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# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER SIX 281

FEBRUARY 12, 1973

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

As Dollar Plunges In Europe---

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**Statement of the Continuations Committee of the National Conference for a Labor Party Now!**

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But auto workers will be confronting not only the Big Three but also the government. Because of the desperate economic crisis, the Nixon Administration now leads the corporations forward into battle against the working class.

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•WAGES. Inflation over the past three years has ripped into

the earnings of auto workers. Now prices are completely out of control, but Nixon's Phase Three bars more than a 5.5 percent wage increase.

•SPEEDUP. Working conditions in the plants have become intolerable. Particularly in the General Motors Assembly Division, the ranks are being driven in a ruthless productivity drive. Management—egged on by Nixon's call for an end to "permissiveness"—is seeking to solve the crisis of declining profit margins by imposing inhuman production standards.

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These are the main issues that the ranks must face in the 1973 contract fight. But with the negotiations approaching, UAW President Leonard Woodcock has made it clear that he has no intention of leading a fight to win a decent wage, stop the speedups and defend jobs.

(Continued On Page 18)



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(Continued On Page 18)

## S. African Strikes Escalate

BY MELODY FARROW

The wave of strikes by South African workers continues to spread as rubber and sugar cane workers in the East Coast port of Durban walked off their jobs on January 29. Immediately, police with dogs were rushed to the factory.

Textile workers in Durban have just returned to work after the employers announced wage increases for 7000 workers in four mills.

The Black workers, who are among the most oppressed in the world, have defied fines, jails and police terror to fight against the slave labor system which fixes their wages at starvation level. They are forbidden to organize trade unions.

### PROFITS

By keeping the wages at no more than \$10 a week, which is a raise of only six dollars in seven years, the South African and foreign companies have reaped profits of almost \$3.5 million.

Last month dockers, bus drivers, building workers, hotel and bakery workers went on strike in all the major cities. The brick workers marched through the streets of Durban behind a red flag.

Jock Espie, secretary of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, who is demanding trade union representation for Blacks, declared that the strike movement "is gathering a momentum of its own and is fast developing into an avalanche."

The government has been sent into a panic and has been forced to promise increases to the dockers and brick workers. However, the strikes are rapidly developing into a political movement that threatens the entire apartheid, imperialist backed regime.

## Nixon, Heath Plot

BY MELODY FARROW

Edward Heath, Prime Minister of England, arrived in the US February 1 as the entire monetary system of the major capitalist nations headed for chaos and complete breakdown.

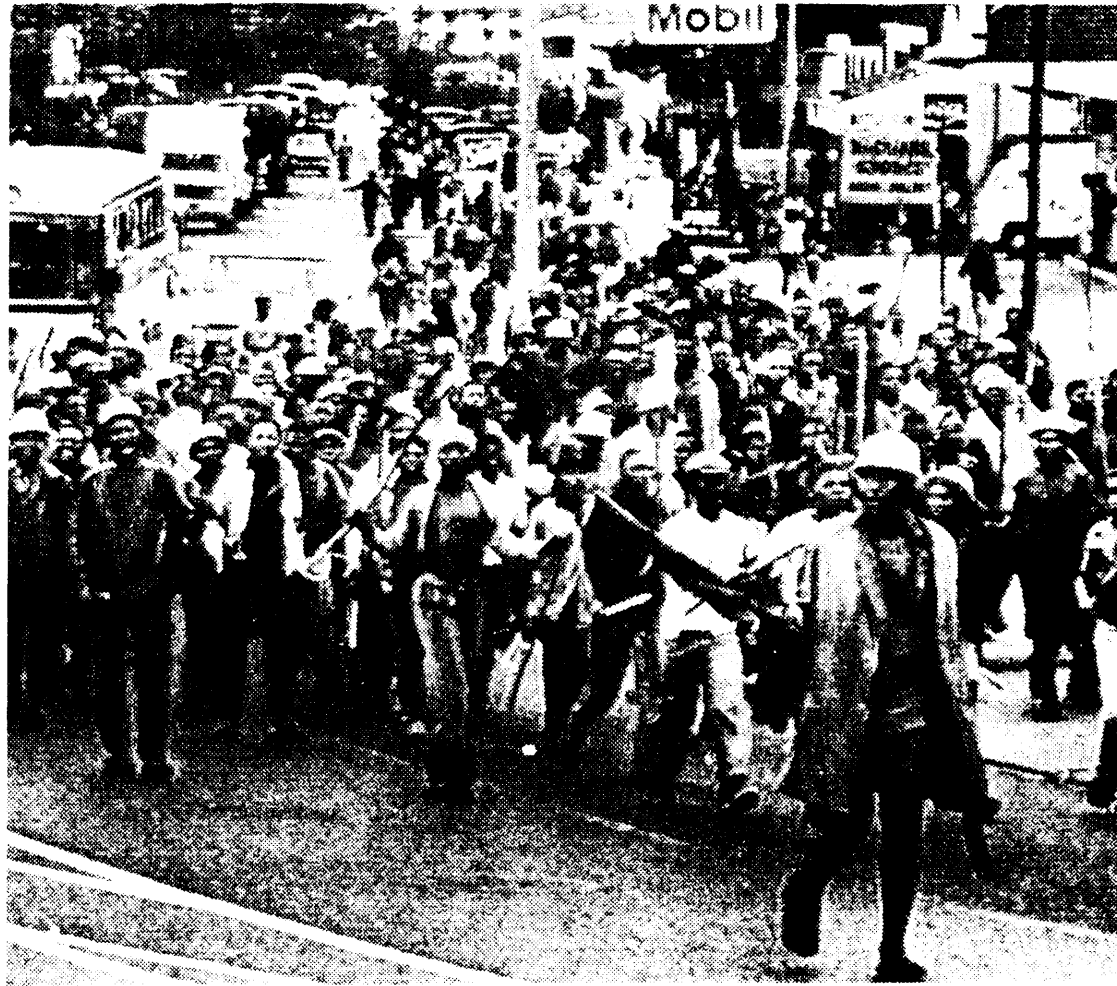
Nixon and Heath have come together to discuss the political measures they will take to deal with the critical economic situation, recently expressed in the sharp plunge of the dollar on foreign money markets and the heavy losses on the London exchange.

Nixon welcomed Heath on the White House lawn by stating that now that the Vietnam War was settled, he could concentrate on relations with Europe, "the cornerstone of American policy." He said:

"Now we can turn to tasks that are enormously important tasks...which we can devote even more attention to in the future."

The kind of alliance that Nixon is interested in is an alliance against both the American and British workers in order to attack their wages and jobs, to intensify their exploitation, and above all to work out a strategy to break the trade unions.

Nixon is concentrating his attention on Europe because he is



As strike waves spread through South Africa, brick workers march in Durban behind a red flag in defiance of the apartheid slave labor system which limits their wages to \$10 a week and forbids unionization.

## Quebec Union Heads Jailed

BY FRANK MARTIN

MONTREAL—On Saturday, February 3, two of Quebec's three top union leaders were jailed after the Supreme Court of Canada refused outright to hear their appeal on contempt of court charges.

Marcel Pepin, head of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, and Yvan Charbonneau, head of the Quebec Teachers Corporation, now face one full year in jail at Quebec's Orsainville prison. The third union leader, Louis Labege, of the Quebec Federation of Labor, was out of the country at the time but was expected to be back in the country and in jail by Monday.

The original charges stem from the public service strike in

Quebec last year. The refusal by the Supreme Court to even hear the appeal comes after a similar move by the Quebec Appeals Court. The Appeals Court explained quite explicitly that the purpose of the jailings was to smash the unions.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the New Democratic Party and the leaders of the Canadian Labor Congress have said nothing on the jailings.

In the past month, the government has introduced legislation to slash unemployment insurance benefits and leave thousands of workers penniless. At the same time, a government report has called for an across the board fee hike for students. Already, students in Ontario and Quebec have gone out on strike in the face of the threats of mass expulsions if fee hikes are not paid.

### STRATEGY

The heart of the government's strategy is to impose wage and price controls now. Already, the government, with the collaboration of the union leaders, has tried to impose a 4.7 percent wage increase on postal workers, despite big opposition from the ranks.

It is only because of NDP support that the Liberals can proceed with any of these attacks.

It is now necessary for every trade union and every local to mobilize to free the union leaders and to defend the trade unions. This can only be done through general strike action to bring the Liberal government down.

The Liberals cannot be pressured, as NDP leader Lewis contends. The NDP must be forced to break its treacherous alliance with the Liberals. This means the fight for new elections and for an NDP government that will be pledged to carry out socialist policies.

