

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER FIVE 280

FEBRUARY 5, 1973

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

What we think

Stalinism And Vietnam

The agreement to end the war in Vietnam signed in Paris on January 27 is the product of the criminal and persistent betrayal of the governments of the Soviet Union and China who have forced the North Vietnamese to accept a settlement that abandons everything they have fought for since 1945.

The terms of this settlement completely confirm the fact that the Stalinists have opposed the overthrow of Thieu and the reunification of Vietnam on a socialist basis in order to make their peace with Nixon. The entire agreement is based on the lie that "national reconciliation and concord" can be achieved between the Vietnamese workers and peasants of Vietnam and a ruthless dictatorship backed by the United States.

That this settlement is a total fraud has already been shown by the fierce fighting which raged throughout South Vietnam the day after the cease-fire. Through this agreement, Moscow and Peking seek to hand over the NLF fighters, cut off from further aid, to be liquidated by Thieu's Army and police. This is the meaning of Stalinist "peaceful co-existence." At the same time, the US continues bombing in Laos and is keeping its planes ready in Thailand.

While the American Communist Party hails it as a "great victory for the forces of anti-imperialism" and the basis for a "lasting peace," the agreement can only prepare the stage for a new war just as the 1954 Geneva Accords did, but this time in the midst of the deepest crisis of imperialism. The major provisions of the agreement include a cease-fire during which the US will halt all military operations against North Vietnam and will remove all mines in the harbors. All troops will be withdrawn in 60 days except for US "advisors." All military equipment and supplies can only be replaced due to attrition, on a one to one basis.

The release of political prisoners in the South will not occur simultaneously with the release of US prisoners which begins in 60 days. The US and North Vietnam recognize "the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination" and agree that no political solution can be imposed in the South by force.

Both the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the Saigon regime agree to "free elections" to be set up and supervised by a three part National Council for National Reconciliation and Concord which will be created in 90 days. The agreement is worded to omit any possibility that this Council will function as a coalition government.

There is a section in which both South Vietnamese parties must insure "democratic liberties" such as freedom of speech, freedom of press and political activities as well as freedom of "free enterprise and private property."

As in the Geneva Accords, the 17th Parallel is designated as the demarcation line between the North and the

(Continued On Page 8)

NIXON WIPES OUT SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS

BY THE EDITOR

Richard Nixon, speaking from the home of his millionaire friend in the Bahamas, announced on Sunday his new budget which will mean enormous attacks on the living standards and basic rights of all workers and their families.

With all of the arrogance of the big corporations whose profits he was elected to protect, Nixon said that he was putting an end to the "sacred cows." By this Nixon means all of the gains the American working class has won in the last 30 years.

What is involved in this new budget is the challenge to the rights for a decent education, housing, medical care and employment. These attacks will have a far reaching effect on every section of the working class.

This is what the slashes will mean:

•EDUCATION. Nixon has stopped the federal aid program for grade schools and high schools. This is supposed to be replaced with a "revenue sharing" plan. This will drastically cut funding by \$1.7 billion to the schools. In addition Nixon has made no plans in the event that his "revenue sharing" plan is not passed. Special programs for vocational training and poverty areas are eliminated. Funds for construction of college buildings, libraries and teacher training are cut, along with scholarship programs. This means the schools across the country will be threatened with early closings, complete shutdowns, teachers will be laid off, overcrowding and deteriorating facilities will increase. Thousands of youth will be denied the right to higher education.

•HOUSING. Federal funding to housing is indefinitely suspended. This affects some two and one-half million workers and their families. There will be no more funds for the construction of new housing and the present housing projects will be allowed to deteriorate. These cuts take

(Continued On Page 18)



Over 300 members of City and County Workers Union Local 195 in Cambridge, Mass. picket in resistance to City's demand that there be no wage increases for the first six months of any new contract. "If they get rough with us, we'll get rough with them" was the general mood of the workers.

Dollar Heads For Devaluation

BY DAVID NORTH

The devaluation threat to the dollar mounted this week as the dollar continued to fall on foreign markets. The Journal of Commerce, in an editorial on Tuesday said:

"Time is certainly running out on the dollar and if it reaches the stage when depreciation becomes worse as more and more countries in self-defense float their currencies, the closer this country will come to new and more drastic devaluation of the dollar."

This reflects the growing fear within top business circles that a major financial crisis is imminent. At the same time, the spectre of 1929 is hovering over Wall Street as share prices continued their downward plunge. Amidst massive trading, the market slumped more than 14 points last Wednesday, the biggest loss for one day since August 1971.

Since Richard Nixon announced Phase Three, Wall Street averages have declined 55.24 points, falling over seven points on Tuesday.

Both a dread of shrinking credit and doubts over Nixon's ability to inflict a decisive defeat upon millions of workers demanding big pay increases this year are reflected in the turbulent market.

Furthermore, investors are growing increasingly worried over the impact of Nixon's decision on August 15, 1971 to end the convertibility of the dollar into gold—an action which is now pushing the international monetary system toward complete disintegration with great speed.

Hysteria reigned supreme on the world money markets for the entire week as the dollar crisis erupted anew with the decision of the Swiss National Bank to float the franc.

In total violation of the Smithsonian agreements, the Swiss action was aimed directly against the dollar. The floating of the franc was ordered to cut off the flow of dollars into Switzerland that was triggered by the earlier devaluation of the lira.

Because the dollar is not backed by gold, foreign treasuries consider its flow into their central banks as nothing less than an attack on the national economy. This feeling was heightened last

(Continued On Page 18)

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER FIVE 280

FEBRUARY 5, 1973

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

What we think

Stalinism And Vietnam

The agreement to end the war in Vietnam signed in Paris on January 27 is the product of the criminal and persistent betrayal of the governments of the Soviet Union and China who have forced the North Vietnamese to accept a settlement that abandons everything they have fought for since 1945.

The terms of this settlement completely confirm the fact that the Stalinists have opposed the overthrow of Thieu and the reunification of Vietnam on a socialist basis in order to make their peace with Nixon. The entire agreement is based on the lie that "national reconciliation and concord" can be achieved between the Vietnamese workers and peasants of Vietnam and a ruthless dictatorship backed by the United States.

That this settlement is a total fraud has already been shown by the fierce fighting which raged throughout South Vietnam the day after the cease-fire. Through this agreement, Moscow and Peking seek to hand over the NLF fighters, cut off from further aid, to be liquidated by Thieu's Army and police. This is the meaning of Stalinist "peaceful co-existence." At the same time, the US continues bombing in Laos and is keeping its planes ready in Thailand.

While the American Communist Party hails it as a "great victory for the forces of anti-imperialism" and the basis for a "lasting peace," the agreement can only prepare the stage for a new war just as the 1954 Geneva Accords did, but this time in the midst of the deepest crisis of imperialism. The major provisions of the agreement include a cease-fire during which the US will halt all military operations against North Vietnam and will remove all mines in the harbors. All troops will be withdrawn in 60 days except for US "advisors." All military equipment and supplies can only be replaced due to attrition, on a one to one basis.

The release of political prisoners in the South will not occur simultaneously with the release of US prisoners which begins in 60 days. The US and North Vietnam recognize "the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination" and agree that no political solution can be imposed in the South by force.

Both the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the Saigon regime agree to "free elections" to be set up and supervised by a three part National Council for National Reconciliation and Concord which will be created in 90 days. The agreement is worded to omit any possibility that this Council will function as a coalition government.

There is a section in which both South Vietnamese parties must insure "democratic liberties" such as freedom of speech, freedom of press and political activities as well as freedom of "free enterprise and private property."

As in the Geneva Accords, the 17th Parallel is designated as the demarcation line between the North and the

(Continued On Page 8)

NIXON WIPES OUT SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS

BY THE EDITOR

Richard Nixon, speaking from the home of his millionaire friend in the Bahamas, announced on Sunday his new budget which will mean enormous attacks on the living standards and basic rights of all workers and their families.

With all of the arrogance of the big corporations whose profits he was elected to protect, Nixon said that he was putting an end to the "sacred cows." By this Nixon means all of the gains the American working class has won in the last 30 years.

What is involved in this new budget is the challenge to the rights for a decent education, housing, medical care and employment. These attacks will have a far reaching effect on every section of the working class.

This is what the slashes will mean:

•EDUCATION. Nixon has stopped the federal aid program for grade schools and high schools. This is supposed to be replaced with a "revenue sharing" plan. This will drastically cut funding by \$1.7 billion to the schools. In addition Nixon has made no plans in the event that his "revenue sharing" plan is not passed. Special programs for vocational training and poverty areas are eliminated. Funds for construction of college buildings, libraries and teacher training are cut, along with scholarship programs. This means the schools across the country will be threatened with early closings, complete shutdowns, teachers will be laid off, overcrowding and deteriorating facilities will increase. Thousands of youth will be denied the right to higher education.

•HOUSING. Federal funding to housing is indefinitely suspended. This affects some two and one-half million workers and their families. There will be no more funds for the construction of new housing and the present housing projects will be allowed to deteriorate. These cuts take

(Continued On Page 18)



Over 300 members of City and County Workers Union Local 195 in Cambridge, Mass. picket in resistance to City's demand that there be no wage increases for the first six months of any new contract. "If they get rough with us, we'll get rough with them" was the general mood of the workers.

Dollar Heads For Devaluation

BY DAVID NORTH

The devaluation threat to the dollar mounted this week as the dollar continued to fall on foreign markets. The Journal of Commerce, in an editorial on Tuesday said:

"Time is certainly running out on the dollar and if it reaches the stage when depreciation becomes worse as more and more countries in self-defense float their currencies, the closer this country will come to new and more drastic devaluation of the dollar."

This reflects the growing fear within top business circles that a major financial crisis is imminent. At the same time, the spectre of 1929 is hovering over Wall Street as share prices continued their downward plunge. Amidst massive trading, the market slumped more than 14 points last Wednesday, the biggest loss for one day since August 1971.

Since Richard Nixon announced Phase Three, Wall Street averages have declined 55.24 points, falling over seven points on Tuesday.

Both a dread of shrinking credit and doubts over Nixon's ability to inflict a decisive defeat upon millions of workers demanding big pay increases this year are reflected in the turbulent market.

Furthermore, investors are growing increasingly worried over the impact of Nixon's decision on August 15, 1971 to end the convertibility of the dollar into gold—an action which is now pushing the international monetary system toward complete disintegration with great speed.

Hysteria reigned supreme on the world money markets for the entire week as the dollar crisis erupted anew with the decision of the Swiss National Bank to float the franc.

In total violation of the Smithsonian agreements, the Swiss action was aimed directly against the dollar. The floating of the franc was ordered to cut off the flow of dollars into Switzerland that was triggered by the earlier devaluation of the lira.

Because the dollar is not backed by gold, foreign treasuries consider its flow into their central banks as nothing less than an attack on the national economy. This feeling was heightened last

(Continued On Page 18)

Fighting Goes On As Brezhnev Hails 'Peace'

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Fighting continued to rage throughout South Vietnam despite the cease-fire signed between North Vietnam and the US. Thirty-one miles northwest of Saigon on Route One battle continued between Thieu's troops and the liberation forces. South Vietnamese planes dropped hundreds of pounds of bombs along the highway.

In the Quang Tri area, heavy fighting continued. Thieu, in an attempt to conceal these battles, shut off the highways. Despite disclaimers by Thieu and the US, Saigon's Army was openly ignoring the cease-fire as they launched attacks in the hamlets north of Saigon. At the same time, 100 American B-52s dropped bombs in Cambodia.

It is clear that the present agreement cannot bring peace to Vietnam. As long as the country remains divided and the landlords and capitalists dominate the South, there is no basis for peace. The agreement is actually a breathing space which can only prepare for a new round of protracted war against

imperialism and its puppet regimes in Southeast Asia.

BREZHNEV

While fighting continued and Agnew in South Vietnam reassured Thieu that the US was giving its complete backing to his regime, Leonid Brezhnev hailed the Paris agreement as a turning point in international affairs. Brezhnev hardly sought to conceal the fact that the Soviet bureaucracy was instrumental in pressuring the North Vietnamese into this deal in order for it to better its relations with Nixon and world imperialism.

Brezhnev said: "Moreover, this shows that it is possible to find a peaceful and just solution of other conflicts, to liquidate the seats of war danger that exist so

(Continued On Page 18)



Italy's military police on guard at a meeting of over 1400 delegates of the fascist Italian Social Movement, who have carried out murders of left-wing militants as strike waves shake Italy.

Israeli 'Spy' Frameup Victims Are Tortured

BY MARTY JONAS

On January 26, the Haifa District Court indicted six Israeli citizens—two Jews and four Arabs—for belonging to a Syrian controlled "espionage and sabotage ring."

This frame-up will be extended to cover many more opponents of the Zionist government before it is over.

It is part and parcel of the Zionist government's attack on the Israeli working class which has in the past few months opened a strike offensive against the attacks on their living standards.

When news broke last month about the alleged "network," over 150 suspects were rounded up for questioning and over 60 detained. The most serious charges against the six indicted are "committing an act with the intention of aiding the enemy in

its war against Israel" and "passing information to the enemy with the intention of injuring the security of the state."

On these charges, they face life imprisonment. All are charged with having gone to Syria to pass on information and undergo intensive training in espionage and the use of arms and explosives.

All of those arrested in the witch-hunt have been tortured in order to extract confessions. Parliament member Avraham Levenbraun has claimed that his son, Rami Livneh, has been given electric shock torture treatment by the Israeli police. Levenbraun is a member of the Rakah Communist Party.

A statement from an Israeli defense committee details the methods of torture used against prisoners brought in:

"Slaps in the face, beating on all parts of the body, treading and trampling on the prisoner when he is forced to lie on the floor, stripping the prisoner naked for prolonged periods of time, splashing ice-cold water on the naked prisoner's body, forcing the prisoner to stand on one foot for long periods, sometimes on the table and sometimes on the floor, forcing the prisoner to stand against the wall forbidding him to lean on it, torture by electrical shocks on all parts of the body, especially on genitals."

Another statement denies any connection between the indicted Israelis and the Syrian government. It says: "We do not trust in any way the information released by the police and the security services—they are intended to create an atmosphere of public lynch. Various charges that were raised in that spirit were already disproved (and some of the 'accused' were already freed.)" The Defense Committee states:

"Yesterday they claimed that striking workers were 'saboteurs' and 'endangered the security of the State'; today they hit political organizations and

claim that they are 'enemies.' Tomorrow they will destroy workers councils with the claim that 'they endanger national unity'; they attack the liberty of political organizations and at the same time they prepare the laws that will enable them to send striking workers to jail."

Squatters Evicted In Puerto Rico

BY LUCIA RIVERA

After only a month in government, the Democratic Popular Party (PPD) in Puerto Rico has evicted six families from their homes under direct orders of Jose Enrique Arraras, Housing Secretary. Because of a lack of decent housing for the working class, more than 10,000 families in the past three years have taken over the land owned by the government and rich landlords.

These six families were part of a group of 300 families who took over newly built houses valued at 17,000 dollars in Villa Caito in Dorado. This is the town where Rockefeller's brother owns the popular hotel—Dorado Hilton—and where the hotel workers went on strike against the low wages and in defense of their fellow workers who were fired.

Now Arraras, with the full backing of the PPD government, has taken measures to arrest everyone who refuses to leave their homes and has ordered that they are to be taken off the list for public housing. During the election campaign, the PPD promised to end the problem of housing and used this in order to gain the votes of thousands of poor workers and peasants.



Socialist Labour League pageant on history of British working class.

SLL Prepares Labor Pageants

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The Socialist Labour League has launched a national campaign in defense of the democratic rights of the working class, which will culminate in a mass anti-Tory rally March 11 at Empire Pool, in Wembley, London, the largest enclosed auditorium in the country.

At the center of the rally will be a pageant of the history of the British working class, centering on four critical periods of struggle in the formation and defense of the trade unions.

These four periods include the fight against the Combination Laws from 1800 to 1824; the Chartist movement in which the working class petitioned Parliament, went out on general strike and then took up armed insurrection; the work of Karl Marx in London in fighting for the eight hour day and in the foundation of the First International; and the legal attacks on the unions which culminated in the Taff-Vale judgment against the railroad workers and the formation of the Labour Party.

These struggles are highlighted today as the working class confronts a Tory government which is preparing dictatorship.

HEATH

The Heath government today is systematically stripping the

working class of its democratic rights—rights won through centuries of struggle. The Industrial Relations Act seeks to tie the trade unions to the capitalist state; and new legislation introduced by Heath this week outlaws the right to negotiate wage increases, with wage rates being fixed between the employers and the state.

In the fight to mobilize the working class against all of these attacks and to prepare the road to workers power, the pageant is being prepared in the four areas of the country where this history took place.

In the Northeast, in Lancashire, in South Wales and in London, workers and their families are participating as actors, in building sets, making costumes and banners, and in political discussion to bring forward the courageous history of the working class in preparation for the battle with the Tory government today.

Scenes in the pageant will include the re-enactment of the

murder of Will Jobling, a miners' leader in the Northeast, who was tarred, hanged and gibeted on Jarrow Slate to try to intimidate the miners' union spirit. The 1844 Durham miners' strike, where over 35,000 workers and their wives and children were evicted from their homes, will also be portrayed.

Professional actors and actresses, many of whom performed in 200 Years of Labor History and the English Revolution of 1640, are joined by housewives, youth and workers in acting out this history.

Spirited receptions were given to cabarets and to rehearsals of the show when it was shown in the Northeast and in Wales in the past weeks in preparation for the Empire Pool showing.

Rehearsals and showings will continue in each part of the country up until the March 11 mass rally where thousands are expected to come out to prepare the fight to bring down the Tory government.

New Strike Threat At Lordstown GM

BY DAVID NORTH

LORDSTOWN, Jan. 30—Nearly one year after the strike which rocked the General Motors empire, the anger of 8000 workers at the assembly plant here over speedups and deteriorating working conditions has once again reached the boiling point.

United Auto Workers Local 1112 issued a five day regional letter to GM which opens the way to strike action within two weeks unless the company calls off its latest productivity drive.

During the past three weeks, the management, which is part of General Motors Assembly Division, has laid off 150 workers without any decrease in line speed. In certain sections of the plant, additional jobs have been piled on workers while the line goes by at back-breaking speed.

At the same time, workers are reporting case after case of harassment and deliberate brutalization by the management. "The people who run GMAD are arrogant, overbear-

For more news on General Motors' vicious new productivity drive, see page 17.

ing bastards," declared Gary Bryner, president of Local 1112. "They're trying constantly to increase productivity and they'll use any method they can think of."

INTOLERABLE

Conditions within the giant Lordstown auto complex are intolerable. While UAW President Leonard Woodcock, in the comfort of the International headquarters in Detroit, predicts that 1973 will be a year of peace with GM, workers grow tense with bitterness when they discuss the policies of GMAD.

"You know why the men are happy today," one worker asked across the parking lot at the end of the day. "We got out early today, we didn't have to take GM's crap as long as usual."

Nor do the ranks have many kind words for either the local or the International leadership, which has refused to develop a strategy to defeat GMAD.

"It seems to us that union officials always try to work out the grievances at the expense of the men," declared a worker who has been in the truck plant since 1967. "Once the union agrees to settle on management's terms, there is nothing one can do."

John, who works on the Vega assembly line, said that the men have lost all confidence in Woodcock. "Everyone has the feeling that the International has been bought off, that it's telling the local, 'Don't make waves.'"

SUSPICION

This suspicion is backed up by the eleventh hour settlement cooked up last week between a UAW International representative and GMAD to squash a strike against speedup by 2500 workers in the stamping plant adjacent to the assembly plant.

(Continued On Page 18)

ILWU Ranks Support Juan Farinas Parole

BY NANCY FIELDS

NEW YORK—The campaign to free Juan Farinas has received tremendous support from trade unionists across the country in the first two weeks of the petition drive.

In the first union to be attacked by Nixon's Cost of Living Council, Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers in New York, over 100 signatures demanding parole for Farinas were collected in one day in Brooklyn alone.

At a Delegates Assembly meeting of Local 1199E in Baltimore, Helena Farinas received an overwhelming endorsement of support to the case and over \$40 was collected.

In New York, the Executive Committee of the Social Service Employees Union Local 371 is sending a telegram to the Parole Board demanding Farinas' release. The ranks in the centers throughout the city have given their full support to the petition campaign and over 200 signatures and \$150 has already been collected.

STRIKING TEACHERS

Striking teachers on the picket lines in both Chicago and Philadelphia greeted the petitions with great enthusiasm.

On the West Coast, the campaign has received the support of John T. Williams, business agent of Teamsters Local 208 in Los Angeles.

At the Wilmington hiring hall of Local 13 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, which is faced with the threat of the cancellation of their 30 cent pay increase, over 35 workers signed

the petition in one morning.

During the next two weeks, an all-out effort must be made to reach as many workers as possible because the US Board of Parole can release their decision any time after February 15.

In order to broaden the campaign and reach out to as many unions as possible, the Defense Committee needs contributions. Send all completed petitions, along with contributions to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 West 14 Street, New York, New York 10011. All individual letters and telegrams should be sent to the US Board of Parole, 101 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20537 and a copy sent to the Defense Committee.

1199 Ranks Demand Action

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, Jan. 30—Hospital workers are moving into action against the government's Phase Three slash of their 7.5 percent increase to 5.5 percent. This could turn into the biggest challenge Nixon has yet faced.

Local 1199 President Leon Davis has said of this latest attack, "We will resist this with everything in our power, even a strike if that becomes necessary."

