reinforced by his avoidance of the preparations being made by the Italian bourgeoisie through the fascist Italian Social Movement. Likewise there is no mention of the prostration of the three million strong Communist Party as it seeks coalition after coalition with tottering center or liberal governments. All of that is thrown aside and the viewer is left with an amusing tour de force of Italian manners as it supposedly evolved in the past 30 years. Even on the level of morality, it is as hollow and superficial as the papier-mache mask of Pius in the church sequence. *Roma* represents a real retreat and falling back from *La Dolce Vita* and portrays the absolutely prostrate position of the middle class intellectual in a decadent and collapsing Italy.





Survivors of the Nicaragua earthquake line up for water. Somoza's army stockpiles donated food and supplies for the black market while armed militiamen patrol the streets.

MINISTERS SWILL WHISKEY WHILE QUAKE VICTIMS ARE SHOT

BY ALEX MITCHELL

An agency reporter who braved his way into earthquake-shattered Managua, capital of Nicaragua, found a man in tattered clothing wandering through the rubble.

He fixed the reporter with a piercing stare and said: "We turn into animals when we get so hungry. We'll do almost anything to get something to eat."

What the starved and homeless worker did not know was that at the nearby airstrip tons of food and medical supplies were being hoarded in makeshift sheds. But between the worker and this relief stood—inevitably—armed soldiers.

It was no accident that within hours of the earthquake which killed an estimated 6000 people and badly injured 20,000 others—the military dictator, General Anastasio Somoza, mobilized the entire National Guard and declared martial law.

To help with the evacuation of civilians? To assist the pathetically small medical service to bring aid to the maimed and injured?

No, their function was "to restore order." In practice this meant that poor workers who had no food, water or shelter, were shot or beaten up by roving bands of militiamen.

Two eyewitnesses saw soldiers kill a four year old street urchin as he scrambled through the debris looking for food. The bullets struck him in the stomach and he died painfully.

ENTERTAINING

Meanwhile Somoza was entertaining his ministers in the luxurious gardens of his fortified mansion. The residence was closely guarded by soldiers, tanks and machine guns. The guests laughed and joked as they drank their tumblers of whiskey.

Somoza himself had been talking to the Press about "looters." He described them as "abominable beings." The National Guard, he said, "would save the country's honor and that of the armed forces."

There was a ripple of alarm through the garden party. Reports had just come through of a riot at a gas station. Some "agitators" rebelled and demanded food. They threatened to blow up the gas tanks

unless they received food.

Another group of between 300 and 400 stopped foreign correspondents on the road to Las Mercedes Airport. They carried placards saying: "We are hungry." Food was being sent to the country, they said, and they thanked "international solidarity." But they added: "The army stockpiles the donations. It doesn't distribute them."

Somoza, in his yellow uniform, restored confidence among his guests. "There is no cause for complaint," he said. "All those protestors should already have been evacuated from the city."

Fresh rounds of whiskey were poured.

VICIOUS

Later that day Somoza went on national radio—who would have had a radio to listen?—to make this vicious announcement: "Beginning today I have given orders to the National Guard to patrol the city and halt pillaging. They have orders to shoot if necessary.

"I order that the pillaging stop immediately. Let us establish peace, which is Nicaragua's only salvation."

The greatest "pillager" of Nicaragua is, of course, Somoza himself and his century-old dynasty. On behalf of his political, financial and military backers in the US his regime has been doing nothing else but pillage. And the "peace" which his junta urgently needs to enforce is the "peace" of a clique who fear for the future of their illegal, repressive and corrupt regime.

How did the earthquake, a natural and unpredictable disaster, pose any danger to the stability of this US puppet regime?

EXPLOITATION

In the first place it destroyed property, privately-owned property, which is the foundation of capitalist exploitation.

And secondly it meant no electricity, food, water or shelter for the working class, which has always lived precariously

on the borderline of illiteracy, starvation and severe exploitation.

With property in ruins, the general and his National Guard had to defend the ruins! Under capitalism private property is sacrosanct. Even if the masses are starving and bleeding from the effects of floods, fires, typhoons or earthquakes, capitalist property relations must be maintained—with the gun if necessary.

It is at this point that the screaming liberals and the clerics make their appearance. From the pulpits, the television and the press we are treated to exhibitions of monumental hypocrisy. Please give to the refugees, the old and the suffering of Nicaragua, we are told by a variety of personages, including the Pope, Save the Children Fund, Christian Aid, the Red Cross and the UN relief agencies.

In fascist Spain the Roman Catholic church has been wringing even greater sums of money out of the backs of the population in massive province-wide collections.

DEVASTATION

Not one of these "humanitarian" agencies raises the slightest whimper about the mass devastation of Vietnam by Nixon's B-52s. There is no great rush by the Catholics or the Anglicans or the reformists from Oxfram to bring relief to the peasants and workers of Vietnam who have been subjected to bombing raids paralleled only by the atomic bombs dropped on Japan.

The reason can be put quite bluntly: they like Somoza and his regime more than they do the liberation forces of Vietnam. Behind their mask of humanitarianism, they are all vicious anti-communists.

The relief industry serves to satisfy the aimless guilt of the middle class. It also collects the sympathies of those sections of the working class which are not class

conscious. They are both channeled away from the real questions involved in rehabilitating those communities hit by natural or unnatural disasters.

SINISTER

Objectively, the relief industry plays a more sinister role. It has become a common ritual for the relief to colonial countries to fall into the hands of the ruling clique. It is then used as a cynical bargaining counter to drive the shocked and devastated workers into submission.

Because the means of distribution remain in private hands, relief is eventually distributed through those channels which operate on the basis of capitalist supply and demand. In some cases this leads to rampant black marketeering; in every case to profiteering.

The whole exercise is conducted through imperialist agencies like the UN, the US State Department (read CIA) and the British Foreign Office. Thus, behind the prayers, the collection boxes, the tear-jerking advertising campaigns, remain the objective requirements of imperialism to maintain its puppets and to keep workers enslaved.

This was the lesson of Bangladesh following the typhoon and floods of 1971. On that occasion the imperialists deliberately withheld supplies in the hope that the masses struggling against the military dictatorship of Yahya Khan would be driven back.

Eventually giant aircraft were brought in to disperse sections of the population in the poorer areas of India in a further attempt to decimate their resistance. This "relief program" failed. It only intensified the masses' determination to seize independence from West Pakistan.

Capitalism's interest is not to feed, clothe and tend to the masses damaged by disasters. It is to restore its parasitic, exploitative system as quickly as possible.

25,000 St. Louis Tenants Face Eviction



Bertha Knox, Youth Director of three St. Louis Housing projects interviewed by Bulletin on conditions there.

Nixon's budget slashes mean these children face even worse poverty than now exists.