## Balaguer Sends Out Militia

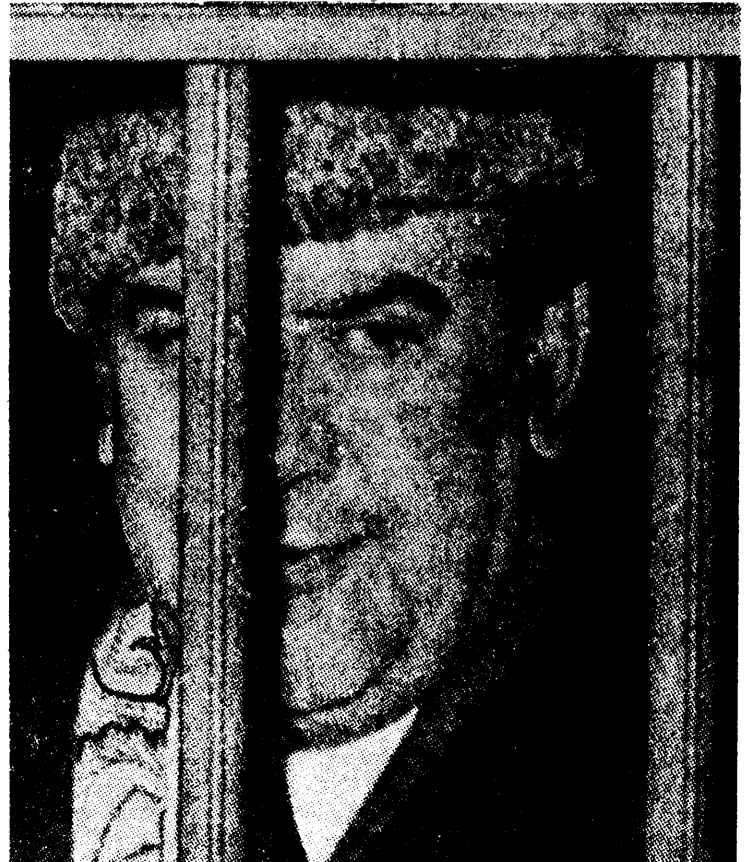
SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

On February 5, President Balaguer of the Dominican Republic called an emergency meeting to deal with the crisis in the country. The governmental media declared that a group of "guerrillas" has disembarked in the province of Asua, which is 75 kilometers from the capital.

According to one of the government spokesmen, the "guerrilla" group consists of less than nine persons. Nevertheless, Balaguer has taken emergency measures and has sent 400 militia to the Santo Domingo Autonomous University where 500 students are still inside.

Bosch and Pena Gomez, leaders of the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (Revolutionary Dominican Party) are expecting the government to arrest them in connection with the guerrillas.

Balaguer, who is running for re-election in May 1974, is seeking by any means to destroy any opposition including that of Bosch, who represents the interests of the middle class.



Jailed by the Liberal government of Canada for leading a public service strike, trade union leader Marcel Pepin faces one year in prison.

## Killings Spark Lebanon Strike

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Workers in every city and town of Lebanon went on strike in a spontaneous wave of anger against the cold blooded murder of tobacco farmers at the end of January.

The tobacco farmers occupied the government's provincial headquarters in Nabatieh to protest the lowering of the price of tobacco. The Lebanese Army opened fire on the demonstrators, killing and wounding an undisclosed number of the unarmed farmers.

Demonstrations were organized throughout the country against the massacre and all the opposition and left-wing parties held a joint march in Beyrouth

January 27 demanding the resignation of the government of Soleiman Frangie.

Shortly after this incident, all the schools and universities in the country were shut by students in support of the strike by 16,000 public teachers for a 40 percent wage increase and retirement after 25 years. The 20,000 professors and instructors in the private sector are backing the strike as well.

The Ministry of Education has fired 300 teachers for alleged "Marxist sympathies" and claims it will never discuss as long as the strike continues.

Violent street battles broke out the entire night of January 30 between students and the police in which at least 20 youth were injured.



Philadelphia teachers are receiving support from suburban teachers as their strike enters its second month. School Board just announced plans to hire 1000 scabs and fire teachers who refuse to return to work.

# Philly Teachers Demand General Strike

BY FRANK ELLIOTT

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 4—The School Board declared today that it will now hire 1000 substitute teachers in a new attempt to break the school strike. Anyone with three years of college education will be taken on as a scab.

The Board also announced that it is preparing to fire teachers who refuse to return to work. Over 10,000 of the system's 13,000 teachers are still out despite court injunctions against the picketing as the strike enters its second month.

President Sullivan, chief negotiator Ryan, and the union itself have been found guilty, in an unprecedented trial, of criminal contempt of court for refusing to obey a back to work order issued by the court.

Twenty-five executive board members of the union still await trial. The judge, so far, has delayed sentencing, which could involve jail terms of two and one-half to five years and almost unlimited fines.

Mayor Rizzo backs the School Board completely in its demands that the teachers return to work with no increase in wages, larger class size, and with the elimination of several hundred teaching positions.

Rizzo advised the School Board to carry out the policies that he is

preparing for all city workers. "I would cut back a number of city employees. I'd start with 10 percent across the board and then I'd go to 20 percent."

## COUNCIL

The powerful Philadelphia AFL-CIO Council, which has expressed support for the strike, has to this point not gone beyond passing formal resolutions. At a solidarity rally called this week by the teachers union, and attended by over 2000 teachers, Edward Toohey, president of the Council, reiterated its support for the strike but refused to put forward any concrete proposals.

The impatience of teachers over the inaction of the leadership was expressed as Toohey's speech was met with a chorus of "we want a one day general strike" and "work stoppage, work stoppage" by militant teachers.

Philadelphia teachers must now call upon the city labor movement to defend the picket lines against Rizzo's courts and police and prepare for general strike action to answer any jailings or fines.

## AFGE Battles Layoffs

BY JOE MARTIN

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The rank and file of Local 2607 of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) are taking up a fight now against Nixon's plans to cut 380,000 or 10 percent of all federal jobs nationally.

These cuts are part of Nixon's attempt to reorganize the federal government. They have become known to government employees as RIFS (reduction in forces).

The Rank and File Caucus of Local 2607 carried out a massive leaflet campaign together with members of Health, Education and Welfare Local 41 to call a

meeting to plan a strategy against Nixon. Over 100 union members attended this meeting and decided to demand a conference of all AFGE locals in the Washington District to take up the fight against Nixon's Phase Three and the cutbacks of federal workers.

At the general meeting of Local 2607, this proposal was passed unanimously as well as one for a national conference.

This fight must now be taken forward at these conferences with the demands for AFGE to prepare action against any layoffs and to demand that the union call for a Congress of Labor to answer Nixon.

## Europe Slams Door On Dollar

BY DAVID NORTH

The Nixon Administration has threatened more vicious attacks on American workers and trade war measures against Europe and Japan in the midst of a new dollar crisis which is pushing the world monetary system toward complete disintegration.

While unwanted American dollars poured like a tidal wave into Germany's central banks last week and undermined the last vestiges of fixed exchange rates, Treasury Secretary George Shultz demanded that Germany revalue its mark in order to help the US improve its trade position.

He also pledged further budget cuts aimed at eliminating what still remains of the social

programs won by American workers over the last 40 years, telling the House Appropriations Committee:

"If the Congress and the executive can't agree in the future on how much the Federal Government ought to spend, something more drastic has to take place."

This was an unmistakable reiteration of the statement of a White House spokesman last week that Nixon intends to assume dictatorial control over

For more news on the economy, see Page 8 What We Think.

spending, or as the aide put it: "One man rule."

Shultz pledged that the administration was prepared to intervene ruthlessly against workers that fought the 5.5 percent guideline. "Phase Three is voluntary just like paying your income tax is voluntary," he said.

But the most chilling comment on the attitude of the administration came from James McLane, deputy director of the Cost of Living Council. Urging 900 assembled businessmen to resist the wage offensive of 4.5 million workers up for new contracts, he said:

### PHASE FOUR

"You ought to think pretty carefully about what could happen if Phase Three doesn't work. You all know what happened on August 15, 1971. I'm not sure what we would move to in Phase Four or Phase Five or Phase-out."

(Continued On Page 18)

## 1199 Ranks Call On Davis To Stop Stalling Action

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK, Feb. 5—Hospital workers will engage in further demonstrations this week to underline their determination to win the full 7.5 percent increase awarded to them by arbitrators last July.

The recent slash of that raise to 5.5 percent has led to widespread sentiment within Local 1199 for immediate strike action. 1199 President Leon Davis is still trying to put off this action, while he claims that he favors action, "no matter what it takes," to get the increase—but that right now is not the time.

The arbitration panel of last year is now reportedly urging the hospitals to reverse their original position of asking the Pay Board to cut the increase. The union leaders aim to use the demonstrations at the hospitals to achieve this demand.

The vast majority of hospital workers have something far different in mind. They have waited over seven months for their increase. Another 7.5 percent is due in July, and hospital workers will soon be a full 15 percent behind, not having gotten a penny increase in almost two years.

More and more workers are criticizing the tactics of the union officials on the grounds that it is foolish to expect the Cost of Living Council to admit the error of its ways, or the hospital bosses to take the side of the workers. This

is a dangerous delay and diversion from the only kind of action Nixon will understand.