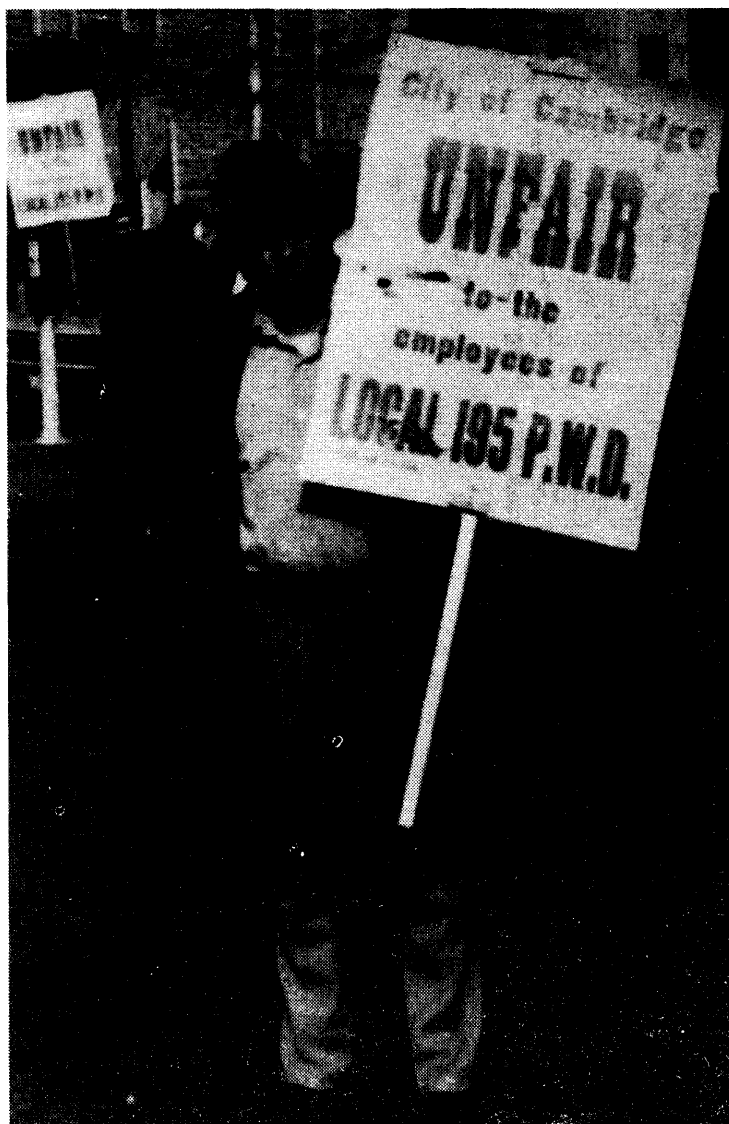
Thousands of hospital workers are saying that strike action is necessary right now. They know they have the power to defeat Nixon, if it is mobilized.

At this time, the union leaders are calling upon the delegates to confront management at each hospital with the demand that the employers withdraw their original request that the Pay Board cut the 7.5 percent in-

crease.

Next week, meetings with hospital management are expected to involve much larger numbers of workers. In this situation, more and more workers are demanding all-out strike action.

The hospital ranks began to move immediately after news of Nixon's cut became known on January 24. The union officials were bombarded with demands for action. That same day the Rank and File Committee of 1199 had its largest meeting ever, which included workers from Brookdale, Kingsbrook, Brooklyn Jewish, Gouverneur, and Beth



"We can't do it. We won't accept it," a Cambridge City worker said on the picket line in response to the City's attempt to impose a ban on any wage increase for six months in Public Works Department.



Leon Davis

Israel Hospitals, to plan a campaign for successful strike action.

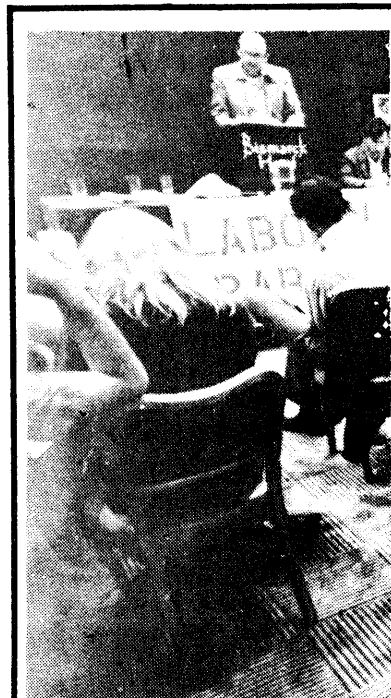
This meeting decided unanimously to campaign for an emergency mass membership meeting and for immediate strike action. It also voted its support to the St. Louis meeting of the Continuations Committee of the Labor Party Conference.

At the Rank and File meeting, workers from all over the city expressed their determination to smash Phase Three's attacks on hospital workers and all workers. A worker from Kingsbrook reported that sentiment among his fellow workers was over 80 percent for strike action.

Another worker, from Brooklyn Jewish, explained, "If we break the Pay Board, then it will be worth it." And a worker from Gouverneur Hospital said that if the union leaders refused to fight Nixon and the bosses, they should be thrown right out of their jobs and replaced.

Following January 24, hospital workers stepped up their calls for action. The latest moves of the union officials are another response to this pressure, at the same time as they look for some way to avoid the challenge that is required and to limit the fight to protest actions.

The call by the union leadership for action is going to meet with a massive response. The way forward in this fight is for strike action and the fight for labor support that can smash Phase Three.



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



Since Tuesday a picket line has been up in front of Mory's restaurant in New Haven, Connecticut due to the firing of a waiter, Leo Daigle, who had succeeded in signing up a majority of the ten employees for unionization. Two-thirds of the customers have stopped eating at Mory's.

AFT Opens Discussion On Labor Party

BY A UFT DELEGATE

NEW YORK—The American Federation of Teachers has taken an important lead in becoming the first union to open discussion on the construction of a Labor Party in the United States, in their national paper, the *American Teacher*.

In an article in the December issue, Wells Keddie, member of the Executive Board of Workers Education Local 189, presents the argument for a Labor Party as follows:

"Unionists and workers (generally) have given the two-party system long enough to come to grips with the basic problems of labor—income redistribution, decent and secure jobs, racism, sexism, self-enriching education, to name some of the more obvious. The Democrats have tried and failed; the Republicans rarely even pretend to try. Workers have more in common with one another than with the big business types who really control both major parties.

"Allies for labor's cause abound among middle class intellectuals and the nation's

youth. If labor would only try, it could use its majority strength to shape the nation's destiny in ways that would benefit the many rather than the few."

This discussion takes place at a time when Nixon is announcing new slashes in education and in sentences and massive fines for defying union-busting attacks by the courts on the right to union representation and the right to strike for a living wage. Today, the fight to construct a labor party becomes a matter of the very survival of the trade unions.

The Nixon government, with the full support of the Democrats, has set as a major goal the destruction of the unions through anti-strike legislation and government control over wages through the Phase Three Cost of Living Council directed by Nixon himself.

In the face of "the ruins of the presidential election," the author raises the contradictory nature of "pragmatic arguments" in the powerful American trade unions: "Nowhere else on the planet do labor movements consider seriously arguments against a labor party."

This is not simply an "oddity" as Keddie portrays it. It is because of the refusal of the union bureaucrats, led by Building Trades leader Peter Brennan, Nixon's new Secretary of Labor, to jeopardize their own privileged positions based on compromise with management and the government.

These bureaucrats, including Albert Shanker, president of the largest member local of the AFT, are doing all they can to prevent the fight for a labor party.

The fight to take the building of a labor party into every union and to plan action against Nixon's attacks will be taken forward at the February 18 Continuations Committee meeting in St. Louis.



UFT's Shanker with Secretary of Labor Peter J. Brennan

Florida Bill Hits UFW Hiring Hall

BY BRUCE MCKAY

AVON PARK, Fla.—The United Farm Workers Union faces another major threat to its very existence here in the form of state legislation proposed by the Farm Bureau which would outlaw the union hiring hall for agricultural workers.

Provisions of the bill (House Bill 74) would be used to break the union's two existing contracts with Minute Maid and Hood & Sons, to make the union and all its members liable to unlimited fines and jail sentences and to open up the union to lawsuits in which labor contractors or anyone else claiming to be harmed by the hiring hall system could win punitive damages.

The union hiring hall was a major feature of the UFW contracts with Minute Maid and Hood and an important victory for the workers. For the first time, the arbitrary power of the growers and labor contractors has been broken and replaced with a hiring system based on seniority and controlled by the workers themselves.

INTENTIONS

The intentions of the big agribusiness corporations were

clearly stated in a recent Farm Bureau publication which said it would be necessary for the growers not only to halt the UFW organizing drive, but also to break the Minute Maid and Hood contracts and virtually outlaw the union.

HB 74 would be a big step toward realizing this aim since, under its provisions, any agreement providing for a hiring hall would become invalid and growers could take the UFW to court to break existing contracts.

Further, if the union continued to implement the hiring hall system called for in its contracts, each day of such defiance would constitute a separate misdemeanor violation punishable with a one year jail sentence and \$1000 fine.

The union itself would be subject to the fines, as well as further fines imposed under separate contempt of court provisions. Individual union leaders and union members would be subject to both unlimited fines and jail terms as long as the union continued to defy the ban.

PROVISIONS

These provisions, of course, would also apply to any union found in violation of the law's open shop sections.

Another section of the proposed bill would allow it to be used against the union for merely "threatening" to violate any of its provisions—to stop a union campaign to restore the hiring hall system or union shop.

The entire labor movement in Florida must be mobilized to defeat this reactionary piece of legislation, but so far the UFW leadership has led workers into a letter writing campaign to try to pressure liberal Democratic legislators into killing the bill in committee when it comes up for a hearing on January 29.

"I hope this letter writing thing does some good, but when it comes right down to it, we're going to have to fight for what we've got," one union member told the *Bulletin*.

UFW members must show the way forward by fighting for a policy to mobilize the entire trade union movement against HB 74. Above all, this calls for a fight to convene a Congress of Labor to draw up a program to defend the unions against the attacks of Nixon and the big corporations and to construct a labor party which can fight these attacks on the basis of a socialist program.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John
Labor Editor: David North
Art Director: Jeannie Cooper
THE BULLETIN, Weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$4.00, Foreign—1 year: \$5.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.

Dockers Rebel At Hold Jobs

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK, Jan. 22—The New York Shipping Association-International Longshoremen's Association Joint Contract Board posted a letter today in the Renwick Street hiring hall in Manhattan.

The letter ordered 42 dockers to report for permanent jobs at piers 36 and 42, D and F piers, and at the Military Ocean Terminal and the Jersey City piers in New Jersey.

Forty-one of these jobs are hold jobs, the dirtiest and most dangerous on the piers, and many A and B card holders—dockers with the highest seniority—are being assigned to them. Any man who refuses to take one of these jobs can be denied the Guaranteed Annual Income.

Many men are angry over the long hours of overtime being forced upon them under penalty

of losing the GAI if they refuse to accept the overtime. An older ILA member at the Renwick Street hiring hall told the *Bulletin*:

"We went to the State Labor Board and told them about the overtime. They told us we had an agreement and we couldn't do anything. What good is an eight hour law if they don't enforce it? We ought to fire the whole bunch of them."

The fight must be taken up now in the ILA to throw out the new work rules and the PDO which are used to destroy the GAI and seniority rights.

The fight to defend the jobs and conditions on the docks requires the building of a caucus to fight against the Gleason leadership which has lined up with the shipping bosses and Nixon. We urge every longshoreman to attend the February 18 emergency meeting of the Continuations Committee which will take up this fight.

New Haven Teachers Reject 3%

BY RUTH NELSON

NEW HAVEN—Teachers here held a sick out on January 23 to protest against working without a contract since last September. The same day 300 students walked out of Temple Middle School after they were told to double up in classrooms.

The next day the largest mass meeting of New Haven teachers in two years was held at Wilbur Cross High School at which almost all of the 800 teachers present voted to reject the latest offers of the Board of Education.

This offer would grant the teachers absolutely no increase this year and a paltry 3.3 percent

increase for the second year of the contract. Along with this, the Board is attempting to increase the minimum of 33 students per class, increase teaching periods from five to six a day, and teaching preparations from two to three a day.

RON O'BRIEN

Ron O'Brien, president of the New Haven Federation of Teachers, has posed absolutely no strategy with which to fight the arrogant demands of the Board and their miserable wage plans.

All the months of negotiations have led to nothing. The fight against the Board must be taken up through a city-wide strike.



Young Socialist®

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

Detroit Board Cuts 2 Months Of School Year

BY KEN WESTON

DETROIT—By order of the Board of Education, school will be shut down two months early here for 280,000 students and 20,000 teachers and school personnel.

The Board's final decision, which eliminates almost one quarter of the normal school year, violates not only individual teacher contracts but state law which requires 180 days of school, and the Roth Court order which requires that Detroit youth receive the same quality education as all Michigan youth.

The decision is the final blow to Detroit youth who have faced the steady deterioration of their schools. All over Detroit, students are angry and bitter over the Board's decision.

SMASHED

After a year of hard work and study, the plans of many youth for employment or college after high school have been smashed because they will not graduate this year. Two Cass Technical High School students, Gary who is 17, and Chico aged 19, explained what the shutdown will mean to them. Gary told the *Young Socialist*:

"This isn't fair to us at all. It's going to set us back a lot. Last summer they wouldn't let us go to summer school. This year we pay five dollars a course for books and now we can't use

them. I can't understand it because they tax me and my parents to death.

JOBS

"Nixon and his friends must get all the money. And what about jobs? You got to work if you want to live but without education what kind of job can you get? And when the vets come home nobody will be able to get a job."

Chico told the *Young Socialist*: "I suppose I'll have to get a job in a car wash to get some money and to stay off the streets."

STREETS

Gary continued: "Yes you have to stay off the streets when school closes, because murder is waiting for us. STRESS (special undercover police) will shoot you down for no reason or you wind up in jail. What makes anybody think they won't use everything they use in Vietnam against us?"

Nixon's cutting off of federal aid for public education and threatened use of physical force against teachers' picket lines across the nation means that only a political fight against the government can defeat the attacks on youth and their right to a decent education.

YS Defends Minnesota Teachers

BY A UNIV. OF MINN. YS REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—The proposed tenure code at the University will give the Board of Regents the power to abolish entire departments and administrative units at the University. This means that even if faculty have full tenure, they will lose their jobs when their department is wiped out.

The Minnesota student government (MSA) has accepted this attack on education and is calling for "student input" on the tenure code and on tenure committees that will be laying off teachers. The student representatives end up serving the administration and the state in this call for student power.

They are proposing that students participate in the attacks on education, in the same way that the administration is having the faculty participate in

the writing of the code.

At an MSA senate forum, the University of Minnesota YS fought against this reactionary stand. "In the face of the attacks on education in Minnesota—the \$36 million budget cut, the hiring freeze, the freeze on University construction, and now the tenure code—the MSA is working against students. The MSA must retract its stand for 'student input' and come out in support of the faculty," one YS member said.

SUPPORT

The University YS is calling for active support for faculty unionization. Only a union contract, and a political fight against these government policies, can guarantee the jobs and conditions of University faculty. This means demanding that the unions call a Congress of Labor immediately to build a labor party.

The University Young Socialists call for unity of students and faculty in defense of education. We demand:

- No layoffs under any circumstances;
- Unionization of all University faculty and employees;
- No budget cuts;
- No tuition hikes.



Community anti-poverty centers like the one above in Brooklyn, now ended with the elimination of the Office of Economic Opportunity and Manpower program, will no longer find jobs for unemployed youth.

Brooklyn Conference Will Fight Nixon's Cuts

BY KIKI MENDEZ

NEW YORK—In the midst of Nixon's drastic budget proposals, the Brooklyn branches of the Young Socialists have called for a conference to be held on March 10 as part of the campaign to build the National Conference in May and to answer Nixon's attacks.

The conference will center on developing and implementing the program of the Young Socialists on the question of unemployment and education.

The YS is calling on every youth to demand immediate action by the trade unions to counter the vicious elimination of the rights won by the working class.

The budget, which calls for the cutting of school expenses, the elimination of the poverty programs and employment agencies, the ending of all funding for public housing and the end of all recreation programs, will have its deepest impact in the Brooklyn areas like Bushwick, Brownsville, East New York, Fort Greene, and Canarsie. Already these areas are in total decay.

SHAMBLES

The cuts in the last budget have left the schools in shambles. Vocational high schools have barely any financial backing for training programs.

The budget has liquidated public athletic programs and eliminated athletic scholarships. The shortage of teachers, equipment, and staff creates impossible conditions for learning in all the schools.

Under these conditions, the strength of the working class has been seen in the boycott actions of parents, teachers, and students in the Ocean-Hill Brownsville section of Brooklyn.

At the same time, the extreme danger posed by the racism being whipped up by Nixon's supporters in Canarsie must be fought against. It is no accident that the Canarsie situation has flared up again one day after Nixon's budget announcements, which will virtually eliminate education for Black and white youth.

Within the high schools, this resistance to the government's

policies has been expressed as thousands of youth from John Dewey High School battle with massive demonstrations to preserve their right to education.

This however poses sharply the necessity to expand the Young Socialists in Brooklyn communities and high schools to give a leadership that can defend these rights by posing direct con-

frontation with the Democrats and Republicans.

The YS is calling on every student in the high schools, colleges and young workers in the communities to attend this conference that will demand that the unions take action by calling a Congress of Labor to build a labor party pledged to policies of full employment and free education for all.

Young Socialists 1st National Conference
 New York, May 26-27

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

Cops Terrorize Brooklyn Youth

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

BROOKLYN—Hundreds of extra plainclothes police and detectives in unmarked cars have been put on the alert, transforming the streets of Brooklyn into a virtual armed camp.

The shooting of two cops in Queens on Sunday and two other cops in Brownsville last week is being utilized as an excuse to terrorize the working class in Brooklyn.

Six persons are being hunted and the police claim that they are members of the Black Liberation Army.

"CONSPIRACY"

"The alleged shootings of cops," says Police Commissioner Murphy, "is part of a conspiracy of militant members of the Black Liberation Army who are determined to kill police."

Avon White, Andrew Jackson, Fred Hilton, Melvin Kearney, Joanne Chesimard and Twymon Myers are suspected for the shootings.

The police whipped up a hysteria by claiming that "there is a new guerrilla war situation in New York," in order to get the

authorization to put trained men into the area.

Already police have been stopping, picking up, and harassing anyone whom they feel is suspicious. They have been ransacking homes without warrants.

A 16 year old girl who lived on Williams Street in East New York was shot dead by police. The reason for the murder has yet to be unravelled because of conflicting testimony.

The fact is that Mayor Lindsay's administration is now bent on taking away every civil right through this mass militarization of the city. These acts are aimed at every worker and youth and show the forces which the government will unleash against the labor movement.

The only answer to the police attacks is to fight in the unions and in the communities to organize defense committees against the repression by the government.

YWLL Peddles Nixon's 'Peace'

The Young Workers Liberation League, youth movement of the Communist Party bears heavy responsibility for the sellout engineered in Vietnam.

Giving full support to the leaders of Moscow and Peking, the YWLL covered every step which was taken to pressure the Vietnamese into an agreement.

It campaigned vigorously for the signing of this agreement which legitimizes President Thieu's reactionary regime, and recreates conditions similar to the Geneva agreements of 1954—conditions which caused the war originally.

The YWLL has directly aided Nixon in reaching a settlement which he desperately needed in order to prepare for the fight against the American working class and its unions.

The YWLL has sought to create the illusion that compromises can be reached with Nixon. In the midst of Nixon's Phase Three, the Stalinists in the antiwar movement separated the Vietnamese struggle from the struggle youth in this country are facing for the right to a job and decent education.

Those forces who have gone along with the Stalinists are just as guilty, particularly the Young Socialist Alliance, youth movement of the Socialist Workers Party. The YSA refused to fight the Stalinists in the antiwar movement.

Just as the sellout was being reached, the YSA found themselves at the January 20 demonstrations on the same platform with these traitors under threats of physical attacks from the Stalinists for even raising any kind of formal opposition to the "Sign The Treaty Now" slogan which dominated every part of that demonstration.

Now the SWP-YSA claims: "The agreement by the US to halt the bombing and to withdraw its remaining troops from South Vietnam is a long-sought-for victory for the Vietnamese people. It is also a victory for the antiwar movement here and throughout the world."

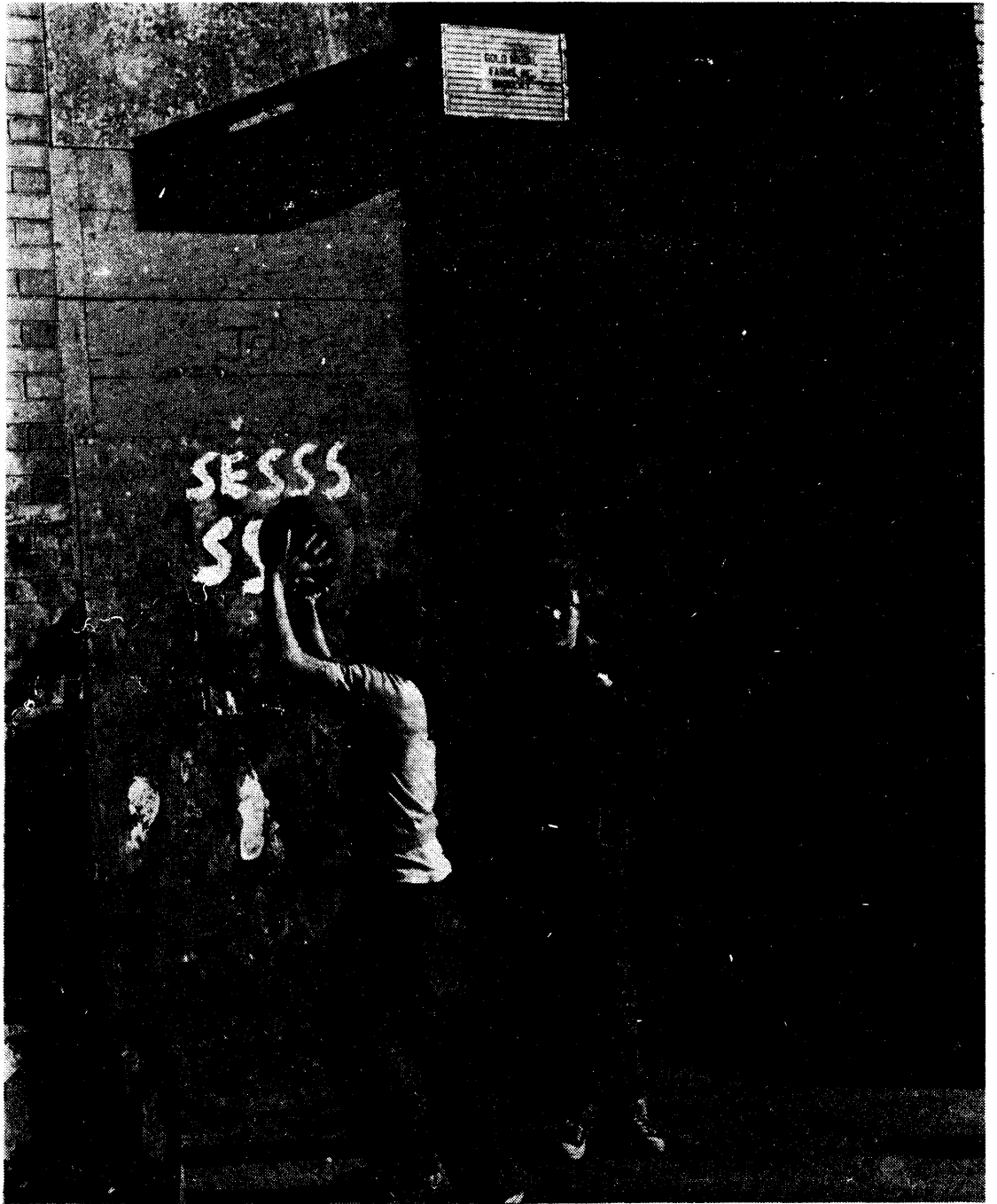
The revisionists, together with the Stalinists, are now spreading the illusion that Nixon is interested in "peace." This occurs at a time when Nixon is attacking the living standards of the American working class and preparing a new war in Vietnam.