BY CAROL MARKS & JOHN DUNN
ST. LOUIS—Twenty five thousand tenants face eviction in April from public housing here if emergency funds are not granted. The St. Louis Housing Authority proposed a \$3.9 million Federal Subsidy for the 1972 September budget.

The Federal Agency, Housing and Urban Development, has responded by allocating only \$1.6 million and even this money has not come through to date. The director of the St. Louis Housing Authority, Frank Costello, has stated categorically that the projects cannot be run on this budget and on January 15 will turn the whole responsibility over to HUD.

Mabel Coney, Tenants Association Board Representative for the Cochran Development explained to the *Bulletin* that to date no funds appear to be forthcoming from HUD and that only one of two fates is left: either a takeover from a private agency, which would mean skyrocketing rents, or complete closure in April.

The crisis affects all of the St. Louis public housing, which is made up of nine developments all located close to the inner city. The bulk of the high rise buildings were built in the period 1951 to 1956, when the density of city dwellers was increasing at a rapid rate. The highest density project is Pruitt-Igoe, whose projected population was 31,000. At present 12,000 live at Pruitt-Igoe.

One long term resident at the Cochran development, Phillip Owens, first moved to the projects 11 years ago with his mother. He described how since that time, with less and less money allocated for maintenance and staff each year, conditions had rapidly deteriorated. Now the remaining tenants face a

situation of trash piling up in the halls, elevators constantly out of order and sniper fire every night. Just this week, Phillip's apartment was damaged when a water pipe broke on the opposite side of the building.

DETERIORATION

As a result of this deterioration, many of the project buildings are vacant and were closed down when maintenance became impossible with the funds and staff available. At present in the Cochran development there is only one maintenance worker for every two buildings.

The whole nine projects, with 25,000 people, are serviced by one plumber and one glazier. The deterioration of Pruitt-Igoe resulted last May in the Housing Authority's directive to use high powered explosives to level a number of the Pruitt-Igoe buildings to the ground.

Such action revealed the intentions of the City Administration with regard to all public housing, even though the need for inexpensive, decent housing has greatly increased.

Bertha Knox, Youth Director of three of the St. Louis Housing projects, emphasized the future that youth growing up in the area face. She pointed out that 9 out of 10 children of families forced onto welfare end up on the unemployment lines. The conditions in the schools are rapidly deteriorating and some have even closed down.

The St. Louis Board of Education is facing a deep fiscal crisis, as is the case in most other cities. City teachers are demanding a substantial pay hike, the first in seven years and have projected a strike if their demands are not met.

Bertha Knox explained that it was becoming increasingly difficult to operate training programs for the youth as the Federal Government whittled

away the funds each year. Recently, a further 18 percent reduction in funds for the Human Development Corporation in this area was announced.

RENT STRIKE

Vonnie Jackson, a seven year resident in the Cochran projects, recalled the 1969 rent strike, which involved all of the nine St. Louis housing projects. Some major gains were won in this strike. The rents for welfare recipients were reduced to \$20.00 per month and all rents across the board were reduced by 25 percent.

As the crisis of capitalism deepens, it is clear that all such gains must be taken away and that the living conditions have to be driven down even further, as posed by the closing down of the public housing.

Great impetus was given to the rent strike from the support given to it by Teamsters Local 688. The union local paid the first year's salaries of the Tenant's Association Board, which had been set up as a result of the strike.

The relationship of the trade union movement to the struggle

developing in the housing project was the subject of the Young Socialists meeting recently held in the Cochran projects. The youth put forward the perspective that the citywide union movement must come to the defense of public housing to lead the fight back.

DEFENSE

The only defense can be through the building of a labor party, an alternative to Nixon and the Democratic administration of this city, who have made their plans clear. Vonnie Jackson described how she took part in rallies and lobbies in Washington last October, as part of a nationwide housing protest, but emphasized that nothing had been achieved by this kind of pleading with the Nixon administration.

While public housing is threatened with a complete shutdown in this city, Mayor Cervantes is pushing for funds to be put into the construction of a Convention Center. In the elections on November 4, a bond issue covering the cost of the initial stage was passed, and plans are underway.

The projected site for the Convention Center is just a few blocks away from the Pruitt-Igoe, Cochran, Vaughn and Carr Square Village developments, the bulk of public housing in St. Louis. In other words, this center is being built for the benefit of big business while 25,000 workers will now go homeless.

The attack on the right to decent and inexpensive housing is being pushed by Nixon as part and parcel of the government's plan to destroy the standard of living of the entire working class to preserve the decaying capitalist system. Two weeks ago, Nixon announced that all federal funding to public housing would be stopped.

The fight against this attack requires the political mobilization of the entire working class in a labor party which will fight for the nationalization of basic industry under workers control so that the wealth produced by the working class will be used for the needs of the workers, so that billions of dollars can be provided for public housing. The fight against the attacks on housing must be taken up at a Congress of Labor called to answer Nixon.

4,000 Farmers Fight Loan Cut

BY PERRY IVERSON

MORRIS, Minn., Jan. 13—Over 4300 angry farmers from 14 counties in West Central Minnesota met here to protest the Nixon administration's war on small farmers. The rage centered around Nixon's elimination of Farm Home Administration (FHA) disaster loans.

Since the fall of 1971, this area has suffered unusually heavy rains. The severe flooding caused by these rains in the spring of 1972 completely devastated the entire year's crops for most of the small farmers in the area. The region was declared a disaster area.

Assistance finally came in the form of the Emergency Disaster Loan Program. The first \$5000 of the loans was "forgiven" to farmers who qualified. They were told that they had until June 20, 1973 to apply for these loans.

On December 27, Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz declared the program immediately terminated. Butz appeared earlier in the week on a local radio station's open mike program. In reply to farmers who called in to criticize the cutoff, he snubbed, "Do you really want a \$5000 gift or do you want to say you made it on your own?"

he had an appointment to receive aid for January 31. "I borrowed money to make land payments. So what am I going to do for next year's crop? I can't borrow any more money. You have to have something to pay expenses with. To buy a new tractor it takes a whole year's crop of corn. If we don't get help I'm afraid a lot of us will put up sales signs. The politicians and the rest speaking here today don't have any answer, because it comes from above (Washington). All they can say is 'I'm sorry, go home and cry in your beer.'"

DESTROY

The termination of these loans is only part of Nixon's program to completely destroy small farmers on behalf of the banks and giant corporations like Cargill, Ralston-Purina, Tenneco and Green Giant.

Recognizing this, Oren Lee Staley, national president of the NFO, opened his speech with the statement that: "This is the opening round to drive the family farmer out of rural America. This is part of a broad attack on every basic program for farmers."

