

HOOVER
JUL 30 1976
INSTITUTION

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER THREE 279

JANUARY 29, 1973

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

Inaugurates Phase III

Nixon Cuts Hospital Workers Pay

BY THE EDITORS

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speech which left no doubt that the era of social reform and class compromise had come to a decisive end.

From its arrogant ruling class rhetoric to the strident tone in which it was delivered, Nixon's speech reflected the crisis now confronting American capitalism. Even as he spoke, the world monetary system was suffering new shocks with the sudden instability of the Swiss franc; and a powerful section of workers in this country—the West Coast dockers—were challenging Phase Three.

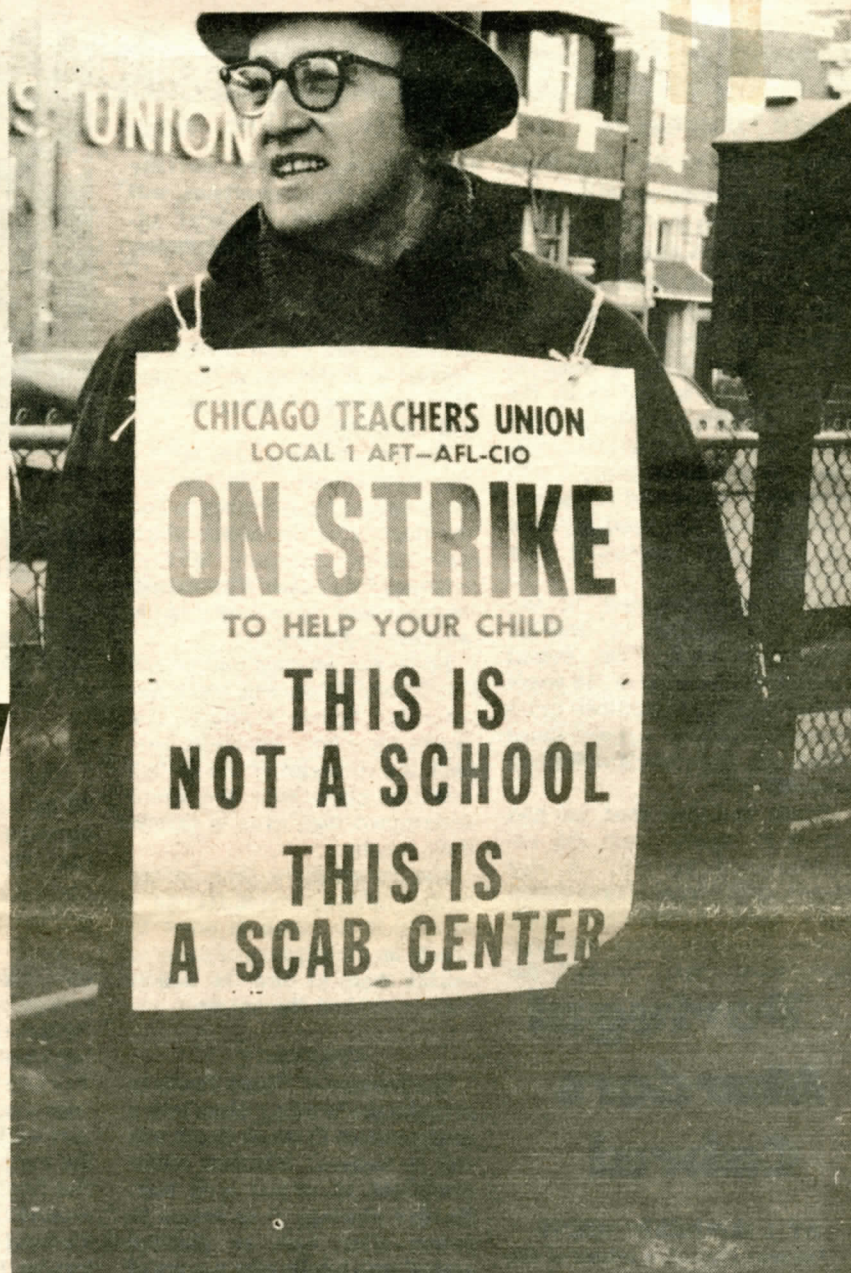
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(Continued On Page 18)



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What we think Zagarell School Of Falsification

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directly. So they try to use anti-communism, particularly anti-Sovietism, to hide their long standing hatred for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the PRG of South Vietnam. They do this by implying that the Vietnamese don't want to sell out but that they are under 'pressure' from the Soviet Union. But try as they may to hide their position, anti-Sovietism, their full position slips out."

Zagarell, well trained in the school of Stalinist falsification, uses this ploy of equating the fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy with anti-communism to cover the role of the bureaucracy in betraying the interests of the workers and peasants in Vietnam.

The whole history of the war in Vietnam is, in fact, the history of the struggle of the Vietnamese people to break out of the stranglehold placed on them by the sellouts of the Stalinists and their attempts at every point to hold back and sabotage this struggle.

What Zagarell does not report is that the North Vietnamese themselves have been forced to issue statements condemning the "pressure" of the Soviet and Chinese

bureaucracies who have repeatedly made it clear that they want to liquidate the Vietnamese revolution so that they can improve their relations with Nixon.

Last August, as the heat was applied from Moscow and Peking to enter into negotiations for a settlement, Nhan Dan, the official paper of the North Vietnamese issued a scathing attack on the two bureaucracies: "The vitality of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism manifests itself first of all in revolutionary deeds, not in empty words. If out of the narrow interests of one's nation, one tries to help the most reactionary forces avert the dangerous blows, just like throwing a lifebuoy to a drowning pirate, that is a cruel reconciliation beneficial to the enemy and not beneficial to the revolution. We Communists must persist in revolution and should not compromise."

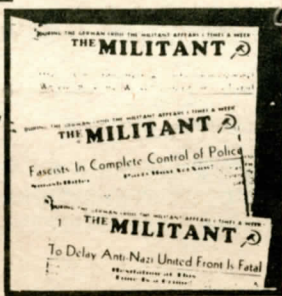
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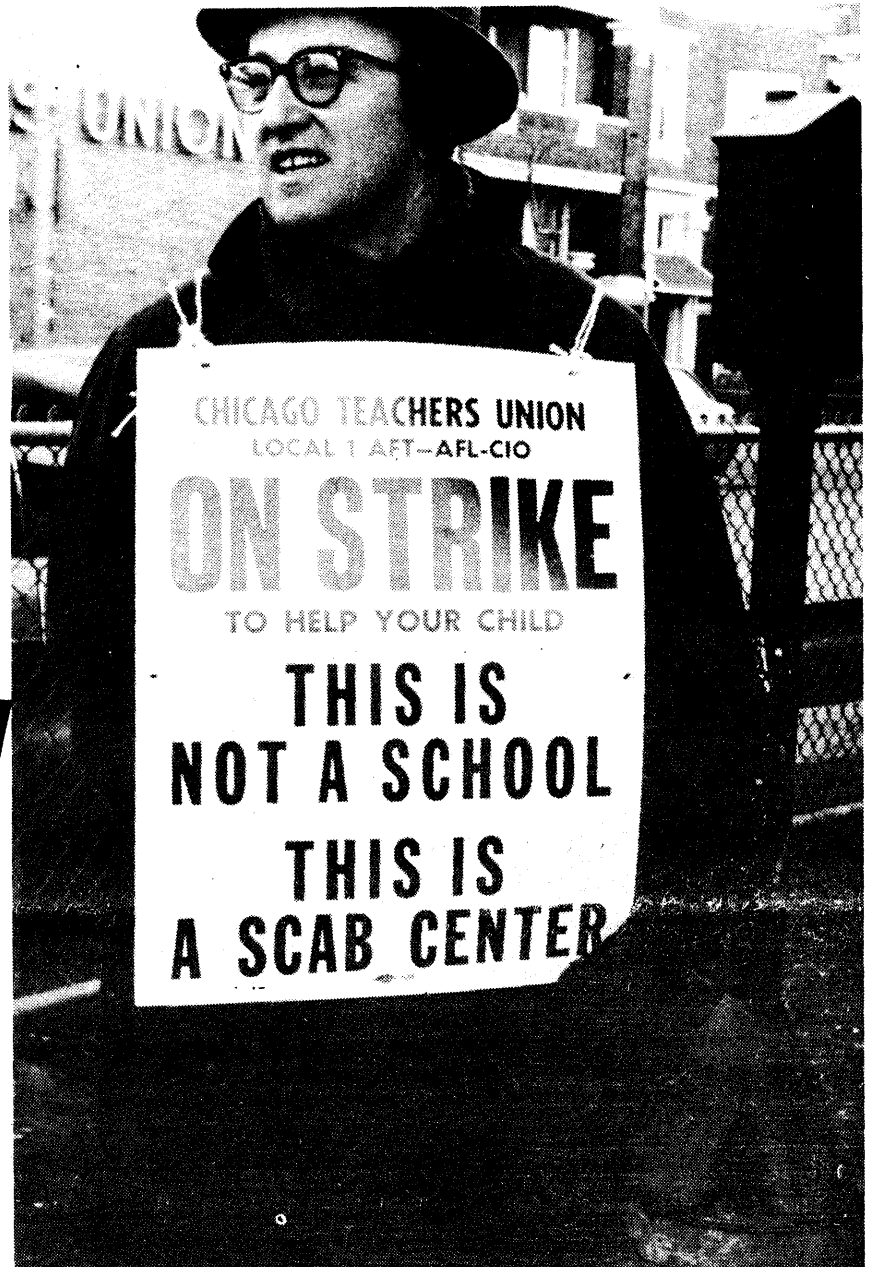
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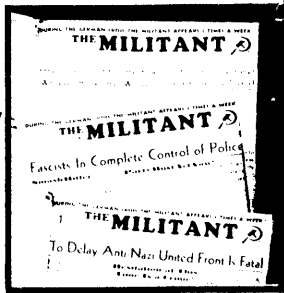
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British Phase 2: State Wage Law For Three Years

BY MELODY FARROW

Amid the gilded opulent halls of Lancaster House, British Prime Minister Edward Heath declared that under Phase Two of his "anti-inflation" policy a fixed ceiling of seven percent would be placed on all wage increases and that all further wage negotiations are banned.

These measures will be introduced into the next session of Parliament as a permanent law to replace the 90 day total ban on wage increases imposed last November.

The ceiling of \$11 a week on wages will be backed up by the threat of unlimited fines and jail sentences for unions who disobey. At the same time, Heath arrogantly announced it was impossible to control soaring prices on food and imported raw materials.

As a representative of the National Union of Public Employees said: "The clocks have been turned back 410 years to the time when justices could impose penalties against those who broke wage levels which had been fixed."

Heath declared that he had "tried to benefit from the experiences of the US." A Pay Board and Price Commission have been established with powers for three years. All large enterprises must "notify" the

Portugal Murders Cabral

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Amilcar Cabral, a leader of the struggle for the independence of Portuguese Guinea, was murdered Saturday by imperialist agents.

The fascist government of Portugal ordered this assassination in a desperate attempt to prevent an imminent defeat at the hands of the guerrilla army which Cabral led.

Four years ago, the Portuguese murdered Eduardo Mondlane, leader of the Mozambique Liberation Front. American imperialism is complicit in both murders as well as all the butchery carried out by the Portuguese in West Africa.

A Federal grand jury has delivered a two point indictment of Chrysler corporation for selling 100 military engines to Portugal without State Department permission. The engines were intended for Portuguese built versions of American armored cars.

Portugal maintains an enormous military establishment to wage its bloody colonial wars against the inhabitants of the African nations of Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique, as well as to suppress its poverty stricken workers at home.

The actions of Chrysler demonstrate concretely how the giant corporations are preparing massive quantities of military might and police power to crush the resistance not only of the colonial peoples but also the workers in the US.

Commission before raising prices but the Commission will allow "unavoidable cost increases" due to wage increases.

SLASH

Heath's Phase Two will mean a deliberate and brutal slash of 20 percent to 30 percent in the standard of living of every worker and his family.

The British ruling class faces a desperate situation. They are under pressure from France to end the floating of the pound which will throw Common Market relations into chaos. The British economy and its currency is the weakest in Europe.

Trade war between Europe and the US and Japan will mean disaster for British industry. The Tories have been unable to hold back the struggles of the British working class who are more determined than ever to defend their wages.

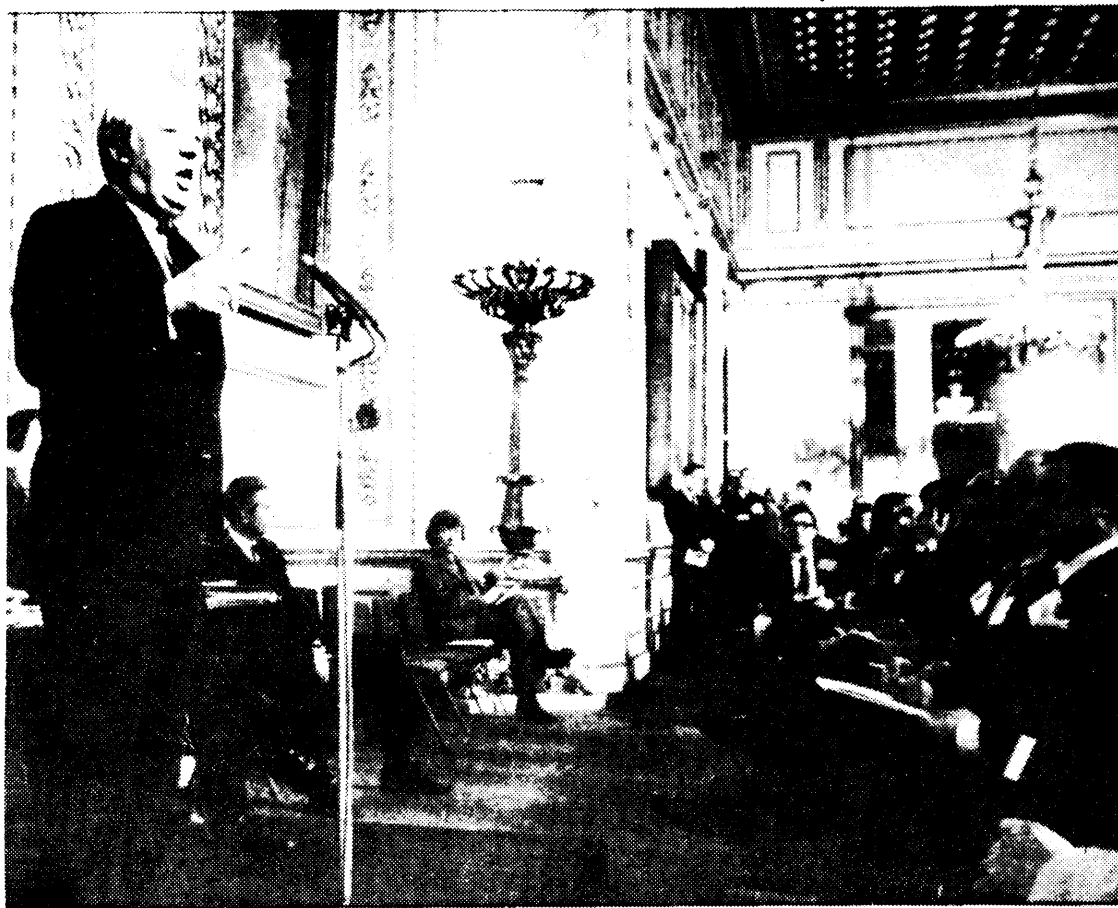
The Tories know they cannot control inflation and in fact have allowed it to climb in order to create an atmosphere of panic to enable them to turn the middle classes against the unions.

STRATEGY

The purpose of Phase Two is to provoke the working class into a confrontation in which Heath will call a General Election under conditions of virtual civil war. Heath's strategy is to return to power after such an election armed with totally new powers of dictatorial rule with which to prosecute his attacks on the working class.

Workers Press, daily newspaper of the Socialist Labour League, has revealed that the Tories are building up a 60,000 member force called the Army Volunteer Reserve, recruited from among the middle

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Tory Prime Minister Heath announcing laws to be introduced to Parliament banning wage negotiations.

Vietnam Ceasefire Deal Upholds Puppet Regime

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Nixon's envoy Henry Kissinger and North Vietnamese representative Le Duc Tho have signed an agreement in Paris for a "ceasefire" in Vietnam. As we go to press the contents of this agreement have not been released. Nixon's speech, however, on Tuesday night, makes clear that the Stalinist leaders in the Soviet Union, North Vietnam and China have completely capitulated to Nixon's demands for an "honorable peace," a "peace" which maintains US imperialism's control in South Vietnam.

Nixon said in his speech that the United States will continue to recognize the Government of Nguyen Van Thieu "as the sole legitimate government of South Vietnam," denying all legitimacy to the Provisional Revolutionary Government in the south. Some reports indicate that North Vietnam has agreed to remove its troops from South Vietnam "over a period of time," leaving the liberation forces at the mercy of Thieu.

This reactionary agreement robs the Vietnamese workers and peasants of the victories they have won on the battlefield. Under Nixon's massive bombing and the threat of guided missiles, the Stalinist bureaucracies have pressured North Vietnam into this ceasefire in exchange for better relations with Nixon.

This agreement not only

accepts the reactionary division of Vietnam, partitioned under the Geneva accords—the source of the present war—but divides South Vietnam into hundreds of "enclaves" which remain under the government of Thieu.

Nixon said in his speech that

"the agreement must be scrupulously adhered to" and it is clear he will use the slightest pretext to open once again the massive extermination drive he began last month. The US will

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Marcos Tightens Grip

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

President Marcos of the Philippines is consolidating his dictatorship by proclaiming a new Constitution which will give him and the Army unlimited powers.

Under the new Constitution, martial law will continue and the interim assembly will be suspended. Marcos, as well as remaining president indefinitely, will hold the joint

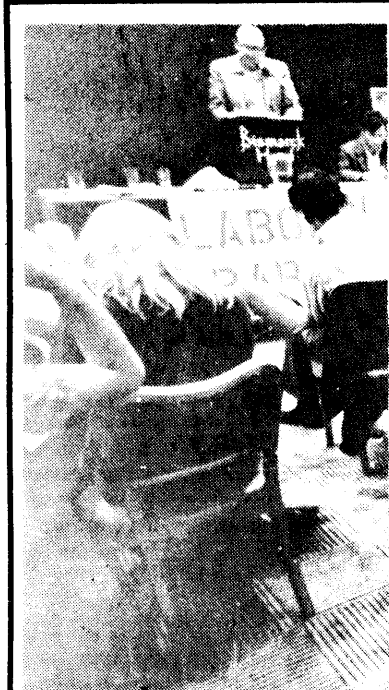
posts of premier and speaker of the National Assembly.

The National Assembly which unanimously approved these measures January 17 is nothing but a handpicked group of well to do landlords and businessmen. All of Marcos' talk about his "reforms" and of building a "New Society" cannot cover up the brutal regime of dictatorship and repression which Marcos has instituted to defend the interests of the United States.

Hundreds of oppositionists are in jail, newspapers have been suppressed and the rights to strike and demonstrate have been banned. There is still a curfew and the Army has a free hand to attack the population at will.

This is the type of regime which the US is backing because the Clark Air Force Base and the Subic Bay Naval Station in the Philippines are key supply centers for Vietnam. Nixon sees the Philippines as an important base of counterrevolution against the peoples of the Pacific and Asia.

When questioned about the moves of Marcos, the Defense Department was reported to have replied that it did not want to "rock the boat."



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

Dollar Crisis Sparks Price Explosion

BY DAVID NORTH

Sharp price increases in broad sections of industry during the first week of Phase Three exposed claims by the Nixon Administration that inflation would be kept in check in 1973.

While wholesale food prices continued to push ahead on a daily basis, diverse firms like Polaroid, AT&T, and RCA jumped aboard the Phase Three price hiking bandwagon. Moreover, the fuel industry, led by Mobil Oil Corporation, announced that it would raise its rates by about eight percent.

The outbreak of inflation on a scale unparalleled in modern American history expresses a new stage in the economic crisis. All the billions of dollars pumped into the economy—especially during 1972—in order to sustain production, now threatens to destroy the ability to produce.