Nixon's new budget also exposes the fraudulent perspective of the protest movement which held that the ending of the war would result in the ending of rising inflation and the attacks on the living standard of the American working class.

The task is to turn millions of youth toward the trade unions in a fight against unemployment and the attacks on the educational system. This can only be done in the fight to construct the revolutionary youth movement, the Young Socialists, that will turn new layers of youth to revolutionary politics.

The YS will therefore participate in the Continuations Committee meeting by bringing a large delegation of youth to St. Louis. A separate meeting will be held to discuss further preparations for the National Conference and the resolutions on Stalinism and revisionism which will be presented at the conference.

Young Socialist



Nixon's 1973 budget means no jobs or recreation for the youth.

When Job Corps Is Over-- "I Ended Up With \$67 A Week"

BY TERRY LIZARDI

What is it really like for youth after they finish training in programs like the Job Corps? Hundreds of commercials and posters advertising the new future youth can find in this program have been pushed on young people for many years. Are the claims of these advertisements true? Can youth look forward to bigger and better things after graduating from this program?

The Young Socialist looked into the matter to find out what most youth experience upon leaving the Job Corps. Tommy, who lives in the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn, spent seven months at a Job Corps training center in Utah and spoke to the Young Socialist.

"This is the big joke of the Job Corps, all the training in the world but no jobs. The Job Corps was set up by the Department of Labor in 1965. It is like the army. They send you away to camp and it is set up just like the military. At the camp you have to get passes to leave and you get a room and board and fatigues to wear.

"They consider you're working for the government. They train you to be a baker or a mechanic. It was more or less a school. You go for six hours. There's a mixed reaction to life on the camp. Some guys are glad, some can't stand it. Most couldn't stand it, but what can you do?"

"I got a diploma but there are no jobs. I was unemployed for two months after I came home. I was out there every day of the week looking for a job and ended up being a wire bender in a factory at \$67 a week. I paid an agency \$25 on the spot for the job.

"I'm supposed to get into the union but I have to wait. The boss

says if you don't like it, there are a million youth on the street. At one time, he had 100 men—now there are only 27.

"Because of his budget, he will hire me and fire two others, making me do twice the work."

Tommy clearly expresses the situation facing youth across the country. While the government slashes minimum training programs like the Job Corps, youth are forced to take the lowest paying jobs under the worst conditions. The majority of the youth are left out on the

street facing no future.

Youth must demand that the trade unions take up a fight against these conditions. The YS will lead this fight by turning youth to the trade union movement around the following demands:

- Job training under union supervision at union wages;
- 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to create more jobs;
- That the unions call a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party to defend the basic right of youth and workers to a job.

Join the Young Socialists!

— I would like information on YS activities in my area

— I want to join the Young Socialists

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
Phone _____

Send to: Young Socialists, 135 West 14th Street, NYC 10011

Young Socialists Draft Program Political Prisoners

This is the fifth 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.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Today, as workers and youth move to defend themselves against Nixon's attacks, the government must use its tactic of the political frame-up to destroy all those who seek to give a leadership to these struggles.

Above all, the government fears the building of a revolutionary leadership among the youth and the working class. This is the meaning of the frame-up of Juan Farinas, Ruchell Magee, the Panthers and Angela Davis, and the murder of George Jackson.

The capitalist press whips up a racist and anti-communist hysteria every time youth fight back. This groundwork is being laid in preparation for a witch-hunt against all youth and trade unionists as they move into struggle to defend their basic rights.

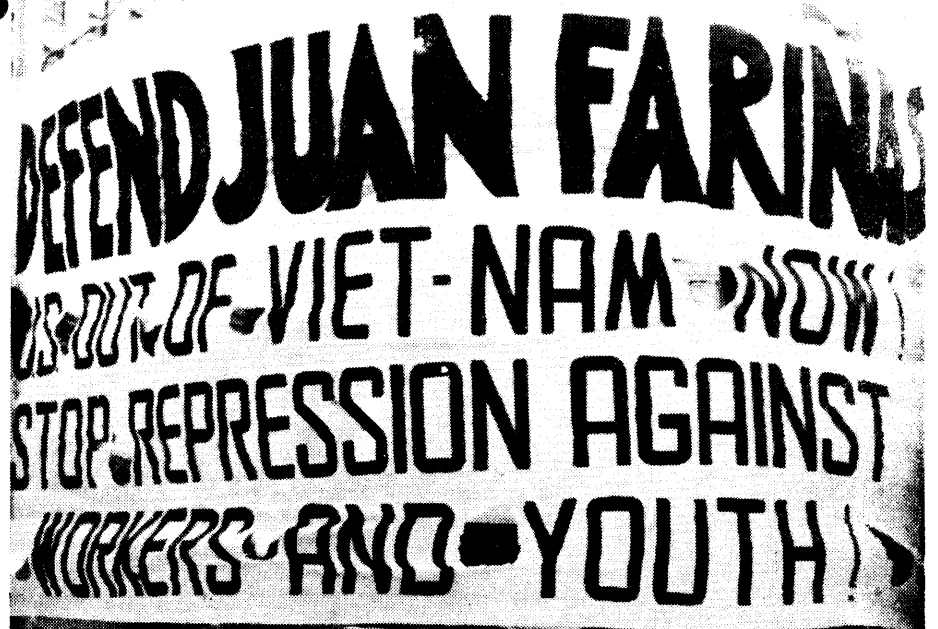
Juan Farinas, a member of the Workers League, was framed up for distributing a leaflet at his induction center which denounced the Vietnam War as a war waged

against the workers and peasants there in the interests of American big business. The attack on Farinas did not occur just because he was against the war in Vietnam but rather because he was a socialist and the government feared his determination to enter the military and organize political opposition to imperialist war abroad and capitalist war at home.

The Workers League-Young Socialists rooted its defense of Farinas in the mobilization of the trade unions in support of Juan's case understanding that it is only the strength of the organized working class that can defend political prisoners today. At the same time, the defense of political prisoners is part of the defense of the rights of the trade union movement as a whole.

While people like Lieutenant Calley and the right-wing Watergate spies are allowed to go scot free, youth are framed up and thrown into jail.

In this context, the Communist Party's refusal to mobilize the working class behind Angela Davis' defense becomes all the more treacherous. They rooted her defense in the middle class and called upon the ministers, lawyers, and liberal politicians—those very forces who are responsible for the attacks on the youth and the trade unions—to support her case. Their reliance on these forces led them to



demand that the trial of Ruchell Magee be severed from Davis'. This open betrayal has prepared the way for the electric chair for Magee.

There can be no justice under capitalism for the working class. Its history is one of bitter struggle to gain every right which it has won. For this reason, the defense of political prisoners must be based on the strength of the organized working class and must be seen as part of the fight today of workers and youth against the

conditions they now face with the breakup of capitalism.

It is on this basis that we fight to defend all political prisoners, both in the United States and internationally.

WE DEMAND:

- FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.
- THE UNIONS MUST TAKE UP THE DEFENSE OF ALL THOSE VICTIMIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT.
- FREE JUAN FARINAS!



A Workers League-Young Socialists banner, above right, calls on the trade unions to free Juan Farinas. The Communist Party tied the defense of Angela Davis, above, to liberalism. Below, Ruchell Magee bound in chains shows government's fear of a revolutionary leadership being built among youth.

CUNY Staff Vote To Strike For Pay Rights

BY EAMMON O'LEARY

BROOKLYN—On January 3, the membership of the Professional Staff Congress (PSC), representing the instructional and counseling staff of City Universities of New York (CUNY), voted by a seven to one margin for a "No Contract, No Work" policy.

The PSC has been working without a contract since August. Since that time the annual pay increments won under the last contract have been scrapped by the Board of Higher Education (BHE).

CUNY, which was once one of the best educational systems in the country, has now become, in the words of Dr. Belle Zeller, PSC President, "an educational slum" with the highest student-teacher ratio and the lowest cost per student in the nation.

Teachers and counselors have had 10 percent increased productivity imposed on them in 1971 and 1972 with no compensation.

The contract offered by the BHE is an obvious union-busting attempt. The new contract eliminates annual pay increments which have been in effect for 40 years at CUNY and stipulates that further increases would have to be negotiated between the individual and the university.

REDUCTION

In place of increments, the Board is offering so-called increases which in effect would mean an actual reduction for some staff. In addition, the Board proposes to strip counselors of academic rank, have them give up a month and a half of leave, work 35 hours a week instead of the present 30, and take a reduction in pay.

The BHE is insisting that tenure, reappointment, and hiring remain in the hands of the college president who can now hire and fire at will without being subject to any appeal.

The role of the union leadership in the situation has been to send the matter to fact-finding and to try to behead the militancy of the rank and file by circulating a petition in the City Council calling on the BHE to "negotiate in good faith."

They are calling upon the same Democrats and Republicans who are responsible for the cutting of 28 million dollars of CUNY's budget, and the elimination of financial aid grants to force the Board to negotiate in good faith. On March 9 the fact-finding Committee will make its recommendations and if rejected by either side, they will be placed before the legislative body which the BHE claims to be.

In an attempt to stifle strike action, the union leadership will try to have the case transferred to either the City Council or State Legislature.

The determination of the ranks to fight was expressed by one teacher who stated that: "With all those unemployed Ph.D's walking the streets of New York, it's time we professionals stopped considering ourselves part of the elite middle class and started acting like we're in the working class."

Youth Loses Arm In Pizza Plant

BY
A YS REPORTER

SAN JOSE—Bert Vasquez, a 24 year old San Jose youth, had his right arm ripped off by a faulty dough mixing machine while working at Straw Hat Pizza Palace last week.

It was not simply a case of a freak accident. At the anti-union Straw Hat, youth are overworked, forced to work in overcrowded working areas with dangerous machinery, and the management is constantly slashing labor costs by forcing more and more speedup.

Shortly before Vasquez's accident, another worker at the same store chopped off the tips of his fingers while slicing food on an electric slicing machine.

The machine which cut off Vasquez' arm is used by the company because it is a few hundred dollars cheaper than a more conventional and much safer machine which would also make the job easier. Vasquez was not

the first to be injured on that type of machine at Straw Hat. There were four others, including one girl who was decapitated.

In all these cases of brutal accidents, the safety switch was not functioning.

Straw Hat Pizza is a division of SAGA Corporation, a multi-million dollar company that emerged out of the postwar boom period. SAGA has bought every bit of land in the Urban Renewal Project in San Jose, for the purpose of speculation and to avoid paying taxes.

Straw Hat Palace and the whole fast food industry is based on exploitation of youth for cheap labor. With Nixon's Phase Three, the National Labor Relations Board has outlawed the right of culinary workers' unions in San Francisco to picket any shop for union recognition.

This now means that the unions, to fight for the job safety and decent wages of all culinary workers, unionized or not, must carry out a fight against the government to organize the youth.



Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Woodcock: "No Roadblock In Phase 3"

The statements of Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, over the past weekend are a sharp warning to auto workers of the fight they are up against in the upcoming contract struggle not only against the auto companies, but against their leadership.

Woodcock remarked to the press that he did not see any "big roadblocks in the way as there were the last two times." Woodcock says this at a time when auto workers face the biggest fight in the history of their union. Under Phase Three Nixon, through the Cost of Living Council and its head George Schultz, will dictate wages to the UAW, holding them to 5.5 percent.

The auto bosses have already made clear their intention to do away with the cost of living clause. At the same time that inflation, unleashed by Nixon when he removed controls on prices, will slash the living standards of members of the UAW, Woodcock welcomes Phase Three as an "improvement."

While Woodcock sits in the comfort of his offices at Solidarity House, the members of the UAW in the plants face the most vicious speedup. One young worker at the Lordstown plant, which is threatening a new strike against speedup, compared the brutality in the plants to the brutality he had seen in Vietnam.

Henry Ford II last week said that the "productivity" drive was just beginning. The lines in the plants are already running at inhuman speeds and men are literally dropping dead in the plants. It is in this situation that Woodcock says: "I guess the active members in the UAW are in a good state of mind."

As Nixon slashes the budget, denying decent housing, health care and schools to millions of workers, Woodcock justifies the cuts on the basis that the deficit is too large and welfare mothers are cheating. In other words Woodcock joins with Nixon in blaming the working class for the crisis and not the big corporations and their government.

This is the man that the Communist Party boosts as the "progressive" in the labor movement.

The ranks of the UAW in the strike movement against GMAD have made it clear that they are going to defend their wages, jobs and working conditions. It is at the point when the workers are moving into the sharpest possible conflict with the Nixon government that the leaders of the trade unions, backed by the CP, lie down before the enemy.

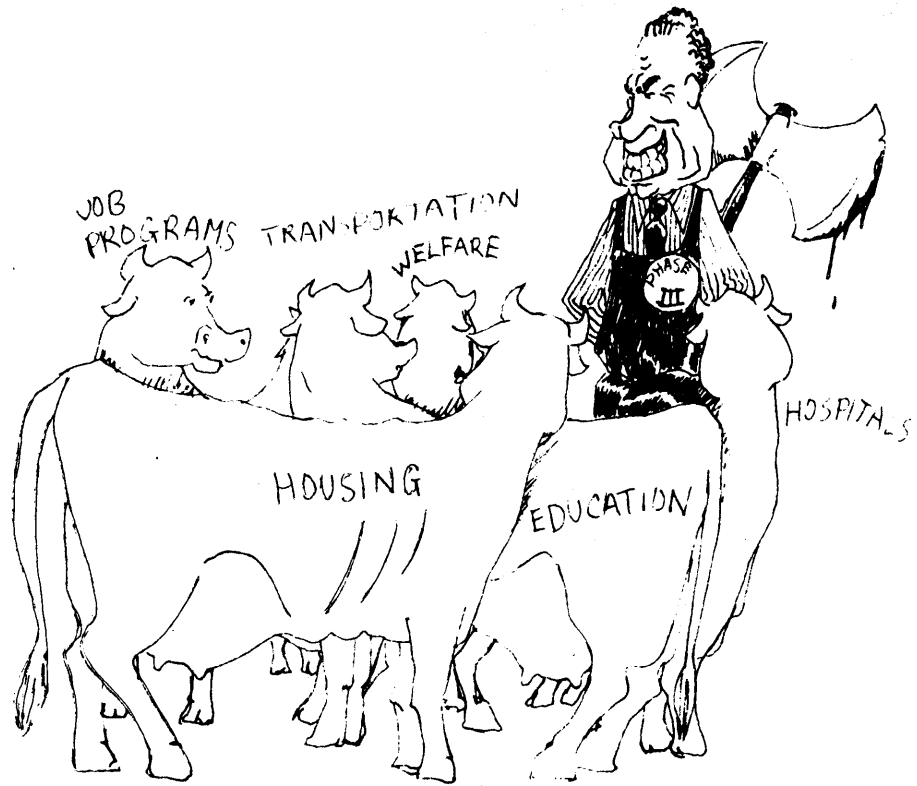
The fight in auto requires the building of a new leadership which must go forward now in the struggle for the new contract and against the speedup in the plants. This is the question which will be taken up at the February 18 meeting of the Continuations Committee to prepare a strategy to defeat Nixon.

Prepare Twice-Weekly

The spring sub drive will run from March 1 to June 1, with a national goal of 12,000 subs. This will bring our paid circulation to 25,000, a good base for the twice-weekly Bulletin to be launched in October.

Since the last drive ended we have received 1067 subs, which will count toward the new drive. Certain branches have already gotten a great head start for the new drive. This week Detroit got 39 subs, Hartford 34, and Palo Alto 32. All branches can and must be carrying out this kind of work.

The importance of sub work becomes even clearer with Nixon's massive budget slashes, as the Bulletin is the only paper fighting to answer these attacks and Phase Three.



What we think

Stalinism Stabs Vietnam Revolution

(Continued From Page 1)

South "pending reunification" and both sides pledge to respect the DMZ. The agreement prohibits the use of Cambodia and Laos for military operations and foreign countries, including North Vietnam, must withdraw their troops.

All of the fundamental demands made by the North Vietnamese at the outset of the negotiations have been dropped. They have given up the demand that a political settlement and the removal of President Thieu take place before any cease-fire. Thieu is to remain in power and Nixon specifically stated in his speech last Thursday night that the US recognizes only the Saigon regime as the "legitimate" government in the South.

The partition of Vietnam established by the 1954 agreement is still maintained and furthermore the agreement does not give the North Vietnamese troops the right to be in the South. Whereas originally the North Vietnamese refused to recognize Vietnam as two separate countries, in the present agreement, not only are they considered as an outside force in the South but their numbers are to be reduced.

In fact, the day after the agreement was published, it was reported in the New York Times that certain officials knew of a "secret" agreement between the US and North Vietnam to withdraw 60,000 troops from Laos and at least another 3000 from South Vietnam.

Thus the NLF is placed in a vulnerable position of being unable to move its troops, or to receive arms and men from the North, which enables Thieu to attempt to isolate and attack the NLF troops while he still holds political power in the major cities. Only one day before the cease-fire, Thieu told 500 police officials to "crush communist subversion" and shoot on sight "trouble-making elements."

Prince Sihanouk, the leader of the Cambodian Liberation Army which controls over 50 percent of the country, declared in a press conference: "I say to you we will continue fighting until we wipe out Lon Nol and his clique." He said he would never accept an agreement like the one in Vietnam because the US would never allow the NLF to win an election and would infiltrate advisors and CIA agents past the cease-fire terms.

Sihanouk concluded: "There is a fundamental contradiction between what the Saigon regime wants and what the Vietcong want. You cannot imagine their going into genuine reconciliation and peaceful cooperation and co-existence. It is just a preparation for a new war."

This is not just Sihanouk's statement. Thousands of soldiers in the NLF and North Vietnamese Armies are determined to oppose this agree-

ment and will continue fighting to overthrow Thieu and all the dictatorships set up by imperialism.

To understand the extent of this betrayal by the Stalinists, we must return briefly to 1954 where the conditions for the present war were created. Full scale fighting between the French regime and the Viet Minh, led by Ho Chi Minh, broke out in 1946. During the course of this war, five members of the French Communist Party served in the French government and one, Billoux, as Minister of Defense, directly prosecuted the war against the Vietnamese.

The Geneva Conference was convened in April 1954 and only one month later the Viet Minh destroyed the French troops at the battle of Dien Bien Phu. The demarcation line was set up, and the usual clauses about democratic rights, no reprisals, supervision of the cease-fire, etc. were worked out. It was at this conference that Molotov of the Soviet Union and Chou En-lai of China pressured the Viet Minh to surrender areas it controlled and to agree to a partition of the country.

No sooner was the agreement signed than the Eisenhower administration began to send large numbers of CIA agents to begin the US intervention in Vietnam. Elections were scheduled for 1956 to reunify the country but, when the time came, the US ignored them and the Soviet Union kept silent. Instead, the Soviet Union proposed that the two parts of Vietnam be admitted to the US as separate entities. As in 1954, when the Geneva agreements provided a cover to actually extend the war, the present agreement is aimed at consolidating US control over the South. Nixon has no intention of holding elections or of reunifying the country.

This agreement is greeted by the American Communist Party as an "historic victory." Opposite a large cartoon depicting an angry Nixon being forced to sign the treaty by a crowd of protestors, the editorial of the CP newspaper, the Daily World, states: "The peace movement in our country...has been part of the great world-wide struggle that is bringing the imperialist aggression in Indochina to a halt." And they add: "The peoples of Indochina have been sustained in their defiance of imperialist aggression by the unwavering support of the socialist nations."

The American CP, as it always has, consciously covers up the criminal policies of the Soviet bureaucracy: its refusal to concretely support an all-out military offensive, its silence when North Vietnamese harbors were mined and bombed, and its demand that the North Vietnamese settle, no matter what, in order to preserve the new political and trade deals between Moscow and Washing-

ton.

The Stalinists have forced the Vietnamese into a situation where they are dependent on the "good will" of Nixon and Thieu to honor the agreement. In reality Thieu has made it brutally clear that his intention is to destroy the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

The Communist Party statement on Vietnam significantly concludes with a slanderous attack on Trotskyism, where they state:

"Nixon's claim of victory, of defeat for the liberation forces, is echoed by the Trotskyites. As at all critical moments, the Trotskyites (Socialist Workers Party) have again emerged as a disruptive force."

This is a conscious revival of the Stalinist lie that insinuates that the Trotskyist movement, by opposing the peace treaty, is in alliance with imperialism. Once the Socialist Workers Party, who has sacrificed its principles for a fraudulent "unity" with Stalinism in the peace movement, makes the slightest criticism of the peace treaty, the Stalinists hit out at Trotskyism.

They launch this slanderous campaign now because they are desperate to maintain "peaceful co-existence," to crush the opposition within the NLF, and to prevent a confrontation between the American working class and Nixon.