### SCARED

The 1199 leaders are running scared. In both the December and January issues of the union magazine, and in a special leaflet issued January 29, Leon Davis is forced to attack, though not by name, the Rank and File Committee and its growing support for strike action. Davis warns the members not to listen to "the heroes who would lead us into a 'swamp' and the 'loudmouths' who do not represent the majority of the members.

The question that is undoubtedly occurring to thousands of workers is why Davis is devoting so much space and attention to those who supposedly do not represent anyone.

It is Nixon who is making a confrontation between the union and the government absolutely inevitable. The question is when and under what circumstances the battle shall begin.

The Rank and File Committee is fighting for an emergency mass membership meeting and immediate strike action because any delay only strengthens Nixon's hand. Hospital workers must go over to the offensive. They can lead the massive but unorganized hatred and movement against the Nixon government by strike action and in the fight for a Congress of Labor and a labor party.



## 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



# Social Service Ranks Beat City Reorganization Drive

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

NEW YORK—About 700 Social Service Employees Union Local 371 members jammed the ballroom at the Hotel Diplomat on January 31 for one of the most important meetings in the union's history.

On every major question raised, the Cohen leadership was voted down by the rank and file. The resolution of the Committee for a New Leadership, which calls for no movement of staff without a city-wide blueprint approved by membership referendum.

## Curran Sells NMU Hall

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—At the monthly port meeting here, Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, announced that the union plans to sell the national headquarters building to St. Vincent's Hospital for six million dollars.

The NMU will move into the 17 Street building in New York, which formerly housed the Upgrading and Retraining Program. The program was closed down last month.

The sale of the national headquarters is a sharp expression of the crisis which has hit the NMU ranks. This crisis has reduced the total number of seafaring jobs to 27,000 and the NMU membership has sharply declined in the past few months. Curran has not lifted a finger against the attacks on jobs.

Using union funds, Curran had this building constructed in 1964 at a cost of 6.5 million dollars and named it after himself. His office reportedly has a stream running through it.

The ground floor houses the hiring hall where thousands of seamen have waited for the past year without a job because of the refusal of the Curran leadership to fight for their interests.

passed by over 100 votes despite the maneuvers of the bureaucracy.

This motion, approved the previous week by the Delegates Assembly, means that the union leadership will no longer be able to negotiate away jobs and titles, and that workers will cooperate no further with the city's reorganization until they see the complete plan.

### ANGER

The response at the meeting expressed the tremendous anger and will to fight of the membership in the face of unprecedented attacks by the city, state and federal governments on social services.

Workers from the Manpower Career Development Agency, who are threatened with the complete dissolution of their jobs, made it clear to the union leadership that they would no longer allow them to "negotiate" away their wages and their jobs.

Spontaneous outbursts, from groups of workers in agencies virtually ignored by the union, marked the meeting. Several angry workers from Region 1 of Manpower grabbed the microphone to explain why the issue of reorganization of the Human Resources Administra-



Member of SSEU-371 Committee For A New Leadership.

tion had to be discussed immediately.

Another explosion came from the workers from the Bureau of Pest Control who have not had a pay increase in almost three years. The Pest Control workers face one of the roughest jobs in the city: cleaning out and killing the rats in the vacant lots and buildings in the ghettos.

The Pest Control workers have received nothing but empty promises from the union. They have no sick days, holidays or protection and are the lowest paid workers in the union.

### CAUCUS

The Committee for a New Leadership is organizing workers in all the agencies in the union into the caucus. What is required is the building of a mass opposition caucus with a perspective for a fight on jobs and pay.

This caucus must also address itself to the political questions facing the ranks. It is these political questions that all the other tendencies in the union refuse to confront, but these questions are the most vital for the defense of the ranks.

The CNL is the only force fighting for council-wide strike action against Nixon's Phase Three controls. At the same time, as the government viciously slashes all social service programs, the fight must be carried forward to replace the Democrats and Republicans with a party of labor to defend the interests of all workers.

Central to the campaign of the CNL is the fight to build the Emergency Conference of Trade Unionists to be held in St. Louis on February 18. Already, 25 SSEU members have signed up to attend this conference.

The CNL will be holding a public meeting on Tuesday, February 13, at 6:30 p.m. at 135 West 14 Street in order to take forward this fight for alternative leadership in the SSEU.

of the C.R.P., admitted during the trial that he gave \$199,000 to Liddy to carry out what he claimed to be normal intelligence operations. He also stated that Maurice Stans, Nixon's former Secretary of Commerce and chairman of the fund-raising activities of the C.R.P., had authorized the release of funds to Liddy.

In spite of Sloan's revelations, Judge Sirica, together with the prosecution and defense, refused to call Stans and allowed other top officials of the C.R.P. and the White House staff to submit their testimony in writing or in closed door sessions.

Throughout the trial, Sloan insisted that Liddy and McCord were "off on an enterprise of their own."

In fact, the government and the defense insisted that what had been involved in the bugging and sabotage campaign was a perfectly legal intelligence operation aimed at protecting the Republican Party from violent



Helena Farinas recently spoke before the Social Service Employees Union in New York to win support for the petition campaign for parole for her husband. This past week the Juan Farinas Defense Committee received petitions demanding Juan's parole from Teamsters Local 705, Cook County Hospital employees and patients, United Steelworkers Local 65, the SSEU and New Haven teachers.

## Shanker Refuses To Defend Teachers Jobs

BY A UFT DELEGATE

NEW YORK—The crisis in New York City schools was intensified tremendously on February 1 by the layoff of hundreds of teachers, and the reduction of services to students.

This came just as Nixon revealed his budget for next year, which cuts the funds for salaries of all 9000 paraprofessionals and 6000 more teachers and administrators.

When asked at the January 24 Delegate Assembly meeting how the union would fight the layoffs, United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker's response was that regular teachers would be placed in the district offices to do clerical work, and the rest are substitutes, so nothing could be done about it. Although substitutes do the same work as regular teachers and are union members, the Shanker leadership refuses to defend their jobs.

The Bulletin interviewed one of the 30 teachers laid off from a junior high school in Manhattan because of the elimination of funds for a remedial reading program called Project Read.

"The union said they would fight this but they never did," he said. "Seeing the District Rep was like seeing this table. He said the same thing as everyone else, 'there are no funds.' The UFT is good, but it's not strong enough because it doesn't have a good leadership. Shanker should have been out of office a long time ago."

### PETITION CAMPAIGN

The UFT Committee for New Leadership has been fighting with a petition campaign and in the Delegate Assembly, demanding strike action against the layoffs, and calling on Shanker to take up the fight in the AFL-CIO for an emergency Congress of Labor to meet Nixon's attacks.

"I am in total agreement with the need for strike action," said one teacher who was laid off. "What the CNL is planning to do has my backing and I hope you get everyone's backing."

"The big corporations could care less about our schools or the students who have to suffer because of these budget cuts. All the workers should get together. To go and plead is not going to work."

EDITOR: Lucy St. John  
Labor Editor: David North  
Art Director: Jeannie Cooper  
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## Watergate Guilty Verdicts A Nixon Set-up

BY NANCY FIELDS

The Watergate conspiracy trial came to an end last week with a brief 90 minute deliberation by the jury which found the two remaining defendants, G. Gordon Liddy and James McCord guilty. They were charged with conspiracy, burglary and eavesdropping at the Democratic Party National Headquarters last June 17.

Throughout the Watergate trial, the Nixon Administration showed its complete contempt for the laws of its own class. First, it arranged for five defendants, E. Howard Hunt, Bernard Baker, Frank Sturgis, Martinez and Gonzalez, to plead guilty at the outset of the trial to avoid disclosing the real nature of their espionage activities. They are reportedly being paid \$1000 a month by prominent Miami Republican businessmen to keep their mouths shut.

All of the defendants were paid employees either of the Committee for the Re-election of the President or the White House staff. This Committee accumulated the largest sums in the history of presidential financing, including sizeable con-

tributions from bigwigs like Howard Hughes, who is free to flit around the world without a passport.

The actual trial of the Watergate conspirators was a whitewash from beginning to end. The grand jury purposely drew the indictments narrowly in order to rule out all questions involving the political nature of the defendants' activities and the relationship these seven had with the C.R.P. and Nixon's personal White House staff.

Furthermore, the grand jury refused to hand down indictments or investigate the rest of the C.R.P. staff even though testimony was presented to link these seven to the top officials of the re-election committee.

Hugh Sloan, former treasurer





# Young Socialist®

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 Abby Rodriguez, Editor  
 Young Socialist  
 6th Floor, 135 W. 14th Street  
 New York, N.Y. 10011

## YSA Channels Youth Into Deadend Protest

In the face of the massive attacks being carried out against the Vietnamese and the American workers, the Young Socialist Alliance has wrapped up even their meager protest movement.

Now that Nixon has signed an agreement between the US and Vietnam, which allows capitalism to continue its exploitation in Vietnam, the YSA has closed up their protest movement, viewing the agreement as a big victory.

While they have packed in their antiwar movement, their "abortion on demand" campaign has been answered by the Supreme Court.