The recent moves by the major banks to tighten credit in order to restrict the money supply—which has grown some 47 percent since 1965—flows from the unavoidable recognition of the fact that the currency is becoming worthless as a measure of value.

That is, the billions of paper dollars now in circulation have claims to something which exists in far smaller quantity: real value produced by human labor.

FEARS

Enormous fears have been aroused over the consequences of tighter money. The law of value is forcing the banks to restrict the flow of money at a time when major corporations are more desperate for credit than ever before.

Last week's steady decline on Wall Street reflected the fears among speculators that unless loans are readily available, even the most prestigious corporations could face sudden bankruptcy.

The credit crisis confronting industry is being aggravated by a marked downward turn in retail sales, which is itself the consequence of massive inflation. The commodities produced during the past period of massive inflation cannot find an adequate supply of consumers.

In the January 19 issue, the *Journal of Commerce* noted: "The American consumer, the 'hero' of the 1972 business expansion by buying like crazy and going into hock at an unprecedented rate in order to do so, is showing signs of being fed up with his role."

This development means that corporations, unable to realize profits through sales on the commodities already produced, will necessarily cut back production, close down plants and lay off thousands of workers.

DESTROY

Just as the dollar proceeds to destroy the ability to sustain production within this country, its

role as the international trade currency is setting the stage for a brutal trade war.

With a trade deficit of \$4.5 billion between the US and Japan forecast for 1973 by the most conservative analysts, government spokesmen are admitting that a trade war may be inevitable.

Robert Ingersoll, Ambassador to Japan, said that Japan had only two or three months to rectify the "imbalance" in trade. He said that a trade war would have disastrous consequences for both countries, but that there might be no way to avoid it.

An enormous trade imbalance exists with Europe as well, and both of the US' main competitors are demanding that there cannot be any talk of new trade adjustments until the United States makes the dollar convertible into gold, something which Nixon cannot do.

REVOLUTIONARY

The crisis of the dollar is the most central revolutionary factor in the world today. It is for-

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Workers League spoke at meeting called by angry housewives in Portland against skyrocketing prices.

Cost Of Living Council Cuts 1199 Wage Increase

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, Jan. 24—The Cost of Living Council today slashed the wage increase won by hospital workers of Local 1199 last July from 7.5% to 5.5%. Nixon, who singled out hospital workers for attack under Phase III, has not wasted any time implementing his policies.

Hospital workers are among the lowest paid sections of the labor movement. While wages are slashed, Nixon has given the big corporations the green light to raise prices.

1199 members must demand

that the Davis leadership call an emergency mass meeting of all union members to vote on immediate strike action against this cut.

"I'm ready to fight, and so is everyone I work with." This statement from a hospital worker at the Jewish Hospital in

Brooklyn sums up the feelings of 1199 members in New York City hospitals who have been waiting over six months for their increase.

Most workers agree with Rudolph Smith, a housekeeping worker at Brooklyn Jewish, who said about the Local 1199 leaders, "We have to replace them or make them fight. They should challenge Nixon."

SSEU Delegates Vote Halt To Closures

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

NEW YORK—Social Service Employees Union Local 371 members won a decisive victory against the city and against the Cohen leadership when a resolution presented at the January 17 Delegates Assembly by the Committee for a New Leadership calling for a freeze on all further cooperation with the city's massive reorganization drive was carried over the heads of the Cohen leadership by a vote of 52 to 48.

The vote came on the eve of the city's recent announcement that the Boro Hall Social Service Center, one of 40 such welfare centers city-wide, would be liquidated entirely and a Vietnam veterans multi-service center would be opened in its place.

Opposition to the plan had already been voted on by over 100 Boro Hall and Greenwood workers in a noon location meeting in which it was revealed that the new center would involve the elimination of 60 of the 80 workers.

At this meeting a resolution offered by a representative of the SSEU Committee for a New Leadership demanded that there be "no liquidation of Boro Hall and no other further movement of social service staff anywhere in the agency into any new programs or projects until a city-wide blueprint detailing all planned changes is negotiated with the union and voted on by the ranks." It was passed almost unanimously against the union's executive director, Mary Pinkett.

The motion passed by the Delegates Assembly in effect halts

union cooperation with the city's attempts to push all social service staff out of the welfare centers, to consolidate operations at the expense of staffing, and to liquidate the Manpower and Career Development Agency. It will force the city to put before the union membership its plans for staff—something which the city as well as the union leadership has been desperately trying to obscure.

What is now required is an all-out fight to prevent the Cohen leadership from overturning this resolution at the membership meeting scheduled for January 31.

The supporters of the Communist Party in the SSEU openly oppose the fight for a blueprint. They use liberal demagoguery about the need for a Community Social Service Program in order to justify their opposition to a fight with the city and their open complicity with its attempts to set up phony service programs which will serve as nothing more than graves for social service staff.

Supporters of Progressive Labor as well as other so-called radicals in the union, although ostensibly disagreeing with the Stalinists on the question of the

blueprint, have formed a common caucus with them.

This caucus, called "the Coalition," is based on no common strategy on the central questions facing the ranks. It is not surprising therefore that leading members of the Coalition end up running for various union posts on Cohen's slate.

Another central question now facing the ranks of the union is Phase Three of Nixon's wage controls. SSEU members have not received two scheduled pay increases.

The Committee for a New Leadership will propose at the January 31 membership meeting that the SSEU take a stand inside the District Council 37 Delegates Assembly, and the other higher labor bodies, for citywide strike action if the monies are not forthcoming, as well as for the convening of a Congress of Labor to plan an overall strategy for the fight against Nixon and the fight for a labor party to politically confront the Democrats and Republicans.

The CNL will run candidates in the upcoming elections for representatives to the District Council Delegates Assembly on this basis.

Local 1199 President Davis' call for a meeting of unions still under compulsory controls was a reflection of the mounting pressure from the rank and file. At a delegates meeting at Kingsbrook Medical Center, a union official spoke about telling the hospital bosses that unless they withdraw their request that the Cost of Living Council cut 1199's increase, they would have to bear the consequences.

Now that Davis has broken his silence, hospital workers must insist on a clear policy for once and for all.

STRIKE ACTION

The 1199 Rank and File Committee is fighting for all-out strike action.

The government is attacking patient services at the same time as wages. At Gouverneur Hospital in New York all Federal money, amounting to two million dollars, is being cut, and the hospital will have to eliminate all ambulatory services. At a meeting at Gouverneur, a supporter of the Rank and File Committee posed the need for action against the cutbacks, including demonstrations by workers in the community, along with strike action by the unions against the cutbacks and wage controls.

This means a political fight, and the January 24 meeting of the Rank and File Committee will be planning for a strong delegation of 1199 members to attend the February 18 meeting in St. Louis of the Continuations Committee of the Conference for a Labor Party Now.

Taxi Bosses Consolidate Garages

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The owners of Terminal Garage in Manhattan laid off five mechanics last Friday, as part of the consolidation plan to reduce the workforce and increase productivity.

These layoffs come within two months of the closing of their Bronx garage and one week after they shifted to new facilities on 49 Street. In their drive to increase profits, Terminal is following the lead of Eden garage which closed its plants in the Bronx and Manhattan a few months ago and put everything under one roof in Queens.

At the same time, Terminal has begun harassment procedures against the drivers by instituting booking quotas.

The Van Arsdale leadership laid the basis for these attacks when it signed a blank contract. The contents of this contract are still unknown. Van Arsdale has up to this point remained silent on these layoffs.

On Tuesday, the Drivers and Mechanics for a Decent Contract held a meeting with 10 drivers at Terminal Garage to plan action to defend the five men laid off.

Because of the movement of the ranks who are now supporting the petition campaign of the DMDM—over 300 signatures have already been obtained—the chairman has called a garage chairmen's meeting.

Gas Men Face Fight On Pay And Speedup

BY

A LOCAL 101 MEMBER

BROOKLYN—Nixon's Phase Three poses new threats to the ranks of the Transit Workers Union Local 101 as negotiations for the next contract with Brooklyn Union Gas in April approaches.

The BUG bosses have in the past year violated every clause in the contract dealing with work rules and working conditions in their drive for higher productivity.

The Clerical and Commercial Departments have been the areas for such changes. Fully automated equipment has been in operation to speed up work while reducing the work force to a minimum.

In the mailing department at the Montague Street office, workers cannot leave the floor to go to the bathroom without the foreman's authorization. Every telephone is now bugged and records of conversations are kept by the employers to evaluate the quality of work and to be used "in the last result for court proceedings."

Meter readers are soon to be phased out as the growing use of machines replaces workers on the job. All of this of course was possible with the collaboration of the Kirrane leadership.

Kirrane last week issued a statement on the contract: "Negotiations with Brooklyn Union Gas are always difficult. This year the situation is further



Support for striking St. Louis teachers grows. See story, page 17.

Philly Teachers Arrested For Defying Injunction

BY FRANK ELLIOT

PHILADELPHIA—As the Philadelphia teachers strike enters its third week, 27 Executive Board members of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers have been hauled into court to face charges of criminal contempt.

The union is defying a back to work injunction and is fac-

ed with massive fines, jailings and the firing of individual teachers. Despite the injunction, the threat of police intervention and the use of hundreds of administrators and substitutes as scabs, the strike remains solid.

The criminal contempt charges brought against the union require a jury trial and jury selection began this week. Judge Jamieson, intent on getting a conviction refused to allow the union's lawyer to question any of the prospective jurors, confining the procedure to questions that he put before them himself.

The judge, in eliminating people who had "fixed opinions on the right to strike," is clearly trying to keep the working class off the jury. In addition, he is first trying the union and its top officers, President Leon Sullivan and chief negotiator Ryan, separately hoping for a quick conviction.

These attempts to intimidate

the teachers has only increased their solidarity. On the first day of jury selection, 1500 teachers rallied around City Hall and the courtroom in defense of the union.

The trial, which is expected to last three or four days, poses the greatest danger to the teachers union. What is on trial here is the right to strike itself.

This right, now under the sharpest attack under Nixon's Phase Three policies, can only be defended through a political fight with the government. The leadership up to now has been avoiding this fight, attempting to maneuver through the courts.

Despite the fact that the Philadelphia AFL-CIO Council has come out in defense of the strike, the PFT leadership has refused to call for the mobilization of city labor in defense of the strike through actual manning of the picket lines and preparation for general strike action if any fines are imposed on the union.

A rally was held last week which was sponsored by the PFT and the entire AFL-CIO Council. Representatives of over 20 unions spoke in defense of the strike, reflecting the powerful movement of Philadelphia labor not only against the attacks on the PFT but against the government itself.

this situation. They claim that there is nothing that can be done.

Against this prostration before Nixon and Seatrain in the SIU, the Caucus for a New Leadership has begun a petition campaign to demand that the union call for immediate action up to and including strike action to reinstate those men fired and put an end to any further firings and layoffs.

The Caucus is fighting for the demands that every worker be upgraded now, for better safety conditions, particularly in relation to more secure staging, and for the calling of an immediate Congress of Labor that will unite the trade unions in a fight against the attacks of Nixon and construct a labor party.

Teacher Layoffs To Begin

BY A UFT DELEGATE

NEW YORK—Members of the United Federation of Teachers here are now facing some of the most brutal attacks in the history of the union. Layoffs of over 1000 teachers are scheduled for February

The Pay Board is planning to cut the minute pay increases teachers have been waiting for since September.

In the high schools, where classrooms are overcrowded and the school day has already been shortened by double sessions, the situation is particularly severe. In the poorest neighborhoods, special attendance teams have been sent out to eliminate as many "truants" as possible.

At Benjamin Franklin High School, 1000 students suddenly found themselves out on the streets, and 29 teachers who are "no longer needed" are being thrown out. UFT high schools vice president, George Altomare, stated that: "Their (the schools) ability to provide a quality education is being destroyed."

REFUSING

The Shanker leadership is criminally refusing to defend the jobs and working conditions of UFT members and the rights of working class youth.

At the paraprofessionals representatives meeting when Shanker and Velma Hill, president of the paraprofessional chapter, tried to force acceptance of a miserable contract which provides no job security, and an 18 cent an hour raise on a starting salary of \$3500, they were met with boos and cries of "I'm worth more than 18 cents!"

Immediately following this meeting, the contract ratification vote was postponed to some indefinite time in the future. As a result of this paraprofessionals have been working since January 2 without a contract in clear opposition to their vote of "No contract, No work."

But Shanker's attempt to put a lid on the opposition to his sellout cannot last long. Rank and file members all over the city are calling for strike action against the layoffs, the para contract, and the Pay Board.

The UFT Committee for New Leadership is demanding that the UFT leadership call an immediate strike on February 1 if one UFT member is laid off. It is calling for the defense of the right of the paraprofessionals to a living wage, by rejecting the proposed settlement and for strike action of the entire UFT. These demands will be taken into the upcoming delegates meeting.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John
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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.

Seatrain Fires Navy Yard Men

BY AN SIU MEMBER

BROOKLYN—Seatrain Shipbuilding Company has fired more than 125 men over the past six weeks at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, ostensibly for latenesses and absences.

The real reason for these firings is that Seatrain is preparing for massive speedup with a reduction in the workforce. For this, Seatrain is bringing 140 highly skilled Scottish shipbuilders here to do the work of 560 men in the yard.

Seatrain has been in existence at the former Brooklyn Navy Yard for more than three years together with the Commerce

Labor Industrial Corporation of Kinsborough (CLICK), which serves as the employment agency for Seatrain.

CLICK was set up and financed by the government in an attempt to curtail the growing militancy of Black workers and youth against the conditions of unemployment by providing some jobs for youth in Fort Greene, Williamsburg, and Bedford Stuyvesant.

The Nixon Administration has now begun to slash funds to programs like CLICK. Upgrading of the men to higher categories with higher pay as required by the contract is not being done.

The union leadership has consistently refused to fight against



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Win The Fight Against Oppression

The inauguration of Nixon in 1973 marked a turning point in the relations of workers and youth with the government. Across the country they have been placed under Nixon's gunfire.

Every aspect of their lives has been attacked by inflation, unemployment and budget cuts. These moves by the government have been met with tremendous hostility and resistance by the working class.

Marx Essex and now four young men who entered a sporting goods store in the Bushwick area of Brooklyn to obtain weapons reflect the movement of a generation who will not accept the policies of this government. It is a statement of thousands of young people who are determined to fight until the end against the government.

The Young Socialists defends these young men in their heroic act to fight back against oppression in the United States.

Despite all the lies and distortions of the capitalist press, it was very clear that these men entered the sporting goods store in order to liberate ammunition and arms for the struggle that they saw ahead. Their intentions were to elevate the struggle against this government, not to take money or kill the hostages.

These occurrences are the first elemental expression of the movement of the working class. These acts are not done out of desperation but are the expression of the will of the working class to struggle.

They represent the upward movement of the working class in this period of bitter confrontations. Sections of youth who are now turning toward these types of moves show the real strength and preparation of the working class for the new struggle that lies ahead between workers and the government.

The government is shaken up by every move that workers and youth take against their policies. The mobilization of hundreds of armed cops, equipped with weapons perfected in the mass murder of Vietnamese workers and peasants, to capture one person in Louisiana and now four men in New York, reveals a glimpse of the extent that the government will go in their attacks against the working class.

Moves isolated from the political mobilization of the working class will end up defeated. These acts of terrorism cannot lead the youth forward. They can only go so far until they are crushed by the police.

This method gives no political direction to workers and youth. The only answer to Nixon and this government is the political mobilization of workers and youth united in a fight against the government.

These attacks on the lives of youth cannot be answered outside of workers taking control of the industries, schools and every other aspect of their lives.

Conducting this struggle requires an understanding of the nature of this government and what it has in store for the working class. Only with the understanding of Marxism can a strategy be developed which can mobilize workers and youth politically against the government.

The fight to construct this movement today is the fight of the Young Socialists. All youth who want to take up this fight to defend the rights and gains of the working class and destroy this government should join with the Young Socialists. In Bushwick the Young Socialists has been fighting to rally youth and workers to take up a struggle against the attacks of the government.

We must answer Nixon with the construction of a mass revolutionary youth movement in the United States. All youth willing to take up this fight should join the Young Socialists and attend the First National Conference in May.



The first meeting of the Watts (Los Angeles) Young Socialists

Bushwick: 'People Care About Those Brothers'

BY ADELE SINCLAIR

BROOKLYN—Four Black youth who took over a Brooklyn sporting goods store last Friday have been arraigned in court on charges of murder, attempted murder, robbery, kidnapping, assault and possession of dangerous weapons.

For 47 hours, they withstood the pressure of surrender in the face of hundreds of cops, sharpshooters, and armored tanks surrounding them. Surrounding the cops were thousands of workers and youth—there, not out of curiosity, but to defend the four young militants.

On Friday, around 6 pm, they had entered John & Al's Sports Store, 927 Broadway. This is one of the most well-equipped weapons and ammunition stores in the Northeast.

POLITICAL

The political nature of this incident cuts right through all the whitewashing of the capitalist press. They have tried to detail this whole event as a simple robbery, distorting each and every move with misinformation and outright lies, as they did less than one week ago with Mark Essex in New Orleans.

The same kind of hysteria which was whipped up around Attica is now used to try to warm up the electric chair. This is the preparation which the government makes for militants and trade unionists determined to fight back. It is also the frenzied staging for a witch-hunt of Black Muslims which in turn will lead the way for yanking Black youth off the streets and throwing them into jail.

The first of the nine hostages released on Sunday reported that she had been well treated. Later, the press was to refer to "hours of gun terror" and claim that

these hostages escaped through some mysterious stairway. The four hold-up men made it clear that they did not want any of the hostages harmed. This is why they allowed them to go to another area of the building to be out of the line of fire.

FIGHT

If the hostages did escape, it was only due to the fact that the fight of these four youth was not with the nine hostages but with the government and its armed bodies of men. As Mark Essex's mother expressed, concerning the attitude of today's generation of youth: "You took it, we won't."

This sums up the mood of young workers and students all across the country and around the world, whose initial expression takes the form of these individual acts.

These four youth refused to compromise with the police and all the liberal agents it sent to "talk with" them: ministers, lawyers, doctors, etc. There were thousands of people in the streets, expressing confusion and outright disagreement with the methods of these youth. At the same time the complete hostility of these people to the police was the only thing which protected these youth from the fate of Mark Essex.

INTERVIEWS

On Sunday, January 21, just prior to the surrender, Young Socialist reporters interviewed people in the streets. These interviews were conducted in the midst of rock-and-bottle throw-

ing at the police who attempted to push the crowd back several times with clubs.

One young worker, Philip, a member of Local 3 of the International Union of Electrical Workers, who lives in the Bushwick area, was asked why he thought the hold-up took place.

"Who knows the reason? We don't have enough information yet...but I don't see the goal, really. They're going to lose eventually. Those who don't get shot will spend the rest of their life in jail.

"This is definitely a ghetto, an oppressed area. Maybe they did it because they were bogged down in the ghetto, maybe they just want to be martyrs."

PREPARATION

When asked if he saw any relation between this incident and the New Orleans shootout with Mark Essex barely a week ago, Philip stated: "He (Essex) probably inspired a lot of oppressed people. But even though the cause may be just, it's in vain. Look what happened to the Panthers. This is the time for preparation, not yet armed action."

Al, 18 years old, lives in the Flatbush section of Brooklyn. "I don't know what really is happening, but the people care about those brothers. People outside of Bushwick came to show their support. Those guys have been raised in this ghetto and are trying to gain whatever they can."

A young Spanish worker was overheard saying: "If they think they're gonna push workers around, they must be crazy."

(Continued On Page 6)

Join the Young Socialists!

- ___ I would like to join the YS.
- ___ Please send me information YS activities in my area.

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 ADDRESS _____
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Young Socialist Detroit Agencies Boost Profits By Exploiting Youth

BY KEN WESTON

DETROIT—Auto plants and factories dominate Detroit, yet working class youth in "Motor City" suffer one of the highest unemployment rates among youth in the entire city: 40 percent.

Layoffs at GM, Ford and Chrysler are denying more and more youth the opportunity to any decent paying job and forcing them to accept substandard jobs. Many must accept the highly exploitative, temporary "day labor" agencies which are reviving labor practices abolished long ago by the unions.