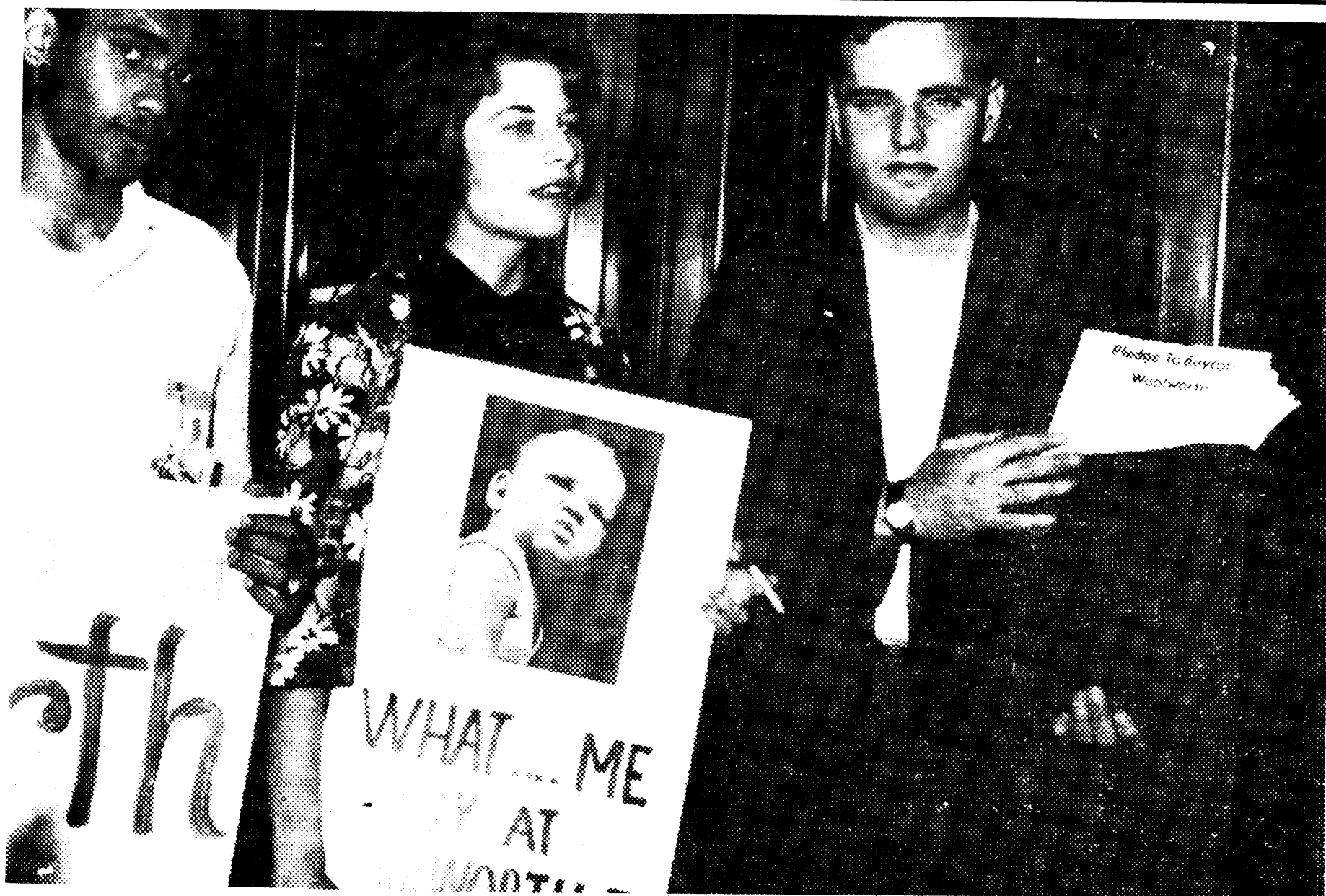
When the Communist Party says that Nixon must be "pressured" to "honor" the agreement, they seek to create the illusion that workers can fight the wage controls and Phase Three with the same tactics. The Socialist Workers Party, by refusing to expose and fight Stalinism, must take responsibility for this betrayal.

The SWP says in the January 2 issue of the Militant that the agreement "signals a new stage of the civil war" and in the same article they tell us that the halt in the bombing is a "long sought for victory" for the Vietnamese people.

The SWP consistently refused to raise the demand of victory for the Vietnamese revolution against the nine-point peace treaty and insisted they could not "tell the Vietnamese what to do." The cease-fire agreement is the fruit of their collaboration with Stalinism.

The Vietnamese people have not been defeated. The struggle will continue under conditions in which the working class in the advanced countries are entering into struggle against their governments.

This war will not end until Nixon's reactionary plans are defeated by the united struggle of the labor movement and of the youth to defend all of our gains and to build a labor party that defends not the interests of big business, but the needs of the working people.



Building the Revolutionary Youth Movement in the U.S.

4. Regroupment

by Guy Williams

A FUNDAMENTAL theoretical struggle against revisionism had laid the basis for the emergence of a Trotskyist youth movement after a lapse of 17 years. No sooner did this movement take organized form, however, then new internal dangers appeared.

The first year of publication of the Young Socialist newspaper was a year in which the precious advances which had just been achieved hung in the balance.

The reason for this extremely dangerous situation was that while the youth who had just broken from Shachtmanism together with others seeking a road away from Stalinism were moving in one direction, the leadership of the American Trotskyist movement in the SWP was rapidly moving in another. The Left Wing Caucus was trained in the struggle against centrism, but the SWP, which had played such a critical role in winning these youth to Trotskyism, was now moving over to centrism itself.

This was the root of all the disputes and difficulties of this early period of the Young Socialist, and the clubs formed in the so-called regroupment period. The Young Socialist Alliance was not formed as a national organization until 1960. In 1957 and 1958, the cadres developed in

earlier struggles were directed to form broad centrist amalgams with Stalinist youth and other tendencies. This policy was the product of a lack of concern for theory. The turn away from theory was later to lead to the complete capitulation of the SWP to centrism.

SWP AND PABLOISM

The Socialist Workers Party had only been able to develop, in spite of weaknesses and difficulties, in the course

of a struggle against revisionism, against anti-Marxist tendencies within the Fourth International. A high point was the 1939-1940 fight against Shachtman and Burnham, the lessons of which were brought forward in the 1956 crisis within the Shachtmanites.

Another milestone was the 1953 split internationally with Pablo and his supporters. Pablo, leader of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International which was based in Europe, broke com-

pletely from Marxism, substituting the crudest impressionism and empiricism. He developed theories of the imminence of a Third World War and the creation of deformed workers states which would last for centuries. His perspective was that the Stalinist bureaucracy would reform itself out of existence, and that under the blows of war and revolution the Stalinist parties in the capitalist world would be transformed into revolutionary instruments for the working class.

Pablo began not with a scientific analysis of the world capitalist crisis, the movement of the working class and the need for conscious leadership, but with the strength of imperialism and its bureaucratic agents. Wherever he could, Pablo sent the Trotskyist forces into deep entry in the Stalinist and Social Democratic Parties. He viciously fought and expelled in the most arbitrary and illegal manner those, like the majority of the French Trotskyists, who opposed his liquidationist policies.

In 1953 the SWP, along with the British Trotskyists, had exposed and fought Pablo's revisionism. But this struggle was dropped immediately after the split, instead of being deepened as it had to be.

So rapid was the turn of the SWP away from theory and from any serious concern with the international movement, that by 1957, the SWP leaders suggested unity with the same forces from whom they had split less than four years before. In April, 1957, James P. Cannon wrote to Leslie Goonewardene of the Ceylon Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), suggesting unity.

"In the past year," wrote Cannon, "since the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the positions taken on the most important



The 1956 Hungarian Revolution brought about a split in the Communist Party between the Gates (left) faction and the Foster (right) faction. While Gates criticized the CP's role in smashing the Hungarian uprising, he never broke from Stalinism and liberalism. Steve Max represented this faction in the Young Socialist Alliance.

questions of the day came even closer together. If the thinking of the two sides should continue to evolve in the same way, then they would both have to consider the question of unity, not as a demagogic slogan to maneuver with, but as a project to be realized...

"It would be better and more realistic to contemplate a possible unification for common political action, and to agree to disagree on some questions, allowing the test of events and clarifying non-faction discussion to bring about an eventual settlement."

Cannon could write a letter like this only out of complete cynicism and lack of concern with theory. This was at a time when the Khrushchev revelations and the Polish and Hungarian Revolutions had placed the political revolution against the bureaucracy on the agenda for the coming period. These developments were also the beginning of a new upsurge of the international working class.

The Trotskyist movement was at a crossroads, facing the need to transform itself, to turn outward in a struggle to develop deep roots in the working class. Precisely at this point, the SWP leadership moved back toward those forces who had attempted to destroy the struggle against Stalinism and who refused to see the urgency of the construction of independent revolutionary parties. The same Goonewardene addressed by Cannon in 1957 was already engaged in the most scandalous opportunist maneuvers, and was to join along with the rest of the LSSP leadership in a bourgeois coalition government in 1964. The same Goonewardene, along with the rest, was directly responsible for the brutal murderous suppression of the revolt of Ceylonese youth in 1971. This was where Cannon's method of "agree to disagree" was to lead.

This movement toward the revisionists went hand in hand with the orientation of the SWP toward regroupment, a policy which almost strangled the youth movement in its infancy. During the regroupment period, the SWP began not with the strategy of building a revolutionary party against capitalism and all of its agents, but with the most pragmatic and narrow considerations. It sought to end a past period of isolation at almost any cost. It sought to make friends with some very dubious elements who had moved away from the Communist Party. Instead of fighting for Trotskyism, however, it sought to encourage these forces to maintain a position between Trotskyism and Stalinism.

At the heart of this policy was the turn away from dialectical materialism and the open embracing of the pragmatic method. Historical questions and theoretical disputes were no longer of concern because the SWP leadership began not from the conflict and unity between theory and practice, but with a rigid separation, with theory in the books and good solid "practical agreement," unrelated to theory, on which to build a movement.

The turn away from theory was a turn away from a conflict with Stalinism. The SWP leaders agreed with the Pabloites that it was not possible and not necessary to build revolutionary parties in a ruthless battle against the Stalinists. Instead of a sharp conflict with all opponent tendencies in the working class, they proceeded with the conception of winning over support in stages, of winning over those disillusioned with Stalinism by soft-peddling the Trotskyist program which alone could explain Stalinism and fight against it.

It was in this period that the SWP leadership also began to attempt theoretical justification of its policies and went over more and more openly to Pablo's conceptions. In the Spring 1958 issue of the *International Socialist Review*, SWP leader Joseph Hansen wrote an article entitled "Proposed Roads to Soviet Democracy." In this article, Hansen set about reassuring those forces that the party leadership was then trying to get close to concerning the "mistaken" idea that the political revolution against Stalinism had anything to do with the violent overthrow of the bureaucracy.

"The program of political revolution in the Soviet Union has been badly misunderstood—and sadly misinterpreted—in the radical movement. It has been pictured as 'revolutionary romanticism,' a

smoking-hot kind of sectarianism that rejects the struggle for reforms in principle...It is much closer to reality to view the program of political revolution as the total series of reforms, gained through militant struggle, culminating in the transfer of power to the workers.

"No revolution comes in a single over-size dose like a horse pill. It develops in interlinked stages affecting interlinked fields..." (emphasis in original).

This passage was written to placate disillusioned middle class radicals, to demonstrate that revolution is not the distasteful thing they had imagined, and, in fact, that it is not revolution at all. Just a little over a year after the crushing of the Hungarian workers, Hansen comes forward as the advocate of reform of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The qualitative leap which is at the heart of all change in nature and society is transformed into an even evolutionary process.

In 1960, Murry Weiss wrote an article on the Twentieth Anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky. In this article, Weiss correctly points to the victory of the Chinese and Yugoslav revolutions after World War II as blows against imperialism and part of the deepening of the crisis of Stalinism. For Weiss, however, the conclusion drawn is not the tremendous responsibilities facing the Trotskyist movement, but the exact opposite. "Trotskyists have never claimed a franchise on revolutionary theory and practice. On the contrary, all of our work is directed toward convincing the working class and its parties to take the revolutionary road."

Weiss saw the role of the Trotskyist movement as that of an adviser to the working class and its parties, standing outside the class and its struggles. This idealist method, seeing the revolutionary movement as removed from the working class and commenting from a distance, seeing the subjective factor as a passive reflection of the objective, was the justification of the whole regroupment policy and the drift closer and closer to revisionism and to Stalinism.

The first reaction of the SWP to the events of 1956 had been a healthy one. As we have described, the theoretical capital of the fight against the petty bourgeois opposition in 1939-1940 was brought into the present, in the crisis in the YSL in 1956. Out of this came a big development. At the same time, the SWP saw the Khrushchev revelations as a vindication of Trotsky's fight and sought to draw the lessons of these great events.

In 1957, the reaction was quite different. Instead of proceeding from principle, in battle against Stalinism, the policy followed by the SWP leadership in 1957 and 1958 was very similar to that followed by the Pabloites. A kind of deep entry policy was followed. In the US, this took the form of the creation of youth groups dominated organizationally by the SWP, but formed consciously on a minimum program to which even the Stalinists could not take exception.

This was expressed even in the Left Wing Caucus of the YSL before its expulsion. The Left Wing brought in various centrist elements, such as several youth around the *American Socialist* magazine, the journal published briefly by the Cochranite group, the *American Pabloites* who had split from the Trotskyist movement in 1953. These people were to play as rotten a role as their small forces allowed, always fighting against all theoretical discussion and any sharpening of the differences with the Stalinists.

THE SPLIT WITH STEVE MAX

With the launching of the *Young Socialist* newspaper in the fall of 1957, disagreements cropped up almost immediately on the Editorial Board. A report on the first months of activity notes disagreement on whether the paper should be organized around a program, or whether that would come only at a later stage of its development.

At the same time, the so-called IBM clubs, standing for independent, broad and militant organizations, were organized in various cities. Although the newspaper supported these clubs, they had no affiliation to the paper. Although the Trotskyists clearly controlled the newspaper

from the start, there was disagreement on how to exercise this control. The clubs were looser than the paper, with Stalinist or pro-Stalinist elements entering them in several areas.

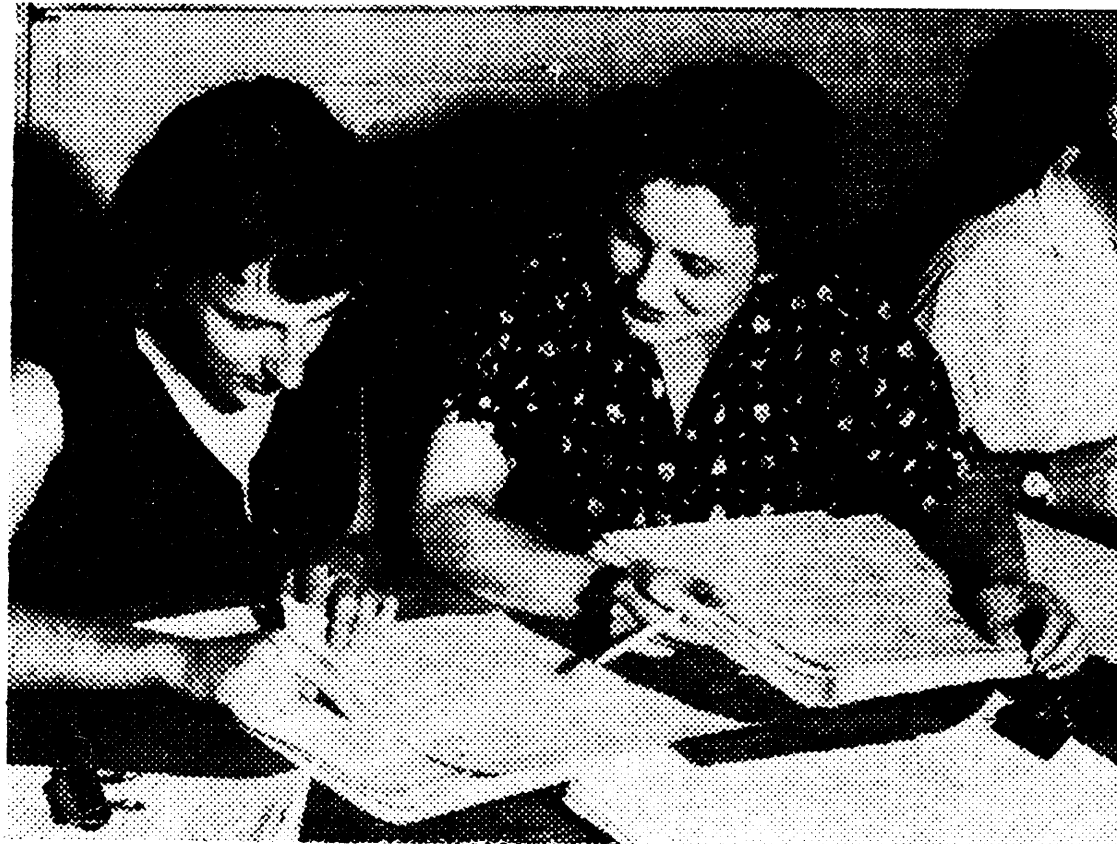
A whole group of youth connected to the Gates section of the CP came around the local YSA club in New York and a sizable number joined. At this time, the Gates group was in a state of deep demoralization and disintegration. After having opposed the Moscow intervention in Hungary, it had come around more and more to a liberal opposition to the Kremlin and was in the process of leaving politics.

Among the leading Gates supporters who joined the YSA was Steve Max, the son of Alan Max, a former editor of the *Daily Worker*.

phasized that the youth opposed not socialism or the planned economy, but the taking of political power away from the working class by the bureaucracy. It was this clear position that was now under attack.

The February 1958 issue of the YS contained a debate between Steve Max, writing under the name Steve Martin, and Tim Wohlforth, editor of the paper and former leader of the YSL Left Wing Caucus. Max's contribution was an open defense of reformism. He proposed that the way to fight for socialism was to fight for social reforms, and he argued for a peaceful transition to socialism in terms first stated by right-wing German Social Democrat Bernstein 60 years earlier:

"It is my contention that an action taken by the government in the interest of public welfare is a step toward socialism. When



nched it from 4-Tests

dwards

Recent disclosures here
ernment is guilty of the
big radiation damage to
most by radiation produced
the AEC, he found no one to
to. After getting no satis-
from the AEC on his
call, he attempted to
the president. But Eisen-
was not avail-
the Strauss,
the AEC and
he got the

THE M

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE

Vol. XXII — No. 45

222

NEW YORK, N. Y., M

Socialist Ti Good Showin

YSA members, above left, checking petitions for the ISP campaign with Muriel McAvoy (center). The ISP campaign ran Corliss Lamont (right) for governor, whose candidacy was featured in the *Militant* in a period of collaboration with the Stalinists. Page 9 top: 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 in 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.

Gil Turner was also to play an important role in the struggles of 1957-1958. Turner came from a Stalinist background but independent of the Gates group. He maintained a position even closer to the CP than Max during this period. Turner joined the Editorial Board of the *Young Socialist*. Almost immediately, he opposed the printing of an article on the opposition of the youth to the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. He made numerous attempts to "balance" the presentation of a revolutionary position with one acceptable to pro-CP elements, attempting to turn the *Young Socialist* into a "broad, progressive paper."

The very first issue of the *Young Socialist* had printed an article on the tremendous opposition among Soviet youth as expressed at the 1957 Moscow Youth Festival. This article had of course em-

the demand for public welfare is so great that the government is forced to play an active part, the government is then being inadvertently moved from the normal course of a capitalist government toward the path of a socialist one....The road towards socialism is a gradual step-by-step process, no part of which can be skipped or rushed. Our job begins now. We as young socialists must seek every available method of working with whatever groups—socialist, progressive, liberal, democratic, etc.—which will work with us on whatever socially desirable issue and at whatever level they are willing."

Wohlforth began with a revolutionary perspective, explaining the relationship between the fight for a labor party and the fight for socialism, and discussing how the fight for class consciousness takes place, and the conditions for changes in thinking

which were vital for successful revolution.

"The American workers lack a socialist consciousness and its expression in an organized form—a political party of labor. It is this low level of consciousness that has led so many to feel that socialism in America is a utopian dream.

"But consciousness is not a fixed, unchanging thing. The level of thought among the working class not only changes; sometimes it takes a qualitative leap in order to catch up with the changes in the material reality around it...The task of American socialists today—especially young socialists—is, first, political action; to oppose the false policy of the union leadership, to support independent labor and socialist political activity."

On February 1-2, 1958, the Midwest Con-

Board in order to weaken and then remove control of the YS from the Trotskyists. On several occasions, motions to add Max and others to the Editorial Board were made and then tabled. Shane Mage, one of the former leaders of the Left Wing Caucus and then the YSA, played the role previously described of compromising with the right-wing and centrist elements. In March of 1958, a compromise was reached with the addition of Max to the Editorial Board, along with SWP supporter James Lambrecht, and Richard DeHaan, a self-styled "libertarian" socialist who was considered to occupy a middle position by virtue of his opposition to both the Stalinists and Trotskyists.

Other attempts to change more drastically the character of the YS failed and Max and Turner both resigned in May of

which soon entered the Social Democratic Students League for Industrial Democracy. Max thus helped to inject some new life into SLID, which several years later became the basis for the Students for a Democratic Society. Max himself was one of those who attended the meeting in Port Huron, Michigan which led to the founding of the SDS. He then functioned within SDS for several years as its extreme right wing, advocating the closest possible ties to the Social Democracy, the labor bureaucracy and the Democratic Party. Through Max and others the degeneration of Stalinism thus led into the blind alley of reformism. Max expressed the hostility to theory and the working class which was to characterize the New Left of the 1960s.

Turner, on the other hand, joined the CP directly and helped to create the first of several Stalinist attempts to revive youth work, an organization named Advance. It is also significant that one of those who tended to support Max and Turner in the YSA, and who later followed Turner after a period of a few months into the CP, turned out to be an agent of the FBI. Martin Wilner, who left the YSA shortly after Max and Turner, several years later was testifying as an FBI agent at a government hearing to classify the new CP youth group, Advance, as subversive.

The prevailing non-political atmosphere in the first months of the Young Socialist's existence made it easier for agents like Wilner to penetrate the organization and do their dirty work. These elements always find it easier when theoretical and political struggle is avoided. They blend into the routine activity, sometimes seeking to be among the most active. The adaptation to the Stalinists in this period played a role in smoothing the path for this particular FBI agent.

DIVISIONS AMONG THE TROTSKYIST YOUTH

The period leading up to Max's departure was the one of greatest immediate danger for the youth movement. There was great pressure to dilute the character of the Young Socialist, which had begun publication while not as an open Trotskyist youth paper, at least as a paper which championed the struggle of the working class and youth against both capitalism and its bureaucratic agents all over the world.

The section of SWP youth around Murry Weiss played the most consistent role in pushing for liquidationist policies in this period. Weiss only a year or two earlier had played a very important part in assisting the Left Wing Caucus in the fight inside the YSL. Now he turned very rapidly against Trotskyism. The Weiss group became the most ardent advocates of reunification with the Pabloite revisionists over the next four years. They were the first to champion Cuba as a workers state and Castro as a new Lenin. While the SWP leadership followed this path and went over to the revisionists in 1961-1963, Weiss and most of his supporters went straight out of the movement and politics altogether, following the logic of their liquidationist theories.

At this point, in May 1958, those close to Weiss, like Deck and Lambrecht, were reluctant to recognize the reality of a split with the Gates group, even when it actually took place.

In Philadelphia, this method was also expressed. There Daniel Rubin, presently the National Organizational Secretary of the Communist Party, joined the Young Socialist Club for a brief period when some youth who had been around the Stalinists had joined the Young Socialist Club. Rubin's role from the very beginning was to seek to bring these youth back into the CP orbit. After a short period, he resigned in a letter dated February 8, 1958, which denounced the Trotskyists. Art Felberbaum, another of Weiss' supporters, wrote back on February 19 asking this supporter of the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution to please reconsider.

This was a highly contradictory and confused period for the new movement, with the former members of the Left Wing Caucus resisting what they saw only as excesses of regroupment policy, but standing by the general policy all the time.

The youth around Weiss pushed for policies which could have led to a Stalinist or centrist takeover of the YS and to a complete dispersal and demoralization

of the cadres. The SWP leadership tended to patch up the differences, compromise them whenever possible, but when a choice had to be made came down against the liquidationist moves.