As Nixon quickly moves to destroy all the rights and gains of the working class, the YSA is stymied before his actions. All their movements, which are based on the most minimum protest levels, cannot answer Nixon's attacks.

The YSA has consistently rallied the hatred youth have for Nixon and diverted it onto the deadend path of reforms. Frightened of the explosions that will now occur, they refuse to break youth from mere protest and bring their fight forward against the government. In fact, they will stand in opposition to this kind of fight.

In the face of the most vicious attacks being waged on the youth, the YSA has no type of perspective which can defend youth from these attacks.

The slashes in the educational budget will mean the elimination of programs and a sharp reduction in the number of students attending schools. At the same time, youth unemployment continues to rise, which places before thousands of youth a very bleak future.

It is in this situation that the YSA dumps its antiwar movement and latches on to the budget cuts, beginning again with trying to get some reforms from the government instead of trying to destroy it.

They blame the cuts in education on the expenditure for war equipment. According to the YSA, if the government cut some money from the war budget and added it on to the budget for education, everything would be all right.

In this period, when big explosions over the budget cuts will occur, the YSA will enter into the struggle only to divert it into a protest to pressure Nixon to give a little more money to the schools.

The YSA refuses to see these attacks as part of a massive offensive that the government must wage on every worker and youth in order for the big industries to keep reaping the billions of dollars in profits.

Instead of bringing this movement forward politically against the government, and calling for a definitive break with the capitalist parties, they will derail it into supporting the more progressive section of the Democratic Party.

The Young Socialists, understanding that capitalism is in its deepest crisis and must continue to launch one attack after another on workers and youth, has led a campaign against these attacks.

Understanding that the cuts mean a real attack on the lives of youth, the Young Socialists was the first movement to take up this fight. It is only the Young Socialists which has a strategy to defeat Nixon's policies. Now that these moves are being sharpened, the Young Socialists will lead a wide campaign against the policies of the government.

Part of our campaign will be mapped out at the National Steering Committee meeting to be held in conjunction with the Emergency Meeting of Trade Unionists.

The attacks on the youth are not separated from those that are facing workers today. Only the united action of workers and youth against the government can answer Nixon's policies.

Every student, young worker and unemployed youth who wants to take up this fight to defend their rights should attend the National Steering Committee meeting in St. Louis on February 18.

## YS Launches Drive Against Budget Cuts



St. Louis Teachers Association members will now be fined \$30,000 a day for each day the strike continues, and the court has already announced a \$150,000 fine for their strike activities. St. Louis teachers union case will be heard in court next week as strike enters third week.

BY ADELE SINCLAIR

**NEW YORK—**The Young Socialists are opening a campaign throughout the country to defend the right of youth to an education which the Nixon Administration is attacking.

The new budget is threatening the right to an education for all working class youth. From every section of the country, reports of financial crisis in the colleges and high schools are pouring in.

At the University of Maryland, nine million dollars has been slashed, while at Columbia University in New York, another eight million will be cut.

Lehigh University has hiked tuition fees by \$200, bringing the present cost to \$2850 for the 1973-1974 year with an additional \$1300 for room and board.

In the high schools, the decision of the Detroit School Board to eliminate two months from the school year stands as an unprecedented attack on the basic rights of the working class and reveals the course which other cities will follow.

Cuts in grants and loans and the tightening up of regulations show the determination on the part of this government of bankers to force students into the streets and strip them of their rights.

The Young Socialists are holding emergency meetings throughout the high schools and colleges calling on every student and teacher to participate in mapping out a fight against Nixon.

We are fighting on the following demands:

- No cuts in education and no layoffs. Free higher education

for all.

- For joint strike action of students and teachers unions.

- For the teachers unions to call on the entire labor movement for support through a general strike.

- For the teachers union to call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

This is the only course against the Nixon Administration. The attack against the rights of students is part of the overall campaign by the government against the living standards of the working class and it is aimed at the destruction of the trade unions.

Students must turn toward the trade unions to mobilize them through strike action and a political fight against the Democrats and Republicans.

The new budget will be a direct blow against the teachers unions.

Already in Philadelphia, Chicago, and St. Louis, teachers have gone out on strike for decent working conditions and wages. It is this movement which must be guided in a political fight to break the working class from the two capitalist parties responsible for these attacks.

This is the only answer to the reformists who will prepare to transform the militancy of the working class and youth into feeble appeals to Congress.

The campaign will be part of the fight to build the Young Socialists to provide the youth with the revolutionary leadership needed in this period. It is this fight which every youth must take up by participating in the building of the National Conference of the Young Socialists at Hunter College on May 26-27.

## Students Fight Bus Service Cut

BY A YS REPORTER

**BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—**Over 200 Central High students staged a three mile march to protest the ending of free emergency school transportation that had been provided by the Board of Education during the last two months.

For three days in a row, the students and parents marched in freezing weather from Beardsley Terrace project to Central. On the third day, free bus service was extended for 30 days. The city wants to replace the free bus service with a system that would cost 50 cents a day.

Upon arriving at the school the first day of the march, the students demanded that the first period begin at 9:45 a.m. because the teachers were failing the kids who had missed the first

period. Dr. Mayer, the principal, consented.

Conditions are becoming intolerable for the 2700 students at Central. One student explained to the Young Socialist:

"Just before Christmas they put plainclothes cops in the school. They have cops dressed up like students carrying books around. They have 'aides' in the bathroom to watch the kids. They have a list. If they suspect you're dealing drugs, you're on the list. They stay on your heels there."

## Join the Young Socialists!

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

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
 ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
 PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

Young Socialists 135 W. 14th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011



# Young Socialist Columbia Eliminates Loans

**BY FELIX KRUGLOVE**  
NEW YORK—Columbia University will lose over two million dollars. Millions more are going to be withdrawn from affiliated institutions like Teachers College, Nursing School, School of Social Work, and the College of Physicians and Surgeons. The last two schools are expected to close down after losing \$1.2 million and \$3.4 million a year respectively.

The budget will deprive the university of almost one million dollars in National Defense loans, eliminate \$335,000 in Economic Opportunity grants, cut off about \$300,000 in fellowships for graduate students, and eliminate over \$70,000 from funds used for work-study programs. President William McGill of Columbia University proposed a month ago that tuition in nearly all divisions of the university be raised \$180 to \$320 from its present \$3180 a year.

Along with tuition, the expenses on room, food, books and transportation have sharply increased and the cost of one year at Columbia stands at about \$5500.

With the tuition increases, the quality of education has gotten

worse. Class size in most departments has increased as teaching staffs are cut, openings in departments not filled, and teaching assistants gradually eliminated.

Under the tremendous financial crisis which is sweeping the colleges, students are finding

that education is becoming a privilege and not a right.

The Columbia Young Socialists are calling for an emergency meeting of all students and teachers to take strike action and political action against the Democrats and Republicans responsible for these policies.

## Police Patrol Maryland U.

**BY BRIAN FLEET**  
COLLEGE PARK, Md.—The Governor's Commission for Student Affairs held an open forum at the University of Maryland College campus last Thursday to discuss a security plan which will close down nine entrances to the university.

The remaining four entrances will be under police control. The implementation of this plan sets a major precedent for all other campuses across the nation.

According to the plan police will have the right to stop and search students before allowing them to enter any building. This plan, which will virtually institute martial law, was developed under the cover of a campaign to protect students against robberies and rapes.

### FUNCTION

Its real function is to provide the administration with the repressive police forces which they will use as the anger of students and teachers mounts against the slashes in education.

The University of Maryland will lay off hundreds of teachers and students because of a nine million dollar budget cut. Meanwhile, work-study programs have suffered a 20 percent reduction in funds while campus jobs disappear and the cost of living soars.

The hostility of students to these policies was expressed by the support which the Young Socialists received at the meeting. A YS member stated that it will hold a meeting to plan a strategy to fight against the security plan.

The YS proposes: the immediate restoration of the shuttle service which provided students with safety to and from the campus and that this service be extended into a 24 hour service; an end to the security plan; no tuition hikes; restoration of the work-study program at union wages; no cops on the campus.

This can only be taken forward through the demand that the unions strike against the cuts and call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.



Philadelphia teachers on strike. See article Page 3.

## Boycott Shuts Emery High

**BY A YS REPORTER**

EMERYVILLE, Cal.—Mounting anger of students at Emery High School erupted last week in a boycott that completely closed every one of Emeryville's three schools.

According to student spokesmen the boycott was called over two main issues, the quality of education, and the police-style regime of the Dean of Girls.

The boycott burst out Tuesday after the Dean of Girls had illegally removed three girls from the campus. The dean expelled the girls on the grounds that they could not attend Emery High because they live in Oakland. But student spokesmen told the Young Socialist that the school had traditionally allowed juniors and seniors who moved out of the district to complete their education at Emery.

Emery High School is located in Emeryville, the most concentrated industrial area in all of California, and consequently its small school district is the richest in California. Despite this the books used in the classrooms are from 10 to 15 years old and

the equipment in the school is all outdated. According to student spokesmen, out of 400 graduates from Emery in the last 10 years, only 15 have been able to go on to a college diploma.