Marvin, a youth who has worked two months for the Somebody, Sometime Company, described the working conditions for day laborers to the Young Socialist. He said:

"First off, you only come here when you can't find a job anywhere else because not only do they pay bottom dollar (\$1.75 per hour), but they give you jobs nobody else will do. Last week, we went out to pick up trash frozen to the ground in 15 degree weather while it was snowing."

The rules of the job agency are designed to turn the terrible working conditions often found at the job sites to the agency's favor and profit. "You never know just what to expect," Marvin continued.

"If you quit working before eight hours is up, they hold your check for 72 hours and dock your pay to only \$1.60 per hour instead of \$1.75. Once they told us we had an outside job working on small

10 foot platforms.

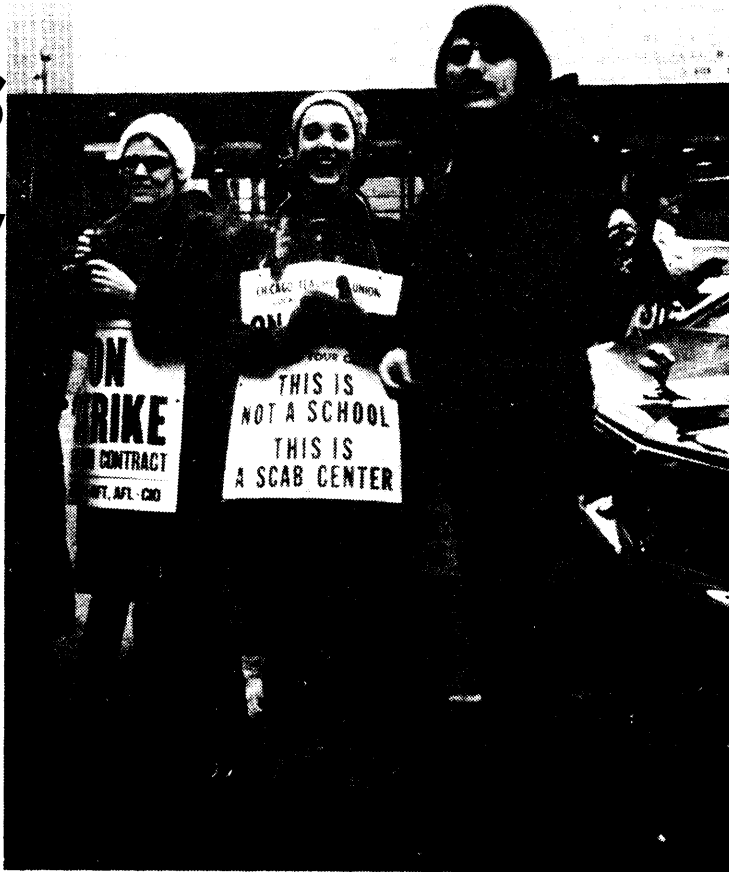
"When we got there the small 10 foot platforms were really 30 foot high power electrical towers at the Edison Electric plant. We called up Somebody, Sometime and said we didn't want to do the work. They refused to send out a bus until 4 pm so we did the job anyway."

Although Marvin works for and is paid by Somebody, Sometime, the agency charges him 70 cents a day for transportation to the job site from the hiring hall. Day laborers find themselves doing the job of a regular worker at half the pay.

"Even though you don't have medical coverage like other workers, they still expect you to do dangerous jobs just because you're a day laborer," Marvin said.

"You have to understand that this job originated for drunks who just wanted some wine money. But now there's a lot of us who just want jobs and they still treat you like a drunk. To them you're just a "Somebody, Sometime."

Marvin concluded by telling the Young Socialist: "All and all it boils down to no jobs. You've got to accept these jobs to exist and they know it."



Chicago teachers on strike are part of a nationwide movement against government's attempt to destroy education through budget slashes.

Minn. Teachers Organize To Defend Jobs

BY A U. OF MINN.
YS MEMBER

Predicting the 1970s to be a "decade of chronic crisis in American higher education," 75 faculty at the University of Minnesota have organized to defend their jobs and tenure.

These faculty members have launched a campaign to build the University of Minnesota Federation of Teachers and have declared that they will seek American Federation of Teachers affiliation and the support of the entire labor movement to defend higher education.

Hyman Berman, one of the

organizers of UMFT, told the Young Socialist that the initial response of the faculty to the organizing drive has been great. Seventy-five members had been recruited virtually overnight. Even faculty from the out-state campus at Duluth have sent requests for information and help

in organizing.

Berman attributed the sudden spurt toward organization to the vicious attacks on faculty jobs and tenure and the realization among many of the faculty that they can only defend their jobs by organizing and drawing support from the labor movement.

BUSHWICK . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

The Young Socialists have been working in the Bushwick area for over a year, selling several hundred subscriptions to workers and youth, holding activities, and recruiting Young Socialists members. A strong leadership is emerging from this political fight to now deepen the struggle in this community for a conscious Marxist understanding of the problems which they face and a program around which to fight.

CONDITIONS

Bushwick youth, predominantly Black and Puerto Rican, live in public housing and tenements which are overcrowded, dilapidated and surrounded by garbage. Eastern District, the neighborhood high school, looks more like a dungeon than an institution for learning.

Unemployment in the area is one of the highest in the city and many of the residents who are Spanish speaking are forced into the lowest paying jobs with the least security. Food prices are higher than average, with the most rotten meats and vegetables lining the counters.

In fact, the only thing fresh or new in the area is the police station for "New York's Finest." It was to this 90 Precinct station that the four youth were brought, with hundreds of youth cheering and raising clenched fists.

The YS spoke to one youth, who goes to New York City Community College, about the role of the police. Frank states:

"Look, my brother got arrested for doing nothing in an A&P market. All these things stem from poverty and frustration of the youth. Some articles in the Bulletin are really great. Americans, nothing seems to move them. But I read about the riots in the 1930s of workers

fighting the police. That's what's going to happen soon.

The method of Essex and these four Brooklyn youth, was the method of pragmatism. They reacted to each rightward turn of the bourgeoisie with a seemingly leftward turn—individual acts of terrorism.

Such a method cuts these youth off from the fight to mobilize masses of working people and youth against the government. It is this initial isolation from the movement of the working class and from a conscious, Marxist probing of each new development in the economic crisis which leads potential revolutionaries to the arms of ministers and liberal politicians. This was the course of Huey P. Newton's degeneration.

STRENGTH

This Bushwick shootout takes place in a period of tremendous strength and forward movement of workers and youth internationally. It was merely the tip of the iceberg and only the beginning of our answer to Nixon.

This fight, however, must be turned to the construction of a mass, revolutionary youth movement, to building Young Socialists clubs everywhere that youth are under attack. Only in this way can we turn to older workers to demand that they defend our right to a decent education and a decent job.

Youth must lead the fight to construct an American Labor Party pledged to socialist policies by starting discussion on the Draft Program of the Young Socialists, now being published in the Bulletin. This must be done in preparation for our First National Conference, May 26-27. We urge all youth to begin this fight by joining the Young Socialists.

St. Paul Cops Kill Two Men

BY
A YS REPORTER

ST. PAUL, Jan. 20—Taking their lead from the New Orleans shootout, St. Paul police have brutally killed two young men in the last week.

Last week, police shot in the back and killed Booker T. Ellis, a 25 year old burglary suspect, after a scuffle with a patrolman outside the Civil Bingo Hall. Authorities found a total of \$36 in his possession.

Today, a 25 year old night maintenance man was shot in the neck and killed in a local shopping center. He was employed at the center. Patrolmen were on duty in the Penny's store because of recent reported thefts in the store. When a man was seen inside the store, police killed him. He was later identified as Robert Borchardt, the night maintenance man. Borchardt was unarmed.

Dear Editor,

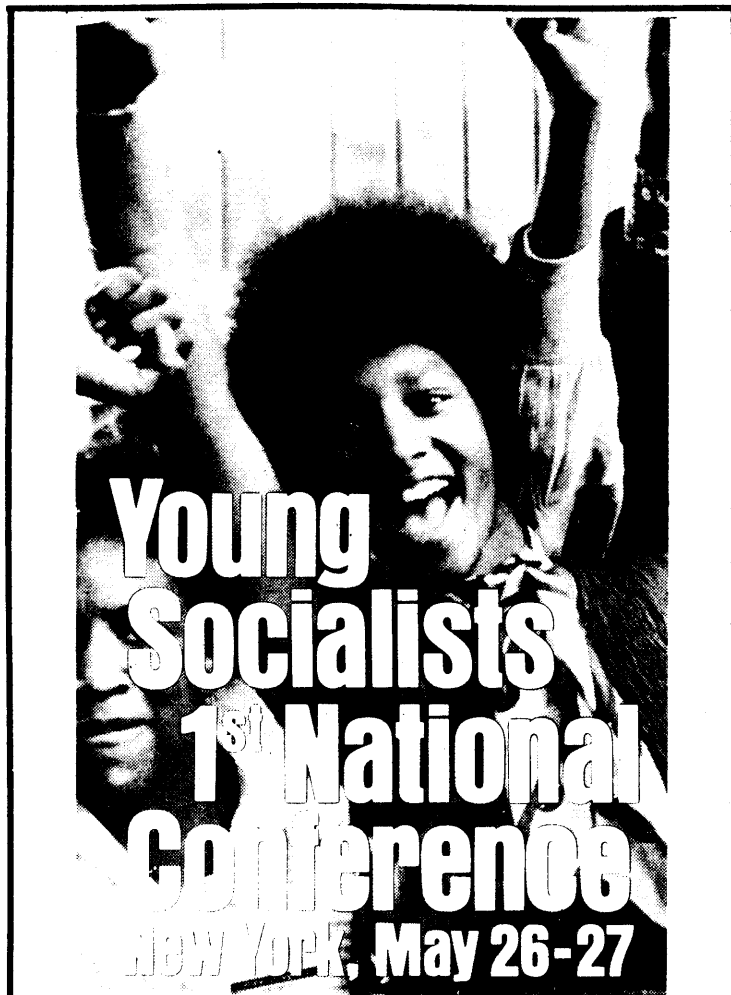
I just joined the Young Socialists because it shows me a way to fight against the government. I have been on state aid since I was eight years old. Then I was taken away from my home. The government said that my mother was unfit but the real problem was that she couldn't find a job.

The state sent me to all sorts of foster homes. The foster parents always used me for special things—to help out their own kids. When I was old enough to work, one of my foster parents took my money to "save it for me." The next day they came back with all sorts of junk they had bought with my money at a tag sale. Other times they took my money to play bingo.

Now I am finally back home. The state was supposed to put me on job training but my counselor just told me that all job training programs have been ended.

I know a lot of other kids whose lives have been the same. I really was excited when I went to Washington because everybody I sold a paper to and told about the Young Socialists said that the Bulletin was the only paper sold there that told the truth about the government and the way things are for kids and workers today. That is why I joined the Young Socialists.

Norman
Hartford Young Socialists



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

For more information write: Young Socialists
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Young Socialists Draft Program

Drugs And Gangs

This is the fourth 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.

GANGS

In this period, youth will fight in any way possible against the mounting attacks on all their rights. The attempt by youth to find a way out of the rotten conditions of capitalism has been reflected in the development of gangs and the turn towards drugs by sections of youth.

Gangs have developed because of the lack of a political leadership which could lead the youth onto the revolutionary road.

The Stalinists, revisionists and nationalists are responsible for the turn away from politics by a section of youth because their programs led many youth who wanted to fight back against the government's attacks to a deadend.

The formation of gangs at this time is an extremely dangerous and reactionary turn on the part of the youth. Gangs are used as a bludgeon against the political development of the youth.

Although some gangs claim to be political, they are all fundamentally based on a hostility to politics and theory. Political discussions are suppressed particularly by the leadership which caters to the backward conceptions of the youth.

The gangs are creating deeper divisions among the youth, while feeding illusions of gaining reforms from local government

agencies. The gangs fight each other for domination of territory. This creates the greatest confusion among youth who are seeking to fight for decent living conditions which can only be done through a political fight, a revolutionary fight against the government.

There is no way youth can answer the attacks of the government by themselves. The capitalist class would like nothing better than to have youth fighting youth instead of attacking unemployment and the cuts in education.

The Young Socialists must fight to break youth away from gangs. The crucial political questions must form the basis on which thousands of youth must unite against the attacks of the government.

DRUGS

The complete bankruptcy of capitalism can be clearly seen with the extreme rise in the use of drugs. Because of the rotting conditions youth are forced to live under, a section of youth turn to drugs and try to solve the problems that confront them in their heads.

Youth from elementary school age on up have taken this suicidal step. The number

of youth turning to drugs has increased every year.

This is what capitalism has to offer the youth. In fact, it is the big corporations and politicians who are behind the illegal traffic of drugs—a traffic which makes a net profit of billions of dollars a year.

It is through the use of drugs that the capitalist class will try to stop the youth from turning to revolutionary politics and fighting the real source of the problems. Instead, the ruling class wants the youth to turn inward and think that the problem lies in their heads so they first must get "their head together."

The problems of the youth are not in their heads or their personalities but in the real material world.

WE DEMAND:

•DRIVE OUT THE DRUG PUSHERS FROM THE SCHOOLS AND NEIGHBORHOODS.

•CONDEMN THE REPRESSIVE POLICE ATTACKS ON THE YOUTH.

•THE ONLY ROAD FORWARD FOR THE YOUTH IS THE BUILDING OF A MASS YOUNG SOCIALISTS MOVEMENT.



Above, a section of the audience at the Keep Left Annual General Meeting. Gerry Healy, below, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, addresses meeting. At his left, Keep Left editor Gary Gurmeet.

Keep Left Leads The Fight:

Defend Democratic Rights In Britain

BY ADELE SINCLAIR

The British Young Socialists recently celebrated their 21 year of continuous publication as the only revolutionary Trotskyist youth paper in Britain. The general theme of the Annual General Meeting (AGM) for 1973 was "Defend Democratic Rights!"

Over 1400 students and young trade unionists attended. Keep Left editor, Gary Gurmeet, addressed the packed audience by saying: "We start the year with what must be an all-out campaign in defense of the basic democratic rights of millions of people."

With Britain's entry into the Common Market, it is these basic rights which the Tory government intends to destroy completely. In allying itself with the most reactionary forces of European capital, the Tories now lay the basis for an upward leap in unemployment, a steep rise in the cost of living and further repression of poli-

tical and trade union rights.

Gurmeet stated: "No one who has followed the rule of this Tory government over the past two years and seven months can deny that the ruling class in Britain has one main ambition—to impose a dictatorship of capital over the working class.

UNPRECEDENTED

"We live in an unprecedented situation in the history of British capitalism. It is now not only illegal to take part in so-called 'unfair' industrial practices but it is also illegal for workers to demand higher wages."

He emphasized the importance of understanding the developments in Northern Ireland where 21,000 British troops are now in control. It is here that the real face of British capital was revealed: murder, barbaric torture and suspension of legal

rights. These methods should be viewed as setting a precedent for what must now be done to the British working class.

LEAPS

John Simmance, National Secretary of the British Young Socialists, warned that 1973 posed a showdown between the Tories and the working class. This requires great leaps on the part of Keep Left to guide and lead the struggles of the youth. He stated:

"Our paper has been able to gain because our youth have been able to go out and sell the paper, campaign for it, fight for it and write for it."

In 1950, it was the fight of youth for Trotskyist policies inside the British Labour Party which led to the launching of Keep Left. Their consistent struggle against all reformist and revisionist tendencies inside the working class prepared the way for their break with the Labour Party and unification with the Socialist Labour League.

In this way, Keep Left emerged as a fighting paper, reaching important sections of working class youth and developing them as Marxists.

Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, spoke on the critical im-

portance of leadership today. He stated that the question of rights was "on the table" in every working class household.

In order to defend their basic standard of living, the working class must force the Tories out of office and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. This fight is inseparable from the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party.

Healy stated: "This is a year like no other year in our lifetime. This is the crunch. There must be no marking time, no evasion of responsibility. Join with us in the building of the revolutionary party."

The enthusiasm and determination of the youth at the AGM to build a Trotskyist leadership in the working class was expressed in raising 178.74 pounds (\$423) for Keep Left.



Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

What Phase Three Really Means

Since Nixon unveiled Phase Three, the labor bureaucracy led by George Meany has been claiming that the government has taken "a step in the right direction" which deserves the support of the AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers and Teamsters.

The union-busting machinery of Phase Three is the product of Nixon's determination to directly control the labor movement. He disbanded the Pay Board only because it did not sufficiently consolidate the power of the government over the wages of millions of workers.

In place of the Pay Board, there now exists the Cost of Living Council which has the power to roll back wage increases if they are above the "voluntary" 5.5 percent guidelines.

At the head of this Council is George Shultz, who is not only Treasury Secretary but also Nixon's closest adviser, functioning without any legal limits upon his authority. He does not even have to give Congress the time of day. Shultz answers to Nixon only.

Every contract goes to the Cost of Living Council, which passes it on to Shultz who then goes to Richard Nixon for the decision. So Phase Three means that Richard Nixon has—under law—total authority to determine what the wages of the five million workers up for new contracts in 1973 will be.

As for labor's participation in this process, the five bureaucrats who have joined in the Labor-Management Advisory Committee have even less authority than they had on the Pay Board.

On the Pay Board, Meany could at least claim that one-third of the votes were cast by representatives of the trade unions. Now, the advisers are **nothing but advisers** who have no control at all over the decisions actually arrived at in the White House.

These are the facts, and the Cost of Living Council itself would not deny that the **Bulletin** has correctly interpreted Phase Three. An Administration official admitted to the **Bulletin**:

"Phase Three is a control phase. The press has blown the stuff about voluntary guidelines out of proportion. There is no way to conclude from what President Nixon said that the controls are over. We are just trying to shift some of the onus back on labor."

Meany, Woodcock and Fitzsimmons are deliberately misleading American workers about the real character of Phase Three.

Labor must be mobilized to smash Phase Three. The AFL-CIO must summon a Congress of Labor to unite all workers in general strike action against Phase Three and to construct a labor party that will fight for power against Nixon and establish a workers government pledged to socialist policies.

The task before the Continuations Committee, which meets in St. Louis on February 18, is to develop the leadership within the trade unions that will take this fight forward.



The Stalinist "Sign Now!" banner dominated speaker's platform on Jan. 20.

What we think

Zagarell School Of Falsification

(Continued From Page 1)

and for standing in the way of overall peaceful coexistence.

There are now reports that since the bombing there has been a split within the North Vietnamese Politburo. One section reportedly maintains that the consolidation of socialism in North Vietnam can only be brought about by its victory in the South.

This is the real situation in Vietnam that Zagarell tries to cover. The CP uses the SWP-YSA to attack Trotskyism, hitting at their strength, their history and their statements denouncing the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy. But in the antiwar movement the SWP-YSA have been complicit with the Stalinists to the point of even dropping the demand for "Out Now" in the official slogans for the January 20 demonstration.

The SWP, during the period of Nixon's election and after, accepted the Stalinists' push for a deal in Vietnam. They closed down their antiwar movement claiming that the deal had been signed and there was nothing that could be done. This was only weeks before Nixon began the bombing. In preparing for the demonstration on January 20, the SWP made a deal dropping opposition to the Stalinists' "Sign Now" campaign and accepting the slogans "End the war now and stop the bombing." As the Stalinists put it themselves, in the minds of most, "end the war now" means 'sign the treaty now.' The SWP even congratulated itself for stopping the bombing, for forcing the Vietnamese back to the bargaining table. This is why the Stalinists were able to dominate this demonstration with their "Sign Now" campaign.

Andrew Pulley of the SWP as he spoke from the platform, with a "Sign Now" banner waving behind him, was interrupted and told his time was up when he began correctly attacking the role of the Stalinist bureaucracies in pressuring the North Vietnamese into this deal. Pulley was cut off by the very movement he and his party have constructed.

Through the attacks on the SWP in the antiwar movement, the Communist Party is digging up all of the slanders of the Moscow Trials against Trotskyism. During the Moscow trials, Trotsky and the leaders of the Bolshevik Party were framed and slandered, accused of being agents of imperialism and fascism. Thousands of communists and working class militants were jailed, murdered and persecuted in these trials to cover the betrayals of Stalinism and its responsibility for

the defeat of the working class in the 1930s. Zagarell, in his recent article, openly defends the murder of the Trotskyists in Vietnam in the 1940s which was part of this witch-hunt.