May 1958 was a turning point. With the split of the Gates supporters in New York, the move toward broad centrist amalgams lost steam. But the dispute continued within the SWP youth fraction for some months longer. The position of those who were embracing revisionism more and more enthusiastically was stated by Bert Deck. Deck wrote an article in March 1958 in which he insisted that the main task was building the broadest possible youth movement, open to all youth who considered themselves socialists.

Deck approached the question pragmatically. Since the Stalinists and Social Democrats feared an independent youth movement, he reasoned that such a broad-based movement should be built and political principles did not matter. He worried about the "danger of a hardening of groupings along the old lines...There is no valid basis for pro-CP, pro-SWP, pro-XYZ caucuses within the youth movement. The only meaningful divisions should be over questions which relate directly to the building of the youth movement among American youth and the elaboration of a socialist program for a new generation."

Deck openly sneered at history. He turned the truth of Lenin's famous statement that the youth must come to socialism in their own way into its opposite, against the history and lessons of the working class in struggle. He demanded that the movement be built by ignoring all questions of theory. He mocked the Trotskyist movement itself, equating the SWP with a mythical nonsensical XYZ, to drive home his contention that theory meant absolutely nothing and that the movement must begin and end with American questions, with narrow national considerations.

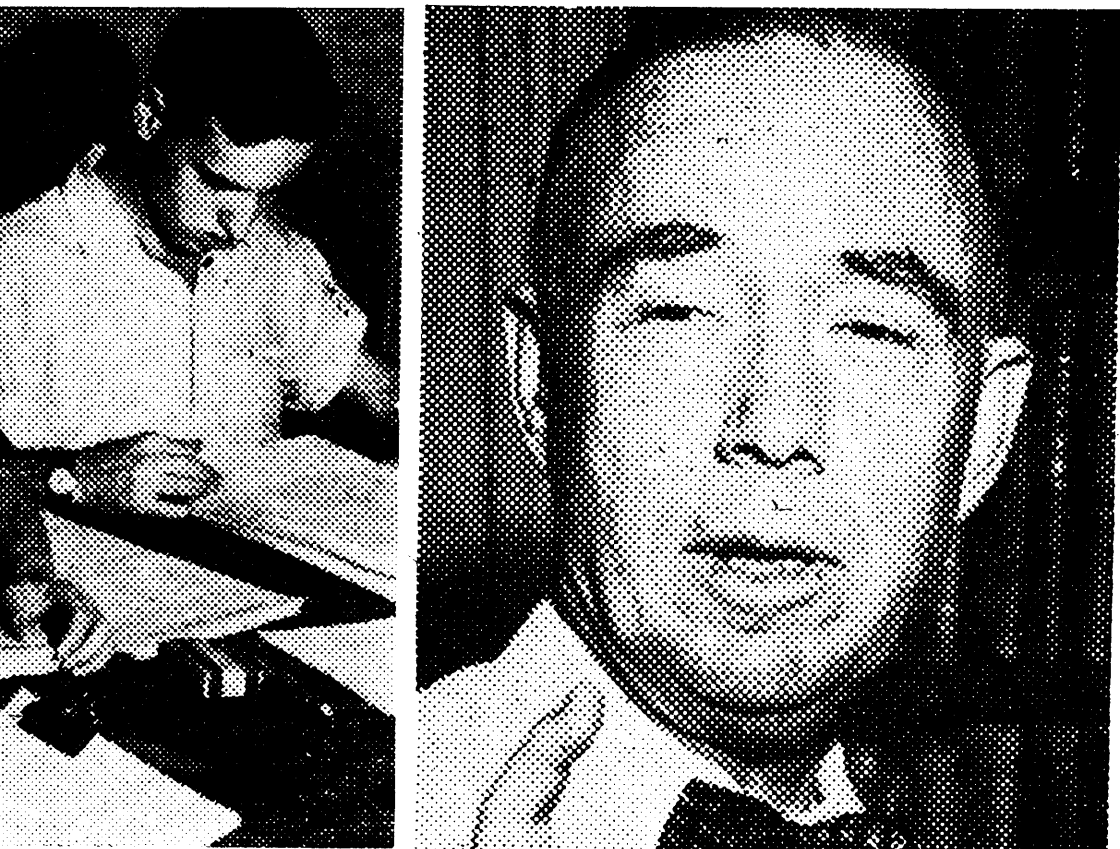
Constructing a youth movement required a broad campaign. It required fresh approaches, the bringing of the past in the form of theory into the present struggles. This is the opposite of ignoring theory as Deck suggested. It meant a sharp struggle for Marxism against revisionism and Stalinism. It did not mean a fight for abstract formulas, but the conflict between theory and practice, the development of a program and a fight on all the questions facing youth at that time, including the attacks on civil liberties, racism, student struggles, young workers, living conditions, and so forth.

The revisionists like Deck held the idealist position that theory would come out of practice, that the broad movement was everything. They denied the actual conflict between theory and practice by ignoring theory.

Bob Himmel was another advocate of this conception. His views were if anything even more right wing than Deck's. In a long discussion article in the July 1958 issue of the Young Socialist Forum, he insisted that the IBM clubs were the one and only way to build the youth movement. This was almost two months after the resignations of Max and Turner. Himmel proposed less emphasis on the CP youth, since the Stalinists had, "in large part, succeeded in closing ranks." He proposed the same centrist policy toward youth as a whole, toward "previously non-political youth."

Himmel agreed with Deck on keeping all theoretical discussion and struggle out of the youth movement. He also insisted that the IBM clubs should affiliate to the YS. "If this means that as a result pressures will be brought to bear on the editors, as they seem to fear, attempting to make the YS more accurately reflect the level of consciousness of the youth around the IBM clubs so much the better."

Evelyn Sell wrote a discussion article which expressed outrage over the inclusion of articles on Marxism and on the struggle of Polish, Soviet and Cuban youth. "Overseas events certainly are of the greatest importance but to be utterly practical about the question of how to convince American youth of their stake in socialist actions, let me stress the fact that it is the American question that will turn them to revolutionary socialism, not the Hungarian, Polish, the East German



MILITANT

IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1958

Price 10c

Ticket Makes Swing in NY Vote

First City Returns:
Lamont — 37,992;

McM... 32,500

ference of Socialist Youth, attended by 150, was held in Chicago. This conference, held at the peak of the liquidationist pressures amid the construction of the amorphous IBM clubs, received greetings from the Stalinist-run World Federation of Democratic Youth. It reached almost no decisions other than to meet again within a year and to set up a discussion bulletin. The resolutions passed dealt with nuclear testing, civil liberties, the Smith Act prosecutions, but nothing on the burning national and international issues, on the struggle of the working class in the US or internationally, on the role of the Democratic Party, the trade union bureaucracy or the Stalinists.

The dispute with Max and his group came to a head quickly in the spring of 1958. A number of attempts were made to alter the composition of the Editorial

Board in 1958. In their statement of resignation, they gave the Trotskyists credit for initiating, promoting and sustaining the Young Socialist: "They are therefore entitled to consider it their property."

Upon receiving these resignations at the May 18, 1958 meeting of the Editorial Board, Shane Mage, and Bert Deck and Jim Lambrecht of the SWP promptly urged Max and Turner to reconsider. The resignations of these openly right-wing and anti-Marxist forces were accepted only because Max and Turner themselves voted to accept them, along with DeHaan and Tim Wohlforth.

The subsequent political evolution of both Max and Turner is instructive. They parted ways almost immediately after their joint resignation from the YS Editorial Board. Max and his supporters formed the short-lived Tom Paine Club,

from the start, there was disagreement on how to exercise this control. The clubs were looser than the paper, with Stalinist or pro-Stalinist elements entering them in several areas.

A whole group of youth connected to the Gates section of the CP came around the local YSA club in New York and a sizable number joined. At this time, the Gates group was in a state of deep demoralization and disintegration. After having opposed the Moscow intervention in Hungary, it had come around more and more to a liberal opposition to the Kremlin and was in the process of leaving politics.

Among the leading Gates supporters who joined the YSA was Steve Max, the son of Alan Max, a former editor of the Daily Worker.

phasized that the youth opposed not socialism or the planned economy, but the taking of political power away from the working class by the bureaucracy. It was this clear position that was now under attack.

The February 1958 issue of the YS contained a debate between Steve Max, writing under the name Steve Martin, and Tim Wohlforth, editor of the paper and former leader of the YSL Left Wing Caucus. Max's contribution was an open defense of reformism. He proposed that the way to fight for socialism was to fight for social reforms, and he argued for a peaceful transition to socialism in terms first stated by right-wing German Social Democrat Bernstein 60 years earlier:

"It is my contention that an action taken by the government in the interest of public welfare is a step toward socialism. When

which were vital for successful revolution.

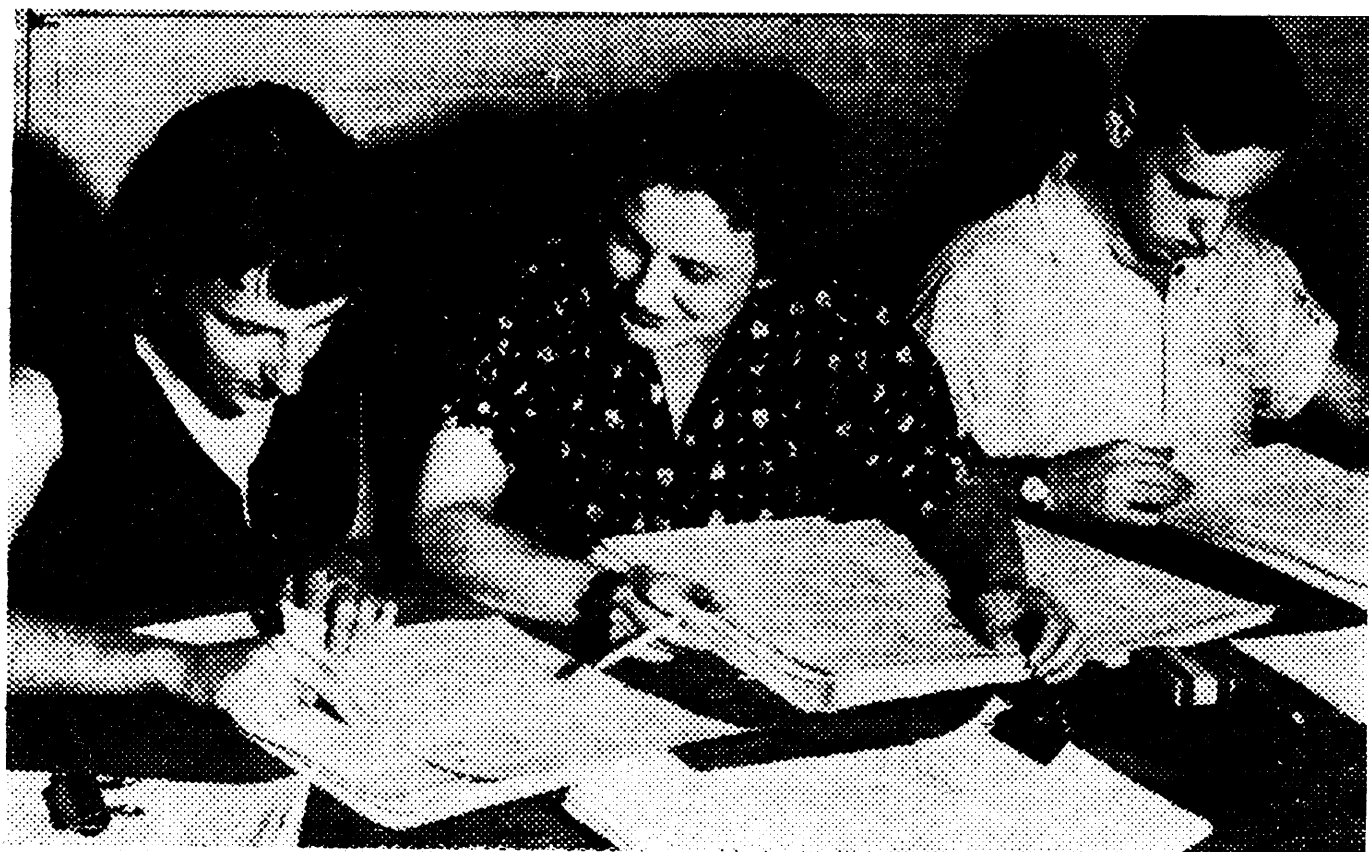
"The American workers lack a socialist consciousness and its expression in an organized form—a political party of labor. It is this low level of consciousness that has led so many to feel that socialism in America is a utopian dream.

"But consciousness is not a fixed, unchanging thing. The level of thought among the working class not only changes; sometimes it takes a qualitative leap in order to catch up with the changes in the material reality around it...The task of American socialists today—especially young socialists—is, first, political action; to oppose the false policy of the union leadership, to support independent labor and socialist political activity."

On February 1-2, 1958, the Midwest Con-

Board in order to weaken and then remove control of the YS from the Trotskyists. On several occasions, motions to add Max and others to the Editorial Board were made and then tabled. Shane Mage, one of the former leaders of the Left Wing Caucus and then the YSA, played the role previously described of compromising with the right-wing and centrist elements. In March of 1958, a compromise was reached with the addition of Max to the Editorial Board, along with SWP supporter James Lambrecht, and Richard DeHaan, a self-styled "libertarian" socialist who was considered to occupy a middle position by virtue of his opposition to both the Stalinists and Trotskyists.

Other attempts to change more drastically the character of the YS failed and Max and Turner both resigned in May of



nched
it from
4-Tests

dwards
Recent disclosures here
ernment is guilty of the
bic radiation damage to
omed by radiation produced
the AEC, he found no one to
to. After getting no satis-
from the AEC on his
call, he attempted to
the president. But Eisen-
was not avail-
as Strauss,
AEC and
got the

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXII — No. 45

222

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1958

Price 10c

Socialist Ticket Makes Good Showing in NY Vote

YSA members, above left, checking petitions for the ISP campaign with Muriel McAvoy (center). The ISP campaign ran Corliss Lamont (right) for governor, whose candidacy was featured in the Militant in a period of collaboration with the Stalinists. Page 9 top: 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 in 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.

First City Returns:
Lamont — 37,992;

McAvoy — 22,500

Gil Turner was also to play an important role in the struggles of 1957-1958. Turner came from a Stalinist background but independent of the Gates group. He maintained a position even closer to the CP than Max during this period. Turner joined the Editorial Board of the Young Socialist. Almost immediately, he opposed the printing of an article on the opposition of the youth to the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. He made numerous attempts to "balance" the presentation of a revolutionary position with one acceptable to pro-CP elements, attempting to turn the Young Socialist into a "broad, progressive paper."

The very first issue of the Young Socialist had printed an article on the tremendous opposition among Soviet youth as expressed at the 1957 Moscow Youth Festival. This article had of course em-

the demand for public welfare is so great that the government is forced to play an active part, the government is then being inadvertently moved from the normal course of a capitalist government toward the path of a socialist one....The road towards socialism is a gradual step-by-step process, no part of which can be skipped or rushed. Our job begins now. We as young socialists must seek every available method of working with whatever groups—socialist, progressive, liberal, democratic, etc.—which will work with us on whatever socially desirable issue and at whatever level they are willing."

Wohlforth began with a revolutionary perspective, explaining the relationship between the fight for a labor party and the fight for socialism, and discussing how the fight for class consciousness takes place, and the conditions for changes in thinking

ference of Socialist Youth, attended by 150, was held in Chicago. This conference, held at the peak of the liquidationist pressures amid the construction of the amorphous IBM clubs, received greetings from the Stalinist-run World Federation of Democratic Youth. It reached almost no decisions other than to meet again within a year and to set up a discussion bulletin. The resolutions passed dealt with nuclear testing, civil liberties, the Smith Act prosecutions, but nothing on the burning national and international issues, on the struggle of the working class in the US or internationally, on the role of the Democratic Party, the trade union bureaucracy or the Stalinists.

The dispute with Max and his group came to a head quickly in the spring of 1958. A number of attempts were made to alter the composition of the Editorial

1958. In their statement of resignation, they gave the Trotskyists credit for initiating, promoting and sustaining the Young Socialist: "They are therefore entitled to consider it their property."

Upon receiving these resignations at the May 18, 1958 meeting of the Editorial Board, Shane Mage, and Bert Deck and Jim Lambrecht of the SWP promptly urged Max and Turner to reconsider. The resignations of these openly right-wing and anti-Marxist forces were accepted only because Max and Turner themselves voted to accept them, along with DeHaan and Tim Wohlforth.

The subsequent political evolution of both Max and Turner is instructive. They parted ways almost immediately after their joint resignation from the YS Editorial Board. Max and his supporters formed the short-lived Tom Paine Club,

or the Russian Question."¹³ Sell criticized an article which was written in "horrendously partisan tones on the Hungarian Revolution. I was aghast when I learned of the resignations of Turner, Max and Buitrago."¹⁴ This was the statement of a member of the SWP.

The position of the youth leadership which had come out of the YSL, particularly Wohlforth and Robertson, was important in these developments. These forces which had come over to Trotskyism from the Shachtmanites tended to resist certain policies pushed in the name of regroupment. They accepted the regroupment policy itself, however, in its fundamentals.

Thus, they agreed with the need for the IBM clubs. They went along with the building of centrist clubs, but resisted the logic of this policy which was put forward by those who demanded that the YS become the paper of the centrists. The IBM clubs were accepted as a necessary stage, and this meant a distortion of the Leninist conception of the independence of the youth to mean independence from Marxism.

Wohlforth and others resisted this only on a tactical level. Martha Wells expressed the very dangerous confusion among these comrades when she wrote: "The paper is a beautiful weapon: it has a Stalinist coloration in the superficial aspects...but Trotskyist politics come out in every issue."¹⁵

In May 1958 Robertson and Wohlforth introduced a draft perspectives resolution which defended the IBM orientation, while suggesting it would not last too long: "Our vehicle for reaching the Stalinist youth is the IBM clubs...The building and expanding of these clubs must remain for the coming period our major task."¹⁶

At the same time, the authors proposed that the Young Socialist be the vehicle for the revolutionary socialist forces within the broader arena which they were trying to create. The problem with this approach was that it was just as pragmatic as the others, only with a bigger dose of Marxist orthodoxy. What was ignored was the actual development of the international crisis of capitalism. Instead the starting point was tactics. Precisely because of this weakness of perspective, the youth leadership was on the defensive when arguing against the liquidationist policies.

The youth leaders began as radicals, as propagandists, distant from the struggles and history of the working class. It could not have been otherwise among those who had been attracted to Marxism in the 1950s, during the period of the greatest capitalist stability. In these conditions, anti-theoretical prejudices were strengthened. The youth leaders had little understanding of international developments in the Trotskyist movement. As we have shown, however, these were at the heart of the regroupment policy and the only way it could be understood.

At the same time, the SWP leadership began to play the role of miseducating these youth after having helped to win them over. Weiss in particular aggressively argued for the conceptions he outlined in his article referred to previously. The other leaders stayed in the background, not bothering themselves with the theoretical struggles, with the necessary conflict which had to take place with the new forces in the movement.

THE ISP CAMPAIGN

A discussion of regroupment policy would be incomplete without an explanation of the 1958 united independent socialist election campaign in New York State, although this development did not primarily concern the youth movement.

The Independent Socialist Party became the most developed expression of the regroupment policy the SWP had sought to implement since 1957. The editors of the National Guardian, together with a number of individuals who had been prominent in the old American Labor Party in New York State, allied themselves with the SWP in running candidates for Senator, Governor and lesser offices.

These forces had been close to the Stalinists for years. The ALP had been the major vehicle through which revolutionary-minded workers had been channeled into support for Roosevelt, on an "independent" ticket. With the development of the Cold War and the witch-hunt,

the Stalinists scuttled the ALP completely. Many of the old ALP leaders disagreed, although this disagreement did not mean on their part a real search for a revolutionary policy. They tried to occupy a center position, maintaining support for peaceful coexistence and hostility to Trotskyism with support for a "socialist ticket" as a centrist and parliamentary gesture.

In a report to the SWP Plenum in January 1959, a month after the Detroit Conference, Murry Weiss explicitly defended the bloc with these forces.

"How could we help create a more favorable relation of forces for the revolutionary socialist wing of the radical movement in relation to social democracy and Stalinism?"¹⁷

Weiss saw all changes in the relation of forces in a gradual and evolutionary way, through neutralizing certain elements or winning their sympathy on certain points,



Tom Kerry, left, became the man in the leadership of the SWP who worked with the youth in preparation for the Detroit Conference. Carl Feingold, right, was Cannon's man at the Conference. This conference, held in December of 1958, packed in the regroupment policy and placed the Young Socialist on a firm principled basis.

not fighting it out for Marxist leadership. He saw the Trotskyists simply as a "wing" of the radical movement, not as the leadership of the working class. This was very much as he stated it in 1960 in terms of the Trotskyists giving advice to the working class and its parties.

Weiss claimed that the Stalinists were routed in 1958, with the initiative going over to the SWP as a result of the alliance with a section of the CP periphery on electoral policy.

What was the content of the electoral policy? During the long negotiations, the SWP won its point of putting forward a full slate of candidates, since it was obvious that running only a Senatorial candidate, as the Stalinists and their closest sympathizers first suggested, would leave the way wide open for support to the Democratic governor then running for re-election, Averell Harriman.

But Weiss was forced to acknowledge that the SWP conceded on two other very major questions. It gave in on including any statement at all in the election platform on the fight for socialist democracy against the bureaucracy in the Soviet countries. Only 18 months after Hungary, and only a few months after the successful fight to include this position in the pages of the Young Socialist, the SWP went along with a coalition which was unable to take a stand on the struggle of the Hungarian workers.

The allies in the bloc also backed off from an earlier agreement to give the SWP a position on the slate of candidates. When the Stalinists launched a broadside attack, these elements suddenly discovered that since there could be no CP representative on the ticket, there should be no Trotskyist either.

Thus, the actual situation was that the SWP adapted completely to this small centrist group, a group with absolutely no ties either to the working class or to the youth. The SWP members did almost all the organizational work of the campaign, while centrist politics dominated completely. These allies of the SWP included people who maintained they would support certain Democrats, who had absolutely no perspective for the working class, and who defended Stalinism. Senatorial candidate Corliss Lamont made a number of public statements in support of peaceful coexistence, the United Nations, and a

peaceful foreign policy for capitalism.