The school administration and the Board of Education completely support the police methods of the dean. At a meeting Thursday night the Board refused to allow parents to question the dean and implied that she was justified because of "student violence."

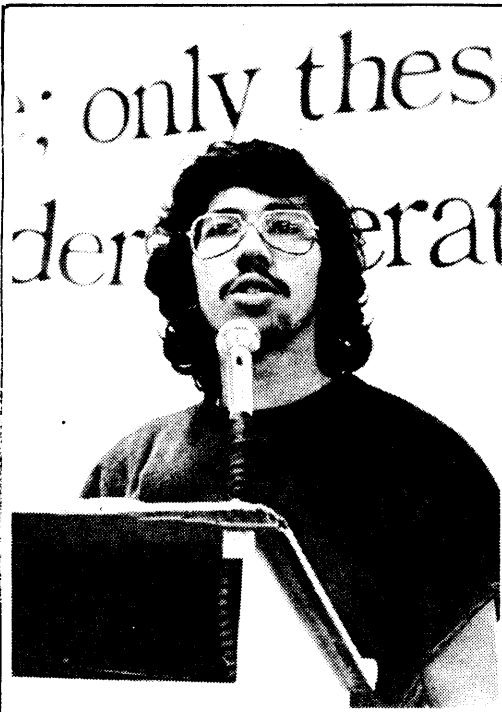
The boycott has been suspended until the Board announces its decision Thursday, at which time students will decide on any further action.

Last week's boycott has shown the absolute determination of the youth to fight against the destruction of the education system and the use of police methods.

## Young Socialist Meeting



Film showing:  
British  
Right-to-  
Work March



### Stop the budget cuts!

- No slashes in education, no layoffs or cuts in loan and work—study programs!
- Defend the right to an education!

### Fight unemployment!

- No cuts in job programs!
- Jobs for all! 30 hrs. work for 40 hrs. pay!

Call a Congress of Labor  
to build a labor party!

Speaker: Abby Rodriguez  
Editor of Young Socialist

Build the National Conference  
of the Young Socialists!  
May 26—27 at Hunter College

Brooklyn Meeting: University Lounge, 4th Floor  
SUBO, Brooklyn College Sat. March 17 7:30PM  
Admission: \$1.50, includes dance

## Cuts End Youth Corps

**BY KIKI MENDEZ**

BROOKLYN—Nixon's new budget for this fiscal year calls for the complete shutdown of the Neighborhood Youth Corps program throughout the country. The areas most sharply hit are Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, and East New York.

In East New York, the Youth Corps was established in the summer of 1965 after the ghetto rebellions. The program could only provide 22,000 youth out of the 35,000 who applied for summer jobs last year.

The summer jobs they did have required the employee to work 27 hours for a weekly salary of \$40.95. This year not even these jobs will be available.

### SLASHED

The first sign that the program would soon be slashed came when President Nixon put a freeze on hiring and enrollment. The freeze, which began Decem-

ber 22, 1972, crippled the program and eliminated any chance of youth getting a job this winter or coming summer. The present staff has been forced to double their workload for the same amount of pay.

The program, which has a contract with the federal government, will expire June 30, 1973. The expiration occurs one day after the end of the school year, when thousands of students apply for summer jobs.

The only solution is for the entire labor movement to take up a political fight against the government through strike action by every union and for the calling of a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.



## Young Socialists Draft Program

# Recreation & Entertainment

This is the sixth 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.

### SPORTS

Recreational programs are being rapidly eliminated. Youth have no facilities in which to develop athletic abilities. The skills of the athletes are constantly exploited. Those trying to make a career out of sports are bought and sold from one club to another at the will of their employers. If they protest, they are blacklisted.

High school, college and professional athletes are forced to act as super patriots no matter what their actual political outlooks. They are molded to serve the interests of the ruling class and to be put on display before the world.

Nixon's slashing of the budget will eliminate the majority of the recreational centers and programs because these do not provide any profits for this system. Athletic programs and health education courses are the first programs to be eliminated by the huge budget cuts in the school system.

Youth must take up the fight to defend these recreational programs. The Young Socialists must organize recreational activities to provide the youth with these necessities.

#### WE DEMAND:

- NO CUTS IN ATHLETIC PROGRAMS.

- RECREATIONAL FACILITIES IN ALL NEIGHBORHOODS FOR ALL YOUTH.

- THAT THE PROFIT BE TAKEN OUT OF SPORTS. SPORTS MUST BE FOR THE INTEREST OF THE YOUTH NOT THE RICH.

### ENTERTAINMENT

Youth face nothing but boredom as more and more forms of entertainment are eliminated. They are left to wander the streets only to be picked up and beaten by cops for loitering. In small towns, theaters close up, while in the cities dances and shows cost too much for young workers and the unemployed.

The artistic talents of the youth are stifled because the music industry cannot take a chance on losing its profits on new performers. Performers rehearse strenuously for long hours only to get very little in wages and most often to face unemployment lines. Unemployment in the music industry is growing quickly.

The high cost of attending museums and hearing orchestras and musical groups prevents youth from having access to culture. Museums, which find themselves in financial crisis, have begun to sell masterpieces to millionaire collectors thus depriving youth from viewing them.

The crisis of the capitalist system directly wipes out the cultural development of the youth.

#### WE DEMAND:

- NATIONALIZATION OF THE ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY.

- SCHOOLS FOR CULTURAL TRAINING.

- FUNDS FOR MUSEUMS, ORCHESTRAS, AND MUSICAL GROUPS.

- THEATERS AND ENTERTAINMENT CENTERS IN THE COMMUNITIES FOR ALL WORKERS AND YOUTH.



Above, Young Socialists East New York basketball team. The "Rare Experience," drummer shown below, played for the Young Socialists at a dance in Brooklyn.



## YS Investigation Reveals Brownsville Girl Was Shot In Back

BY JOHN HILLS

BROOKLYN—On Friday, February 26, 16 year old Rita Lloyd was murdered in cold blood by a policeman in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn.

She died on her way to Kings County Hospital from a bullet which entered her back and left through the abdomen or chest. The shooting was consciously ignored by the capitalist press. They feared that a disclosure would spark an explosion in this community.

This murder is the result of an intensive drive to militarize all of Brooklyn with extra police with shotguns. While the cops claim to be hunting the six people suspected of ambushing cops, they are actually waiting and looking for excuses to open fire.

#### DESCRIBED

Speaking to the Young Socialist, Carnel Lloyd and Jessica Singleton, sisters of the dead girl, described the shooting.

They said that Rita and her friend, Denise Bethel, were arguing with a woman on Christopher and Sackman Avenue. This had aroused attention in the neighborhood from residents and from two cops who were cruising through the block.

The woman threatened to cut Rita. Denise replied that she was going home to get a gun. Meanwhile, the police sat calmly by making no attempt to intervene.

The girls went home and returned with a shotgun, unloaded and unassembled. The police car had been following them the entire way.

When they reached the street where the woman lived, police jumped out of the car. Rita, frightened by the police, ran. One cop called for her to stop and then fired, hitting her in the back.

"Rita was shot out of revenge," stated Carnel. "It's getting so you drop a bottle and cops will shoot to kill."

"He didn't have to shoot her, she didn't have any gun. That cop could have held her but he just shot her in the back," declared her sister Jessica.

When the Lloyd family went to the Brownsville 69 Precinct to press charges, they had to wait for two hours to speak to the captain. He flatly refused to press charges and stated: "You can't press any charges against this officer—it's justifiable homicide. If I was in the same situation, I would have shot also."

At the Kings County morgue, officials refused to allow the family to see the body. Everyone is hesitant about giving any facts concerning the incident. What the police are attempting to cover up is that they have opened up a brutal campaign against the working class and youth. It is this kind of repression which the government is preparing for the entire working class and youth.

The only solution is to mobilize the labor movement in defense of all workers and youth.



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## The One Man Rule Of Richard Nixon

With his State of the Union address, Nixon has set out to strengthen the powers of the central government, and to attack all the democratic rights of the working class. This is in preparation for the massive struggles of the American labor movement. Nixon's moves now open the way for the rightist forces around Wallace, who are calling for dictatorship against the working class.

In an unprecedented move, Nixon refused to appear before Congress to deliver the traditional message. "This year in particular," said Nixon, "with our philosophy about the relationship between the individual and the state at an historic crossroads—a single, all embracing State of the Union Message would not appear to be adequate."

Nixon is so contemptuous of all democratic rights and of the government's failure in this period to deal with the working class through the traditional forms of capitalist democracy, that he is openly telling Congress they might as well close down. Not only will he not appear before Congress, but he said quite emphatically last week that no matter what Congress passed, he would do what was necessary as the sole representative of the "national interest."

After slashing the federal funds for health, education, welfare, employment and housing, Nixon warned Congress: "I will not spend money if the Congress overspends."