Dave Roe, President of the Minnesota AFL-CIO pledged support to the farmers' fight and \$2000 to their bank account for legal expenses.

LETTERS

But neither Staley, Roe nor any other official speaker could offer this massive meeting of farmers a solution outside of "writing to congressmen" and "taking it to court." As one older farm woman whispered to her neighbor: "If Butz got 4000 letters he wouldn't read them. If Humphrey got 4000 letters he wouldn't even open them."

A spokesman for the Workers League drew enthusiastic applause when he criticized the protest politics of the speakers. "The future of small farmers lies only in uniting with the labor movement through the construction of a labor party."



A Workers League supporter takes fight for a labor party into Minnesota farmers meeting.

At the meeting today, one farmer answered Butz: "They've pulled the rug out from all us farmers. There's not one farmer who would not rather make it on his own. If we had received parity over the last 25 years we could. But now it's impossible. We have to unite."

NFO

In an interview with the *Bulletin*, Merlin Markens, member of the National Committee of the National Farmers Organization (NFO), stressed this point. "Everybody has to have these loans. But the reason they have to have them is that farmers haven't had decent salaries for the last 25 years. We haven't had a fair price."

Gene Alver farms a full section of grain south of Alberta, Minnesota. He told the *Bulletin* that

The unions, which represent over half of all the city school teachers, have called in four strike organizers from the American Federation of Teachers to demonstrate their seriousness about striking on or after January 29.

The teachers are asking the Board of Education for formal recognition of their unions and hospitalization insurance. But the major demand according to Chuck Bolden, coordinator of the



Local 6-622 of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers set up picket lines in reply to company's assertion that it can "use the work force in any way it saw fit."

Oil Chemical Workers Walk Out Of Refinery To Defend Seniority

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PINE BEND, Minn.—In the face of the Koch Refining Company's provocative attempt to break the union by denying their employees long established seniority rights, all 315 production and maintenance workers organized in Local 6-622 of the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers walked off the job January 9 and set up picket lines.

After 16 meetings with the union, the Company never budged an inch from its position to "use the work force in any way it saw fit." That means eliminating the seniority provisions written into all contracts since the plant was built 17 years ago. Finally, the company announced that it was unilaterally putting the contract into effect, without the agreed upon six percent wage increase.

Since the picket line was set up, the Company has kept the refinery running on a limited basis with supervisory staff and scabs, some of whom were already in the plant the day the men walked out. Oil trucks driven by supervisors and additional help have been escorted through the picket lines.

At least one sheriff's car has been stationed 24 hours a day not more than 40 yards from the picketers. A camera is constantly scanning the picket area.

In an interview with the *Bulle-*

tin, local president John Kujawa stated that before the walkout, he was having trouble restraining the ranks. "We tried to work things out with the company, but they insisted on a blank check all

the way through." He also stated that the International leadership did not want them to go out so soon, but that "the members were completely worked up and wouldn't wait."

Milwaukee Strikers Return

BY P. ARNDT

MILWAUKEE, Jan. 13—More than 10,000 public employees were called back to work January 10, after a seven day strike, which shut down hospital services, governmental agencies, garbage removal, snow plowing and other vital services.

The leadership of District Council 48 of American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) reached a tentative agreement on a new contract late Wednesday night. About four hours earlier, the council agreed to enter fact finding with city negotiators.

DEFIANT

In spite of bitter cold temperatures, and a temporary re-

straining order issued Saturday, strikers maintained defiant picket lines. Police arrested three people, including a union officer, and said that they would be charged with disorderly conduct for throwing eggs at officials at the County Welfare Center.

UNDISCLOSED

The strikers have been sent back to work without knowing anything about the new contract. As of Saturday the contract is still undisclosed. This is an ominous sign, for Muelver, head of DC 48, had already compromised on the original 5.5 percent wage demand over three years, by offering 5 percent over only a one year period.

5.5%

One picketer, a food service worker, told the *Bulletin*: "I don't think 5.5 percent is enough. And even if we get 5.5 percent, they'll want to cut out other stuff. They want to cut out our personal days. They took some of our holidays away already."

"Years ago they said if you work for the county, you're going to have a secure job. Not today. Today the county wants to throw us out, throw all the institutions over to the state."

St. Louis Teachers Vote To Strike

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS—Members of the two teachers' unions here, the St. Louis Teachers Union Local 420 and the St. Louis Teachers Association, have voted overwhelmingly to strike unless the Board of Education comes across with a mid-year pay increase.

organizing team, is the mid-year wage increase. The teachers have not received anything but token wage increases since 1969 when the pay for starting teachers went from \$6200 to \$7200.

The School Board said it would commit itself to providing salary increases next fall, but could not grant any increases now. One teacher told the *Bulletin*:

"Most of the teachers I work with are for the strike. If we could avoid it we would, but we

are serious about getting what we are asking for." The teachers' unions will receive financial aid from their national organizations if they strike.

Other issues facing the St. Louis school teachers are the working conditions and the possibility of losing the tenure system. One teacher said that in one junior high school the seventh grades had from 35 to 38 students in each class while the eighth grades had 26 students per class.

Woodcock Bars Contract Fight Over Speed-up

BY ED SMITH

DETROIT—Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, has begun to spell out what his open collaboration with Phase Three will mean this September when contracts with the big three auto companies expire.

•The UAW bureaucracy will limit its wage demands to 5.5 percent.

•The Woodcock team will do absolutely nothing about the vicious speedups and harassment on the production line in General Motors Assembly Division.

This policy of craven retreat before Nixon and the auto companies is described by UAW Vice President Fraser in last week's issue of *Detroit News*.

According to Fraser, the main bargaining points of the UAW will be company-paid dental care and 30 years and out retirement.

The UAW will also seek a one year contract so that it may be able to negotiate new terms within several months in a change in Nixon's controls policy.

In the statement to the *News*, Fraser did not say a word about the plant speedups, making it clear that even the mini-strike against GMAD is to be abandoned.

BANKRUPT

The UAW has formulated its bankrupt contract demands without even waiting for the conference of skilled tradesmen (February 6-8) and production workers (February 15-16). The collective bargaining convention is scheduled in March.

Worsening conditions within the plants have already generated tremendous rank and file bitterness against the bureaucracy.

Already one plant in Detroit has been put under GMAD control. At Chrysler's Jefferson Assembly Plant, workers have reported that line speed has gone up four cars an hour. A continuous belt shift has been installed that has speeded up the line and eliminated a number of jobs. These attacks have provoked massive unrest among the UAW members, particularly the younger men.

One young UAW member at

Nixon Budget Cuts Force Layoff Of 400 Cincinnati City Workers

BY

MAC CARPENTER

CINCINNATI—At least 400 city employees who were hired under the Emergency Employment Act (EEA) of 1971 here are slated to lose their jobs because of Nixon's termination of federally funded programs. In addition, 160 people who had enrolled for job training programs will now be turned away because of the federal fund freeze.