Today the CP revives these slanders to try to prevent the working class from fighting Nixon and from developing a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions. Zagarell's article follows the editorial on January 6 in the Daily World, attacking what the CP calls "Trotskyite Nixonism."

This slander campaign goes hand and hand with the Stalinists' attempt to rescue imperialism from its crisis and to disarm the working class. Zagarell makes a desperate attempt to defend the perspective which lies behind this—"socialism in one country."

"To this day the SWP and YSA staunchly support Trotsky's long discredited theory of permanent revolution. The basic idea behind this disproven theory is that socialism cannot be built in one country. In essence, the Trotskyites believe that any peace agreement short of socialism in the YS will be a sellout....To the Trotskyites, a transitional demand is one which people want now but which can only be won under socialism."

"Socialism in one country" is the theory developed by Stalin against Leninism which said that the Russian revolution could be defended not through the struggle of the working class for power internationally but through compromise with imperialism. It states that there can be peaceful coexistence between the workers' states and imperialism and between the working class and the capitalist class in every country.

The Vietnam war today stands as a condemnation of "socialism in one country" and a confirmation of the theory of permanent revolution. The massive extermination unleashed by Nixon last month, his threats of nuclear war, make it clear that the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, the struggle for self-determination and the unification of Vietnam, requires the struggle by the working class for power. The defense of the Vietnamese revolution requires the mobilization of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries against their own governments. This is the policy which Lenin and Trotsky fought for. This is the perspective the SWP itself has abandoned.

Lenin in his Letters From Afar attacked those "who in the present imperialist war address pious peace appeals to the bourgeois governments. The bourgeois governments either refuse to listen to such appeals and even prohibit them, or they allow

them to be made and assure all and sundry that they are only fighting to conclude the speediest and 'justest' peace, and that all the blame lies with the enemy. Actually peace to bourgeois governments turns out to be deception of the people...."

The Stalinists attack the Transitional Program in order to defend reformism, to tell the working class that peace can be made with Nixon both in Vietnam and at home. They say this at a time when even the most basic rights of the working class for housing, decent education and a decent standard of living requires a political struggle against the government, requires the construction of a labor party which fights for socialist policies. This party will be built in the course of the revolutionary struggles now opening up in this period. This is the perspective of Trotskyism in the US to prepare the working class for power.

This is why we say there are two tendencies in the labor movement today: Stalinism, represented by the Communist Party, and Trotskyism, represented by the Workers League.

We warn that the Communist Party, if it has its way, will carry out the very same policies in the United States that they now carry out in Vietnam. Just as the CP not only opened the door to the massive bombing in Vietnam but in the face of it backed the deal the Stalinist bureaucracies are trying to force on the workers and peasants, so will the CP in the face of Nixon's attacks on American workers back the trade union bureaucracies' attempts to hold back a struggle against Nixon. They will open the door for Nixon to use the same methods of repression here that he has used in Vietnam.

This is why George Morris in all his articles on Phase Three is unable to put forward a program for labor to fight Phase Three and Nixon. The CP's talk about "unity" and an "anti-monopoly coalition" is a cover for sections of the labor bureaucracy like Woodcock. These labor leaders have made their deal with Nixon to contain the labor movement and implement Phase Three and fight, supported by the CP, at every point against labor forming its own political party to begin the offensive against Nixon.

Trade unionists will prepare for the showdown with Nixon only by defeating the policies of Stalinism in the labor movement and constructing an alternative leadership in the unions. The Continuations Committee meeting on February 18 is critical in this task which will map out a strategy to take the fight into the labor movement for a Congress of Labor to prepare action against Nixon's war in Vietnam and here and to construct a labor party.

2500 Bulletins Sold In Washington

The Workers League and the Young Socialists sold 2500 copies of the Bulletin and \$200 of Marxist literature at the January 20th antiwar demonstration in Washington. This was the largest single sale in the history of the Bulletin and gives a tremendous impetus now to the drive to expand the circulation of the Bulletin to 25,000 by June 1st.



Building the Revolutionary Youth Movement in the U.S.

3. Split in the YSL

by Guy Williams

THE JULY 3, 1957 YSL Convention marked a critical turning point not only in the history of the revolutionary youth movement but of American Trotskyism as a whole. The convention was held in the old, dusty third floor loft of the Shachtmanites situated at 114 West 14 Street, with a commanding view of the National Guard Armory. Considerably under 100 people were crammed in to the hall, comprising the bulk of the youth forces in that period with any connection with Trotskyism.

In the back of the hall, in the visitors section, sat Murry Weiss, representative of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. Murry Weiss took copious notes of every development. Sitting near him was Max Shachtman who had led the split from the SWP in 1940. It was to be the last meeting of representatives of these two parties. It was the end of the road for Shachtman politically.

During one of the recesses, Shacht-

man came up to speak with Weiss. Weiss told him that this time he had really crossed the Rubicon into the camp of the class enemy. Shachtman answered in his typical cynicism: "I have crossed the Rubicon so many times in the pages of the Militant that I am getting seasick." Underneath the attempt at humor was bitterness for this time it was not Shachtman who was leading a split from the SWP but the SWP which was winning a section of the youth away from Shachtman.

The split which was to emerge in the aftermath of this convention not only laid the basis for the birth of the Trotskyist youth movement but for the political death of the Shachtmanite movement. Shachtman was to proceed to the right at lightning pace after this convention, completely liquidating any independent tendency. Shachtman, together with a mere handful of his followers, was to end up in the leadership of the right wing of the Socialist Party.

The YSL left wing put up a terrific fight against the proposal to liquidate into the SP-SDF. The left wing fought to turn the YSL toward a regroupment with healthy elements in the process of breaking from Stalinism and to build a revolutionary youth movement.

An entire evening was spent debating the crisis of world Stalinism. The central question was Hungary and the relationship of revolutionaries to that revolution. Shane Mage, as the reporter for the left wing, sharply exposed the right wing's political and theoretical position in holding the view that revolutionaries

should fight for "democracy in general." He showed that the Leninist conception of democracy was that it was simply the disguised dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the working class. In opposition to this perspective, he posed the correct revolutionary demand of "all power to the workers' councils."

Tim Wohlforth reported on a series of amendments to the line resolution which were actually in direct opposition to the spirit of that resolution. He pointed out the imperialist character of the United Nations. He stressed that the UN's only design if it intervened in Hungary would be to restore capitalism, not to help the workers.

He called for the formation of a Leninist vanguard party in Hungary as an indispensable condition for the victory of the Hungarian Revolution. This was in sharp opposition to the right wing, who looked toward the Hungarian Social Democratic Party as the revolutionary party.

The strategy of the right wing at the convention was completely defensive and totally lacking in principle. It consisted in trying to split the left wing and isolate it within the YSL by threatening it with organizational reprisals and baiting it over the question of the SWP. Thus the force which had covered its split in 1940 with all sorts of rhetoric about "internal democracy" did its best to crush the internal democracy within the YSL.

Murry Weiss described the situation as follows:

"In addition to the constitutional amendments, the right wing passed a resolution on 'Democracy and Discipline' which contained a series of indictments of

Tim Wohlforth's actions and the activities of the left wing as a whole. When pressed by the left wing to specify what they intended to do with this 'bill of particulars' since the left wing explicitly announced its refusal to leave the American Forum or stop its efforts to effect a regroupment of revolutionary youth in one independent, militant, socialist organization, the right wing replied:

"This resolution is not a censure; according to our constitution a censure is a disciplinary action that can be taken only after a trial. We are fully aware that you are trying to get us to expel you for participation in the American Forum. But we will not do that. What we are doing is wiping the slate clean. There will be no disciplinary action for past misconduct. This resolution merely spells out where we think the left wing is out of order and we warn that should it continue to break discipline, we will take action."

"Regarding this threat there are the following conflicting elements in the evidence: At some points the right-wing leaders would say, 'We have a perfect record; we have never expelled anyone from the YSL.' And they would imply that they do not intend to be 'provoked' into doing so in the future. Other remarks carried the note of a threat that if the 'breaking of discipline occurred in relation to the SWP, like speaking at SWP or AYS meetings, immediate disciplinary action would be taken, particularly against Tim Wohlforth.

"These organizational measures of the right wing at the convention were supplemented by a calculated campaign to split the left wing. The right wing

attempted to differentiate those left wingers which in their opinion were closer to the SWP from the rest of the caucus.

"The premise for this tactic was the double organizational formula described above which sought to convince left wingers that if they broke with a perspective of collaboration with the SWP they would be given ample room to live and work as a tendency within the YSL."

Murry Weiss met the attacks on the SWP head-on thus contributing to the political basis upon which the future youth movement would be built. Much was being made by the right wing of a quote from a letter by Weiss to Cannon in 1955 calling for the smashing of Shachtmanism among youth. Right in the middle of the debate, a left-wing delegate requested that her time be allotted to Weiss to explain the statement.

"Weiss devoted his five minutes exclusively to the question of the 17-year record of Shachtmanism which had now culminated in a proposal to support capitalist politicians in the name of socialism. The intent of the right wing in quoting the letter was, of course, to charge that when Weiss spoke of 'smashing Shachtmanite influence among the youth with ideological weapons,' he meant smashing the YSL as an organization. Weiss didn't deal with the YSL or the turn of the SWP toward it because he felt that under the circumstances a fundamental evaluation of the struggle of tendencies within the workers' movement and the place of Shachtmanism in this struggle was the most essential need. He deliberately chose to make such an evaluation rather than spend his few minutes dealing with secondary tactical questions.

"At first a number of left wingers were alarmed and disturbed by Weiss's talk. They felt that he could have relieved the pressure on them and drawn some of the centrists closer by dealing with the specific question of the SWP's attitude toward the YSL at the time. In further discussions, while this feeling was not dispelled, the left wingers gained a better appreciation of what the objective of the talk was. Weiss explained that at a moment when the right wing was driving to expel the left, and when they had unfolded a full pro-social democratic position on American politics, any attempt on his part to make a 'soft' tactical speech would be construed as a retreat from the fundamental opposition the SWP had towards the treacherous course of Shachtmanism."

The YSL Convention marked the real and unhealable split between the two irreconcilable tendencies—the Left Wing Caucus which was to play a central role in the construction of the Trotskyist youth movement and the right wing which was to play such a reactionary role in social democratic and centrist politics for many years to come. The split however was not formally consummated until September. However, the sharpness of the situation left no room for doubt that there were only two roads ahead. For this reason, the convention and the period immediately after it saw a deepening of the crisis within the Left Wing Caucus itself.

THE NEW CRISIS WITHIN THE LEFT WING

Before the convention had started, at a caucus meeting of the left wing, Scott Arden from Chicago proposed that the caucus should not make its participation in the American Forum a principled question. He proposed that, if the convention voted against allowing participation, the caucus should yield to the decision under protest and so inform Muste. Also, he proposed that the caucus should work to avoid a split at all costs, even at the cost of sacrificing any collaboration with radical youth tendencies outside the YSL.

Scott Arden represented a left-Shachtmanite tendency in the LWC. If this centrist force had not been defeated over the course of the summer, there would never have been a rebirth of Trotskyism among the youth and the formation of a Trotskyist youth movement. Instead, all that had gone into the building of the youth movement up to this point would have been destroyed and the new healthy cadres gathered would have been completely disoriented as the organization degenerated into some sort of centrist left-Shachtmanite swamp.

Scott Arden opposed what Shacht-

manism had become, but refused to make a complete analysis of exactly what Shachtmanism was historically. This method led him to complete hostility to Trotskyism. After the convention ended, this tendency hardened. This hardening was clearly revealed in the three resolutions debated at a caucus meeting after the convention. The motions presented were:

"(1) Submitted by Martha Wells, called for an immediate break with the YSL on the grounds that the left and the right wing were moving in opposite directions, that there was no basis for compromise, and that the caucus should frankly say so and proceed with its main business of building a new center for radical youth regroupment. This position gained a considerable support but not a majority.

"(2) Submitted by Arden, called for remaining in the YSL and continuing the fight under the conditions imposed by the right wing. This position received only Arden's vote.

"(3) Submitted by Wohlforth, Mage and Robertson, to continue the course previously adopted by the caucus, to give full public expression to the left wing's political views as required by the unfolding situation, to continue collaboration with the SWP youth, regulating this collaboration by the tempo of developments in the field of radical youth regroupment and not by the organizational threats of the right wing, to refrain from any petty provocations which appeared to merely invite expulsions, and to project a common youth publication to appear in the fall, in collaboration with the SWP and other radical youth. This position was adopted by the majority and appears to have satisfied the supporters of Martha Wells' motion, even though they preferred a more decisive cleavage. Arden also agreed to work unitedly on the caucus decision."

This dispute revealed not only the capitulatory tendency of Arden within the Left Wing but the impatience of another section of the Left Wing. It is true that the struggle within the YSL took a considerable period of time and during that period neither the SWP nor the forces within the Left Wing could take full advantage of the crisis within the Stalinist camp. Actually, once these forces were completely free to make this intervention in the fall of 1957 a full year had passed since the Hungarian Revolution and most of the forces shaken by the Stalinist crisis had either been dispersed or were solidifying their positions back into the Stalinist camp.

But the struggle within the YSL was a necessary theoretical preparation for the construction of the youth movement. Only through a complete break with centrism, which had dominated those youth independent of the Stalinists, could the Stalinist youth themselves be reached. As it was, the incompleteness of the theoretical struggle which did take place was to do major harm to the youth movement in its work among Stalinist youth in the next period. But this in turn was brought about by the general situation within the Fourth International itself.

Arden originally described his opposition to the SWP as simply a matter of distrust of the organization and a fear of being captured by its "sectarian" politics. His opposition ran much deeper and as was revealed in a letter by him to the other Steering Committee members which dealt with the political positions the new youth movement should have.

"As to your (Shane) suggestions: You say 'support to the colonial revolution, explicitly including the Chinese revolution.' Here we disagree, I think. That is, I'm for supporting China's right to independence, but I'm not for labeling the Chinese revolution 'progressive' or 'part of the world revolution.' That is, I view China in terms of the national question. If you mean support on that basis, fine. On the other aspects ('progressive', 'nationalized property forms—defense thereof', 'world revolution', etc.) I'm in favor of the group having no official position or line.

"On Russia (and Stalinism generally, including China) I agree that we should take no position on the precise sociological definition of the bureaucracy. Also, no position on 'defense.'

"Another real problem is 'reformism.' Several comrades have stated that our

program is 'against Reformism and Capitalism.' This is not true. Our program is against capitalism and Stalinism', if we have to single out any two 'things.' 'Revolution versus 'Reform' is a far lesser matter, or should be publicly treated as such..."

The discussion within the Left Wing was soon to shift to the next necessary steps of creating an independent youth movement. Clearly it was only a matter of time before the formal split came and it was necessary to prepare for this inevitability.

THE DISCUSSION ON THE YS

Actually a full month before the convention Tim Wohlforth had initiated a discussion on this question in a letter circulated not only to members of the Left Wing but also to key SWPers involved in the youth work. However, the discussion which was to break out over these proposals in the period after the convention was to be led by the various leading figures of the Left Wing Caucus. The purpose of this letter, Wohlforth explained, was to:

"Establish correspondence between the Steering Committee members of the Left Wing Caucus of the YSL and others engaged in youth activity in the various localities where we can expect to set up branches of a united socialist youth movement."

In this letter, Tim Wohlforth proposed that a unified youth organization be set up, that the national headquarters be located in New York City, and that a publication be issued called the Young Socialist. Concerning the paper, he stated that:

"A successful publication will have a tremendous impact on the Stalinist youth and will bring them to us even though our forces are small. This means that it must be classed as a necessity and simply has to be done regardless of the sacrifices involved.

"It is my feeling that the best type of publication for our purposes is a newspaper, a four page tabloid size monthly, to begin with. It can easily combine agitational material with propagandistic or feature type material of a somewhat longer length. Also it is more suited to a militant youth movement which wishes to appeal not simply to intellectuals but to militant youth among the working class, the Negro people, and on campus."

Along with his proposal for a newspaper went a conception of what kind of youth movement he saw as necessary to build.

"The proposal that has been worked out during the course of the struggle in the YSL by the left wing and with which the SWP is now in full accord calls for the setting up of a broad militant youth movement whose program would be one of opposition to capitalism and Stalinism, for independent class politics, etc. Its main orientation in the coming period would be to win over many ex-LYLeers (Labor Youth League) and their periphery. The organization would be one of the main proponents for regroupment discussions on the campus on an all-inclusive basis, it would initiate united front activities with all youth including the Stalinist youth, and would carry out a militant struggle in defense of civil rights and civil liberties and for its program.

"Membership requirements would be loose so that all those who are moving in a revolutionary direction can join the group as individuals even if they haven't yet broken completely from Stalinism or social democracy. However within this group the central force will of course be those who are launching and leading this group—the revolutionary socialists from the YSL left wing and the SWP youth. Within this group they would of course struggle for the best possible program and carry out the fullest internal discussion."

"The main orientation of the youth movement, if it is to be successful in this period, must be the college campus. Here is where the possibilities lie and here is where we must be. However this does not mean the giving up of a working class orientation or the exclusion of working class youth forces from our perspectives. The future youth movement must be the type of organization that is attractive to working class youth, one in which working class youth play an important role and one in which they can become the predominant force once the relative quiet-

scence of the working class is changing by the beginning of a mass upsurge. Also the youth movement must be able to assimilate high school youth, which can then be sent to various colleges where we need forces. Furthermore it should also be oriented towards Negro youth whether they be on campus, in the factories, or in the technical and night schools."

Immediately following the convention, the struggle broke out in the Left Wing Caucus. In a confidential communication circulated on July 10, 1957 to all Left Wing Caucus and SWP youth, Shane Mage stated his support for a magazine rather than for a newspaper. The purpose of the communication was to institute a discussion on the issue among all the youth. Shane Mage wrote:

"In my opinion, we need a monthly



magazine for at least three decisively important reasons: tone, content, finances.

"It would be a deadly mistake, in my opinion, for us to conceive our main function as agitation. We simply have no audience of militant youth capable of taking vigorous action on immediate issues. Such an audience existed, to a certain extent, in the thirties—it simply does not exist today. The basic lesson we draw from our analysis of the objective situation in the US is that socialist organizations today are basically propaganda groups. Nothing else is possible today. A propaganda group needs a propaganda organ, not an agitational one. A four page tabloid size newspaper would inescapably set an agitational tone—exactly the tone we would not want. We are right to speak of a 'militant' youth movement, but only if we understand that this means that we present our socialist ideas in a militant and aggressive fashion, seeking to reach as many youths as possible.

"The basic reason why a newspaper is necessarily agitational while a magazine is propagandistic is the obvious consideration of space. A serious, reasoned argument, especially on a complex political problem (like, for instance, the fundamental defects in capitalism, the why and wherefore of Stalinism, the need for

and character of socialism, the nature and importance of the colonial revolution, etc.) simply requires more space than can be given to it in a four page tabloid size newspaper..."

The discussion over the newspaper was extremely significant. Those who favored having a newspaper saw that it would be a tool to actually give a lead to the struggles that youth were involved in as well as to educate the youth politically in the history of the revolutionary movement. The other conception put forward, that of having a magazine, held that all that was required in that period was simply to comment on events in a purely propagandistic manner. The latter position reflected the centrism of the organization at that time.

The discussion over the format of the organ was carried on in every locality of

caucus meetings as a whole, has altered considerably the whole situation.

"Now, rather than just a few (the NYers and Shane and one on the West Coast) in the LWC who must be considered 'SWPers in effect' it is obvious that such comrades constitute a clear majority of the LWC. In other words there are now very few of us who are in any real sense 'non-SWP' available to join in the formation of the new group. At least initially the overwhelming majority of those involved in the new youth group will be SWP members or close sympathizers.

"This considerably reduces the chances of the group maintaining any real political or organizational independence of the SWP—and also reduces the possibilities of the group's existence exerting a strong 'de-sectarianizing' influence on the

every stage of the development and has not attempted to force us to act in a certain way. Furthermore our own political sensibilities tell us that were the SWP to turn into some monster and change its position and try to crush us the end result would be the breaking away from the SWP of a serious number of forces.