Since his re-election, Nixon has gathered a clique of men around him that are beyond the law and straight out of the apparatuses of the big conglomerates. It is these men, in consultation with the big corporations, who make the laws.

Behind the guise of fighting inflation, Nixon is in fact taking steps towards Bonapartist dictatorship. Under Phase Three, through the Cost of Living Council, Nixon has sole power over the wages workers receive. With a stroke of the pen, he is attempting to wipe out all the social gains made by the working class in the past.

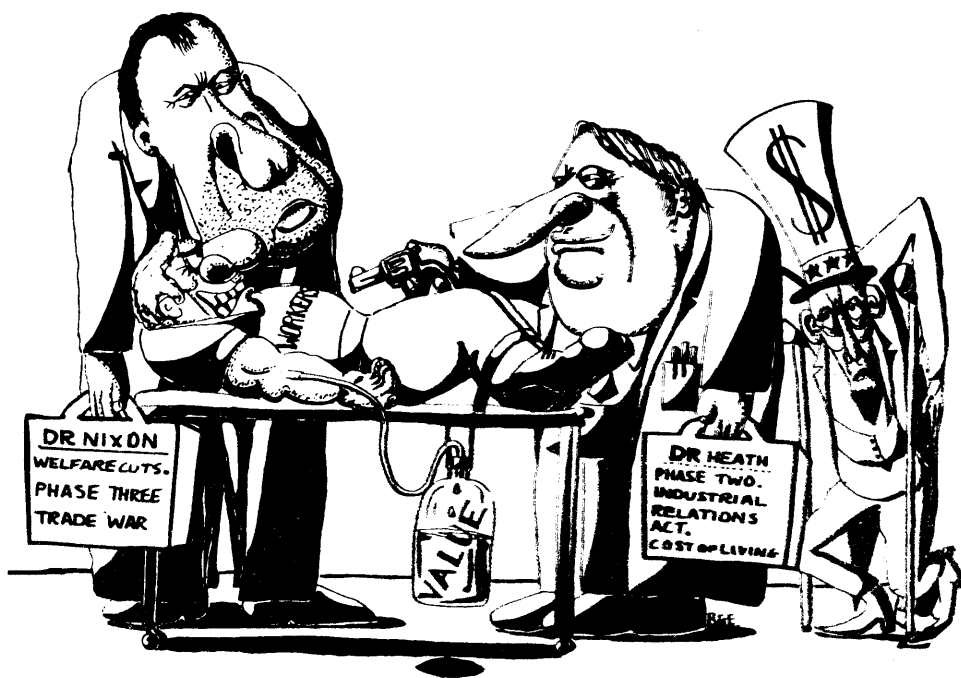
At the same time, he openly encourages inflationary policies to cut into the standard of living of workers. While wages and budgets for the basic needs of workers are cut, billions of dollars are poured into the military and repressive arms of the government.

These are his preparations for a showdown with the working class, which enters into the struggle undefeated and with the strength it has built up in the last 30 years. Nixon and the big corporations know that unless they defeat the working class, there is no way for their system to survive.

Nixon stated this clearly in his speech when he said: "The time has come to draw the line." The days of reform are over. What Nixon is saying is that capitalist democracy can no longer serve the requirements of the system.

This is why the attacks Nixon has now opened up against the working class cannot be met with liberal protest and the class compromise of the trade union bureaucracy. The very defense of the unions and all of the most basic rights workers have won through bitter struggle now requires the building of a political party of the working class, a labor party. This party must fight for socialist policies against the attacks of the government. This party must now be built in the struggles of American labor against Phase Three and the budget cuts.

The Emergency Meeting of Trade Unionists on February 18 will center on the fight for a Congress of Labor to prepare action against Nixon and to build a labor party.



## What we think

### Crisis Deflates Ernest Mandel

On the eve of the latest convulsions arising from the international monetary crisis and the downward plunges on the world's stock exchanges, Ernest Mandel—the leading proponent of the theory of neo-capitalism—wrote an article reprinted in the February 9 issue of the *Militant* entitled "An End to the International Recession." This article reflects the bankrupt perspective of Mandel and his Pabloite co-thinkers on the subject of the present economic crisis.

He asserts that the 1969-1972 recession was not unlike several that have occurred since 1945. Moreover, claims Mandel, it has come to an end and a new boom is getting underway.

"The international capitalist recession seems to have ended. All the imperialist countries except Italy foresee accelerated growth in 1973. The three key countries of the international capitalist economy—the United States, West Germany and Japan—are experiencing a clearly ascending phase in industrial production. The time has come to sketch out a preliminary balance sheet of the 1969-72 recession..."

Mandel, in forecasting an end to recession and a return to prosperity in 1973, follows the lead of hundreds of bourgeois economists who have reacted in a blind way to the limited expansion in the economy in the last half of 1972.

Because Mandel examines economic developments as an empiricist and not as a dialectical materialist who studies the real world from the standpoint of contradiction, he cannot grasp the explosive character of recent business trends. Therefore, Mandel does not understand that the upsurge of which he speaks represents a new stage in the crisis, making a decisive confrontation between the capitalists and the working class virtually unpostponable.

What Mandel fails to note is that while there were larger profits, a modest rise in the Gross National Product and a slight decline in unemployment, these developments have been based on a wild infusion of credit and the further unleashing of intense inflationary pressures. Thus, the division between the dollar, symbol of value, and the real value produced by the labor of the working class—already so great on August 15, 1971 that Nixon was forced to suspend the convertibility of the dollar into gold—has become even deeper.

This has led during the past week to a new wave of speculation against the dollar on the world money markets and by actions of foreign governments to restrict the inflow of dollars which they correctly believe to be practically worthless.

So, it has been made clear almost immediately that every attempt by Nixon and the American capitalists

to stimulate business activity by proceeding as if there was no crisis of value quickly produces new shocks to the world economic system and threatens it with collapse.

The bloated profits to which Mandel points are themselves the offspring of the unchecked inflation of the dollar. Therefore, these profits are not the measure of the strength of American capitalism but rather another expression of its weakness.

The masses of worthless paper dollars which are contained within the mountains of capital invested by the capitalists in order to increase the rate of exploitation of the working class now has driven the rate of profit produced by the working class below the level of zero percent.

But Mandel, in greeting this latest "boom," understands no better than Eduard Bernstein—the father of modern revisionism—the revolutionary implications of the attempt of the capitalists to suppress their crisis through the wild pumping of credit into the economy.

"We see that credit," wrote Rosa Luxemburg in 1908, "instead of being an instrument for the attenuation of crises, is on the contrary a particularly mighty instrument for the formation of crises. It cannot be anything else. Credit eliminates the remaining rigidity of capitalist relationships."

"In short, credit reproduces all the fundamental antagonisms of the capitalist world. It accentuates them. It precipitates their development and thus pushes the capitalist world forward to its own destruction. The prime act of capitalist adaptation, as far as credit is concerned, should really consist in breaking and suppressing credit. In fact, credit is far from being a means of capitalist adaptation. It is, on the contrary, a means of destruction of the most extreme revolutionary significance..."

There is only one way for the ruling class to reverse this situation and that is through an all-out assault upon the working class. Its wages must be driven down, its productivity must be increased and every means it has of resisting these attacks must be destroyed. This means reversing the policy of compromise with the working class which underlay the decision arrived at in Bretton Woods to resort to unchecked inflation of paper currency as a means of avoiding a confrontation with a powerful working class which the capitalists did not think they could defeat.

But the revisionist Mandel, a firm believer in the strength of capitalism, not only says that the economic crisis has been solved for the time being but also claims that the working class in the United States has suffered a sharp setback. Mandel writes that "...the American working class—under the pressure of the be-

trayal of the trade union bureaucrats, who 'went along' with the wage freeze imposed by Nixon—has allowed its standard of living to be reduced and has suffered massive unemployment."

Further on, Mandel suggests that the American working class will fight once again after there is a rise in employment—from which we are to infer that the coming leap in unemployment will reduce workers to complete passivity. Having denied the crisis and the willingness of the working class to struggle, Mandel ends his article with the assertion that the issue of wages and jobs is now in the background and that the heart of the class struggle will shift to the so-called "structural causes of class conflict"—like "management authority, and against relations of capitalist production in general."

As always, in Mandel's neo-capitalist universe, the struggle of the working class is transformed into a general protest movement of the middle class searching for structural reforms within capitalism.

While the labor bureaucracy has accepted Nixon's Phase Three, the heart of the capitalist crisis is the unbroken strength of the American working class. In fact, the ruling class was first driven to the brink of disaster by the wage offensive launched by American workers from 1965 on. It was in frantic response to the big increases won by the steel workers in 1971 that Nixon finally embarked on his policies on wage controls.

The Workers League does not minimize the dangers facing the labor movement. We have fought at every point against the treacherous policies of the trade union bureaucracy. But Mandel's attempt to write off the working class as defeated is just the other side of his assertion that the capitalist crisis has been overcome.