Another 67 city employees in craft positions (painters, carpenters, electricians, plumbers) face the loss of wage increases granted them last year. City Manager E. Robert Turner has stated that he plans to review the city's present wage policy towards the craft employees in order to come up with a "more realistic" wage structure.

For example, city-employed electricians or plumbers whose

the Dodge Main plant complained: "The union committeemen are like management's friends. They take in grievances to talk over with management and by the time they come back the grievances have disappeared."

PROBLEM

"But the problems are still there. At Rouge (Ford plant) they make the committeemen work on the line with the men, so they don't get away with so much."

"Sometimes when things get bad enough we get the guys in our department to stay out, say after lunch. But by the end of the lunch break there's nobody left staying out but five or six of us young guys—the older guys have already gone back. There must be some way to fight Woodcock in this."

A caucus must be constructed in the UAW to lead the fight against Woodcock for a big wage boost to fight inflation, for a reduction in hours, while maintaining pay to stop layoffs, and union control of production to stop speedup, harassment, and erosion of conditions.

Detroit Building Ranks Fight Open Shop Drive

BY KEN WESTON

DETROIT—Stan Arnold, secretary-treasurer of the 97,000 member Michigan Building Trades Council, told skilled tradesmen this week that from now on contractors must get what he calls a "fair day's work for a fair day's pay."

Taking his cues from the vicious anti-union Associated Builders and Contractors, Incorporated (ABC), Arnold has announced that "some of the work practices developed down through the years—long coffee breaks and early

quits—are out from now on." The ABC, which is dedicated to the eradication of "restrictive trades work practices" is modeled after the infamous National Association of Manufacturers, NAM.

The ABC's drive to organize what it calls "merit shops" in Michigan and especially in Detroit has been met with stiff opposition from the tradesmen in sharpest contradiction to Arnold's policies.

OPEN SHOP

The "merit shop" is the contractors' latest effort to reintroduce the open shop in the construction industry. The ABC is using 4000 nonunion tradesmen to break up the working conditions for the 97,000 union tradesmen in Michigan.

FIRE

The Auburn Electric Company, operated by Edward L. Cannop, Detroit director of ABC, has been singled out in particular by tradesmen for picketing. Twice in the past month trailers belonging to the Auburn Company have been overturned and set on fire.



Picket line set up by hospital workers from District Council 48 of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which shut down almost all of Milwaukee's vital services for seven days.

Chicago Board Uses Scabs To Break Teachers Strike

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

CHICAGO—Several thousand teachers rallied tonight at McCormick Place and the message of Chicago Teachers Union President Robert Healey was clear. "We're fighting for what we need, so don't bring us anything less."

The militancy of the teachers in the room was buoyed by knowledge that 16,565 of their 21,000 members voted for the strike and over 24,000 of the 26,000 teachers honored the lines during last week's three days of picketing. The School Board has completely rejected all of the union's major demands for guaranteed class size, for a two and one-half percent wage increase, for a 38 week school year at 40 weeks pay, and for paid preparation time for elementary school teachers.

Instead, the Board is on the verge of passing a budget for 1973 that provides for bigger classes, a shorter year, absolutely no new money for any school system employees, and the elimination of 2300 jobs.

A picketing teacher told the *Bulletin*: "It's a matter of priorities. I think one of the main priorities should be education and obviously they don't care about it. We cannot continue to exist in this situation."

NEW UNION

Healey told the teachers tonight that "this thing is different this year. We are in a way a new union and we will not be stopped."

But the things that are different this year also pose a great threat to the strike. The fight to actually mobilize the unprecedented support from other school employees and unions will be necessary if the strike is going to be defended.

First of all, Superintendent

Redmond has been able to maintain a school in each district where strikebreakers can spend the day, although the system is closed to students. Even with the small number of scabs, these 26 schools have been the focal point of the Board's attempt to break the strike.

NEW

One delegate said: "This is something new. Always before, all the schools would be open on one certain day for them to come in, or sometimes they closed all the schools. But there's never been anything like this before."

ATTACKS

Mass picketing is being carried on at these schools, and during the first day alone, one picket was slugged, one knifed, and one hit with a car at the struck schools. Picket lines are heavily patrolled by cops and many teachers fear that the large number of cops will bring about the kind of police attacks seen in the recent strikes.

Even more dangerous, though, is the union's program of alternative schools, set up in cooperation with Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH. This nationalist has always opposed the struggle for the teachers' union because the teachers "were not concerned with our children."

CONGRESS OF LABOR

The teachers must demand that the Chicago Federation of Labor place the entire labor movement at their defense. In addition, the fight must be taken up in the unions immediately for a Congress of Labor to deal with these attacks.

VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 2)
 begin from the nature of the crisis and an independent policy for the working class fighting in every capitalist country against their governments and their Stalinist agents. We say this war will not be ended with deals. It must be fought out to the end in the struggle for power by the working class and the complete defeat of imperialism.

This is what we have fought for from the very origins of the struggle against the war. In February, 1965 we wrote:

"The struggle of the National Liberation Front must be defended in every possible way. Essential to this defense and necessary to its ultimate victory is the long struggle to bring the working class to power in the advanced capitalist countries, especially in the US."

Following the 20,000 strong demonstration in Washington on March 17, 1965, we wrote:

"The revolution in Vietnam will be victorious through the struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants backed by the solidarity actions of workers all over the world...there is no way out except through the international working class struggle."

Against the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the liberals and the pacifists, we called for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

Now this struggle takes on a new character as the American working class confronts Phase Three.

The Workers League will step up this fight under the new conditions created by the crisis, Nixon's re-election and the bombing of North Vietnam. The American working class has a particularly important role to play because the US is the heart of imperialism and the center of the crisis of capitalism.

FOOD PRICES . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

It is the meat counters that are the most deserted areas of the supermarkets these days, as many shoppers cannot afford meat for their families more than once or twice a week. A worker from the Brooklyn navy yard, shopping with his wife, stated:

"They hit you from all sides—taxes, rents, carfare, everything. But food is the worst. If my wife and I stopped eating, we might be able to save some money. One time I asked the manager here about base price information and he just laughed. The government saw fit to control wages, why not prices?"

the trade unions to immediately convene a Congress of Labor to take up the fight against the war as part of the struggle against Nixon's Phase Three and the attacks on the unions. In order to carry out this fight, this Congress must construct a labor party. It is out of the revolutionary struggles that now must develop between the working class and the government that this party will be built to smash Nixon and imperialism.