"Thus those of us who are rational about our politics and are convinced of the necessity of a regroupment of revolutionary forces both on the youth level within a broad militant movement and on the adult level have proceeded and are proceeding with a plan to build a strong militant independent youth movement in cooperation with the SWP. We are further attempting to reach other forces and have now a good relationship with the Cochranites. If Scott is not able to comprehend all this and on the eve of the convention attempts to question the whole basic approach of the caucus and following the convention urges the Chicago caucus to resign from the LWC there is then nothing I can say to convince him.

"However when he comes up with an idea based on this irrational 'plot theory' of politics, I myself begin to have my doubts. Scott is quite frank about his feelings. He has not yet made up his mind about the new youth movement. He may very well not go into the youth movement with us. We certainly have no basis whatsoever to feel that we can rely on his functioning in Chicago when he frankly feels as he does. Now Scott wants by this move to Chicago to increase his factional weight within the LWC. Now of course it's anyone's privilege to wish to increase one's influence by suggesting organizational changes, gerrymandering and the like. However, on this case to give in to Scott's position would be political suicide. In the first place Chicago is the weakest politically of any of the units. This is best illustrated by Scott himself who has engaged in nothing but foot dragging in the last crucial month at a time when instead he should have rallied to the caucus as this has been our most crucial period. That we succeeded in preserving the caucus is through no fault of Scott's. He tried quite frankly to SPLIT the caucus and made such an offer to Jim among others. I therefore do not consider it healthy to the future youth movement to increase artificially the weight in the organization of a capitulatory tendency within our ranks to be brutally frank."

Shane Mage reacted with complete hysteria to Wohlforth's sharp political assessment. In a personal letter to Wohlforth, he wrote:

"What do you want to do, drive Scott out of the caucus? You are attacking a member of our caucus in a tone that approaches the worst episodes of the fight against the right wing! Your phrase 'a capitulatory tendency within our ranks' is the most ridiculous one conceivable. What size movement do you think we are, anyway? There's no tendency, there is Scott. Our job is not to isolate and discredit Scott, it is to win him over and bring him along with us.

"Scott had a weak attitude at the convention. I saw no evidence that he 'tried quite frankly to split the caucus,' and that never came up in any of our discussions. You don't understand anything about Scott unless you see that his basic motive is his own possibility of playing a leading role. He is too unsure of himself politically to be important on the basis of his ideas—he must depend on organizational issues and details to increase his own importance. Scott's foot dragging in relation to the SWP stems almost entirely from his fear that he will be isolated and unable to be a leader as he is now. If we want to keep him, we have to constantly reassure him that he is wanted, needed, valued, that he is important to us—as, in fact, he is."

Mage proposed that Wohlforth apologize to Arden for his criticism. His entire analysis of the fight could not have been more incorrect than it was. He refused to see things in class terms and this method was connected to his defense of a magazine format earlier.

In a motion drafted by John Worth and signed by Mage and Arden, the centrist tendency inside the caucus capitulated to the majority. They proposed "that there be a national coordinating committee, directly responsible to the LWC Steering Committee and any corresponding AYS

body, until the National Young Socialist Unity Committee is established, located in New York, which will organize discussions among tendencies interested in a new youth organization.

"That the present composition of the committee be Tim, Shane, Bert, and Herschel.

"That the committee be expanded, with the authorization of the aforementioned bodies, whenever there is a possibility of including new tendencies within the youth movement.

"That this committee also function as the basic editorial board of the newspaper."

During the summer months, the LWC leadership deepened its understanding of Shachtmanism. Tim Wohlforth wrote a 22 page history of the Shachtmanite movement starting with its inception in 1940 and finishing with the lessons of the recent faction fight in the YSL. He wrote that: "Marxists hold that fundamental political divergences within the working class movement have a meaning far deeper than their surface appearance might indicate. Such divergences are a reflection of basically different and hostile class forces at work."

The recent convention "in the first place...clears up forever the nature of Shachtmanism, which is today openly and unashamedly a part of the social democracy. Shachtmanism can no longer lay claim to an independent existence between the social democracy and Trotskyism."

"We see that all centrist tendencies are the result of an unstable alliance of revolutionary and reformist elements—an alliance which inevitably falls apart under the impact of events as the organization moves either to the right or to the left. Such is always the fate of centrism and Shachtmanism has been forced to face up to it."

While this document was an excellent analysis of Shachtmanism, it did not completely prepare the LWC leadership for the struggle against the centrists. To do this, it would have been necessary for the SWP to return to the lessons of the struggle against Pabloism in 1953 and train the LWC in its lessons. Because the SWP refused to do this, the next period after the summer was marked by an adaptation to Stalinism by the new youth movement rather than a sharp fight against it.

THE FUSION WITH THE SWP YOUTH

Throughout the crisis in the YSL, the SWP had played a critical role. This was primarily through the relationship between several key leaders of the SWP, particularly Murry Weiss, and the leaders of the Left Wing Caucus.

After the YSL Convention, the collaboration was taken much further. The SWP had set up a new youth organization, the American Youth for Socialism, primarily as a vehicle for collaboration with the Left Wing Caucus youth, as well as with youth breaking from Stalinism.

On May 16, 1957 the AYS issued an open letter to the YSL proposing unity between the two organizations. This letter was printed in the May 20, 1957 issue of the Militant. In this letter Bert Deck, the chairman of the AYS, wrote that the AYS had "been following with great interest the discussion in the (YSL) ranks on the perspectives for socialist youth in America as reported in the publicly distributed Young Socialist Review and the Bulletin of the Left Wing Caucus. The position put forward by the YSL Left Wing Caucus provides the basis for beginning the long and necessary work of constructing a united revolutionary youth movement in the country."

Needless to say, the YSL leadership turned the AYS down and reaffirmed its intention of seeking unity with the SP-SDF, in order to form a broad "Debsian-style party."

The aim of the AYS letter was both to expose as clearly as possible the completely right-wing character of the YSL leadership, its hostility to building a revolutionary youth movement, and to appeal directly to the Left Wing Caucus for closer collaboration.

During the summer, after the YSL convention but before the split was consummated, a series of secret meetings were held between the Left Wing Caucus and SWP youth all over the country. By the



Photo by Fred W. McDarragh

Above, Michael Harrington, presently active in the Socialist Party as a McGovern supporter, led the attack of the right wing of the SP on the Left Wing Caucus. Left, Tim Wohlforth of the LWC on a speaking tour in 1958. Page 9: On May 17, 1960 three Young Socialist Alliance members handed in 10,000 pledges to boycott Woolworths at the firm's corporate headquarters. This campaign 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.

the youth movement. In another internal communication containing a report on the Bay Area Caucus meeting, Jim Robertson reported that it was "moved and carried that the Bay Area LWC become the Berkeley and San Francisco Young Socialist Clubs" and that on the question of a "magazine vs. a newspaper: a polling here after discussion resulted in a vote of 6 for a paper, 0 for a magazine." (Issued between July 13 and 18.)

The discussion was conducted with a sense of urgency as the publication date for whatever publication was to be issued was September 15. By the end of July the discussion was extended to include the question of where the national headquarters should be located, with Scott Arden proposing that it be located in Chicago. Arden advanced several organizational arguments for locating the NO and editorial board in Chicago but in a letter to Murry Weiss he outlined his main considerations.

"Jim made it clear after the convention that he had 'declared himself' for the SWP some time ago—that is, that he (and presumably the other leadership elements in Berkeley) had decided many months ago that whatever their political differences, their organizational future lay with the SWP. This, taken with the convention

SWP—since it is 'captured' to begin with." Earlier in the same letter he wrote:

"I propose, on behalf of Ed and myself, that the National Center and editorial board of the new organization be located in Chicago (instead of N.Y.), with Tim-Martha to come to Chicago, as well as others if necessary.

"While Ed, Jackie and I have differing reasons...for supporting this we all fail to see any possible objection. For my part the only conceivable objection I can see (from the point of view of the SWP) is that the possibilities of the new group being directly controlled (or let's say 'more strongly guided') by the SWP would be reduced if the NO were here."

At the end of July, Tim Wohlforth wrote a blistering counterattack to Arden's proposals.

"I do not intend to open up again a discussion of the SWP with Scott. It is my feeling that Scott's position on this question is beyond the point of rational argumentation. For six months we have been proceeding on a politically necessary course involving informal cooperation with the SWP. WE are all aware that it is impossible to build a militant youth movement in this country without involving the SWP youth. We also are aware that the SWP has been extremely cooperative at

against Reformism and is not true. Our program is 'Reformism and Stalinism', if we put out any two 'things.' 'Reform' is a far lesser and should be publicly treated as

within the Left Wing was the next necessary steps of independent youth movement. It is a matter of time before it came and it was a foregone conclusion for this inevitability.

DISCUSSION ON THE YS
A month before the convention had initiated a discussion in a letter circulated among members of the Left Wing but members involved in the youth discussion which was for these proposals in the convention was to be led by leading figures of the Left. The purpose of this letter, as stated, was to:

...correspondence between the committee members of the Left Wing and the YSL and others engaged in the various discussions. We can expect to set up a united socialist youth

Tim Wohlforth proposed that the organization be set up, with headquarters be located in Chicago, and that a publication be published by the Young Socialist Alliance. He stated that:

...the publication will have a direct effect on the Stalinist youth movement to us even though our program is not a militant youth movement. This means that it must be necessary and simply has to be a sacrifice of the sacrifices in-

...ing that the best type of organization for our purposes is a four page tabloid size newspaper. It can easily combine with propagandistic material of a similar length. Also it is more appealing to militant youth movement than a magazine. It will appeal not simply to militant youth among the Negro people, and on

...proposal for a newspaper of what kind of youth organization we want to build. It has been worked out in the struggle in the Left Wing and with which the program calls for the setting up of militant youth movement. The program would be one of opposition to Stalinism, for its politics, etc. Its main concern for the coming period would be to bring many ex-LYSLers (Labor Youth Socialist League) and their periphery. The program would be one of the main points of regroupment discussions in an all-inclusive basis, it would be limited front activities with the Stalinist youth, and it would be a militant struggle in the area of rights and civil liberties program.

...requirements would be those who are moving in a direction that can join the group even if they haven't yet broken away from Stalinism or reformism. However within this framework the force will of course be in launching and leading this revolutionary socialist front among the SWP youth. It is the best possible program and the least internal discussion.'

...orientation of the youth movement is to be successful in this area of the college campus. Here the possibilities lie and here is the hope. However this does not mean the exclusion of working class youth from our perspectives. A movement must be the one that is attractive to youth, one in which working class youth can play an important role and one in which they can become the pre-dominant force. The relative quiet-

...science of the working class is changing by the beginning of a mass upsurge. Also the youth movement must be able to assimilate high school youth, which can then be sent to various colleges where we need forces. Furthermore it should also be oriented towards Negro youth whether they be on campus, in the factories, or in the technical and night schools."

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"This considerably reduces the chances of the group maintaining any real political or organizational independence of the SWP—and also reduces the possibilities of the group's existence exerting a strong 'de-sectarianizing' influence on the

every stage of the... not attempted to...tain way. Further...sensibilities tell u...turn into some r...position and try t...would be the bre...of a serious num...

"Thus those of u...our politics and...necessity of...revolutionary for...level within a br...and on the adult l...are proceeding...strong militant in...ment in cooperati...further attemptin...and have now a g...Cochranites. If S...prehend all this a...vention attempts...basic approach of...the convention un...to resign from...nothing I can say...

"However whe...idea based on thi...of politics, I my...doubts. Scott is...feelings. He has...about the new yo...very well not go...with us. We certa...soever to feel tha...tioning in Chicago...he does. Now Scot...Chicago to incre...within the LWC...anyone's privileg...one's influence...organizational ch...and the like. How...in to Scott's pos...suicide. In the fi...weakest politica...This is best illus...who has engaged...ing in the last c...when instead he...caucus as this ha...period. That we...the caucus is thr...He tried quite fra...and made such...others. I theref...healthy to the fu...increase artifici...organization of...within our ranks...

Shane Mage...hysteria to Wol...assessment. In...Wohlforth, he wr... "What do you w...of the caucus?...member of our o...proaches the wo...against the righ...capitulatory ten...the most ridiculo...size movement...anyway? There'...Scott. Our job is...credit Scott, it i...him along with u... "Scott had a w...vention. I saw ne...quite frankly to s...never came up i...You don't unders...unless you see th...own possibility o...He is too unsure o...important on the...must depend on...details to increa...Scott's foot drag...SWP stems almos...that he will be is...leader as he is r...him, we have to...that he is wante...is important to u...

Mage propos...to Arden for hi...analysis of the f...more incorrect t...see things in cla...was connected...magazine format...In a motion dr...signed by Mage...tendency inside...the majority. Th...be a national c...directly responsi...Committee and



Photo by Fred W. McDarragh

Above, Michael Harrington, presently active in the Socialist Party as a McGovern supporter, led the attack of the right wing of the SP on the Left Wing Caucus. Left, Tim Wohlforth of the LWC on a speaking tour in 1958. Page 9: On May 17, 1960 three Young Socialist Alliance members handed in 10,000 pledges to boycott Woolworths at the firm's corporate headquarters. This campaign 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.

...magazine for at least three decisively important reasons: tone, content, finances.

"It would be a deadly mistake, in my opinion, for us to conceive our main function as agitation. We simply have no audience of militant youth capable of taking vigorous action on immediate issues. Such an audience existed, to a certain extent, in the thirties—it simply does not exist today. The basic lesson we draw from our analysis of the objective situation in the US is that socialist organizations today are basically propaganda groups. Nothing else is possible today. A propaganda group needs a propaganda organ, not an agitational one. A four page tabloid size newspaper would inescapably set an agitational tone—exactly the tone we would not want. We are right to speak of a 'militant' youth movement, but only if we understand that this means that we present our socialist ideas in a militant and aggressive fashion, seeking to reach as many youths as possible.

"The basic reason why a newspaper is necessarily agitational while a magazine is propagandistic is the obvious consideration of space. A serious, reasoned argument, especially on a complex political problem (like, for instance, the fundamental defects in capitalism, the why and wherefore of Stalinism, the need for

the youth movement. In another internal communication containing a report on the Bay Area Caucus meeting, Jim Robertson reported that it was "moved and carried that the Bay Area LWC become the Berkeley and San Francisco Young Socialist Clubs" and that on the question of a "magazine vs. a newspaper: a polling here after discussion resulted in a vote of 6 for a paper, 0 for a magazine." (Issued between July 13 and 18.)

The discussion was conducted with a sense of urgency as the publication date for whatever publication was to be issued was September 15. By the end of July the discussion was extended to include the question of where the national headquarters should be located, with Scott Arden proposing that it be located in Chicago. Arden advanced several organizational arguments for locating the NO and editorial board in Chicago but in a letter to Murry Weiss he outlined his main considerations.

"Jim made it clear after the convention that he had 'declared himself' for the SWP some time ago—that is, that he (and presumably the other leadership elements in Berkeley) had decided many months ago that whatever their political differences, their organizational future lay with the SWP. This, taken with the convention

SWP—since it is 'captured' to begin with."

Earlier in the same letter he wrote:

"I propose, on behalf of Ed and myself, that the National Center and editorial board of the new organization be located in Chicago (instead of N.Y.), with Tim-Martha to come to Chicago, as well as others if necessary.

"While Ed, Jackie and I have differing reasons...for supporting this we all fail to see any possible objection. For my part the only conceivable objection I can see (from the point of view of the SWP) is that the possibilities of the new group being directly controlled (or let's say 'more strongly guided') by the SWP would be reduced if the NO were here."

At the end of July, Tim Wohlforth wrote a blistering counterattack to Arden's proposals.

"I do not intend to open up again a discussion of the SWP with Scott. It is my feeling that Scott's position on this question is beyond the point of rational argumentation. For six months we have been proceeding on a politically necessary course involving informal cooperation with the SWP. WE are all aware that it is impossible to build a militant youth movement in this country without involving the SWP youth. We also are aware that the SWP has been extremely cooperative at

end of August, Murry Weiss was able to write that "the Left Wing Caucus of the Young Socialist League and the SWP youth groups are now working together on a more or less fused basis in all localities."¹⁹

There was also public collaboration. Most important in this regard was the creation of the Young Socialist Forum in New York City. This was decided on by the joint caucus of the AYS and Left Wing Caucus. The forum sponsored a series of six discussions under the general heading, "The World in Crisis." The first talk drew an audience of 75 people, mostly college students and youth from the CP periphery. Throughout the summer, the forum had an attendance of over 65 at every talk. The fifth on "What Happened in Hungary," given by Tim Wohlforth, attracted an audience of 98. This was the largest meeting in New York of radical youth in many years. It showed the potential for the establishment of the new youth movement, as both newer and more politically experienced youth were driven by the crisis of Stalinism to search for theory.

The SWP was now getting into the thick of the fight to construct the youth movement. This was a big and badly needed change, as new young forces were attracted to the Trotskyist movement. During the post World War II upsurge in the US, the SWP had recruited many young workers, students and unemployed youth. There was no national policy at that time for the formation of a youth organization. As a result, each branch of the SWP had its own youth organization. In New York, it was called the Internationalist Socialist Youth. In Los Angeles, the name was the Socialist Youth Club. The SYC played an important role in mobilizing opposition to the fascist Gerald L.K. Smith, when he came to Los Angeles to speak at the Board of Education in 1945. This group led a demonstration of over 2000 against his appearance.

These developments receded along with the passing of the strike wave, but a lack of national perspective aided the death of these youth formations.

Before the developments in the YSL, there had been some work by the SWP among youth in various parts of the country. An example was the Wayne Socialist Club which issued the Wayne Socialist, under the leadership of the Detroit branch of the SWP. This had collapsed by the time of the rise of the Left Wing Caucus in the YSL. However Bob Himmel and Evelyn Sell, who had been active in this club, played an important role in the early years of the new youth movement. In connection with this work, Murry Weiss said in August of 1957 that the "main project that will be undertaken by the Detroit comrades is the revitalization of the Wayne University Socialist Club."²⁰

Across the country the SWP was able to send other cadres into the initial formation of the youth movement as the AYS fused with the Left Wing Caucus. There was Peter Buch from Los Angeles who began to do work at this time. There were Himmel and Sell from Detroit, and Tom Leonard from Minneapolis. Jim Lambrecht and Nora Roberts were from New York. Nora Roberts was the daughter of Dick Roberts, around that time the editor of the Militant, and Frances James, another party leader. A number of these forces had very little experience in the youth movement, and were somewhat old to begin building a youth movement. Bert Deck, for instance, was already in his early thirties.

In spite of these weaknesses, however, which were to a great extent unavoidable, the SWP youth played an important role in the beginnings of the youth movement. They provided some significant forces to get the organization off the ground and to build its first public activities.

Throughout the summer months, the LWC youth were preparing a statement to release concerning the state of the YSL and announcing their intention to split from it. Shortly after the statement had been finally prepared and approved and after numerous changes were made by different LWC Steering Committee members but not yet released, Tim Wohlforth was notified that he was being brought up on charges by Michael Harrington.

On September 1, 1957, the trial took place. Wohlforth moved that the item of



SWP youth who played active roles in the formation of the Young Socialists, joining with the Left Wing Caucus: left; Robert Himmel, formerly of the Wayne Socialist Club, which issued the Wayne Socialist; right, Peter Buch from Los Angeles.

his trial be removed from the agenda. This motion was defeated. Thereupon Wohlforth announced that he refused to participate in the trial. The NEC proceeded with the trial. Wohlforth was found guilty of all charges and suspended from the YSL.

The Left Wing Caucus promptly resigned from the YSL. Regroupment was officially well under way.

THE LAUNCHING OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

The first issue of the Young Socialist hit the streets before September 15, in good time to be distributed on the campuses at registration time. Its first editorial ran:

"This past year has been one of crisis—a revolution in Hungary; an imperialist invasion in Suez; a struggle for national independence in Algeria; and a vigorous battle against second class citizenship on the part of the Negro people in our own country. These events and many others have not passed unnoticed by the young people in this nation. Many of them are beginning to think about the world in which they live—a world which seems to produce an explosion of some kind or other every week.