The whole political history of Mandel consists in denying the existence of the historic crisis of capitalism as outlined in Lenin's *Imperialism and Trotsky's Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*. As the chief theoretician of Pabloism, Mandel has sought to disarm the working class and prevent the building of a leadership that is required by the crisis.

It is with the understanding that the economic crisis will force Nixon to apply against American workers the same barbarous methods he used in Vietnam, that the Workers League takes up the task of developing a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

The meeting of the Continuations Committee of the Labor Party Now Conference in St. Louis on February 18 will be an important step forward in constructing a Marxist leadership.





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

## 5. Early Days of the YSA

by Guy Williams



The Young Socialist Alliance was founded in Philadelphia on April 15, 1960. During this period a series of major cracks in world capitalist stability began to break up the old relations between the classes. In the United States, among the first reflections of this were the mass demonstrations by Black workers and youth against Jim Crow. This drew other sections of the population, particularly students, into political action.

In this new period, the task of the revolutionary forces was primarily to build the Young Socialist newspaper, deepening its roots in the struggles taking place, developing its program and building the revolutionary youth organization. The period between the Detroit Conference in December, 1958 and the Founding Convention in April, 1960 was when the basis for the national organization was laid.

This could only have been accomplished by taking up a sharp fight against the only other organized tendency among the youth: the Young Peoples Socialist League, the youth movement of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. The

YPSL now exists as a tiny handful of extreme right-wing partisans of the Humphrey and Jackson sections of the Democratic Party. During this earlier period, it had some hundreds of members and a certain measure of influence among radical youth on the campuses.

During this period the Stalinists of the Communist Party were still recovering from the gigantic blows of the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. They had not yet been able to revive their youth work in any form.

The Young Socialist was to play a critical role in building the YSA. From the very beginning, there had to be a fight for the right to sell the newspaper. YS distributors and sellers faced harassment from school authorities, red-baiting from reactionary elements, and police repression. The newspaper was launched as a challenge to the McCarthyite witch-hunt atmosphere which still pervaded much of the country.

The very first issue of the Young Socialist was greeted with a barrage of slander and red-baiting. At the University of California in Los Angeles, the *Daily Bruin*, the campus newspaper, headlined its issue "Socialists Stir at UCLA—Radicals Pass Out Colored Circulars." With a large photograph of the paper and a caption, "The Young Socialist—Socialism's Approach to America's Young People," the paper warned that the "enemy" was on campus. Peter Buch, YS corresponding editor in Los Angeles, challenged the *Daily Bruin* editors to a debate which was never accepted.

At the University of Colorado, the YS



was banned. In New York, two YSA members distributing the paper in front of Hunter College were given summonses by the police.

During this period, the anti-communist hysteria which reached its peak in the early 1950s had ebbed considerably. This was reflected in the University of Chicago Student Government elections. The Independent Student League, one of the campus parties, launched a red-baiting campaign against its rival, the left-liberal Student Representative Party. In spite of these attacks, the student Representative Party won the elections.

At the University of Michigan, the YS rallied masses of students to its defense. The Red Squad, which was secretly taking pictures of all those buying a copy of the YS, was forced to leave the campus when it was exposed. At the Bronx High School of Science, fierce free speech fights took place. The YSA decided to hold a rally in front of the school. At the first rally over 300 students listened. The school administration sought to whip up anti-communist sentiment in order to provoke a confrontation. A few right-wingers threw eggs at the speakers. At a second rally, Dick DeHaan and Russell Jones, members of the YSA, were arrested. At the third rally called in defense of the YSA's democratic right to speak and the rights of the students to hear them, an hour long discussion on the political issues of the day took place. In spite of the presence of many police, the YSA successfully defended its right to speak. Later the case against the two who had been arrested was dismissed.

The Young Socialist was also the major weapon in the continuing battle against the YPSL. Following the entry of the Shachtmanites into the Socialist Party, the YPSL had more members than the YSA. This fight was not seen in narrow organizational terms, however. The YPSL was seen as an organization in tremendous crisis. The fight against YPSL was a fight to educate the ranks of the YS supporters as well as to win whatever forces possible away from the Social Democrats.

The battle began in earnest in mid-1958, on the eve of the formal dissolution of the YSL into the YPSL. An article appeared in the July 1958 YS sharply condemning YPSL's support to the Democratic Party. The August issue reported that the "SP-SDF Backs McCarthyite Against YS." The SP-SDF had intervened to prevent a debate between William Rusher, a notorious, extreme right winger who published the National Review magazine, and Tim Wohlforth. The SP claimed that Wohlforth was not a genuine socialist, and lined up with Rusher against him.

The YSL and YPSL were unified in August 1958. In a report to the editorial board, Tim Wohlforth stated:

"The YSL-YPSL represents our only major competitor on the college campus for the new youth. The Stalinists have as yet made no bid for these youth, conducting whatever youth activity they have on an underground basis. The Stalinists still are a threat to us in relation to the ex-LYers, but they do not as yet represent a significant counter-pull to the new young people who are now becoming radical.

"We must follow the developments in this field very closely as we will be meeting these people again and again in the next period. In a way the political strength of the Young Socialist tendency will be tested in its ability to win more youth to it than the social-democratic youth can."

In Berkeley, California on October 1, 1958, over 70 students heard a debate between Tim Wohlforth and Bogdan Denitch of the YPSL, in which the political nature of the SP-SDF was thoroughly exposed. The entire campaign against YPSL had a big effect. Compared to its previous convention and its great plans upon merging with the YSL, the September 1959 convention of the YPSL represented its real death agony.

At this convention a vote was taken which liquidated completely the organization's publication, Challenge. Michael Harrington, now the leading McGovern supporter within the SP, was graduated at this time from the YPSL into the adult party. A severe factional and financial crisis was revealed at this convention.

The Young Socialist continued to wage

the battle against YPSL in 1959 and into 1960. In the latter part of 1959 and the beginning of 1960, a series of articles appeared in the paper which continued to hammer at the Social Democrats. These articles probed the social roots of reformism as a "reflection of the intermediate or petty bourgeois strata in society," and showed that reformism finds its social base in the labor aristocracy and the union bureaucracy. This series of articles also exposed the myth of the all-inclusive party, fostered by the Shachtmanites to get closer to the right wing. The YS fought instead for the conception of a Leninist party, with its roots in the working class and fighting at all points for Marxist theory.

In the February 1960 issue of the YS, the upcoming April conference to found the YSA was counterposed to the stagnation and right-wing role of the YPSL. The whole fight against the YPSL was not just a literary one. At every point the actual construction of the youth movement was related to the theoretical and political fight. During this period, several members of YPSL were won to the YSA. Barry Sheppard, who was later to play an important role in the YSA, was recruited from the YPSL during this time.

While the fight against YPSL was proceeding, the YS was fighting to deepen its roots among the youth. This meant primarily the fight against all forms of Jim Crow. This began immediately with the first issue of the paper. Actual interventions began with the Youth March for Integration on October 11, 1958. This march was called because desegregation efforts in Little Rock and Virginia had been stymied. An article about the march appeared in the October 1958 issue of the YS, and all supporters of the paper were urged to participate.

At the march one member of the YPSL accused a YS salesman of inviting police repression by selling the paper. He then proceeded to point out the salesman to the police. In spite of this and other harassment, over 400 copies of the paper were sold on the march, in which 10,000 took part.

#### THE KISS CASE

In the very midst of these demonstrations, the so-called Kiss Case developed. Two Black school children in Monroe, North Carolina, were arrested and charged with the so-called crime of being kissed by a white girl while playing on the way home from school. The children were Hanover Thompson, aged 10, and David "Fuzzy" Simpson, aged 8. Their playmate was 11 years old.

The YS sent Joan Garrett and Nora Roberts to North Carolina to cover the story. They met Robert Williams, the president of the Monroe branch of the NAACP. "The mothers," reported Williams, "had seen their sons once since the day the Monroe Police Force hauled the boys away to the County Jail. That was for 20 minutes, in the defendants' section of the segregated trial. City officials claimed, according to Dr. Perry (another NAACP leader), that there was no evidence to substantiate charges against the children, and that they would be freed as soon as the mothers found them a place to stay outside of Monroe. Four days after this statement was issued, Mrs. Thompson and Mrs. Simpson were notified of a trial to be held within one half-hour, to determine the fate of their sons.

"At this trial, Hanover was convicted of 'assaulting and molesting a white female.' Eight year old Fuzzy was branded an 'accomplice.' Both boys were sentenced to an indeterminate number of years in the reformatory for Negro boys, with a promise of parole when they come of age (21), 'if they have earned it.'"

The Young Socialist supporters were quick to respond to this attack. The sending of two reporters to cover this story was an expensive proposition.

Besides articles, the paper participated in forming the Youth Committee to Free Hanover Thompson and Fuzzy Simpson. This committee brought the case into every civil rights demonstration then occurring. The paper fought for a Marxist understanding of Jim Crow. Evelyn Sell wrote an article in the YS entitled: "Jim Crow Is Rooted in Profit System." She explained the use of racism and segregation: "The reign of terror that has existed in the South since the end of the war is designed

to 'keep Negroes in their place' and to keep white workers in their place—and to keep unions out of any place. The problem of civil rights and economic rights are two sides of the same coin."