This is the only way to end the war. The protest politics of the Stalinists and the revisionists serve to disarm and disorient the working class. This is the meaning of the demonstration on January 20. It is precisely protest politics which were responsible not only for the re-election of Nixon but the massive bombing of North Vietnam. During the election, the Stalinist bureaucracies and the American Communist Party pushed the lie that Nixon was seeking peace when he actually was preparing a new stage of war and consolidating his power to take on the American working class.

The SWP was completely complicit with the Stalinists. At the critical time after the elections when Nixon was loading the B-52's, the SWP closed down its struggle against the war, stating that: "For the time being Nixon will stop the bombing and withdraw the US troops from South Vietnam itself."

At the YSA convention, announcing the closing of their antiwar movement, they said:

"Since the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee are based on common agreement to demonstrate against the war, if a cease-fire is announced and it seems it will, there would be no basis for mass action."

In other words, if Nixon makes a deal through the treacherous



Mass meeting of Minnesota farmers in response to government's elimination of FHA disaster loans.

betrayal of the Stalinists, there is no more basis for a fight against the war and for the defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

In reviving its antiwar movement, the SWP has now gone a step further towards the Stalinists. The march on January 20 is based on the demands that the US government end the war now and stop its bombing of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. These demands were worked out in a deal between the CP and the SWP. They are essentially the demands of the Stalinists' "Sign Now" campaign. They demand that Nixon end the bombing and end the war through a deal at the

most necessary to any workers' table: dairy products, meats and poultry, and grains. Medium-size eggs now go for 83 cents a dozen; a seven ounce can of tuna fish costs 55 cents; and even the cost of a can of soup has doubled to 20 cents. And these are minimum prices, not covering the incredibly high rates in the stores in the ghettos.

But the American worker is not going to sit back and let his standard of living be destroyed. As one angry young worker said: "If they think they can sit in the White House and stuff steaks in their faces undisturbed, they got another thing coming."

expense of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

Now these forces give Nixon a new boost as he once again talks about peace and a deal with the Stalinists. This is very useful for

Nixon as he prepares to implement Phase Three.

This is why the Workers League and the Young Socialists are not participating in the January 20 demonstration.

SMASH PHASE 3! . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

bureaucracy has made a criminal deal with Nixon to hold down the contract demands in 1973. It has openly agreed to police the 5.5 percent guidelines.

And, if the bureaucracy fails to carry out this pledge, Nixon stands ready—in the words of his top adviser—to "clobber" any union that demands more than the guidelines permit.

Every section of the trade union leadership has entered into this conspiracy against the working class. Frank Fitzsimmons, who supported Nixon in November, George Meany, who remained neutral, and Leonard Woodcock, who endorsed McGovern: all three have announced that they support Phase Three and will join a super-Pay Board, called the Cost of Living Council, with the leading bankers and industrialists to maintain the guidelines.

The Continuations Committee condemns this treacherous deal made by Meany, Fitzsimmons and Woodcock with Richard Nixon. We demand that they immediately withdraw from the Cost of Living Council, through which Nixon will directly administer the so-called "voluntary" controls.

This class betrayal of the working class by the bureaucracy means that there can be no delay in building an independent leadership within the rank and file that will fight on the program brought forward by the Continuations Committee. In this struggle against the criminal policies of the bureaucracy, millions of workers will be brought into political confrontation with this Government. Against Meany's collaboration with Nixon, the Continuations Committee raises the banner of action by the working class in its own interests. We must lead the working class in its battles over wages, speedup and the defense of the trade unions.

The labor party will develop out of our leadership of the explosive movement of workers in their millions against Nixon.

We must take the fight for the Congress of Labor into the entire labor movement by building a leadership, that understands the political requirements of the crisis, among workers in auto, steel, longshore, social services, hospital and every other section of the working class. There will be great support for our program. The movement of hospital workers in Local 1199 has forced President Leon Davis to call for a conference of trade unions which remain under compulsory controls during Phase Three. While we support this action by Davis, we insist that there must be a Congress of Labor of all the trade unions that will actually hammer out a program of action against Nixon and build a labor party. It is for this that the Continuations Committee is fighting, and the meeting on February 18 will be a great step forward.

The Continuations Committee meeting will also prepare for the launching of the twice-weekly **Bulletin** in the fall. The development of the revolutionary press is critical to building the leadership that the working class will require in this period.

Your participation at the Continuations Committee meeting is of great importance. Please write us immediately of your plans to attend the meeting as well as your plans to bring workers from your trade union local with you. We will have transportation and accommodations prepared for all the delegates at the meeting.

Fraternally yours,
 Fred Mazelis
 Local 1199 Drug & Hospital Workers
 For The Continuations Committee of the National Conference for a Labor Party
 Now!



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Lockheed Firing Another 2,000 Within Two Months

BY BARRY GREY

SUNNYVALE—Lockheed Missile Systems Division in Sunnyvale will lay off 1500 to 2000 employees within the next two months.

The original figures of 600 to 900 given out by the company only account for cutbacks in the Navy Trident Missile program, but substantial cuts are on the way on Air Force projects as well.

These layoffs represent from 10 to 13 percent of the present work force, which has already been slashed by thousands from previous levels because of Lockheed's cost-cutting drive to avert financial disaster.

Both professional and production employees are to be laid off. Nixon's massive cutbacks in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), plus the cost-cutting drive under way throughout the defense industry under Nixon's orders, make the prospects for new jobs or rehiring by Lockheed very dim.

In fact, the recent crash of an Eastern L-1011 in Miami, and the near crash of a TWA Tri Star, which landed safely after one wing fell off, pose the very real possibility of the collapse of Lockheed's Tri Star sales, and with that, of the entire company.

The news of the layoffs has stunned and angered both production and professional work-

ers here. One professional employee told the *Bulletin* that professional workers should have voted for a union when they had elections recently.

A production worker said: "Everybody is being affected. Some of the guys working in electronics said they are cutting 30 people in their department."

The leadership of District 508 of the International Association of Machinists, which represents the production workers, has taken the position that the company has the right to lay off as many as it sees fit.

When asked by the *Bulletin* how many would be laid off and what the union intended to do about it, Ken Benda, President of District 508, said: "We'll wait and see where the axe falls and how many times." He said the union intends to take no action because the contract gives Lockheed the right to cut "surplus" workers.

The complicity of Benda and the rest of the IAM leadership poses the gravest danger to Lockheed workers at Sunnyvale and nationally. An immediate fight must be taken up to reopen the contract nationally on the basis of the following program:

- Not one single layoff;
- 30 hours work for 40 hours pay;
- Call a Congress of Labor to unite the labor movement against Nixon;
- Build a labor party pledged to nationalize aerospace under workers' control.