The real content of the campaign was therefore not significantly different from the third party campaign of Henry Wallace in 1948. Behind the move of the SWP leadership in support of this kind of campaign was its complete lack of assessment of the world capitalist crisis, and its growing assumption that the postwar boom was almost permanent. Weiss wrote, "...we know that the regroupment process did not arise from, and wasn't accompanied by, a new forward thrust by the American workers."¹⁸

The Independent Socialist Party proved to be a very short-lived political entity. The turn away from the regroupment policy, which was begun in the youth movement in late 1958, was clearly announced at the SWP convention in the summer of 1959. It was at this time that Cannon made his well known remark directed at those in the SWP who confused regroupment with "political toge-



Tom Kerry, left, became the man in the leadership of the SWP who worked with the youth in preparation for the Detroit Conference. Carl Feingold, right, was Cannon's man at the Conference. This conference, held in December of 1958, packed in the regroupment policy and placed the Young Socialist on a firm principled basis.

therness." The open liquidationist tendency was temporarily resisted, as the SWP fell back once more on the traditions of the movement, and the objective developments themselves forced a certain empirical turn.

The turn away from the regroupment policy actually took place a few months earlier in the youth movement. After the summer of 1958, the differences over youth work were resolved, although only on the surface. Around this time, Tom Kerry replaced Murry Weiss as the liaison between the SWP leadership and the youth. The leadership generally supported Wohlforth's position against Deck and Himmel. This was reflected in the preparation for the Detroit Conference.

This conference, which was originally projected for the summer, was held in December of 1958. It became a conference of YS supporters, a compromise in the direction of the creation of a revolutionary youth movement, as against the centrist IBM clubs which were not affiliated to the YS.

Lip service was still paid to building IBM clubs. For all the talk, however, the opportunities for creating anything along these lines practically disappeared, as the Stalinists rallied a few forces and a handful of demoralized centrists simply drifted out of activity.

The Detroit Conference adopted a "Memorandum on the Building of a Revolutionary Youth Movement" which praised the "regroupment process" unflinchingly while unmistakably moving away from it. With the creation of the YS supporters, the newspaper was put on a stable financial basis and its circulation was developed and stabilized.

A central decision of the Conference was the adoption of the Motion on Editorial Policy, which marked a definite turn away from conciliation with the Stalinists and centrists. It meant that the whole basis of the movement, centered around the fight for the Young Socialist newspaper, was placed on firm principled basis.

The resolution adopted by the Conference read as follows:

"This Conference of Young Socialist supporters approves the general line of the editorial policies of the Young Socialist as they have been expressed on specific issues in its editorials. The major points of policy can be summarized as follows:

1. For a labor party by the union movement. As an immediate goal, for independent political action through united and independent socialist electoral opposition to the two capitalist parties.

2. Unconditional backing of the fight for full equality by the Negro people and other minorities.

3. Militant opposition to the entire witch-hunt with special focus on the witch-hunt on the campus and the political screening of youth in connection with military service.

4. Support to the colonial peoples' struggles for freedom and independence. For the withdrawal of all imperialist troops from foreign soil.

5. Advocacy of workers' power as the only progressive alternative to the capitalist drive toward military dictatorship and fascism, a drive recently illustrated by General DeGaulle's placement in power in France.

6. Support to struggles for workers' democracy in the Soviet Union and Peoples' Republics such as the Polish and Hungarian workers' revolutions. Opposition to attempts of imperialism to re-establish domination over this section of the world.

7. Against further nuclear tests and the build-up of the US war machine. The success of the struggle against the capitalist war danger and for world peace depends upon the success of the struggle for international socialism.

8. For the regroupment of revolutionary socialist youth into an independent, broad and militant national youth organization based on the editorial policy of the Young Socialist.

The policy formulated in these positions should serve as a guide to the editors of the Young Socialist in the next period. It is understood that the editorial board will initiate an extended discussion with free and full participation by all YS supporters to develop a more precise and rounded program for American socialist youth."¹⁹

The leadership of the SWP was very much involved in the turn which was consummated at the Detroit Conference. Attending the conference was Carl Feingold, who functioned as a personal representative of James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism and at that time the National Chairman of the SWP.

Feingold had been the organizer of the Los Angeles branch of the SWP, where he worked with Peter Buch in building a local YS club. Fine was also later to become, in 1960 and 1961, the representative of the SWP Political Committee to the YSA.

At the Detroit Conference, Feingold was in frequent telephone contact with James P. Cannon, in Los Angeles. The turn towards the consolidating of a Trotskyist youth movement was taken with the full support and even participation of Cannon at this time.

The agreement on perspectives and program reached at the Detroit Conference laid the basis for a certain development and growth of the Young Socialist and its supporters over the next 18 months.

1. Quoted in SWP Internal Information Bulletin, 1972, No. 1, p. 7.
2. "Proposed Roads to Soviet Democracy," by Joseph Hansen, International Socialist Review, Spring 1958, p. 50.
3. "Trotskyism Today," by Murry Weiss, International Socialist Review, Fall 1960, p. 106.
4. Young Socialist, Vol. 1, No. 5, February 1958.
5. Ibid.
6. Young Socialist Forum, July 1958, Vol. 1, No. 4.
7. Letter from Daniel Rubin to Philadelphia Young Socialist Club, February 8, 1958.
8. Letter from Arthur Felberbaum to Daniel Rubin, February 19, 1958.
9. "Comments on the Current State of the Youth Movement," by Bert Deck, Young Socialist Forum, Vol. 1, No. 3, June 1958.
10. "On the Wohlforth-Robertson Orientation," by Bob Himmel, Young Socialist Forum, Vol. 1, No. 4, July 1958.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. "Youth Work: Then and Now," by Evelyn Sell, Young Socialist Forum, Vol. 1, No. 4, July 1958.
14. Ibid.
15. "On Building A Revolutionary Youth Movement," by Martha Wells, Young Socialist Forum, Vol. 1, No. 3, June 1958.
16. Resolution on "Tasks and Perspectives for Building a Revolutionary Youth Movement," by Tim Wohlforth and Jim Robertson, Young Socialist Forum, Vol. 1, No. 3, June 1958.
17. SWP Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 29, No. 1, January 1959.
18. Ibid.
19. Proceedings of the Detroit Conference, December 27-28, 1958, Young Socialist Forum, Vol. 2, No. 2, May 1959, p. 8.

Alan Berenson Books

Revolutionary Moscow Comes To Life



MOSCOW UNDER LENIN. By Alfred Rosmer. Monthly Review Press. 228 Pages. 1972.

"There was something intoxicating about the atmosphere of Moscow in that month of June 1920; the quiver of the armed revolution could still be felt. Among the delegates who had come from every country and every political tendency, some already knew each other, but the majority were meeting for the first time. A true spirit of comradeship was born spontaneously among them. The discussions were heated, for there was no shortage of points of disagreement, but what overrode everything was an unshakable attachment to the Revolution and to the new born Communist movement."

These lines were written by Alfred Rosmer, who arrived in Moscow in June 1920 as a member of the French delegation to the Second Congress of the Third International. And they can be found in Rosmer's vivid and exciting book entitled *Moscow Under Lenin*, which has just been published in the United States.

Moscow Under Lenin is unique. Every page of the book actually lives—re-creating the spirit and excitement of life in Moscow directly after the first successful workers revolution; a period in which Moscow became the revolutionary capital of the entire world, the rallying point of revolutionaries from every corner of the globe. They made the tremendously difficult journey to the center of the first workers state, traveling through the iron imperialist blockade, to participate in the development of the first workers' republic and to lay the foundations for the creation of a new revolutionary international which could lead the working class to power in every country.

To learn, to see in practice, to assimilate all the lessons to be gained from the experience of October 1917 and then to return to their own native lands and bring their own working class to new Octobers—that was the driving force behind the journey of every revolutionary to Moscow in those years.

The international bourgeoisie did all in its power to sabotage their efforts—to keep them out of Russia—to prevent the creation of the new international which they feared. They did not succeed.

Rosmer arrived in Moscow, the son of parents who had been persecuted in France for their sympathy with the Communards of 1871, to take part in the development of this new leadership for the working class. Rosmer spent the early years of his political life as an anarchist and then as a revolutionary syndicalist.

FOUGHT

During the horrible slaughter of millions of workers in World War I, a slaughter initiated by decaying capitalism and backed up by the betrayers of the working class and Marxism in the Second International, Rosmer fought to turn the working class away from the trenches and toward the real enemy—the capitalist class in each country.

The successful seizure of power by the Russian working class, led by Lenin and Trotsky, the leaders of the Bolshevik Party, brought to Rosmer, as it did to many others, a new understanding of the necessity of revolutionary Marxist parties. The Russian Revolution was not followed by successful revolutions in the advanced sections of Europe precisely because such parties did not exist. To answer this life and death necessity, the new Third International sent out its call which Rosmer and so many others answered.

He spent the first years of the new International's existence as a leader in its construction both in France and internationally. Then, as the Stalin clique began to control the new international after Lenin's death and use it as an instrument to preserve the new bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party, Rosmer remained true to his original principles. He was expelled by the Stalinists and later joined forces with Leon Trotsky and the International Left Opposition.

CRITICAL

Rosmer played a critical role in those early days of international Trotskyism, fighting to develop the opposition throughout Europe. However, when the greatest step lay before him—to participate in the construction of the Fourth International at the point when its creation became necessary, just as the creation of the Third International was in 1919, he succumbed to skepticism and disastrous hesitation. He did not participate in the founding of the new international, despite the fact that its founding conference in 1938 took place in his own house near Paris.

Rosmer left active political life. What was perhaps the most difficult but at the same time most important step for revolutionaries found him incapable of making it. He remained, however, a close personal friend of Trotsky's, voluntarily sharing the great revolutionary's exile in Mexico for almost a year.

He wrote *Moscow Under Lenin* in 1953. The writing of it was itself a great service to revolutionaries, because it presents a truthful account of the first years of the revolution and its leaders, years whose history had been slandered and falsified by the Stalin gang in Russia. Rosmer wrote the book because in his own words—the Stalinists "invoke their heritage only to distort it; they have imposed a string of falsifications on it, and finally reduced it to a text book containing the maximum possible numbers of lies, omissions, gaps and additions. In commercial language, they say 'This catalogue replaces all previous editions.'"

What were the conditions in Europe in 1920-1924? What was Moscow under Lenin really like? What was the role of Bolshevik leaders, most importantly Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin and Radek in the creation of the Third International? These are the questions that Rosmer, completely equipped to do so, because of his own vast experience and level of participation, answers in this book.

PREPARATION

First Rosmer describes his journey to Moscow through war-ravaged Europe. Despite the tremendous sufferings imposed on European workers during the war, both at the front and at home, Rosmer found a working class whose heroism was undiminished and which needed only a revolutionary leadership to take it to power. Together with Austrian and German workers, Rosmer marched through the avenues of Vienna and Berlin singing the International—demonstrations which were a fitting preparation for his work in Moscow in building the new International.

In Moscow, Rosmer immediately set to work at this task. In the book he describes the Bolshevik leaders and the first sessions of the International. He met Trotsky whom he had been friendly with when Trotsky was in France. He also met Lenin.

Rosmer describes how patiently and intensely Lenin discussed the creation of a French revolutionary party—and how willing Lenin himself was willing to learn from his French comrade. As Rosmer writes of Lenin: "It is well known that when necessary, he could be hard and pitiless, even with his closest associates, when questions were in his view decisive for the future of the revolution. In such cases he did not hesitate to make the most severe judgements and to defend the most brutal decisions. But first of all he would explain patiently; he wanted to convince." What a far cry this is from Stalin's bureaucratic smugness and arrogance in the later years of the Comintern!

Rosmer also discusses the first sessions of the Congress. The creation of the International was based on a struggle. Among

the scores of people who flocked to Moscow were anarchists, syndicalists—sincere revolutionaries who were not yet clear on the actual theoretical significance and meaning of the necessity of revolutionary parties, and who said so. He describes all the debates and especially goes into the critical role played by Trotsky in the struggle in the Congress.

At one session, a Spanish syndicalist exclaimed: "And history shows that revolutions, starting with the great French Revolution, have been made without parties." And as Rosmer writes, Trotsky "could not stop himself from shouting out 'You're forgetting the Jacobins.'"

UNDERSTANDING

It was Trotsky who tirelessly fought for an understanding that a party was necessary to fight to change the consciousness of the working class and bring it to power. He explained how it was only through the party that any revolutionary could actually accomplish this task.

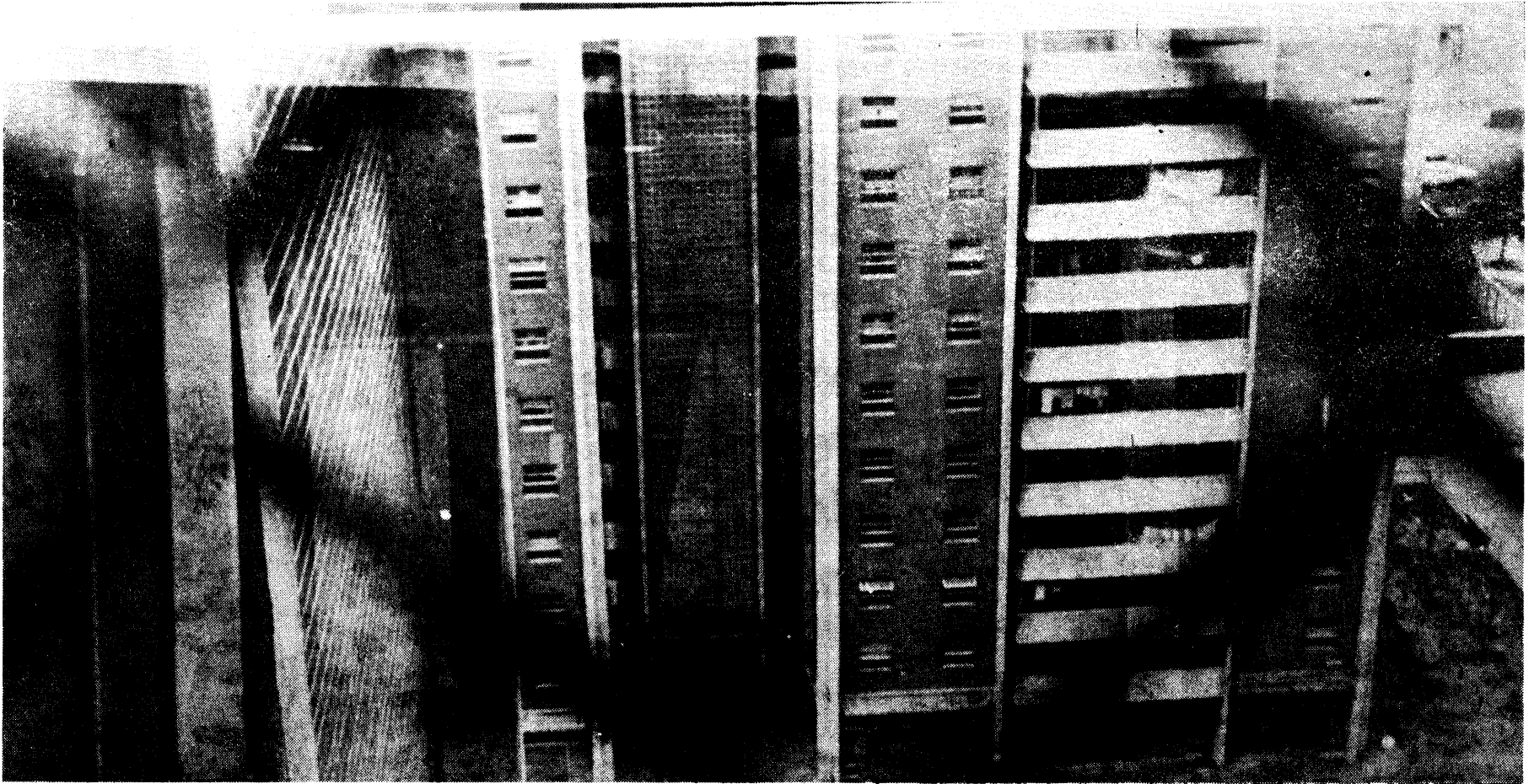
In the closing session of the Congress, Trotsky spoke on this question: "In all his work—whether as a leader of a revolutionary strike, as organizer of underground groups...the Communist always remains true to himself as a disciplined member of the Communist Party, a zealous fighter, a mortal enemy of capitalist society...He is a self-sacrificing soldier for the proletarian revolution and indefatigable herald of the new society...Working men and women! On this earth there is only one banner which is worth fighting and dying for. It is the banner of the Communist International!"

The betrayals of the Second International and the Russian Revolution were the proof of how true those words were when spoken.

RECREATION

Moscow Under Lenin is a great book and its publication in English for the first time is a welcome development for workers and youth in the United States. At all points the book is a thrilling recreation of the first years of the Third International and the first years of the first workers' state. The book is yet another bomb which explodes all the falsifications developed by Stalin in later years concerning the real history of the International.

One word which sums up *Moscow Under Lenin* is inspiring. To paraphrase Trotsky's brilliant words of 1920, the book is inspiring for today's generation of revolutionaries fighting for the "only banner worth fighting and dying for." And that is the banner of the Fourth International, which was built by Trotsky in 1938 to take forward those very principles fought for by Lenin and Trotsky in the Third International, all of which Rosmer so effectively writes of in *Moscow Under Lenin*.



Philly's "Get Tough" Policy on Housing

BY STEVE SYLVIS & SANDY MEREDITH

PHILADELPHIA—Right on the heels of Nixon's announcements of an end to all "social programs" and an all-out war on American workers, the Philadelphia Housing Authority has launched a campaign to eliminate low cost public housing in this city.

Since November the PHA has been sending out eviction notices to tenants who are more than 15 days behind in their rent. According to PHA figures, 11,236 of the 21,000 units in the city were delinquent as of September.

Under PHA Director Gilbert Stein's new "get tough" policy on rents, tenants have 30 days in which to "pay up or get out." At this time, exactly how many people have been actually evicted is not known but estimates run in the hundreds.

The bulk of the rent money is supposedly to go towards the maintenance of the projects. Because the complaints about needed repairs have gone unanswered, many of the tenants have held back on their rents. One tenant said:

"I have an electric light fixture which sparks fire. I have been reporting this fire hazard to the authority since March. Because of the dirt in the area, I see rats, some that come right in your doors during the hot weather. I have killed seven rats in my house during the summer months."

FALLING APART

A young woman from the Schuylkill Falls project stated: "You make complaints and they don't do anything. This project is falling apart. There are mice running around here. The people at the office are nasty. They give you smart answers and won't tell you anything. People hold back rent until they get things fixed which takes six months. One man

had to wait thirteen months to get a door fixed."

At Richard Allen Homes, one of the worst projects in the city, several whole buildings stand vacant. In fact, only about one-third of the project is occupied. The empty buildings had been undergoing extensive remodeling under a grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Because of a scandal over misuse of funds, the money was cut off. Now these buildings are boarded up and uninhabitable.

Tenants at several projects have told the *Bulletin* that they have tried to make repairs and clean up the outside of the buildings on their own. But the projects have been allowed to deteriorate to the point where only with the massive injection of outside funds can they possibly be rehabilitated. At the same time, Stein is insisting that the projects be maintained by rents alone. He has already slashed the budget by 750,000 dollars, throwing 93 maintenance men out of work.

If the housing is to be kept up at all, it means that huge rent increases are on the way. With rising unemployment and cuts in welfare, more and more people will be thrown onto the streets. As one young worker put it:

Nixon's got his next four years planned. All I see is a big depression. There's never been so many people out of work as now, and now they want to throw them out of their houses."

CRUSH

Stein talks about returning the projects to the "people," getting rid of drugs and the gangs. He places all the blame for the housing crisis on "undesirables" living in the projects, seeking at



every point to turn the residents against one another. Scarcely concealed under such titles as "The Good Neighbor Policy" and "Operation Heave-Ho," he has launched a program to crush any opposition to his policy.

Under the first program, tenants who have been designated as "good neighbors" by the PHA become eligible for apartments in the better projects. Being a good neighbor, as defined by the Housing Authority, means not only keeping up with your rent, but also keeping an eye on your neighbor and reporting anything suspicious. In conjunction with this, "Operation Heave-Ho" is designed to rid the projects of "criminal undesirables."

Sam Herbert, an unemployed auto worker and president of the tenant's council at the Schuylkill Falls project is considered an "undesirable" by Stein. He caught someone who had broken into one of the homes in the pro-

ject and made him return the stolen goods to the owner. The robber was then given a new apartment in another project by the Housing Authority in exchange for testifying that Sam had committed the theft.

At his trial, the judge had the courtroom cleared so that there would be no witnesses. The PHA has since attempted to evict him three times but each time the residents came to his defense and physically prevented the eviction.

HARASSMENT

Now he is under continual harassment from the police. Sam Herbert told the *Bulletin* that:

"They raided a bar and arrested a fellow because his name was Sam. They handed him three bags of marijuana and said, 'Here, this is yours.' They are trying to discredit the council and to do that they have to discredit me. They want to evict everybody who has anything to

do with the Resident Advisory Board (RAB). This is what they'll do to anyone who fights back."

The RAB is the organization of tenants councils from the various projects which PHA is opposed to. Stein is seeking to replace RAB in a court supervised election to be held this spring.

Six social workers were suspended this month for supporting RAB in the election. Three were subsequently fired when they refused to sign a pledge to abstain from further political activity. Stein commented, "You have a right to free speech but not to this job."

Despite great efforts to spread and mistrust among the tenants, they have begun to organize to meet these attacks. The PHA residents, which include a large number of trade unionists, must turn to the trade unions to demand that a labor party be built which will defend the right of all workers to decent housing.

TOWARDS A TROTSKYIST DAILY IN THE U.S.

1938-Socialist Appeal

BY DAVID NORTH

The Socialist Appeal first emerged as the weekly paper of the left-wing caucus of the Socialist Party. Following the expulsion of the Trotskyist forces from the SP, the newly-founded Socialist Workers Party continued to publish the Socialist Appeal as its own weekly organ.

In the fall of 1938, the National Committee of the SWP made the decision to transform the weekly into a twice-weekly. At the heart of this decision lay international perspectives.

The policies of the Kremlin bureaucracy had become consciously counterrevolutionary. The international economic crisis had reached its deepest point with the 1937 "depression in the depression." Fascist counterrevolution menaced the European working class.

And while there was an historic advance by the American working class in the building of the CIO, the treacherous role of the Stalinist Communist Party was strangling that movement and aiding Roosevelt's feverish preparations for World War II.

CENTRAL WEAPON

Even before the SWP officially made the decision to go for the twice-weekly, it saw the Appeal as the central weapon in the fight against the impending imperialist war. The SWP responded to the Munich crisis by launching the tri-weekly Appeal.

Printed in large type across the top of page one of the issue of October 1, 1938, was the following statement:

"The Socialist Appeal will appear three times a week for the duration of the world war crisis. Every Monday, Thursday and Saturday, the only revolutionary paper in the United States will broadcast the anti-war message of Marxism and internationalism to the workers of this country.

"Only the revolutionary Marxists of the Socialist Workers Party are taking the lead in the fight against imperialism and against war. We are swimming against the stream as Liebknecht and Lenin and Luxemburg and Trotsky did in the face of universal treachery and patriotism in 1914-1918."