"These young people are looking for a way out—for a solution to the seemingly perpetual crisis which shakes this world. We all wish to see a world without strife and war, a world where one people does not oppress another, and where one class does not exploit another. It is our opinion that the ideas of the socialist movement have much that is worthwhile to offer to this end. We socialists believe that the crisis the world is in is the crisis of a world social system—of capitalism. Capitalism, once a vibrant, expanding and progressive force, today is in retreat. In one third of the world it no longer exists. One enslaved colonial country after another has risen to remove the yoke of capitalist imperialism.

"However, as capitalism retreats, it does so not without a struggle.

"The struggle for socialism is not an easy one. The workers themselves must democratically take over the management of industry and abolish the entire profit-making system.

"Socialism means the direct control of the basic industries; not by an all powerful bureaucracy, but by the people themselves through their own organizations and the parties of their own choice. In Hungary, exactly a year ago this month, the workers rose up with the entire nation behind them to demand the removal of troops of another country, the Soviet Union, from their land.

"The capitalists' only interest in the struggles of the working people in Eastern Europe is in the futile hope of somehow reestablishing capitalist domination in these countries. We Young Socialists share the Hungarian workers' abhorrence of any attempt to turn the legitimate struggle against bureaucratic rule into an attempt to restore capitalism.

"These are the ideas which motivate the



"It is our hope that out of this discussion will grow a broad and revitalized militant socialist youth movement that can act in a progressive way on the campuses and in the factories in bringing the ideas of socialism to America's youth."²¹

1. Mimeographed report by Murry Weiss and Bert Deck on the YSL Convention, dated July 9, 1957. P. 2.
2. Ibid., p. 6.
3. Ibid., p. 3.
4. Letter by Scott Arden to all Steering Committee members, dated August 5, 1957. P. 5.
5. Letter by Tim Wohlforth to Robertson, Mage, Arden, et al., dated June 7, 1957. P. 1.
6. Ibid., p. 2.
7. Ibid., p. 1-2.
8. Ibid., p. 4.
9. Confidential mimeographed communication to all Left Wing Caucus, YSL, and SWP youth, dated July 10, 1957. P. 1.
10. Mimeographed communication, no date, issued probably between July 13 and 18, 1957. P. 2.
11. Letter from Scott Arden to Murry Weiss with copies sent to LWC Steering Committee members. Dated July 23, 1957. pgs. 3-4.
12. Letter by Tim Wohlforth to all Steering Committee members. Dated July 27, 1957 p. 23.
13. Letter by Shane Mage to Tim Wohlforth. Dated July 30, 1957. P. 1.
14. Motion submitted to Steering Committee August 11, 1957, appended to a letter to Tim Wohlforth by John Worth. Dated August 12, 1957.
15. What Makes Shachtman Run? The life and death of a tendency. By Tim Wohlforth. P. 1.
16. Ibid., p. 3.
17. Ibid., p. 22.
18. Quoted in the reply by Michael Harrington and Max Martin to Bert Deck. Dated May 22, 1957. P. 1.
19. "Report on Youth Situation," by Murry Weiss. Mimeographed communication to all locals and branches. Dated August 30, 1957. P. 1.
20. Ibid., p. 4.
21. Young Socialist. First Issue.

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LEON TROTSKY SPEAKS.
1972, Pathfinder Press, \$3.45.

Leon Trotsky Speaks will serve as a valuable introduction to the revolutionary struggles which Leon Trotsky led. This chronological collection of some of the most memorable speeches of Trotsky provides not only important historical material, but brings that material to life—as the speeches express the passion and vitality of revolutionary history from the viewpoint of a participant and a leader.

Leon Trotsky was an oratorical master—a skill he developed in the heat of the political struggle to lead the working class. Anatoly Lunacharsky once said that: "The chief external endowments of Trotsky are his oratorical gift and his talent as a writer. I consider Trotsky probably the greatest orator of our times. I have heard in my day all the great parliamentary and popular orators of socialism, and very many of the famous orators of the bourgeois world, and I should have difficulty in naming any of them, except Jaures, whom I might place beside Trotsky."

The reason for the unparalleled quality of the speeches of Trotsky is the fact that they were made not only under the pressure of events, but with the conscious understanding of a leading participant.

1905 REVOLUTION

During the 1905 Revolution in Russia, the first Russian Revolution, Trotsky understood the real nature of the soviets, democratic councils of workers, which he led in St. Petersburg. For this "crime" Trotsky and the other leaders were arrested by the Czarist government, yet Trotsky defended the soviets in the Czarist court:

"...The soviet became nothing else but the organ of self-government of the revolutionary masses, the organ of power...the historical power in whose name the prosecutor speaks in this court is the organized violence of the minority over the majority! The new power, whose precursor was the soviet, represents the organized will of the majority calling the minority to order. Because of this distinction, the revolutionary right of the soviet to existence stands above juridical and moral speculations."

The next revolutionary upsurge of the masses came 12 years later in 1917. There was one fundamental difference between the two revolutionary periods of 1905 and 1917, that is that whereas 1905 ended with the creation of the soviets, 1917 began with the soviets. The conquest of political power was the immediate question of the revolution, and there was only one element which could solve this problem in favor of the working class and the socialist revolution—the Bolshevik Party, built by Lenin, which Trotsky joined in 1917.

DECISIVE FORCE

The Bolshevik Party, steeled in struggle against those in the workers' movement who held workers back from revolution, was the decisive force of the October Revolution. Years later, Trotsky reiterated this fundamental point: "In order to take power firmly and surely into its hands the proletariat needs a party, which far surpasses the other parties in the clarity of its thought and in its revolutionary determination...the discipline of its revolutionary action was based on the unity of its doctrine, on the tradition of common struggle, and on the confidence of its tested leadership."

The necessity of a Leninist party was not only the central lesson of the first socialist revolution, but was the basis for



Trotsky addressing a crowd from a train upon his arrival in Petrograd in May, 1917.

Trotsky's future struggle in the revolutionary movement against Stalinism. After the October Revolution, and the long and arduous civil war, the preservation of that party, and its international extension were of the utmost importance. The situation in Europe, the central question facing the new Soviet power in Russia, demanded revolutionary leadership of Bolshevik quality. "We rest all our hope on the unleashing of the European revolution by our revolution. If the insurrectionary peoples of Europe do not crush imperialism, we will be crushed—that is beyond doubt."

Yet because of the lack of a truly Bolshevik leadership of the European revolution, especially in Germany, the revolution failed. The immediate effect in Russia was the strengthening of bureaucratic and petty bourgeois forces which had developed out of the backwardness and isolation of the Soviet Republic during the Civil War. This posed a grave danger to the October Revolution and the Bolshevik Party. These bureaucratic forces were expressed in the party through men like Stalin, who caved in to the pressures of the bureaucratic outlook—nationalism and empiricism.

STALIN

If allowed to dominate, these forces would destroy the Bolshevik Party. The defeats of the working class in Europe, and Lenin's illnesses, facilitated the bureaucratic maneuvering of Stalin within the party. Trotsky and Lenin were the first to initiate the fight against these threatening forces. Since Lenin was sick, the main responsibility fell to Trotsky to lead the struggle against the growing bureaucracy, led by Stalin. He took up this fight, opening up this new period of Marxism with ringing speeches in defense of Leninism. These speeches stand as declarations of war on the Stalinist assault on the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International.

The speeches of this period are some of the best that Trotsky ever delivered. It was in defense of the Bolshevik Revolution and the continuity of Leninism that Trotsky made his most impassioned speeches, all the more so as the struggle became more intense and personally dangerous for all who stood with Trotsky and Lenin in opposition to Stalin and the bureaucracy. These speeches stand as the first offensive against Stalinism, and are the basis for the struggle today of Trotskyism against the Stalinist betrayals.

The section of the book containing these speeches is the most important part for revolutionaries to study for an understanding of the theoretical basis and history of Trotskyism.

Early in the fight, Trotsky declared that:

"...Our party is not a party of political empiricism...that lives from case to case and from day to day. We are a party of Marxism, of scientific socialism; our methods, ideas and evaluations embrace not just a year but a whole great period of history and therefore we evaluate the experience of the past year and the tasks of the year before us from the standpoint of our view of the entire epoch through which we are passing—not in order to lose ourselves and dissolve our ideas in commonplaces and generalities, but, on the contrary, in order to deduce from a general evaluation certain quite specific and clearcut directives for our conduct in the period immediately in front of us."

LEFT OPPOSITION

Trotsky formed the Left Opposition in 1923 to combat Stalinism, but by 1927 Oppositionists, including Trotsky himself, were slandered, excluded from the party, exiled, and arrested. This became a necessary policy for the Stalinists in order to cover up their disastrous politics. For by 1927, three major revolutionary situations—in Germany, England and China—ended in defeat for workers because the Stalinists were at the helm in the Communist International.

Trotsky and the Left Opposition immediately took up these questions despite official harassment and intimidation. In one of his last speeches before the Bolshevik Party, when Trotsky was limited to 45 minutes, he sharply addressed himself to these Stalinist blunders and betrayals. Under the leadership of Stalin, the Chinese Communist Party had been subordinated to the Koumintang, a bourgeois left nationalist party. This cost the lives of thousands of revolutionaries. The British Communist Party had been subordinated to the Anglo-Russian committee—a group of "left" trade union bureaucrats who were responsible for the sell-out of the British General Strike of 1926.

Concerning this policy, Trotsky said: "The whole trouble lies in the fact that you placed hope in those who were not to be relied on; you underestimated the revolutionary training of the masses, the principle requirement for which is inculcating the masses with mistrust towards re-

formists, vague "left" centrists, and all vacillators in general. The fullest measure of this mistrust is the supreme virtue of Bolshevism...You inoculate young parties with the hopes that the liberal bourgeoisie and the liberal labor politicians from the trade unions will move to the left...that is the source whence these "betrayals" which each time catch you unawares."

One cannot appreciate the brilliance of Trotsky's final public speeches in the Soviet Union unless one is aware of the almost impossible conditions under which they were delivered. Quite frequently, Trotsky had to pause and demand that the presiding officer restore order among the shouting bureaucrats. Occasionally, he had to dodge books and other objects hurled at him by gangsters employed by Stalin.

Between 1923 to 1933, the Left Opposition fought to reform the Comintern and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It was only after the catastrophe in Germany in 1933, when the Comintern refused to assess its disastrous policies and actually declared that the German Communist Party's ultra-left "social-fascist" policy—which paved Hitler's way to power—was correct, that Trotsky declared that a sharp turn was required by the Left Opposition.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Comintern could no longer be turned back to a revolutionary Bolshevik course. Trotsky recognized the task of transforming the International Left Opposition into a new international, which would be actually based in the struggle against Stalinism. The Fourth International was formally founded in 1938, and developed sections all over the world. Upon its foundation Trotsky said:

"Only the Fourth International looks with confidence at the future. It is the World Party of the Socialist Revolution! There was never a greater task on earth. Upon every one of us rests a tremendous historical responsibility."

Leon Trotsky Speaks stands as eloquent testimony to the struggle for the creation of the Fourth International, and to the revolutionary struggles preceding it. The book concludes with Trotsky's testament. The following passage can be seen as his legacy to the new generations of revolutionaries. Anticipating the assassin who was to murder him in 1940, he wrote: "But whatever the circumstances of my death, I shall die with unshakable faith in the Communist future."



SOCIAL SERVICE DEADEND



BY A BULLETIN
REPORTING TEAM

NEW YORK—Last week, Bulletin reporters visited the "Project Projects" office in the Fort Greene houses in Brooklyn, as well as the Community Social Service offices on Glenmore and on Williams Avenues in the East New York section of Brooklyn.

The purpose was to investigate exactly what the city's so-called Community Social Services program is all about because of the incongruity between Lindsay's claim that this will mean an expansion of services, and the fact that budgets for social services are being viciously slashed.

The Community Service in Public Housing Program, otherwise known as "Project Projects," has been in existence for over a year. The Fort Greene CSPH is located in an unfinished basement in a public housing project. Large metal garbage cans line the entrance to the office. On the door of the employees' bathroom (only one for both men and women) is facetiously scrawled: "Keep this god-

damned place clean."

One worker there stated that he serviced about three to five people per week. Another caseworker, in charge of employment services, confided that she had no special access to jobs. When asked how she referred people for employment, she stated she had to look through the Civil Service Chief each week. The Chief is a weekly newspaper listing civil service employment and tests. It is available at any newsstand.

QUESTIONS

"They may say tomorrow—goodbye. This program isn't funded," one worker complained. "They need 2050 workers for 40 Human Resources Districts. What's going to happen to half of staff?" These are the kinds of questions more and more workers in the Department of Social Services are asking. Small incidents help to answer these questions—questions which the union leadership and the city keep trying to push under the rug.

In the Tompkins projects, things blew up between CSPH workers and the local tenants' committee. The situation became so tense that the head of the tenants' committee requested the ouster of the caseworkers. The administration quickly complied, issuing a public apology for their supposedly unprofessional behavior.

Although the details are fuzzy, what is clear about such an incident is that it was built into the system from the start. Workers who are sent into programs with no real job functions, and who have no connection with the issuance of money, simply become targets for the venting of frustrations in the community.

CONSPIRATORS

Particularly under conditions of shrinking federal funding, community workers on federal payrolls eye civil service workers coming into the community with suspicion. They are led to believe that their jobs will be taken by city employees, while all the time the city and the federal government are conspirators in the drive to eliminate all service jobs.

One worker, who has a masters degree in social work and is in the first pilot Community Social Service program in East New York, frankly stated:

"We can't really do any service work that has anything to do with money. I think I could do more for my clients if I didn't work here. I was all gung-ho for reorganization. I came out here

because I still had some faith it would work. But it's an illusion."

Another worker agreed:

"You're divorced of any power to do anything. If you're not allowed to have anything to do with dollars and cents, you can't do anything. I guess that goes back to separation (of income maintenance from social services). You have to go through two liaisons before a problem is resolved. OK's for housekeeping services are not going through. I have problems that are laying on my desk for six weeks because of the red tape."

Many CSS workers interviewed agreed that the union leadership is reluctant to concern itself with these problems. Workers in CSS still have no elected union delegates to represent them. When one of the workers threatened out of frustration to quit the union, SSEU-371 President Bart Cohen responded by implying that it would mean one less headache for him.

COMPLACENCY

At a local meeting at the Fulton Social Services Center, Bob Pfefferman, assistant to the union president, cynically referred to the program as the "brave new world of social services." He, as well as other union organizers, have been holding meetings in the welfare centers for the purpose of allaying workers' fears and trying to create complacency about CSS.

He has been very consciously aided in this attempt to disarm the workers by the Communist Party's supporters in the union.

These people have been the biggest boosters and illusion makers of grandiose service schemes which the city and the federal government would supposedly go along with. Many of the workers in these pilot programs are beginning to know differently, however.

The worker from the East New York CSS stated: "It's a naive position to say it'll work if we make it work. Nixon and Rockefeller are looking for any way to end it as soon as they can."

A worker in a drug unit, supposedly designed to counsel addicts at another location in East New York, admitted: "Right now, drug programs are not working. We don't have anything to offer a drug addict. It was different in the drug unit in the welfare center because you had money to keep the cat going. We act basically as a referral agency." It was later revealed that addicts were prohibited from entering the building by the guards at the door.

During the discussion with this worker, a supporter of the Communist Party kept intervening to emphasize that the problem was really one of publicity. He asserted that things would be a lot better if people simply knew they were out there.

This attitude is treacherous, however, as it is becoming clearer every day that CSS is only a trap door through which the city intends to funnel civil service employees off the payrolls.

TOWARDS A TROTSKYIST DAILY IN THE U.S. 1933-The Militant Battles Hitler's Rise

PART ONE

BY DAVID NORTH

The launching of the twice-weekly Bulletin in the fall will be a historic step forward in the building of a revolutionary leadership of the American working class. The development of the twice-weekly will prepare the way for establishing the Bulletin as the first Trotskyist daily paper in the United States.

Not since 1939 has there been a Trotskyist paper published more than once a week. For a brief period of time, the Socialist Appeal, organ of the Socialist Workers Party, appeared twice-weekly.

Earlier, for one month in 1933, the Communist League of America (section of the International Left Opposition), published The Militant three times a week.

In both 1933 and 1939, the American Trotskyists brought about a development in their press through a struggle for international perspectives and on the basis of an understanding of the international character of the capitalist crisis.

The Workers League establishes the continuity of the struggle for the revolutionary daily paper in the United States on the basis of international perspectives. We are going all out for the daily paper because it is on the national soil of the US that the international crisis will express itself most explosively.

American capitalism is the center of the world crisis. While carrying out its role as world policeman for capitalism, the ruling class must turn its guns against workers on home ground.

In every battle, the need of American workers for a revolutionary leadership will be posed with burning urgency. Already, the trade union bureaucracy is openly collaborating with Phase Three. In effect, it has agreed to become the warden in Nixon's penitentiary.

The bureaucracy is backed by the Stalinists of the American Communist Party, who publish the Daily World only to disarm and mislead American workers.

Only the Bulletin, as a twice-weekly and then as a daily, will show American workers the way forward.

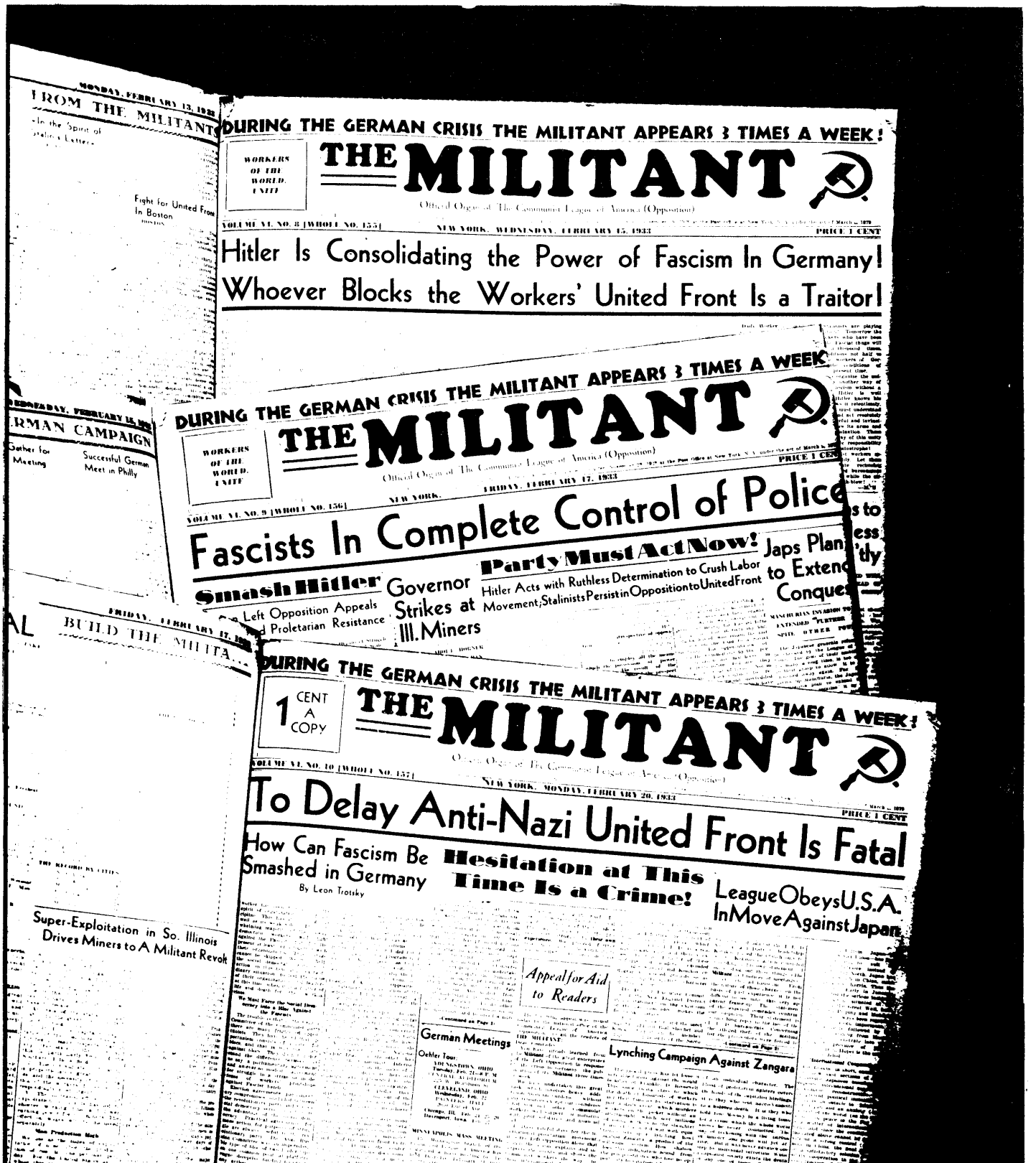
In the 1930s, the fight for the daily paper was the heart of the struggle for a new leadership in the working class. Understanding that the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the Comintern was the fundamental political issue before the international working class, the fight against Stalinism was the basis of the expansion of The Militant and the Socialist Appeal.