Chavez: Deport Alien Labor

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—United Farmworkers President Caesar Chavez recently gave a televised speech in which he said that if he found any Mexican citizens illegally working in the fields, he would personally turn them in and have them deported. The *Bulletin* interviewed Pancho G., a Mexican resident alien (legal immigrant), a former farmworker who now lives in San Francisco's Mission District.

"Caesar says he will make enemies among his own people for saying this; well if he said that, I'm an enemy. Instead of Chavez trying to divide us, why doesn't he try to unite us and find out what is our struggle in our own country, which is to survive, which is the same as in this country."

"If Chavez wants to know why people come from Mexico, let him go down there and see the prices and conditions in which we live. When we come from another country, whatever it is, we come for a better living. I'd be a liar if I said it wasn't because of a better living. For the working people there is no country. Wherever they can find a

better life, it will be their country."

"When we come to this country, we come to work, as a necessity. We don't come to steal or do any damage. In Mexico, the cost of living is equal to the states but the wages are ridiculous. Wages for working people are about 30 pesos a day, \$2.00. A steak is 27 pesos for a kilo; you are lucky to eat it once in a year. Most people live on vegetables, corn, beans, peppers, rice."

"Most people who come to the United States come from the country. On the land we don't have enough irrigation. The government makes no improvements. You can't compete with the big landowners. Housing is lousy, no furniture, no decent beds. A lot of families are still sleeping on the ground, working

class people.

"In the country, there are no unions. In the cities, the government controls the unions. The leaders are bought off. Most of the towns and cities are ruled by dictatorship, and they force us to vote for only one party whether we like it or not. And now they want to do the same thing here in this country."

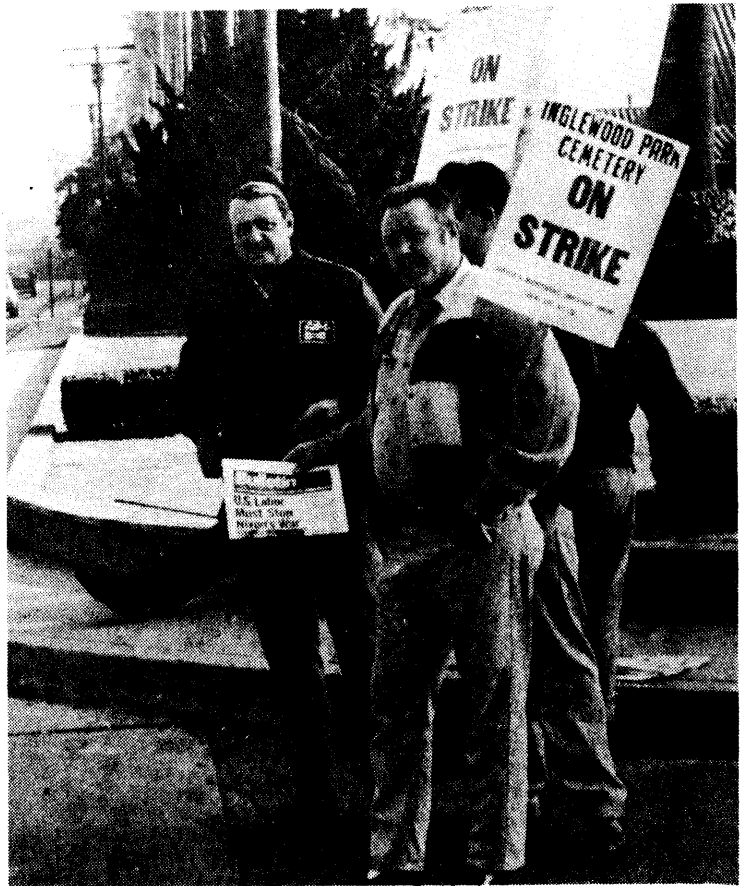
"Immigrant workers are afraid to be caught. Instead of us protecting them a lot of us turned them in or advised them to legalize their papers. Until 1959, anyone could get in with a recommendation from a friend. Now I hear so many Mexicans are not allowed, only sons, parents and relatives can come. People pay \$300 to be smuggled across the border."

In 1969, Pancho worked in the tomato fields in the Sacramento Valley. "The workers were hearing about the organizing but not taking it too seriously. Mostly there was feeling against the labor contractors who are oppressing their own people. I call it labor slavery."

"The labor contractor always knows who is legal and who is not. He can use psychology. If we say: 'We are not slaves, we want to work eight hours for ten dollars,' then he knows we are legal. If we are illegal, we have no choice."

"The labor contractor would be the first to lose because he would be afraid to pay union wages. He would say to the illegals, 'if the union comes in, you will go back to Mexico.' We heard Caesar was trying to make a union for everybody, but the illegal people were scared."

"There should be no discrimination. As long as they pay the dues, the union should be protecting everyone. Chavez shouldn't try to play immigration agent."



A first in Southern California: 45 cemetery workers, members of Local 399, Service Employees Union shut down operations at the Inglewood Cemetery and Mortuary. Strikers charged the owners with Unfair Labor Practices for not granting vacations and wage increases. Average hourly pay is only \$2.50.

ILWU . . .

(Continued From Page 20)
the PMA and containerization.

No limit was put on the discussion against the merger. A member was called out of order, however, for trying to discuss the case of the 10 terminal warehousemen who were laid off and recently ordered by the court to halt their protest picket.

This move is a warning to the ranks that, although the Local 13 leaders oppose Bridges, they have no program to fight the unemployment that is sweeping the docks, and intend to keep the Terminal Warehousemen's fight isolated.

Melvin Cooper, leader of the TW's, told the *Bulletin* he was angered by the move to prevent

this discussion. He said that although he held Bridges responsible along with the PMA for the loss of their jobs, he favored a merger with the Teamsters "as the ILWU cannot afford to stand alone."

On July 1, contracts will expire for 1,028,000 workers in the transportation industry, including longshoremen, teamsters, and rail workers. Transportation workers will directly confront the government because of massive unemployment from containers, the big decline in trade, and inflation.

The unity of the teamsters and longshoremen will enormously strengthen all transportation workers against attacks by the Government.

Gus Hall Covers Up For An Old Buddy

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The January 6 *People's World* contains an attack on International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union President Harry Bridges by Communist Party General Secretary Gus Hall. Hall lashes out at Bridges for maintaining that the antiwar protest movement has collapsed and for advocating that North Vietnam capitulate by accepting a standstill cease-fire.

Hall, of course, defends a policy of protest and pressure on Nixon to sign a peace treaty immediately.

Hall's statement on Bridges is, however, extremely significant. It is an indication of the extreme difficulty the CP is now ex-

periencing in maintaining its policy of support for the so-called progressive sections of the labor bureaucracy.