BATTLES

The struggle of the Fourth International against the preparations of the imperialists for war was not some abstract gesture or statement of intentions. Its program was fought for through the battles of the national sections of the Fourth International to mobilize the working class against the class enemy within each country.

Therefore, the Socialist Workers Party understood its responsibility to rally the American working class against the war program of Roosevelt. The editorial of the October 10, 1938 Socialist Appeal declared:

"To act in this way, to direct our main fire against the crucial danger and the main enemy—the enemy at home—is not at all to desert our brothers and comrades in Europe, to give up the fight against Hitler and Hitlerism. On the contrary: it is the only way in which to aid our European comrades, the only means whereby to defeat Hitlerism. Rooseveltian imperialism will not defeat Hitlerism: Roosevelt's war will only make certain the triumph of fascism and dictatorship in all countries, including most decidedly our own.

"We can defeat Hitler and Hitlerism only if we join with our brothers in all

Battles Imperialist War



countries, in Germany and Italy and Japan as well as in France and England, to fight against the entire international cabal of the war-makers. Our job, if we are really to accomplish it, must begin uncompromisingly at home."

RESPONSE

The response to the tri-weekly Appeal was overwhelming. Within several hours, the entire New York consignment of 7000 papers had been sold out. A second press run was required as lines formed around Appeal salesmen. The deep concern and interest of American workers in the overriding international questions was reflected in these extraordinary sales.

One comrade from the West Side branch of the SWP, who sold 350 issues in one day, reported in the Appeal that workers would buy the paper after he asked them: "Have you heard about the four-power Munich pact against the Soviet Union?"

STALINISM

Throughout the two week campaign of the tri-weekly, the Socialist Appeal waged a bitter struggle against Stalinism and called upon Communist Party workers and sympathizers to confront the deadend diplomacy of the Kremlin. The publication of the tri-weekly during the Munich crisis was a great victory for American Trotskyism, particularly as it

was accomplished in the most difficult period in the history of the Fourth International. Important sections of the working class were already defeated by the fascists or on the verge of defeat.

While Stalin slaughtered old Bolsheviks by the thousands within the Soviet Union, the GPU—his secret police—assassinated Trotskyists in Western Europe or handed them over to Hitler. The principal targets of the GPU were the leaders of the Fourth International. In 1938, the GPU murdered two of Trotsky's closest collaborators: Leon Sedov, his son, and Rudolf Klement, who played a leading role in preparing the first conference of the Fourth International.

Midwest News

Chicago Teachers Return To Work

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

CHICAGO—Twenty-six thousand teachers returned to classes in Chicago on January 26 after members of Local 1 of the American Federation of Teachers accepted a contract granting almost the complete package of union demands.

The teachers' dissatisfaction with the package itself was reflected in the fact that only 9000 out of 21,000 union teachers voted on the contract, a sharp contrast to the 19,000 who had voted to walk out and to strike. The strike was always more than 93 percent solid.

CONCESSIONS

The settlement won important concessions on working conditions, but did nothing to make up the sharp wage slashes teachers suffered last year, and did nothing to secure teachers' jobs and working conditions.

While they won a 2.5 percent wage increase retroactive to January 1, and the right to make up 7 of the 12 strike days, teachers are still out a 5 percent cut from last year's wages and four strike days' pay. Teachers won a shortened work year, 39 weeks with the same 40 weeks pay.

Chicago Teachers Union members won additional preparation time for elementary teachers, a larger, partially teacher controlled supplies fund, and an extension of the 38 pupil maximum class size to the entire 600 school system. They also won

reinstatement of about 250 adjustment teachers and assistant principals laid off during last year's budget crisis.

Non-teaching Board employees were threatened with even sharper attacks than the teachers in Redmond's original budget, with over 3000 to be fired, and the rest to be put on four day weeks. Their contract comes up in March and their determination to fight is shown by the vast numbers who steadfastly refused to cross CTU lines.

LABOR MOVEMENT

Wide sections of the Chicago area labor movement came out in support of the teachers' fight, including members of suburban AFT locals, the college teachers union, members of the UAW and others who marched with teachers at the Board offices on the eighth day of picketing.

As a teacher told the *Bulletin*: "I've always said that our weakest point was that we've kept ourselves distant from the rest of the union movement. This strike has begun to break that down, that's one good thing about it. Now we have to go on from here."



Tenants in Milwaukee housing projects face soaring rents and reduced maintenance.

74 Steel Locals Back RAFT

BY DAVID NORTH

YOUNGSTOWN, Jan. 29—Although I.W. Abel will face no challenge in his bid for the third term as president of the United Steel Workers of America, there is strong opposition to his candidacy in some of the largest locals.

Campaigning mainly in opposition to Abel's support for the steel barons' productivity drive, Rank and File Team (RAFT) won nominations in 74 locals, short of the 138 needed to run in the election.

However, the RAFT slate defeated Abel in such critical

California locals as Pittsburgh Steel and Kaiser. The largest local in Canada supported RAFT over Abel and the steel workers' president carried his home local by only one vote.

William Litch, president of RAFT, said that Abel used the power of the bureaucracy to prevent him from speaking at many of the locals around the country. The support given to RAFT reflects the deep hatred of the ranks for Abel's collaboration with the steel bosses, but Litch never posed a real alternative to the policies of Abel, because RAFT agrees with the bureaucracy's political perspec-

tives.

Litch told the *Bulletin* today that he did not see that the building of a labor party is necessary at this point. Political issues, he said, cannot be the stuff of the immediate problems in the plant. "I'm not going to talk about a labor party in Phase Three when the ranks aren't interested in those questions."

If President Litch refuses to confront the fundamental question facing the working class—the political break from the Democratic Party and the establishment of its own independent labor party—the program of RAFT amounts to the most shallow syndicalism.

Johnson: The Great Society Fraud

BY SHEILA BREHM

The funeral of Lyndon Baines Johnson brought together the leaders of the two parties of big business, the Democrats and Republicans. Nixon paid special respects in his address on Vietnam to Johnson, underlining the joint efforts of these two parties against the workers in Vietnam and in the US.

Ironically, Johnson's death coincides with Nixon's final blows to all the old policies of compromise, dating back to Roosevelt's New Deal Era where Johnson got his political start in the Democratic machine.

Johnson was responsible for the conspiracy to crush the Vietnamese Revolution through the massive use of US military might. This began in the phony Gulf of Tonkin incident in August 1964.

By creating a panic over the so-called aggression on the high seas by communist P-T boats against the Destroyer Maddox, Johnson steamrolled a resolution through Congress granting him full support for "all necessary action to protect our armed forces." This paved the way for transferring all the war-making powers into his hands as Commander in Chief, and resulted in a massive influx of ground troops into South Vietnam and the bombing of the North.

Coinciding with his war in Vietnam, Johnson launched his program for the Great Society. Speaking before 90,000 people in Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1964 he declared:

"The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustices to which we are totally committed in our time. But that's just the beginning."

ARROGANT

Johnson was quick to reassure the financial circles that his goals were modest, lest they for one minute fear such "wide-sweeping" promises. In a little known speech to a group of businessmen in Hartford, Connecticut, the arrogant Texan said of the American worker:

"He hopes someday he can have a little hospital care, he can have a little pension, he can have a little social security, he can have a place to take Molly and the babies when he retires. That is his great love. His boys go to war; they fight to preserve his system. He likes his boss, and he respects him."

Less than one year later, Johnson's Great Society began to crack under the breakup of the capitalist boom. Explosions took place, foreshadowing the current offensive of the working class.

While Johnson took responsibility for the civil rights legislation passed in 1964 and 1965 granting—on the books—equal rights to Blacks, and declaring the war on poverty, unemployment soared to 67 percent in areas like Watts. Only one week after Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Watts exploded. Johnson's Great Society was racked by ghetto rebellions that swept major industrial cities, from Los Angeles to Detroit to Newark.

The anti-poverty programs and Model Cities, a domestic Marshall Plan to rebuild the riot-torn ghettos, hardly made a dent in the rapidly deteriorating cities.

In 1968, Johnson announced his decision not to run for re-election. The American Communist Party (who supported Johnson against Goldwater as the lesser of two evils in 1964), and the Socialist Workers Party hailed his stepping down as a victory due to the "pressure from the people."

In reality, it was the shattering effects of the Tet offensive and the erupting crisis in the heart of American capitalism itself that brought his political career to an end. With the fall of the dollar Johnson announced his "program of national

austerity," a forewarning of the opening of the attacks on labor carried out by Nixon.

At the heart of the worries of Johnson's administration was the fracturing of the Bretton Woods agreement which had been the basis for the capitalist stability since World War II. In 1967, the British pound came under attack in the world money markets, and even after a large dose of bolstering with US dollars, the pound was devalued. Shortly after that, the dollar itself came under attack, forcing Johnson to essentially devalue the dollar with the beginning of the two-tier gold system.

FORTUNE

Far from being the poor man who reached the top through hard and honest toil, LBJ amassed a personal fortune of more than \$14 million through graft, influence peddling, and wheeling and dealing. Thirty-seven years of public service proved to be very profitable for Johnson.

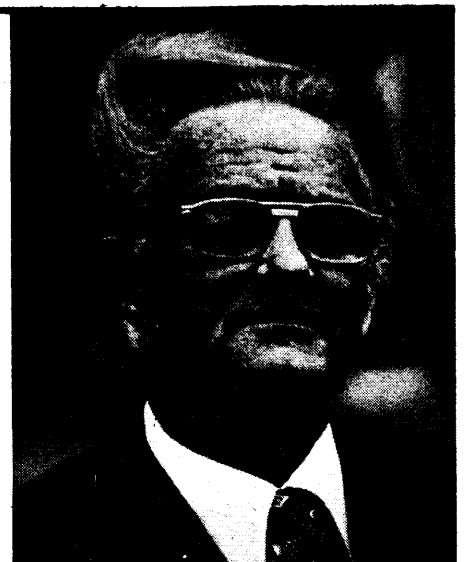
Through favoritism and convenient rulings from the Federal Communications Commission, Johnson won a monopoly of Austin television. He also accumulated a big ranch and a commercial radio station.

His political career began as a Congressman from the back hills of Texas. Franklin Delano Roosevelt took note of Johnson's unconditional support to the New Deal policies and for this support, Johnson was rewarded with an unusually high number of electric power projects in Texas.

In 1948, through ballot tampering, he won a seat to the US Senate. On the first count, he lost. But the second count netted him a margin of 87 votes, which along with the Senate seat won him the nickname "Landslide Lyndon."

H.L. HUNT

Ultraright-wing oil baron H.L. Hunt gave full financial support to Johnson and encouraged his political aspirations. Hunt's list of those Americans whom he admires as patriots included: Johnson;



Robert H.W. Welch Jr., founder of the John Birch Society; Governor Wallace; and Barry Goldwater.

Although Johnson supported the Wagner Act when the New Deal was popular, in 1947, when millions of American workers were beginning to break from the two capitalist parties, under the banner of a labor party, he gave his full support to the Taft-Hartley "right to work" clause. He opposed an anti-lynching bill in 1940, and later voted against the repeal of the poll tax. Johnson's political career nearly came to an abrupt end, when his protegee Bobby Baker was imprisoned for corruption.

A more important friend of Johnson's was John Connally. He served as his campaign manager in many congressional and senatorial races, himself becoming Governor of Texas with Johnson's help. The arrogance he shared with Johnson served Connally well in carrying out Nixon's dictates for trade war with Europe and Japan.

Johnson was a political casualty of the crisis in the capitalist class which broke out with the Tet offensive and the decline of the dollar. His last political act, of declining the presidency, was a recognition of the new requirements of his class faced with the beginning of the offensive of the working class.

Auto Giants Map Out Plans For Speedup

BY ED SMITH

DETROIT—In 1973, the year Chrysler, General Motors and Ford face the United Auto Workers Union whose contract expires on September 14, the auto giants' watchword can be summed up in one word—productivity.

In this contract year, record amounts are being spent by the Big Three auto companies for capital investment. General Motors is spending \$1.3 billion worldwide for capital improvement, equal to its record year of 1965. Ford is budgeting an all-time record \$800 million, up over 25 percent from 1972.

"In our judgement, raising the rate of productivity improvement (speedup) is one of the most urgent tasks our nation faces."

While spending a record amount on capital expenditures, Ford will spend less this year on new floorspace than in 1972.

Bluntly, these sums are being allocated to finance new machinery for mass speedup and mass firings in the auto plants in the period immediately ahead.

The cold light of these statistics only highlights the treachery of the UAW bureaucracy headed by Leonard Woodcock. Woodcock talks about there being "less obstacles to a settlement this year than in 1970."

He takes his place on Nixon's Labor-Management Advisory Committee along with Meany and Fitzsimmons while Nixon tailors his Phase Three policies exactly to the bosses' requirements of runaway inflation while "clobbering" wages.

Woodcock says that the inhuman plant conditions, which he, along with the fashionable middle class, tags as the "blue collar blues," will not be a matter for "crisis bargaining" this year. This matter is one for "experimentation and discussion."

But UAW workers know full well that working conditions are not some sort of psychological "blues" in the heads of auto workers. These are becoming life and death questions in the plants.

Workers at Detroit's Dodge Main plant have told the *Bulletin* that this week a Yemenese immigrant worker dropped dead on the line from overwork. Over the past several months at least seven men have died inside the plant.

One worker who has worked at Dodge Main 21 years told the *Bulletin*: "There have been at least seven or eight guys dying in the plant recently. Some of them they (the company) claimed died in the ambulance of the hospital after leaving the plant, but some of them I myself have seen dead within the plant."

Struggles over the speedup and the impossible working conditions are breaking out all over the Big Three empire, despite the attempts of the Woodcock bureaucracy to smooth over the developing war in the plants.

Last week three workers in the General Motors Willow Run warehouse in Belleville, Michi-



Leonard Woodcock

gan were reinstated with back pay after being dismissed for wearing gas masks on the job the previous Friday for protection against gas fumes that caused frequent headaches, nausea and burning eyes.

One of the men, UAW Local 157 alternate committeeman Gregory Monarch, said that the question of the fumes is only part of the struggle over working conditions at the plant. Local 157 voted to strike over these conditions January 17 and is awaiting approval for the strike from the UAW.

To answer the attacks of the corporations, a program of a big wage hike and a full cost of living escalator to beat inflation, 30 hours work with 40 hours pay for defense against layoffs, and union control of production as the only real defense against speedup and erosion of working conditions must be adopted by the UAW for the September contract struggle.

The UAW ranks must demand that their leadership break with Phase Three, leave the advisory committee, and begin the fight for a Congress of Labor to answer Nixon.

St. Louis Teachers Defy Injunction

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS, Jan. 31—Today the court issued an injunction against the striking St. Louis Teachers Association.

Charles Bolden, head of the union, said the teachers had no intention of obeying the injunction. In addition, the teachers have increased their wage demand from \$800 to \$1200 and will increase it \$200 for every week they are out on strike.

The St. Louis Teachers Union Local 420 and the St. Louis Teachers Association went on strike on January 22 to force the School Board to enter into negotiations on a mid-year pay increase, hospitalization benefits, and formal recognition of their union.

CONFRONTATION

After five days of confrontations, the teachers have forced



Striking St. Louis teachers have defied court orders to return to work and have forced the School Board to enter negotiations. They have won the support of students and other unions.

Striking School Employees Win Teacher Support

BY DAVID NORTH

CLEVELAND, Jan. 31—The public school system here is shut down as teachers refuse to cross picket lines of 2500 non-teaching employees who defied a court injunction and began strike action this morning for higher wages and decent working conditions.

The strike vote carried unanimously last night at a mass membership meeting attended by nearly 2000 workers, which blew up in the face of the union bureaucrats who urged compliance with the injunction issued by Judge David Mattia, a Democrat.

Three lawyers, who were hauled into the meeting by a bureaucracy to impress upon the ranks the gravity of the injunction, were shouted down. Then, the membership initiated an approved motion to reject the Board of Education's final con-

tract offer and to strike.

The contract proposed by the Board, and which the bureaucracy was inclined to accept at the outset of the meeting, called for no wage increases over the next year and only offered a raise in life insurance benefits from \$3000 to \$10,000.

"What good is money when I'm dead," declared the first worker to speak after Joe Murphy, leader of the five union coalition who outlined the Board's proposal.

While the bureaucracy insisted that membership do no more

than ask questions about the contract and injunction, the ranks demanded action.

Enthusiastic applause swept the auditorium when one worker, a member of the Custodians Local 777, demanded, "Let us have a motion to reject the contract and strike."

When Murphy replied to this by asking a lawyer to explain the injunction once again, a worker shouted from the floor, "We know what an injunction is and we're telling the judge to go to hell."

Feeling like a drowning man, Murphy promised that he had no intention of urging support for the Board's final offer. "Please," he said, "don't misconstrue my real opinion of the contract just because I want you to know that one should not take an injunction lightly."

By now, strike placards and banners were being waved throughout the hall. "We just want to know one thing," a worker asked Murphy. "Are you going to stand behind us when we go on strike?"

"You all heard what the lawyer said about the injunction," Murphy answered. "Please don't put me on the spot."

"You're not on the spot," declared a custodian. "We're the ones who are risking everything—the union is for the members, not for the damn officers. We're ready to defend you if the court tries to send you to jail. Anyway, you didn't advise us to strike, we advised ourselves."

When the strike vote was carried, workers embraced one another. "There comes a time when you feel you've had enough," one worker told the *Bulletin* after the vote. "That's what happened tonight—we've all had enough."

the School Board to enter into discussions with them.

The teachers forced the School Board to close down the entire school system on Wednesday after two days of striking. The St. Louis School Board last Monday displayed their disregard for the health and safety of 103,000 school children when they decided to keep all 166 schools open, in spite of the fact that they were well aware that over three-quarters of the city's 4200 teachers would not be in their classrooms.

CLOSE

All of the high schools and many grade schools were forced to close on Monday and on Tuesday only about 70 schools were opened.

SUPPORT

Support for the teachers came from all over the city. Harold Gibbons, vice-president of the Teamsters Union, urged members to keep their children out of school.

Students all over the city ex-

pressed their support. One Southwest High School student said: "I don't like having to go to school longer at the end of the year, but if the teachers are fighting for more money and the students, I'm with them." Another student from Soldan said: "They're not making enough money, they need our support."

CHEERS

Younger students at Northwest High School were giving their teachers support by cheers. The school was shut down at 10:30 a.m. and armed cops were sent in with night sticks to disperse the students. Students were threatened with arrests if they did not leave.

In spite of mediation between the teachers' organizations and the Board held over the weekend, the teachers are standing firm on their demands. One teacher said, "We won't go back until we get what we want." Another said, "Not even an injunction will get us back until we get what we're asking for."

BUDGET . . . LORDSTOWN . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

place as Nixon has given the go ahead to the landlords to raise rents as high as they wish.

•HEALTH CARE. Medicare will be cut by some \$1.6 billion. This especially affects the older workers, who are less able and most in need of medical care. For 23 million elderly people, the cost of a hospital stay will more than double. At the same time, Nixon is cutting out all federal funds for the construction of new hospitals as well as funding to clinics in the communities. Nixon claimed in his speech that enough hospitals has been built. This is at a time when major hospitals all over the country are threatened with closure.

•JOBS. 280,000 workers will be fired with the ending of employment programs in cities with high unemployment. The Job Corps, along with all of the poverty programs under the Office of Economic Opportunity, is to be eliminated.

•Other areas that will be slashed include aid to depressed areas and rural areas and the cutting out of school milk programs. Funds for recreation and rebuilding cities have been slashed.

Nixon's new budget follows on the heels of his announcement of Phase Three under which he will dictate the wages workers get and at the same time will allow prices to soar. Elaborating on his plans for the economy, Nixon made clear on Wednesday that he has every intention of enforcing controls on wages. "The government," he said, "will maintain the legal authority, the

(Continued From Page 3)

"Who the hell really knows what went on in that meeting room during negotiations," John stated. "Things are settled in bargaining which the men don't know anything about."

The local president, Bryner, who has won big publicity in the press as a new style labor leader, is actually cut in the liberal mold of Paul Schrade. He has not challenged the policies of the International, supports the mini-strike strategy, and is openly

practical capacity and the will to intervene where necessary to stop action that is unreasonably inconsistent with the (Phase Three) standards."

At the same time, Nixon's economic spokesman Herbert Stein told a meeting of businessmen in New York that profits would be allowed to soar.

Nixon is now preparing for all-out war on the standard of living of American workers to meet the economic crisis of the capitalist system which is centered in the United States itself.

Part and parcel of his wholesale scrapping of welfare, health and education programs is the attack on all the democratic rights the working class has won. This is what Nixon means when he says that he "will maintain legal authority...to intervene." Nixon's speech on Sunday was unprecedented in history in the presentation of the budget. In line with his moves to establish a Bonapartist dictatorship, Nixon sought to portray himself as being above the struggle of classes and he called on the "people" to help by writing their

grooming himself for a post in the Woodcock bureaucracy.

"Let me summarize the situation here," a 28 year old worker told the Bulletin. "There's a feeling of unrest. Every day there's another story coming out of the plant. Since GMAD was brought in, it seems that management is being trained to knit-pick the men."

"For example, we have to line up at the time clock at the end of the day, not a moment earlier, even if your job is completed. Otherwise you're disciplined."

Congressmen to pass his budget.

However, Nixon made clear when he presented his budget to Congress that he is fully prepared to carry out the cuts himself regardless of what Congress does. One of Nixon's economic advisors Ehrlichman reportedly told the press, when asked about Nixon's snubbing of Congress, that Nixon has the power to do what is necessary and he will use it.

The labor movement must prepare their answer to Nixon now. The unions must call a Congress of Labor to prepare action against Phase Three and the budget cuts and to construct a labor party. This is the only way to defend the unions and all the basic rights workers have won. This is the only way to defeat Nixon.

The urgency of this fight is underlined by Nixon's new budget and his implementation of Phase Three. We urge all trade unionists to make plans now to attend the Emergency Meeting of the Continuations Committee in St. Louis on February 18 to take up this fight.

"We know that GMAD is deliberately provoking us. Last Wednesday, management shut down the plant for two hours because of a machine foul up. This was before the mid-day break and the men sat around the whole time. The management didn't say anything about overtime until near the end of the day. By that time it was too late for us to call our wives and make arrangements. The company just ordered us to work an additional two hours."

"Of course the men were angry and the line fell apart. No one did anything. So GM singled out three men for discipline. Against one of the guys, they dug up an old charge of sabotage dating back to last year's strike—which had already been disproven. But the company used it anyway before the National Labor Relations Board so that they could dock the guy one and one half day's pay."