GERMAN EVENTS

The Communist League of America decided to launch The Militant three times a week in the midst of the greatest crisis of the Third International: the coming to power of Hitler and the subsequent defeat of the German proletariat.

In the face of almost unimaginable hardships, the American Left Oppositionists acted immediately to fulfill their historic responsibility to awaken Communist Party workers to the bankrupt policies of Stalin. The thrice-weekly Militant became the organizer of a great international struggle to change the policies of the Comintern, to force an assessment of the policies of the German Communist Party under Stalin's tutelage, and to mobilize the working class in struggle against fascism and in defense of the German proletariat.

The dramatic intervention of The Militant in the German crisis was heralded on February 11, 1933, less than two weeks



after Hitler was appointed chancellor.

Beneath the headline: "Why Is the Comintern Silent on Germany?," James P. Cannon announced the decision to publish three times a week:

"The League is reacting to the German crisis with the greatest campaign in its history. It is precisely at the moment of sharp turns and world-shaking events, when the Centrist bureaucracy reveals its impotence and bankruptcy, that the Left Opposition must show its political initiative, its boldness, and its capacity to multiply its activities many fold..."

"This decision (to publish three times a week) was made with the greatest deliberation and sobriety and will be carried out in life. It is not a bluff or an empty gesture and must in no case be so regarded by a single member of the organization. At the time of making the decision we had no money on hand—not a penny, in fact; nothing but pressing bills and obligations. Our resources for the execution of this ambitious plan consist exclusively in the burning world importance of the German crisis and the movement we shall create on the basis of that issue. That is enough."

TROTSKY

It was through The Militant that Leon Trotsky, exiled on an island off the Turkish coast, was able to address the American and international working class. Issue after issue, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, carried his

appeals for an immediate implementation of the united front strategy against Hitler.

Every headline of The Militant called the working class to action. While the Stalinist publications sought to deny that anything of consequence had occurred in Germany, The Militant cut through every distortion.

Its headline of February 15, 1933, read: "Hitler Is Consolidating the Power of Fascism In Germany! Whoever Blocks the Workers' United Front Is a Traitor!"

The headline on February 17: "Fascists In Complete Control of Police! Party Must Act Now!"

And on February 20: "To Delay Anti-Nazi United Front Is Fatal. Hesitation at This Time Is a Crime!"

Sales of The Militant rose with each new issue. More than 1000 issues of the edition which carried Trotsky's first statement on the events in Germany were sold in New York within hours of hitting the streets.

Mass meetings were organized through The Militant in support of the Left Opposition's position on German developments. More than 500 workers packed New York's old Stuyvesant Casino to hear Max Shachtman and James Cannon expose the criminal policies of Stalin.

The meeting unanimously endorsed a resolution calling on the Comintern "to take cognizance of the critical situation and fulfill its responsibility by leading the German working class to victorious struggle against Fascism, employing the tactic of the united front as it has been ex-

pounded by Lenin and after him by the International Left Opposition."

Publishing The Militant three times a week in the midst of the crisis in Germany was one of the greatest achievements of the American Left Opposition. It overcame the limitations of a small membership and the barest financial resources in order to pose to thousands of new readers the fundamental issues confronting the international working class. The Militant prepared new forces for the struggle against Stalinism. Without this fight, the Socialist Workers Party, which emerged after the final break with the Stalinist Third International, could not have been constructed.

In 1933, The Militant was published three times a week in the face of tremendous defeat. Conditions were unfavorable for the building of the mass revolutionary party. Objective developments worked to separate the working class from the Trotskyist movement. The Fourth International fought, as Trotsky said, "against the stream."

Forty years later, we prepare for the twice-weekly under conditions of great upsurge within the working class. It is stronger than ever before in its history. It possesses enormous confidence. We will take the fullest advantage of these favorable conditions, and the daily Bulletin will lead millions of American workers in victorious struggle.

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

Midwest News

Steelworker Killed At National Tube

BY DAVID NORTH

LORAIN, Jan. 22—Anger over miserable safety conditions in the National Tube plant here has swept the 7500 steelworkers in Local 1104 following an accident in which a 21 year old worker suffered a crushed foot.

This occurred just two weeks after Richard Hertzig, a 20 year old worker, was crushed to death while breaking in for his new job in the coke plant.

Hertzig, who had been in the plant for only five days, was killed on January 7 because National Tube had ignored complaints about the blinding steam which forced workers to move around dangerous equipment without any visibility.

SMOKE

In order to learn the job, Hertzig stayed close to an older worker. Near the end of the shift, they decided to break for coffee. Hertzig attempted to follow his buddy into the locker room, but the smoke and steam around the quenching car was so dense that Hertzig lost sight of him.

Not being familiar with the plant, he walked into the door machine which hurled him beneath other heavy machinery. Hertzig died instantaneously.

WORST

One of the workers in the plant told the **Bulletin** that Hertzig had been put on the 11 pm-7 am shift, the worst for a person new to the plant.

"Added to the steam," the worker said, "Hertzig was probably exhausted at that hour after working all night."

Hertzig leaves a wife and a one year old child. Under Ohio law, National Tube does not have to

pay the widow one cent. She receives only \$21,000 from the state plus \$1000 for the child.

An officer of Local 1104 told the **Bulletin** that the management of National Tube "was well aware" of the complaints about the steam. "You just can't believe what that steam is like," he said. "It's worse than any fog."

While management now says it is shocked by the death of Hertzig, it has no intention of changing any of the conditions in the plants. The company recently denied charges by steelworkers about cases of lead poisoning in the plant.



St. Louis Service Employees Union members on strike, shown here picketing at a nursing home.

Rates Soar In Oil 'Shortage'

BY MIKE ROTHSTEIN

MINNEAPOLIS—In the past week the price of gasoline has skyrocketed in the Twin Cities, and six cut-rate filling stations have temporarily closed. Standard Oil, claiming a fuel shortage, has threatened to cut off heat in millions of workers' homes and force the public school system to close.

While billions of gallons of oil lie just across the Canadian border, Standard and state government officials make the fantastic claim that there is an actual shortage of fuel. Rigid import quotas prohibit the purchase of this oil. Meanwhile the utility and oil companies are using this as an excuse to raise rates, push up prices and close gas stations.

Standard purposely permitted

their oil reserves to run low. All winter they have stepped up the refining of gasoline because it brings a higher profit. Now they are raising the possibility of gas rationing as in World War II.

ELECTRICITY

Northern States Power Company, supplier of electricity to the entire upper Midwest, has told its customers to use their lights less. They say there is not

enough oil to run their generating plants.

RATE HIKE

Minnesota's gas utility, Minnegasco, won a whopping 6.1 percent rate hike. Now it tells its customers to cook less or it will cut off their supply of natural gas completely.

The Denver school system is already on a three day week. North St. Paul Schools have eliminated all extracurricular activities so that the temperature in the buildings can be lowered to 50 degrees.

The University of Minnesota has cut down the use of its multi-million dollar facilities because it cannot keep them warm. The Twin Cities airport said this week that it would have to stop heating the airline terminal.

These threats of fuel rationing and the campaign to get families to cook less and shut their lights off are reminiscent of wartime controls. During World War II, all vital commodities were scarce and prices were astronomical because the US was actually cut off from the source of supply. Today there exists a fuel shortage because of Nixon's policies of trade war.

Also, in World War II, the corporations used the scarcity to roll up enormous profits while the government piously told the workers that everyone had to pitch in to conserve. This is precisely what Standard Oil and Governor Anderson are up to today.

Standard executives have absolutely no concern for the working people and youth and their living conditions. Standard's Kay Krogstrand said: "We like to think that we aren't going to let anyone freeze to death but the situation is getting more serious every day."

Firemen Told To Return Pay

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. PAUL, Jan. 20—The meaning of Phase Three was brought home to St. Paul Fire Fighters today when the Internal Revenue Service demanded they pay back 3.9 percent of the 5 percent wage increase they won in January of 1972.

The IRS claimed that a reduction of the work week from 59 to 56 hours brought the total increase to 9.4 percent, in violation of Nixon's 5.5 percent guideline.

Mayor Lawrence Cohen demagogically promised to "join hands totally with the fire fighters to protect our firemen." Yet this so-called liberal Democrat just a few weeks ago submitted the firemen's contract to the Pay Board for belated approval. Now the government refuses to even consider the increase until the back wages are refunded.

Speaking to reporters along with Mayor Cohen, George Jurgensen, president of Fire Fighters Local 21, protested: "We're found guilty before we've even had a chance to submit all the facts."

Jurgensen said that the IRS ruling comes at a time "when we're led to believe the federal government is relaxing regulations on wage increases." The program he proposed is to "exhaust all legal avenues" before paying back any money or adding compensatory working hours.

Firefighters, together with the rest of the labor movement, must prepare strike action against Phase Three for all the wages that have been taken away by the government and by inflation.

Minnesota Job Freeze

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—University of Minnesota President Malcolm Moos has declared a two month freeze on all hiring. No new or vacant positions will be filled. Thereafter, when any employee resigns, retires, or dies, his position may not be filled until a university vice-president has reviewed it and determined that it is justified.

ELIMINATING

Moos' announcement follows Minnesota Governor Anderson's freeze on all other hiring and his budget message to the state legislature. Anderson is determined to solve the state's financial problems by eliminating state jobs and drastically cutting back money for all state services.

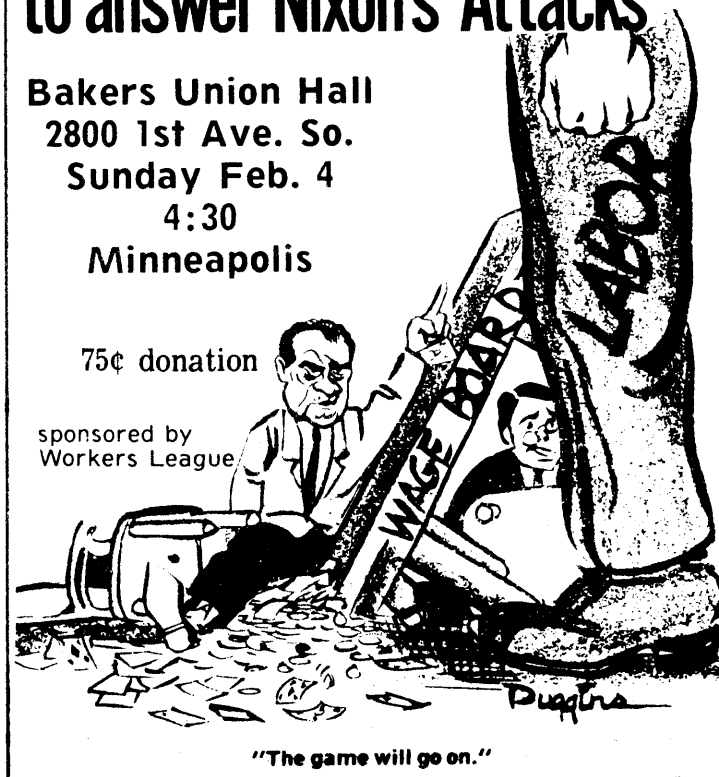
This freeze means vicious speedup for all university employees, especially in the hospital, where there is a fast turnover. One worker told the **Bulletin** that in her area of the hospital, four workers had been fired or quit. She now does the work of five.

Emergency Meeting of Trade Unionists to answer Nixon's Attacks

Bakers Union Hall
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"The game will go on."

Judge Threatens Jail For St. Louis Teachers

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS, Jan. 22—St. Louis teachers shut down the schools here after over 2000 angry teachers from the St. Louis Teachers Union Local 420 and the St. Louis Teachers Association voted unanimously to strike last night. The teachers originally planned to walk out on or after Jan. 29.

This action became necessary after the St. Louis Board of Education asked for and received a temporary restraining order against the union and association leaderships to prohibit them from "inciting, encouraging, directing, or leading teachers of the St. Louis Public Schools to breach their contracts with the Board of Education."

Judge Thomas McGuire issued the order against five teacher

representatives, including the president and vice president of the union, the president and executive director of the association and a national representative from the American Federation of Teachers.

INCREASE

The teachers are demanding a mid-year pay increase. In an eleventh hour meeting of the School Board held on January 20 at the St. Louis Zoo with the representatives of the union and

the association, the Board admitted that they had a \$3,900,000 reserve but said it would be "fiscally irresponsible" to grant a mid-year pay increase.

The union and association leaders walked out of the School Board meeting and said they would recommend a Monday strike. The teachers are also asking for recognition of their unions and hospitalization benefits.

HOSTILITY

At the union meeting, one teacher spoke against the hostility of the School Board towards students and teachers, stating: "The Board of Education has failed in their duty towards the students."

Another teacher said: "The School Board is doing nothing about the overcrowded conditions in the classrooms. In many schools there are 38-42 students per classroom. Students today need more individualized instruction. The Board has brushed aside these problems."

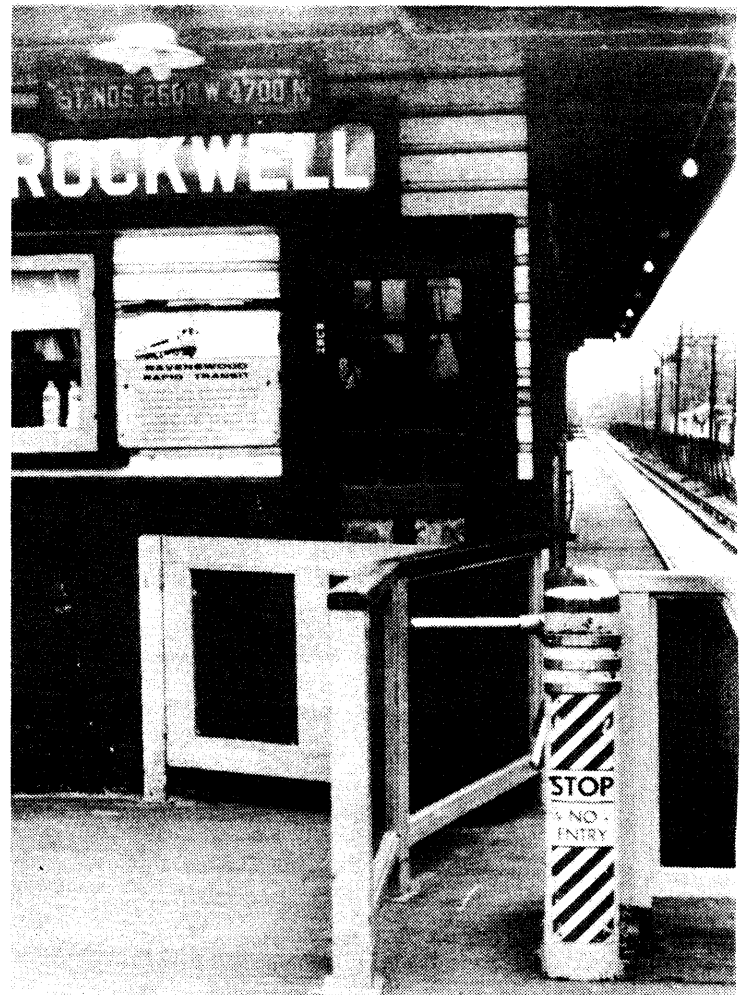
Another teacher said that the School Board has acted with callous indifference towards the teachers. "Whatever we ask for, they say 'No, No, No.' Let's say 'Go, Go, Go.'" The teachers responded by saying "Go, Go, Go."

SUBURBAN TEACHERS

Over three-fourths of the city's 4000 teachers are in the two organizations. Members of the St. Louis Suburban Teachers Association walked outside the meetings to support the demands of the city school teachers. Letters of support came from the striking Chicago teachers and from the Kansas City Teachers Union. Other unions in the city have said they would honor the teachers' picket lines.

Demosthenese Dubose, Local 420 president, has said that the Board of Education must agree to a "no reprisal" clause before the strike would be called off to protect those teachers who are on three year probation. He said, "We will stay out until we get our demands."

Midwest News



Chicago Transit: unemployment and mass cuts in service

Chicago Transit Plan To Lay Off 1,200

BY WIL LONG

CHICAGO—The Chicago Transit Authority has announced plans to lay off 1200 workers, 10 percent of all departments.

The layoffs, beginning immediately, are part of a scheme by the CTA to stay in operation until next summer. The last such wholesale dismissal of Chicago transit employees came during the depression of the 1930s.

The proposed layoff is to be linked with a cutting of at least eight percent of the service and a fare increase of five cents beginning February 1. Clair Rodde- wig, acting head of the CTA board, stated that the five cent increase and the layoffs are "only a small start in our plans to cut service as soon as possible."

LAYOFFS

One bus driver told the Bulletin how these layoffs are being carried out: "They are telling the men they hire now that they are going to be laid off."

"It used to be that if a guy misses, comes in a minute late, they

would give the run to someone else and give him another chance if someone else was late. Now, they send him home and cancel the run entirely. The men they have on call have to come to the shed and may wait two or more hours for work so that you'll be working for fourteen hours and get paid for eight and one-half hours. It has definitely got to come to a strike."

CTA drivers have been working without a contract since December 1, and the announcement of the cutbacks is the first word they have had of the "progress" of negotiations. At last Monday's meetings, the bus drivers' division demanded a strike vote at the next meeting February 12, if subsidy money has not been obtained by then.

A strike would affect 25,000 drivers and maintenance men organized by the Amalgamated Transit Union.

UAW Scuttles Lordstown Strike

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

LORDSTOWN, Jan. 23—A strike by 2500 auto workers in the parts plant here was called off today following a marathon negotiating session lasting more than 30 hours between representatives of the United Auto Workers (UAW) International and General Motors.

An agreement on production standards was announced 35 minutes after the strike deadline, but spokesmen of Local 1714 did not specify the terms of the settlement.

A union officer told the Bulletin that the agreement would not be presented to the ranks for ratification. Bitterness over speedup in the plant, which is adjacent to the Lordstown assembly plant that was shut down last spring, led to a unanimous strike vote in October.

Leonard Woodcock, president of the UAW, sent an Inter-

national representative to Lordstown to patch up an agreement that the local leadership could not make even after three months of negotiations.

The threatened strike was not part of the "mini-strike" strategy developed in Detroit, and Woodcock did not want a strike in Lordstown just as he is trying to abandon any fight against speedups.

Workers in the assembly plant, where conditions continue to deteriorate, pledged full support to the ranks in the parts plant.

A policy statement issued recently by the "Woodcock Team" left no doubt that in the coming national contract talks, the bureaucracy will skirt the issue of speedups while accepting Nixon's 5.5 percent wage limit.

Detroit auto workers denounced Woodcock's announced support for Phase Three in interviews conducted last week by the Bulletin.

"What sort of game is Woodcock trying to pull," said one worker. "When he tells us the government is not going to interfere with our contract, he's telling us a lie."

"As far as I can see, Woodcock seems to want to curl right up with Nixon. Maybe he hopes Nixon will put him in the cabinet along with Brennan."

Another worker, describing a GM threat to institute a compulsory 12-hour day, seven day week, said: "Some people talk about going back to the depression, but this is more like going back to the Middle Ages, with the serfs. I don't see how Woodcock can get away with this."

Strike Cripples Antioch

BY JOHN WERNER

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio—One hundred United Electrical Local 767 food service workers and 270 members of the Part-Time Employees' Union went on strike against union-busting at Antioch College. Their strike action shut down the college cafeteria, library, and book store.