Bridges' advocacy of liquidating the struggle against the war is no accident. It comes precisely at the time that Australian dockers have given a lead to workers throughout the world in their actions against US shipping. Bridges caves in to Nixon on the war when his own union faces unparalleled political attacks against which he refuses to mobilize.

REVOLT

Dockers in L.A. are in mass revolt against the ILWU bureaucracy because of the growing unemployment. Seattle dockers have just been fined 50,000 dollars for organizing a slowdown against the destruction of the hiring hall with "steady men." With the contract up for

negotiation in July, the ILWU faces a political fight to defeat the Nixon government.

Bridges' policy on the war is a warning to every docker that he intends to carry out the same capitulation over the defense of the union and the rights and jobs of longshoremen.

Even on the war, Hall refuses to call for industrial action by the labor movement or to expose Bridges for his refusal to lead such a fight.

OPPOSITION

Hall knows all too well that massive opposition to Bridges is developing on the waterfront. If he attacks Bridges on the war, it is to cover the CP's responsibility for the present situation on the docks and to disguise its complete agreement with Bridges that the working class must be held back and confined to bankrupt reformism.

NAVY . . .

(Continued From Page 20)
hear there's not much there now either."

So far the only action taken by the unions at Mare Island has been to announce a letter writing campaign to Congress to "let them know what kind of mistake they're making" and "the value of Mare Island to our nation's Naval strength."

For millions of workers like those at Mare Island, the collapse of the boom threatens the immediate prospect of a return to the destitution of the thirties.

The only way these jobs can be saved is for the unions to mobilize their full strength against the government. Unions representing Defense Department and defense industry employees must immediately prepare strike action against the cuts and call a Congress of Labor for the purpose of building a labor party to nationalize these industries under workers' control.

West Coast News

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PHONE 415-621-1310

Navy Axes 1,000 Jobs

BY TED BAKER

VALLEJO—Cutbacks of over 1000 civilian employees of the Navy were announced in the Bay Area last week with the probability of thousands more to follow.

Following hard on the heels of rumors that the Nixon administration would dump up to 100,000 civilian employees of the Defense Department, the Navy announced that 900 would be laid off at Mare Island Shipyard in Vallejo, 215 at Hunters Point Shipyard in San Francisco, and 75 additional layoffs at smaller bases in the area.

At present Mare Island employs 8000 civilians, and Hunters Point employs 5600. The cuts are to take place within the next two months.

The layoffs are part of a comprehensive nationwide plan to "improve efficiency and productivity" in the Defense Department through consolidating and closing bases and installations.

Local Congressmen are unofficially warning that one of the two installations may be entirely eliminated in the President's budget announcement on January 29.

Officials of local unions of government employees are worried that the entire Sixth Army, based in San Francisco, along with seven Navy ships based in the area, will be transferred to stations in the Far East. These changes could result in the loss of as many as 10,000 civilian jobs.

The near certainty that one of the two shipyards will be closed comes from the fact that since 1967 the Navy has reduced active ships from 932 to 606, while it is still operating 10 shipyards.

Workers at the Mare Island shipyard told the *Bulletin* that rumors of the cuts have been growing for months. "Everybody knew that this was only a matter of time when we finished that last sub a few months ago. They've been running this place down for years. We used to have 12,000 or 13,000 civilians working here, now there's only about 8000."

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Both Mare Island and Hunters Point shipyards are products of the war and the inflationary boom that followed it. Vallejo was transformed from a desolate agricultural town in the 1930s, to a booming wartime city of 100,000 people.

A sheetmetal worker at Mare Island said: "My father brought us here from Texas during the war. The town was growing all over these hills. Now it is getting like a ghost town. I've worked here myself ever since I got out of the Navy. If I lose this job now, I don't know what I'll do. The only shipbuilding they're doing now is either back East or in Mississippi, and from what I

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Judge Threatens Magee Supporters

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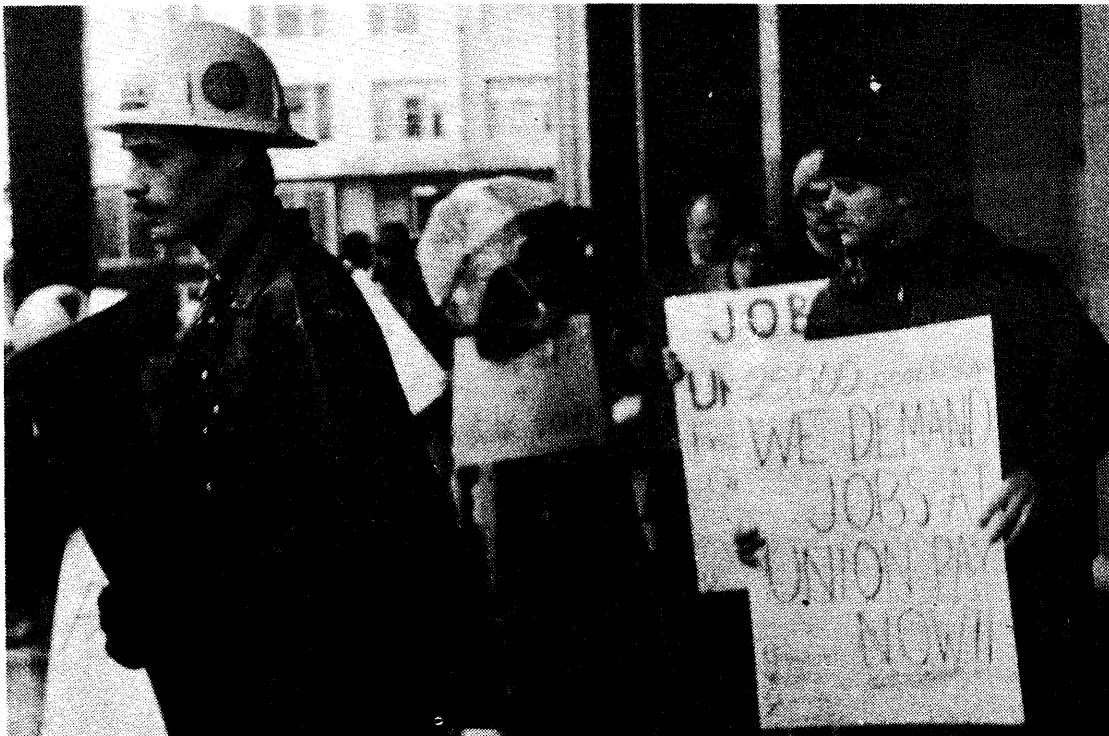
A BULLETIN REPORTER
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larities between the present trial atmosphere and the incident in Marin, graphically describing the shooting of Judge Haley and Gary Thomas, the Assistant D.A.

The state is desperately afraid of allowing Magee to conduct the kind of uncompromising defense he would like to. Millions of workers and youth are coming into a direct conflict with the government and Magee could win enormous support.