While there exists strong support in the plant for a strike against the conditions, the ranks are opposed to the mini-strike policy. Even Bryner admits "the men are saying 'strike them forever.'"

Bill Ogg said: "The mini-strike is ridiculous. So you shut GM down for a weekend. Big deal. On paper it might look good but Lordstown is in the real world. I say shut the plant down tight. I wouldn't even let management in. A lot of the men feel the way I do and they're all wondering why this stuff is going on here. We're

starting to feel that the whole problem is with Nixon. He's controlling everything."

DETERMINATION

The brutal determination of GM to crush the workers at Lordstown flows from the deepening economic crisis. The company's arrogant provocations show that it is prepared to risk long confrontations with the ranks in order to squeeze every last cent of profit out of their sweat.

Furthermore, the Lordstown situation exposes the criminal character of the Woodcock bureaucracy, which intends to betray the struggle of the ranks. While the Lordstown workers are fighting every day to defend the UAW, Woodcock tells the New York Times that there is "no inevitable reason for a strike" in September because "there are no big roadblocks in the way of the negotiations."

The crisis in Lordstown is the sharpest expression of the attack by Nixon as well as the labor bureaucracy's refusal to oppose those attacks.

The development of the strategy to defeat Phase Three and the building of a leadership in the trade unions to lead that struggle is the task before the Emergency Meeting of the Continuations Committee on February 18 in St. Louis. We call on all auto workers and other trade unionists to make arrangements to attend the conference.

VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 2) far, above all the Middle East since the situation in that area is fraught with a great threat for the cause of peace."

The Soviet bureaucracy is openly stating its intentions to use the sellout in Vietnam as the basis for the betrayal of the struggle of the Arab masses against imperialism. As the capitalists in every country prepare civil war against the working class, Brezhnev pledges his aid to imperialism to keep "peace" and prevent the working

class from confronting their governments.

Brezhnev's words about a new era of peaceful co-existence are in sharp contrast to the statement made by North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho, who said last week: "I am a communist. According to Marxist-Leninist theory so long as imperialism exists there will be war."

The working class must come to the aid of the workers and peasants of Vietnam by fighting against its own government at home.

DEVALUATION . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

week by the announcement that the US balance of payments deficit for 1972 was three times the total for the previous year.

The decisiveness of the Swiss action—which amounted to a refusal to accept American dollars—stunned all the major financial centers.

The Journal of Commerce reported: "Many observers described (the floating of the franc) as a typical case of one country taking steps for purely domestic economic policy reasons without consulting anybody else and regardless of the effect this might produce on the international situation."

CUTTHROAT

In point of fact, the sudden action by the Swiss proves conclusively that national economic self-interest requires that every country pursue the most cutthroat policies—as Nixon himself pointed out in his inaugural address.

A wave of currency manipulations is on the agenda, and the German mark could very well be the next to float. The collapse of fixed exchange rates is an expression of the crisis of value confronting world capitalism. The very basis of international

trade has been critically undermined.

Conditions are ripe for a trade war whose destructiveness will eclipse that of the 1930s.

CRISIS

Because the dollar is the heart of the crisis, the most explosive economic upheavals will occur in the United States. Like the lofty stock market prices, the bloated profit reports of the big companies are built upon a wildly inflated dollar. As the big banks move to tighten credit, a crash of the market and a series of spectacular bankruptcies will occur.

These developments pose great dangers to the working class. Not only will 1973 see a great leap in unemployment as shutdowns take place, but the bankers and industrialists will demand new forms of rule to discipline the working class.

Nixon is seriously preparing for dictatorship. No worker should doubt that the government is prepared to back up Phase Three with armed force.

The fight for strike action to smash Phase Three and the construction of a labor party that will fight for socialist policies is the immediate task facing the American working class.



Trotsky's Political Profiles

\$2.50

Sketches of the leading members of the Second International including: Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Plekhanov and Karl Kautsky. Never available before in English.

BACK IN STOCK

In Defense of Marxism	\$1.95
Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain (cloth)	3.25
The New Course	1.75
Where Is Britain Going	1.25
Moscow Trials Anthology	1.75
History of the Russian Revolution	4.75
The Position of the Republic35
Problems of the British Revolution95
Also Available:	
The winter Fourth International75

Order from: Labor Publications, Inc., 135 West 14th St., 6th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011

GM Spy System Victimizes Ranks

BY A UAW MEMBER

FREMONT—On January 4, 1973, the General Motors Assembly Division at Fremont fired Larry Snyder, assembler on the night shift (chassis line), for "falsification of application."

They claim he did not put down some college time and falsified two previously held jobs. This was in spite of his perfect 10 month work and attendance record.

Snyder's committeeman demanded to see his personnel file. Before handing it over, Labor Relations Representative Miller removed an envelope and several sheets of paper on the grounds that they had no bearing on the case.

GRABBED

Snyder grabbed them out of Miller's hand. These "irrelevant" sheets turned out to be House Internal Security Committee Report No. 92-1166, alleging Snyder to be a Communist and member of the Revolutionary Union, a Maoist organization, and detailing his movements and activities.

Every General Motors plant has a well functioning system of espionage complete with "subversive rogues gallery" of known political activists who are carefully screened to prevent their employment. GM feeds all information into a central computer that is constantly added to by FBI and police.

The United Auto Workers' Solidarity House is being flooded with complaints from locals about installation of sophisticated surveillance systems, especially closed circuit television cameras that can monitor all sections of the plant.

"TELE-CONTROL"

These "Tele-Control" tape recording devices are attached to operators' machines and monitor their every motion. Delegate Harley Peterson of Local 257 explained the system at the recent UAW convention:

"When the green light is on, it means you are producing your work and it is recorded. When the red light goes on—because you are not there or there is a breakdown—you are put on a DA system. The tape measures the productivity of each employee in fractions of a second. It monitors you not for five minutes, ten minutes or an hour, but all day. If you were to leave your machine for one minute the tape tells them that also."

SURVEILLANCE

The weapons used against the Vietnamese revolution, such as sophisticated laser beams and infrared technology, are now being used against auto workers at GMAD Fremont.

For two years now, the plant management has owned and operated a three foot long telescopic infrared image amplification lens accompanied by a sound amplification system that can zero in on two auto workers talking on their lunch break in their cars on the darkest night in the furthest corner of the parking lot.

MANAGEMENT

Management has been known to send a plant guard with a set of master keys through a crowded parking lot of over a thousand cars right towards one certain car, open it with the proper key, remove incriminating material, confront the surprised grievant, obtain a statement and then discharge him. It does not end here for the fired worker, who is given bad work references amounting to a blacklist.

Auto workers must be rallied to the defense of Larry Snyder's fight to get back his job and his right to openly advocate his political philosophy without victimization.

Housing Workers To Strike For '72 Pay

BY A CORRESPONDENT
SAN FRANCISCO—Strike sanction from the City Labor Council has been granted for 230 repair and maintenance workers who are demanding immediate payment of raises frozen by the San Francisco Housing Authority since last April.

The Housing Authority admits that it owes these workers more than \$170,000, but officials claim the program has no money, even though funds have been appropriated by Congress.

A Building Trades Council ultimatum has given the Authority until February 5 to begin paying the raises and 90 days to pay the back wages due over the last nine months. An overflow meeting of Housing Authority and other city construction workers last Thursday heard union leaders report the lack of progress in negotiations.

The Housing Authority, acting on instruction from the Department of Housing and Urban

Development, is refusing to pay the money it owes until the construction unions accept a so-called maintenance wage scale, 25 percent lower than the present construction scale.

BLACKMAIL

A carpenter who spoke to the *Bulletin* said: "It's blackmail, paying out every cost, like materials, except for wages, then saying if you want your back wages, work at half pay from now on." A glazier said: "It's the same as if you owed me 50 dollars, and you held up the money showing it to me, and then put it back in your pocket. Now it's a lever to pry us into accepting."

The union leadership has refused to face the fact that the building trades are in a battle, not just with SFHA, but with the whole government right up to Nixon. Instead, one union spokesman told the *Bulletin* on the same day Nixon's budget was revealed that the reason the SFHA did not have any money



"If we don't get behind each other, Nixon will wipe us out," stated a picket from Local 388 of the Printing Specialists and Paper Products Union, out on strike for 16 weeks against average hourly wage of \$1.90.

Oakland Teamsters Defy Master Contract

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND—Leaders of Teamsters Joint Council 7, representing six line driver's locals in the Bay Area, have given notice to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters of their intention to negotiate separately from the national master freight agreement when it expires in June.

The move, led by the largest Teamster local west of the Mississippi, Oakland's Local 70, was spurred by dissatisfaction with the 1970 Master Freight Contract. In 1970, Oakland stayed out solidly in support of a wildcat by Los Angeles Local 208 demanding sick days and the reinstatement of 500 victimized militants.

Since then, Local 70's membership has become increasingly bitter over the terms of the 1970 contract regarding seniority rights and working conditions. Oakland Teamsters have also been hit by massive unem-

ployment with several thousand members out of work.

BATTLE

Local 70 has spent over \$160,000 in court costs in an unsuccessful battle to get out from under the 1970 master agreement. Chuck Mack, secretary treasurer of Local 70, told the *Bulletin*, when questioned on these moves, "Hopefully, we will be able to avoid a strike this summer."

When questioned on IBT President Frank Fitzsimmons' support to Nixon's anti-union boards, or on Local 70's planned response to government intervention in any Teamster strike this summer, Mack refused to reply. He said: "I don't want to answer any political questions because it might complicate our contract negotiations."

The membership of Local 70 reacted to these questions in a completely opposite way. Many members at the Local 70 hiring hall told the *Bulletin* that they were anticipating a long strike when the contract expires in June. One member stated that: "Our problem isn't the master

contract, it is the government. Like when the bottlers were out, they took away even the right to picket."

DANGEROUS

Mack and his cohorts are playing a very dangerous game seeking to divert the legitimate hatred of the ranks for Fitzsimmons into bankrupt localism.

This is no longer 1970 when a revolt in Chicago could still win big concessions on the wage package. Teamsters now face Phase Three controls and an administration determined to use Fitzsimmons' assistance to smash the right to strike in transportation.

The coming Teamster contract fight will require a massive mobilization of the union in a national shutdown that will smash Phase Three and force Fitzsimmons off the Cost of Living Council.

It is precisely this political confrontation with the Nixon government and the Fitzsimmons leadership that Chuck Mack and his supporters intend to avoid at all costs.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP _____

\$1.00 FOR 4 MONTH INTRODUCTORY SUB \$2.00 FOR 6 MONTHS
 \$4.00 FOR ONE YEAR 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

was that tenants were not paying their rent.

This kind of leadership will assist the city in pitting the repair workers against the tenants, while Nixon goes about destroying the rights of both.

Many Housing Authority workers were prepared last summer to march at UC San Francisco in support of striking maintenance workers. A mass demonstration of labor was only called off after concessions were extracted from the administration.

SUPPORT

Nixon's budget slashes mean that there is no possibility of a compromise now. It is vital that all-out support be mobilized to defend the Housing Authority workers. All deliveries to the Housing Authority must be stopped as soon as the strike begins, and all city construction must be shut down in defense of these men, who are on the front line against Nixon's Phase Three anti-union assault.

West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103

PHONE 415-621-1310

Kaiser Speedup Kills Steelworker

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—William J. Lindley, a 58 year old yard worker from the Fontana plant of Kaiser Steel, was crushed to death between two ore cars this week.

Behind his death lies the tremendous drive for increased productivity in the steel industry across the country. It has now been revealed that Lindley was working on an incentive job with unsafe equipment. Rather than stop the job and lose in-

centive pay, the men continued to work.

This accident is the product of conditions of speedup and fear of closure that have been systematically built up among the 8000 workers at Kaiser. It is part of a campaign to make Kaiser Fontana a model for the entire steel industry in the esta-

ishment of union-management collaboration on increased productivity.

In the pipe mill at Kaiser, productivity has been increased by an astonishing rate of 32.1 percent in three months. This is staggering compared to the six percent national average in productivity this year. Even this is double the usual annual rate of three percent.

In October, when plant manager M.J. Smith threatened to shut down the pipe mill, United Steelworkers of America Local 2869 President Dino Papavero promised to make the mill profitable by cooperating with the productivity drive.

The Los Angeles Times has hailed Papavero's pioneering productivity efforts in a three page feature article. Papavero claims there is no speedup. However, the Times makes it clear that pipe is now checked continuously, delays have been cut down and everything is now running steadier.

According to Papavero: "A way of working can become a way of life. So what if a few pipes go by. Nobody cares. Management never asked anybody to participate, to involve themselves."

Kaiser now has committees of workers and foremen all over the plant to explore every possible way of increasing production and sales.

CRISIS

The union leaders, from Abel on down, have joined with Nixon in a "Buy American Steel" campaign. This completely covers over the fact that world steel production as a whole has gone into deep crisis. Since 1968, the import of foreign steel to the United States has declined.

The tonnage of steel imports has declined because of the instability of all international monetary arrangements. This will mean hundreds of thousands of layoffs in the steel industry as competition intensifies. Over 100,000 US steel workers have been laid off in the last year.

For all Papavero's efforts, plant manager M.J. Smith is saying that even with the 32.1 percent productivity increase in the pipe mill it might not be profitable to keep it open.

William J. Lindley died a victim of Kaiser's ruthless drive for profit. The I.W. Abels and Dino Papaveros, who are determined to go all the way with the companies, are responsible for allowing this murder to take place.

There must be no cooperation with Abel's productivity committees. What is required is the construction of a labor party that will nationalize the steel industry under the control of the working class.



Top: Judge Morton K. Colvin of Magee trial. Bottom: Sargeant Murphy, a prosecution witness in front of photo of van in which Magee held hostages in his escape attempt.

Stalinists Silent On Magee Defense

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—As Ruchell Magee's trial moved into a decisive phase with the calling of key prosecution witnesses, the criminal role of the court imposed "defense attorney" is completely exposed.

Magee insists on his right to defend himself in a revolutionary way claiming as precedent for the Marin County Courthouse shootout the rebellions of slaves on American slave ships.

The court is determined that these questions will never enter the case. It fears that Magee will successfully speak to the thousands of workers and youth who stand in solidarity with him.

His defense is in the hands of Robert Carrow, a liberal lawyer, who virtually concedes the kidnapping and assault charges and bases his defense on the idea that Judge Haley was killed by a police bullet a split second before his head was blown off by a shotgun blast the prosecution claims was fired by Magee.

This is a treacherous stab in the back for Magee and his heroic struggle for freedom. Whatever Magee did, he had a revolutionary right to do and must be defended by the whole working class. The attacks on

him are directed at the entire working class and the youth.

The Communist Party, which lavished time, money and the pages of their press to appeals to the liberals for sympathy for Angela Davis, stands silent. They are criminally responsible for Magee's isolation, having separated the Davis case from his.

REFUSE

Now they refuse to say a word and Angela Davis is apparently in complete agreement with this policy. In the last eight weeks, the People's World has published one item, a sketch of the trial with a caption complimentary to the defense.

The Stalinists stand with Carrow in this treacherous betrayal of Magee in order to preserve their alliances with the middle class liberals.

Every member of the Communist Party and the YWLL must demand an accounting from the leadership for this criminal policy.



Shell Oil workers at Martinez, Calif. are striking for health-safety guidelines. "We want the right to live longer."

Health Issue In Shell Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

MARTINEZ—"They have the money to beat us, but we're not going to let them do it. It's up to us to win the fight for everybody. It's do or die right here."

These words from one of the pickets at the Shell Oil refinery and chemical plant in Martinez, California express the sentiment of many members of Local 1-5 of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW), which shut down Shell installations across the country last week.

Angered over the dangerous chemicals that jeopardize the health of the refinery workers, the union is demanding representation on health and safety committees with the right to choose experts to measure the effect of the chemicals.

"We don't want to be second class citizens," explained a striker in Los Angeles. "We are demanding the right to know the threshold value of the chemicals we are exposed to; we want the right to live longer."

Of the more than 10,000 chemicals on the market, the threshold value beyond which exposure can be dangerous or fatal is known for only 450. Inhaling of poisonous chemicals, such as mercury and asbestos, has meant that, at best, most refinery workers live for only a year or two after retirement.

As of this writing, the strike has spread from three plants on

the West Coast to plants in Denver, Houston, Louisiana, and Illinois. Approximately 5000 men are on strike nationally.

Every other major oil company has signed with the OCAW and granted pension improvements and a labor-management committee on health and safety. Shell refuses to go along and is front-running for all the companies in an attempt to break the back of the union.

As one Martinez picket told the Bulletin: "We can't be defeated. If we are, then all the brothers in this union will have died. Because next year Phillips will say: 'Shell did it, they broke them down. We'll just go ahead and not give them a contract and let them stay out.'"

Shell pays the lowest wages and pensions of any of the major oil companies and has refused to increase pensions since 1967.

The Shell workers are determined to fight to the end, but they are being weakened and isolated by their leadership. Instead of fighting for a national contract and preparing for strike action against the entire industry, the leadership signed separately with each company, knowing full well that Shell would hold out.

Kaiser Speedup Kills Steelworker

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—William J. Lindley, a 58 year old yard worker from the Fontana plant of Kaiser Steel, was crushed to death between two ore cars this week.

Behind his death lies the tremendous drive for increased productivity in the steel industry across the country. It has now been revealed that Lindley was working on an incentive job with unsafe equipment. Rather than stop the job and lose in-

centive pay, the men continued to work.

This accident is the product of conditions of speedup and fear of closure that have been systematically built up among the 8000 workers at Kaiser. It is part of a campaign to make Kaiser Fontana a model for the entire steel industry in the esta-

ishment of union-management collaboration on increased productivity.

In the pipe mill at Kaiser, productivity has been increased by an astonishing rate of 32.1 percent in three months. This is staggering compared to the six percent national average in productivity this year. Even this is double the usual annual rate of three percent.

In October, when plant manager M.J. Smith threatened to shut down the pipe mill, United Steelworkers of America Local 2869 President Dino Papavero promised to make the mill profitable by cooperating with the productivity drive.

The Los Angeles Times has hailed Papavero's pioneering productivity efforts in a three page feature article. Papavero claims there is no speedup. However, the Times makes it clear that pipe is now checked continuously, delays have been cut down and everything is now running steadier.

According to Papavero: "A way of working can become a way of life. So what if a few pipes go by. Nobody cares. Management never asked anybody to participate, to involve themselves."

Kaiser now has committees of workers and foremen all over the plant to explore every possible way of increasing production and sales.

CRISIS

The union leaders, from Abel on down, have joined with Nixon in a "Buy American Steel" campaign. This completely covers over the fact that world steel production as a whole has gone into deep crisis. Since 1968, the import of foreign steel to the United States has declined.

The tonnage of steel imports has declined because of the instability of all international monetary arrangements. This will mean hundreds of thousands of layoffs in the steel industry as competition intensifies. Over 100,000 US steel workers have been laid off in the last year.

For all Papavero's efforts, plant manager M.J. Smith is saying that even with the 32.1 percent productivity increase in the pipe mill it might not be profitable to keep it open.

William J. Lindley died a victim of Kaiser's ruthless drive for profit. The I.W. Abels and Dino Papaveros, who are determined to go all the way with the companies, are responsible for allowing this murder to take place.

There must be no cooperation with Abel's productivity committees. What is required is the construction of a labor party that will nationalize the steel industry under the control of the working class.



Top: Judge Morton K. Colvin of Magee trial. Bottom: Sargeant Murphy, a prosecution witness in front of photo of van in which Magee held hostages in his escape attempt.

Stalinists Silent On Magee Defense

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—As Ruchell Magee's trial moved into a decisive phase with the calling of key prosecution witnesses, the criminal role of the court imposed "defense attorney" is completely exposed.

Magee insists on his right to defend himself in a revolutionary way claiming as precedent for the Marin County Courthouse shootout the rebellions of slaves on American slave ships.

The court is determined that these questions will never enter the case. It fears that Magee will successfully speak to the thousands of workers and youth who stand in solidarity with him.

His defense is in the hands of Robert Carrow, a liberal lawyer, who virtually concedes the kidnapping and assault charges and bases his defense on the idea that Judge Haley was killed by a police bullet a split second before his head was blown off by a shotgun blast the prosecution claims was fired by Magee.

This is a treacherous stab in the back for Magee and his heroic struggle for freedom. Whatever Magee did, he had a revolutionary right to do and must be defended by the whole working class. The attacks on

him are directed at the entire working class and the youth.

The Communist Party, which lavished time, money and the pages of their press to appeals to the liberals for sympathy for Angela Davis, stands silent. They are criminally responsible for Magee's isolation, having separated the Davis case from his.

REFUSE

Now they refuse to say a word and Angela Davis is apparently in complete agreement with this policy. In the last eight weeks, the People's World has published one item, a sketch of the trial with a caption complimentary to the defense.

The Stalinists stand with Carrow in this treacherous betrayal of Magee in order to preserve their alliances with the middle class liberals.

Every member of the Communist Party and the YWLL must demand an accounting from the leadership for this criminal policy.



Shell Oil workers at Martinez, Calif. are striking for health-safety guidelines. "We want the right to live longer."

Health Issue In Shell Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

MARTINEZ—"They have the money to beat us, but we're not going to let them do it. It's up to us to win the fight for everybody. It's do or die right here."

These words from one of the pickets at the Shell Oil refinery and chemical plant in Martinez, California express the sentiment of many members of Local 1-5 of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW), which shut down Shell installations across the country last week.

Angered over the dangerous chemicals that jeopardize the health of the refinery workers, the union is demanding representation on health and safety committees with the right to choose experts to measure the effect of the chemicals.

"We don't want to be second class citizens," explained a striker in Los Angeles. "We are demanding the right to know the threshold value of the chemicals we are exposed to; we want the right to live longer."

Of the more than 10,000 chemicals on the market, the threshold value beyond which exposure can be dangerous or fatal is known for only 450. Inhaling of poisonous chemicals, such as mercury and asbestos, has meant that, at best, most refinery workers live for only a year or two after retirement.

As of this writing, the strike has spread from three plants on

the West Coast to plants in Denver, Houston, Louisiana, and Illinois. Approximately 5000 men are on strike nationally.

Every other major oil company has signed with the OCAW and granted pension improvements and a labor-management committee on health and safety. Shell refuses to go along and is front-running for all the companies in an attempt to break the back of the union.

As one Martinez picket told the Bulletin: "We can't be defeated. If we are, then all the brothers in this union will have died. Because next year Phillips will say: 'Shell did it, they broke them down. We'll just go ahead and not give them a contract and let them stay out.'"

Shell pays the lowest wages and pensions of any of the major oil companies and has refused to increase pensions since 1967.

The Shell workers are determined to fight to the end, but they are being weakened and isolated by their leadership. Instead of fighting for a national contract and preparing for strike action against the entire industry, the leadership signed separately with each company, knowing full well that Shell would hold out.