The college decided to cut back services and subcontract the food service work, claiming they face a projected \$200,000 deficit in 1973. By subcontracting the union work, the "Liberal" administration is attempting to smash the food service unions.

About 80 students are supporting the strike by conducting a tuition strike. Over \$125,000 in

tuition money is being held in escrow in a Yellow Springs bank and students have pledged an additional \$175,000 to be withheld.

The union demands include recall of 23 laid off workers, no further cuts in hours of part-time workers, no late fine fees for the tuition boycotters, terms of a new subcontracting deal made public and that the food service director be fired.

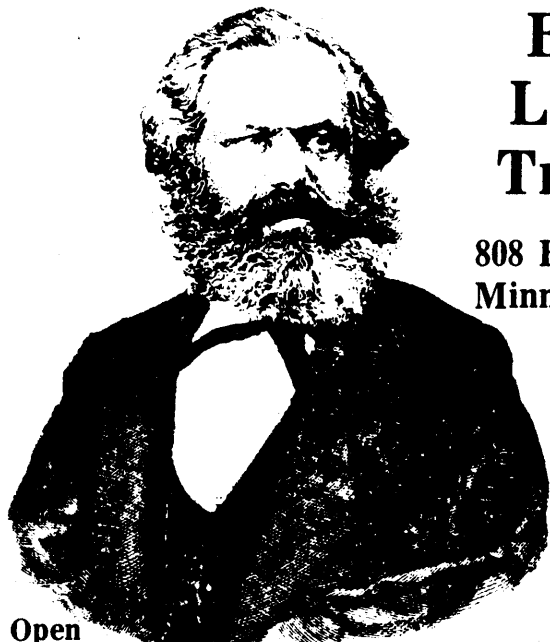
COURTS

The college officials are threatening to call in the courts and slap an injunction and fines against the unions. The college negotiator John Sullivan stated that the college may file a suit for damages against the union "if the strike is protracted and the unions engage in illegal strike action, vandalism, trespassing, or theft."

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NIXON . . .

(Continued From Page 1)
Japan limit their exports, revalue their currencies and—above all—prepare for civil war against the workers in their countries.

"Just as we respect the right of each nation to determine its own future," he said, "we also recognize the responsibility of each nation to secure its own future."

Nixon added: "Just as

America's role is indispensable in preserving the world's peace, so is each nation's role indispensable in preserving its own peace."

In other words, while American imperialism stands ready to intervene against workers in every part of the world, it expects the capitalists of Europe, Asia and South America to be prepared for war with the working class in their

borders.

To American workers, Nixon threw down his most ruthless challenge. Once again, he centered on his favorite theme: the work ethic.

"Let us remember that America was built not by government, but by people—not by welfare, but by work—not by shirking responsibility, but by seeking responsibility."

Every American worker must

consider these words very seriously. They smack of the notorious remarks Nixon made about "spoiled" workers and the need to end "permissiveness" in the interview on the eve of his reelection.

These remarks set the stage for the murder of two students in Baton Rouge, the vicious cuts in housing, education, welfare and medical services and the implementation of Phase Three.

DESTRUCTION

Now even harsher language has been written into the inaugural address, which traditionally outlines the goals of a new administration. Nixon has used this speech to proclaim that the destruction of the working class will be his guiding ambition over the next four years.

This speech confirms what the Bulletin warned immediately after Election Day: that the second Nixon Administration would bear little resemblance to the first. In all its essentials, the speech was the battle cry of the ruling class.

The new Nixon Administration, which functions with complete disregard for the constitutional

restraints upon the power of the President, will immediately get to work to:

- Destroy the basic right of trade unions to bargain freely for a decent wage.

- Prepare laws eliminating the right to strike.

- Create massive unemployment in every section of industry.

- Encourage the development of right-wing forces for physical attacks upon the trade unions.

- Wipe out every social program won by workers since the turn of the century.

Great dangers face American workers. No time can be lost in answering the union-busting message of Nixon's inaugural address. The AFL-CIO must meet its responsibilities to the working class by calling a general strike to defeat Phase Three and by breaking with Nixon's allies in the Democratic Party through the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

The development of a new leadership within the trade unions around this program will be fought for at the meeting of the Continuations Committee in St. Louis on February 18.



Police laid siege to this sporting goods store in Bushwick, N.Y. when 4 young men held it up for guns and ammunition. See article page 5.

VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

maintain its forces in Cambodia, Laos and Thailand.

NEW STAGE

Nixon's "peace" is to give him time to prepare a new stage of war both in Vietnam and now against the American working class.

The Vietnamese workers and peasants who have fought for

over 30 years are not going to give up their struggle to oust imperialism and its puppets even though this is what the Stalinist bureaucracies want.

The Workers League has fought for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution and the defeat of imperialism. The American working class can now play an important role in this struggle by fighting politically to defeat Nixon. This is the only road to peace.



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PRICES . . .

(Continued From Page 3)
cing the unleashing of international trade war, which requires the crushing of the European and Japanese working class by the capitalists in their countries. At the same time, it is now tearing apart all financial relations within the United States.

In this sense, the American dollar sits upon the back of the international working class but also unites it in a struggle against capitalism.

Within this country, the most decisive battles are on the agenda. The new stage of the dollar crisis means bankruptcy, unemployment and vicious attacks on working conditions.

This is all developing within

the package Nixon calls Phase Three. The willingness of the trade union bureaucracy to collaborate with Nixon means it is willing to allow the destruction of the American working class.

Phase Three can be defeated only through a political struggle by the working class against the government. The fight for a Congress of Labor to mobilize the working class in general strike action to smash Phase Three and to build a labor party that will fight for socialist policies is the only way to meet the crisis.

We call on all trade unionists to attend the meeting of the Continuations Committee in St. Louis on February 18 to take this fight forward.

ENGLAND . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

classes and the unemployed, who are specially being trained to control "civilian uprisings."

From the beginning, Heath used the eagerness of the trade union leaders for talks to gain time to prepare for this offensive.

After Heath's press conference, the Trades Union Congress declared that the "unions are as much in earnest as anyone in wanting to fight inflation." Harold Wilson of the Labour Party said that while the program was not "fair, we shouldn't lend our support to any who seek by illegal or other means to destroy it."

DETERMINATION

But all over the country workers pledged their determination to take industrial action

to defend their hard won rights. In the key section of industry, auto, Ford and British Leyland workers are demanding a 12 percent increase.

There will be massive strikes throughout the country against Heath's program but now more than ever before, these struggles must be linked to the political fight to force Heath out through general strike action and return a Labour Party to power pledged to socialist policies.

The leaders of the trade unions and Labour Party have aided the Tories and have declared their support for government control of the unions.

These leaders must be replaced with revolutionary leaders who will fight for socialist policies. The Socialist Labour League is fighting for Councils of Action to be built in every area to lead this fight.

GM Begins Stockpiling For Strike

BY A CORRESPONDENT SOUTHGATE—General Motors may very well be experimenting with a European style changeover for new models which requires no down time at all.

When members of the United Auto Workers Local 216 returned from the Christmas holiday, they found the prototypes for the 1974 model cars already in the shop. The prototypes are usually brought in during June to permit the engineers to make any new dies needed, and to rearrange the line if necessary.

GM is six months ahead of schedule. As one worker put it, "If they are tooling up already, they could start production of the 1974s four months before our strike." GM could stockpile enough cars during this period to cover orders over a long strike.

As GM prepares for a fight, the Woodcock leadership is doing just the opposite. Woodcock has returned to policing the auto workers by agreeing to participate in Nixon's Cost of Living Council.

WHIPPLE

Jerry Whipple became UAW Region 6 director by defeating Paul Schrade on a platform of more concern with union matters, and by attacking Schrade for being a Woodcock man. While Whipple spoke about stopping layoffs and plant closures in the auto and aerospace industries, the only promise he has kept is to have more frequent meetings with the local leadership.

Whipple gave Woodcock his full endorsement of the Apache strategy until it was recently dropped. In fact, Whipple has taken the lessons of Schrade's ouster to heart and is solidarizing completely with the local leaderships.

At the GM plant in Fremont, this has taken the form of encouraging a Black caucus development to counter the growth of the Brotherhood caucus.

As we go to press, plans are under way in Local 216 for a fight to force Woodcock off the Cost of Living Council and to fight for an immediate one dollar raise and a full escalator clause in the upcoming contract.

West Coast News



In full military dress, the American Nazi Party intervened in the Los Angeles peace rally on January 20.

Portland Housewives Blast Nixon Prices

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PORTLAND, Ore., Jan. 16—Responding to the galloping inflation of food prices, over 150 housewives, trade unionists, retired people and youth from Southwest Washington and the Portland area attended a meeting in Camas, Washington, the home of the large Crown-Zellerbach paper mill.

"Housewives Against Inflation" sponsored the meeting "to form a permanent organization to fight inflation and unfair marketing practices."

These working people were provoked by December's record rise in food prices and Nixon's announcement that prices would remain uncontrolled on unprocessed food during Phase Three. The organizers had proposed a boycott of beef and pork for the next 30 days in order to "decrease the demand and thereby lower the price."

The organizers handed the entire meeting over to two businessmen from the Washington Cattlemen's Association who argued that the meat prices were only a local problem.

They attempted to pacify the audience with statistics showing

how the cattlemen and meat companies are not making any profits and are being driven out of business by the high wages of butchers and mill workers.

Jack Ferguson, executive secretary of the Cattlemen, concluded that beef was still a good buy and Americans should not complain because they spend very little for food compared to workers in other countries.

Speaker after speaker rose to respond angrily to these businessmen with a demand that beef prices be rolled back.

After 35 *Bulletin's* were sold in less than 15 minutes, the organizer, Mrs. Brill, tried to denounce the Workers League members present by asserting that they "aren't just ordinary housewives against inflation. We want no politics brought into this."

A Workers League member

spoke during the meeting on Nixon's attempt to destroy the standard of living of the working class through the destruction of its trade unions and uncontrolled inflation.

He called on those present to adopt a resolution addressed to the trade unions calling for a Congress of Labor to prepare a political fight back against Nixon through the formation of a labor party. He received the most enthusiastic applause from the audience of the entire meeting.

The meeting was ended with no action decided upon by those present. Instead, the leaders promised more meetings in the future. Many people left disgusted with the deadend perspectives of the organizers.

One young woman said, "It's a lot more serious than hamburger. Something must be done to stop Nixon."

CP Welcomes Schrade Back

BY BARRY GREY

SAN JOSE—The Stalinist dominated South Bay Rank and File Action Committee featured Paul Schrade, former Western Regional Director of the United Auto Workers, as guest speaker at a public meeting last week.

Fred Hirsch, a local supporter of the Communist Party, introduced Schrade as

"the most effective labor leader in bringing forward peace and organizing the unorganized." Hirsch stated that Schrade was dumped for fighting for rank and file issues.

In fact, Schrade is an opportunist who loyally served Woodcock for 10 years. It was under Schrade that 200,000 aerospace workers on the West Coast were laid off and massive plant closures occurred, especially in Schrade's home base of Los Angeles. At the same time, Nixon's Pay Board was allowed to cut the aerospace contract and the vicious speedup in General Motors Assembly Division was introduced.

Against this, trade union supporters of the Workers League fought for a resolution calling for a complete break with the

Democrats and Republicans, the convening of a Congress of Labor to carry out a national strike against Phase Three, and the formation of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

The Stalinists were completely unable to put forward any real alternative to the fight for a labor party. Fearing that whatever independent forces that were there would vote with the Workers League, they refused to put either resolution to a vote.

The role of labor "lefts" such as Schrade is to tie the working class to the old reformist forms of struggle and prevent the development of a Marxist leadership in the unions which can lead the working class to power.

The Stalinists' attempt to prop up the rotten labor leadership through so-called progressives such as Schrade is absolutely essential to Nixon's strategy for Phase Three.

It was the enormous bitterness of the rank and file toward Woodcock and Schrade which resulted in Schrade's defeat at the UAW convention. In his talk,

Layoff Threat Hits SF Labor

BY A CITY WORKER

SAN FRANCISCO—City employees here, still without a contract, must prepare now to beat back the attacks of the Civil Service Commission.

The Commission has proposed a 7.5 percent increase for professional employees and 2.5 percent for the majority classifications. Further cuts are inevitable before the budget goes to the Mayor's office in March.

San Francisco is still hiring temporaries in many departments even where there are permanent lists, breaking its own civil service rules. Hundreds of layoffs are threatened in Social Services in 1974 when adult aids are federalized.

Workloads have increased to the point where Food Stamps carries 850 cases when the state guidelines are 250. Last month a worker and her husband were shot by a frustrated recipient.

FORCE

A recent merger of the Civil Service Association with Local 400 of the SEIU brings 8000 new workers into the union to create a powerful force to answer the city. Instead of using this power, the SEIU leadership is trying to divert the fight into an acceptance of compulsory arbitration through an ordinance that imposes legal sanctions on the right to strike.

PREPARATION

Each local and the SEIU Joint Council must refuse to cooperate with any Employee Relations Ordinance. There must be preparation for a massive city workers strike in March.

The union must demand a written contract guaranteeing permanent status for all temporary workers after six months, job security for all titles, fully paid medical, dental and disability programs, a shorter work week and a \$100 a month raise across the board with a full escalator clause.

Schrade blamed the rank and file for Nixon's re-election and Phase Three. Schrade stated that the majority of auto workers support the wage freeze and Nixon, and it is the difficult job of "militants" such as he to "educate" the ranks. He went so far as to say that the labor movement is dead and has been incorporated into the state.

This, of course, is the inverse of the actual situation. The labor movement has begun to fight and it is Schrade and his fellow bureaucrats who seek to lead it to defeat.

As far as taking action against Phase Three, all Schrade proposed was that the labor movement "complain" to Nixon and pressure the Democrats and Republicans for repeal of the Economic Stabilization Act.

Schrade refused to even mention the upcoming UAW contract, or propose an alternative to Woodcock's plans for an "anti-inflationary" contract. His proposal for pressure to repeal the Economic Stabilization Act was put forward by the Stalinists as a resolution.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

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PHONE 415-621-1310

EDITORIAL

Education Under Attack

"Let each of us remember that America was built not by government but by people, not by welfare, but by work, not by shirking responsibility, but by seeking responsibility.

"In our own lives, let each of us ask—not just what will government do for me, but what can I do for myself?"

With these words in his inaugural address, Richard Nixon threatened all the gains made by the working class in decades of bitter struggle.

Every basic right from social security, to unemployment insurance to the right to a decent home and an education is threatened with destruction. Nixon is warning that he intends to throw the working class back to the days of Herbert Hoover.

Along with George Wallace who called it a "good speech" and declared that he agreed with it, no one greeted this address with more warmth than Ronald Reagan who cheered on Nixon's calls for self-reliance as he prepares to institute it in California.

A small sample of what is being prepared has been revealed by a series of recommendations prepared for the Joint Legislative Committee on the Master Plan for Higher Education.

In brief, their proposals call for more "self-reliance" by students through the raising of student fees by 1700 percent. Fees would go up from \$680 to \$2041 at the University of California, from \$117 to \$2047 at the state colleges and from free tuition to \$1040 at the community colleges.

This plan amounts to nothing less than the complete dismantling of the California higher education system which was set up during the boom period and represented a tremendous gain for the working class with a free university education established as a fundamental right.

Reagan's claims that the fees will be used for loans and scholarships to finance needy students is a calculated effort to whip up hysteria in the middle class, who will be told that they are being bankrupted to provide aid to minority and working class students.

While the Socialist Workers Party joins the Stalinists in futile antiwar protests designed to pressure Nixon, while the radicals line up with the Stalinists to propose electoral games in Berkeley designed to "turn the system to benefit the people of this city," the brutal reality of Nixon and Reagan's preparations are revealed in this report.

Clearly the question facing the working class is the defense of basic rights which requires a political confrontation with the government.

There can be no complacency in the face of these attacks. Every youth must turn towards the program of the Young Socialists to defend the rights to education. Demonstrations of youth united with teachers must be held against these attacks.

At the same time, every trade unionist must pose the urgency of the situation in every union. Every gain in health, education, and welfare which the labor movement fought for and won will be wiped out.

The labor movement must take action against these attacks. The trade unions must be mobilized through the calling of a Congress of Labor and the construction of a labor party.

The Continuations Committee meeting in St. Louis on February 18 grows in importance in the light of these developments. There a strategy for the fight in the trade unions will be developed.



The Berkeley meeting sponsored by revisionist groups called for alliances with city's radicals. A Workers League supporter spoke for a Congress of Labor and the building of a labor party.

Cost Of Living Council Threatens Action

ILWU Demands Payment Of Wages Cut In Phase Two

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—West Coast longshoremen, who last week won the restoration of the 30 cents an hour cut from the present contract last March by the Phase Two Pay Board, are now under attack by the Cost of Living Council.

Sources close to the Council, Nixon's Phase Three sledge-hammer against the trade unions, say that an order will soon be issued in Washington cancelling the increase.

While the Pacific Maritime Association agreed to restore the cut, as demanded by the ILWU following the announcement that the compulsory controls of Phase Two had been ended, the shippers have turned to the Cost of Living Council to prevent the 30 cents.

By agreeing to await a ruling by the Council on the restoration of the cut, Bridges has indicated that he is prepared to continue accepting the government as the final arbiter of wages.

mobilized in defense of the dockers, who have now come face to face with Nixon's determination to maintain state control over wages.

STRIKE ACTION

However, the ranks must immediately demand that Bridges take strike action to defend the contract which he negotiated and signed.

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All the trade union bureaucrats, from Meany to Woodcock to Fitzsimmons, who have supported Phase Three are directly implicated in Nixon's attack of the most fundamental right of the working class to bargain for a decent wage.

FIGHT

Angry longshoremen have made it clear that they are ready to fight for the 30 cent increase. One Los Angeles docker summed up the mood of the ranks when he told the Bulletin: "I think it's fine that Bridges is asking for the 30 cents. He just better stick to it and fight for it."

A docker in San Francisco stated that: "If we don't get anything, we'll stop working."

Once again, the West Coast dockers are in the forefront of the battle against Nixon. Their fight for the restoration of the cuts must be supported by the AFL-CIO, UAW and Teamsters whose millions of members have also been hit by Pay Board cuts which they now want restored.

Action by the entire labor movement to defend the ILWU and win back all cuts by the Pay Board can defeat Phase Three before it gets off the ground.

Radicals Dominate Phony Labor Party Meeting

A BULLETIN REPORTER

BERKELEY—A completely fraudulent "Labor Conference for Berkeley Politics" ended here as a complete fiasco for the Stalinists and an assortment of centrists who put it together.

The conference was called to put forward candidates who would run as allies of the middle class radicals and at the same time would draw in working class support by posing as labor candidates.

CENTRIST

Centrist organizations like the International Socialists and the Spartacist League proposed the building of a labor party not as the product of the mass movement of the working class but of the unprincipled amalgamation of radical groups.

Because they see no crisis and no movement in the working class for power, they see the struggle against the war and the struggle to build a labor party in the same way, as a matter of making alliances with the Stalinists in some sort of protest campaign.

Spartacist declared that assembled at the meeting were the

most conscious elements of the working class, and appealed for a discussion of program. The IS maintained that this kind of collaboration in Berkeley could pave the way for a national labor party.

It is the blows Nixon is preparing for the working class and the tremendous fighting response these will provoke that drives the centrists into the arms of the Stalinists to help them hold together their radical cesspool. All these forces now stand together on the most fundamental opposition to the independent mobilization of the working class to take power.

The Workers League fought for a perspective of mobilizing the trade unions in a Congress of Labor to fight Phase Three and construct a labor party, in complete hostility to the notion that this radical circus could be anything but a barrier to the building of a labor party.

Build the National Continuations Committee Meeting!

West Coast Meetings

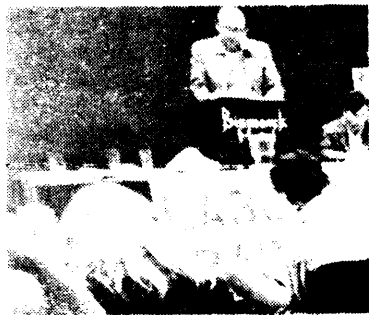
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