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Service Employees International Union members marched in San Francisco and San Jose against Reagan's Workfare Program, which would replace social service workers with welfare recipients.

ILWU Ranks Blast Bridges

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—

Speaker after speaker took the floor of a 2000-strong Local 13 meeting to denounce Harry Bridges for his proposed merger with the Teamsters.

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union president was shaken by the bitter opposition to his plans. Many Local 13 members stated that the "dictatorial policies" of the Teamsters would jeopardize ILWU autonomy, and also protested Fitzsimmons' vicious scab campaign against the United Farmworkers Union.

Although the opposition to Bridges is exploding around the merger issue, the resentment stems from Bridges long history of collaboration with the PMA, starting with the Mechanization and Modernization Agreement in 1961, which laid the basis for the containerization of the West Coast ports and the resulting massive unemployment.

The last contract which Bridges signed puts into question any guaranteed income and job security. A and B men are now stuffing containers, doing work they would have refused to do only a year ago. This is the basis of the widespread opposition to Bridges.

This legitimate opposition to Bridges is being channeled in an opportunist way by Local 13 leaders, using the right-wing Fitzsimmons leadership as an excuse to keep important sections of transportation workers divided.

Many longshoremen fear the growing unemployment and have been encouraged to believe that Teamsters would take away jobs if a merger was agreed to. Local 13 leaders have hedged from placing the blame squarely on

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Governor Reagan's State of the State message to the California Legislature is a blueprint for streamlining the government in preparation for the most vicious attacks on the workers and youth of California.

Reagan's proposals amount to an all-out war to cut social welfare programs while eliminating thousands of state employees now involved in administering these programs.

Manpower programs are to be cut across the state and consolidated into a single department of manpower while thousands are to be herded into the forced work program for welfare recipients.

In the last year, over a quarter of a million people have been thrown off the welfare rolls and plans are under way for deepening this "reform."

On education, Reagan repeated his determination to destroy the right of youth to an education by raising tuition and doing everything possible to wall off the universities from working class youth.

On health, Reagan proposes to "eliminate overlapping and obsolete functions," meaning wholesale shutdowns and consolidation into a single department. Mental hospitals are to be shut down.

He demanded new laws for capital punishment and long sentences for gun crimes as well as a crackdown on "the most vicious of the young criminals who terrorize our schools and urban areas." A single Department of Correction and a single Parole Authority is to be established.

To assist the law and order work, a center for the study of violent behavior is to be established at the University of California, Los Angeles, to develop new methods for dealing with all types of "violent" behavior.

Reagan emphasized his determination to continue the fight for legislation against the farmworkers.

Taken together, these proposals amount to a consolidation of virtually unlimited power in the hands of the state for ripping social services to shreds and for carrying out massive repression.

These measures were outlined by Reagan only a few days before Nixon announced his Phase III program for uncontrolled inflation and dictatorial control over wages and the unions.

Nixon is preparing for war on the working class and Reagan is preparing as well. All his talk about violence, vicious young criminals, welfare fraud and law and order is aimed directly at the labor movement.

This drives home the urgency of the fight for a Congress of Labor to answer these attacks with the construction of a labor party. The February 18 Conference, in St. Louis, of the Continuations Committee of the National Conference for a Labor Party Now will be decisive in building a leadership for this fight.

Build the National Continuations Committee Meeting!

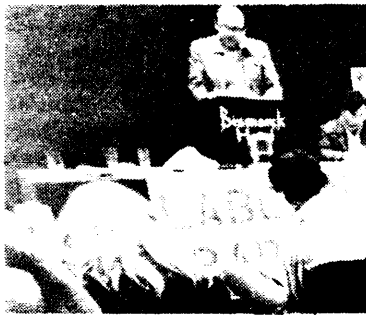
West Coast Meetings

February 4
2 PM

San Francisco
The Holiday Inn
Gold Room C
(Free parking)

Los Angeles
Embassy Auditorium
839 South Grand Avenue

Phone: 213-678-3528 Donation: \$1.00



West Coast News

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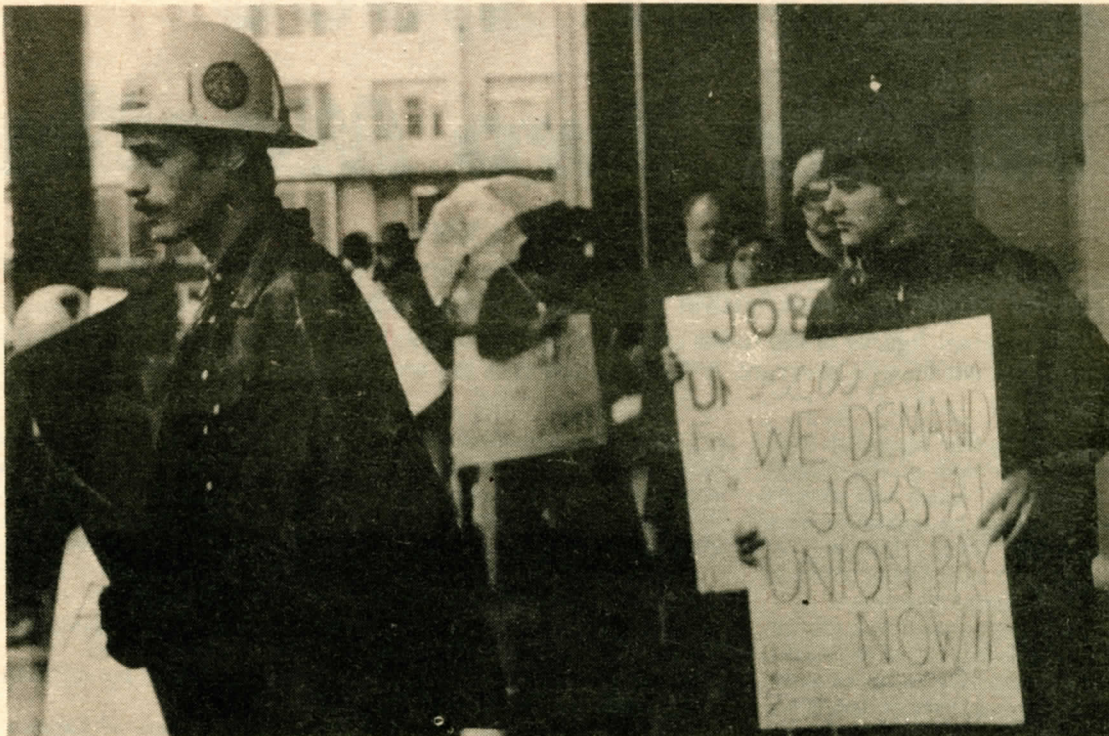
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