On February 13, 1959 the Kiss Case victims were freed. In the YS, Jim Lambrecht announced this victory and explained it as a "concession on the part of the North Carolina authorities, who have conceded, however, only what was forced out of them."

As the release was being announced, demonstrations were still being planned and Robert F. Williams was presenting the facts of the case to a trade union audience in Cleveland. In his article Lambrecht posed the way to take the civil rights struggle forward. He explained:

"A new party of labor and Negro rights would serve as a permanent national center for organizing militant struggle against racial injustice and in defense of its victims; it would be a standing threat to racists everywhere. Through the new party such a pressure on the present Big Business racist-backed government would be generated that no government on earth could withstand it, for it would be the united pressure of the majority of the people in America."

The YS was the most consistent and uncompromising force behind the defense of the Kiss Case children. This struggle was very important in the history of the YSA because the YSA began to turn outward with it and participate in the struggles of the youth, fighting to give them a Marxist leadership.

#### THE SIT-IN CAMPAIGN

Without this fight the YSA would not have been prepared to intervene in the Woolworth's sit-in demonstrations in the way it did a year later.

These demonstrations began when Black students sat in at a Woolworth's lunch counter in the South that was segregated and demanded to be served. The arrest of these students provoked a powerful response by the youth in the South and the North.

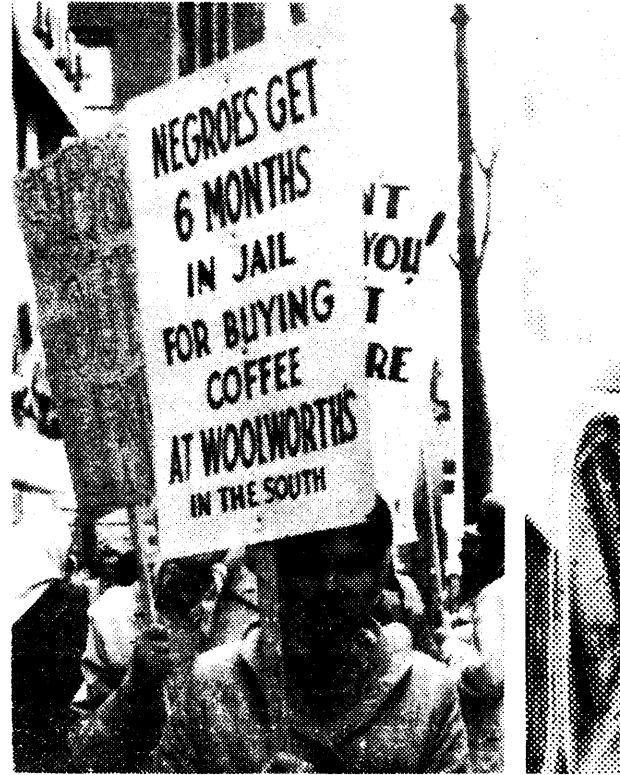
From the editorial board minutes, the basic analysis of these demonstrations and the perspective of the YS supporters was put forward:

"The sit-in demonstrations to integrate lunch counters in Woolworth and Kress Southern branches are student actions. They represent the first break in the Southern Negro struggle in many months. Largely spontaneous, the demonstrations have occurred in 16 cities to date—in North and South Carolina, Virginia, Florida and Tennessee. In every instance the demonstrators are students, usually college students. As the demonstrations spread, they began to encounter violent counter-mobilizations; this happened in Rock Hill, S.C., over the weekend in High Point, N.C., and today in Portsmouth, Va. 41 demonstrators were arrested in Raleigh, N.C. for trespassing.

"A supporting student movement in the North is the key to victory in this struggle against the national chain stores. Demonstrations should be launched at Woolworth and Kress outlets all over the country. The immediate and surprising response to the campaign we initiated at CCNY indicates the potential of this idea; to our knowledge the activity at CCNY represents the first step taken anywhere in this direction. We will try to spark action at other NY campuses through CCNY, and aim toward a city-wide student committee in support of the Negro students in the South."

At the College of the City of New York (CCNY), a few YSAers went to campus clubs and got their endorsement for a picket line in front of Woolworth's. The petition was presented to the Student Council, calling on them to sponsor this demonstration. The Student Council endorsed this action, and March 5, 1960 was set as the date of the demonstration. In addition the Queens College Student Council and the NAACP campus chapters at Brooklyn College, Queens College and Columbia University endorsed it.

Besides getting the support of college students, the YSA reached out to the high school youth. The Chelsea NAACP Youth Council endorsed it. An informal committee of students at New Rochelle High School actively aided in mobilizing support. Groups of students at Monroe,



In the Kiss Case of 1958 two Black school children, Hanover Thompson and David "Fuzzy" Simpson, page 9 left, were sentenced to an indeterminate number of years in a reformatory for the so-called crime of being kissed by a white girl. The Young Socialist was the most consistent and uncompromising force behind the defense of the Kiss Case children and fought for their freedom. On May 17, 1960 three Young Socialist members, page 9 top, handed in 10,000 pledges to boycott Woolworth's at its firm's corporate headquarters. This campaign in support

Morris, Elizabeth Irwin, Evander Childs, and Music and Art High Schools all pledged support for the demonstration.

This call for action met with tremendous success. Over 400 students attended the picket line in front of Woolworth's at 34 Street in Manhattan. "The police harassed (them) throughout and tried to break up the demonstration as being 'too large.'

"But the mere presence of the 400 youth prevented their doing so. At one point there were so many people that the line barely moved. The spirit of the picketers was extremely militant from the very beginning. They chanted and harangued all who entered, calling them SCABS, were very hostile to the cops, and had an unbelievable amount of energy. 20 YSAers participated and (Fred Mazelis) was a picket captain and in charge of relations with the press.

"At 1:15, the pickets marched at least 300 strong from 34 Street and Sixth Avenue down Fifth Avenue to Washington Square...with their signs, chanting as they went. In the Square the NSA speakers gave meaningless talks (the NSA had in reality only mobilized about 10 people aside from our demonstration!). Following the talks our comrades shouted 'To the Broadway Woolworth's' and away they went to picket another nearby Woolworth's for an hour or so. Then a few of the hardest went back to the 34 Street Woolworth's to find that 150 students had arrived after (they) had left and organized themselves into a picket line on their own. These youth then joined the picket line and picketed for another hour. By this time the police, who had been fol-



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In order to preserve the militant thrust to these demonstrations, a continuous battle had to be waged against those elements and forces who, while posing as supporters of these actions, attempted to destroy them. This was so even with this first demonstration.

The liberal National Students Association intervened to attempt to cut off the movement of the youth. First it supported the demonstration in such a way as to give the impression that it was the initiator of the action. Then it called for a rally to be held in Washington Square in competition with the picket line. An Ad Hoc Committee was formed of all those active in building the picket line and the NSA was finally convinced to support the picket in return for the picketers attending the NSA rally. This Ad Hoc Committee grew into the New York Youth Committee for Integration. Behind these maneuvers of the NSA stood YPSL.

The Trotskyist youth also had to fight against the pacifist elements and the Stalinists. All these forces attempted to destroy the leadership of the YSA and mass solidarity action in support of the Southern Black students.

Actions were held in cities around the country and in almost all areas, the leadership fell to the YS supporters.

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A. Philip Randolph, the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, called, through his Committee to Defend Martin Luther King, Jr. for a mass rally on May 17 in the garment district of NYC. Randolph was an old union official very close in outlook to the Social Democrats of the SP-SDF, although he was never formally a member. The YSA took up his call and called for national demonstrations in front of Woolworth's on that day.

All this activity of the YS supporters was reflected in the YS paper and through its sales. The April issue was expanded by eight pages and 9000 copies were printed. In the first eight days in New York, 550 copies were sold.

Over the next two weeks a sharp battle broke out over the very life of the independent committee and the mass picketing. A reformist bloc of Randolph-NSA-CORE-YPSL lined up against the Trotskyists and sought to destroy the independent committee and disperse the mass picketing. The Stalinists groveled before these so-called respectable elements and aided them in their task. Their groveling began on March 18 when the Stalinists heard that Randolph and the YPSL were setting up a youth committee and calling a mass youth rally in Harlem on Saturday March 26. The Stalinists went into the rally of picketers on Saturday March 19 and proposed that picketing be

called off the following week and that the group support Randolph's rally. One Stalinist supporter went so far as to say that "communists" did not belong in the leadership of this struggle.

At this rally, speaker after speaker urged that the picket line take place and support also be given to Randolph's rally. The final vote on the question was 98 to 3 against calling off the picket line. The Stalinist maneuver had failed miserably.

The YSA met this attempt to liquidate the committee by immediately building the next picket line and mobilizing its forces for the next meeting of the Committee. At this meeting, the Stalinists voted in a bloc with the NSA and urged the dissolution of the committee and support for the Randolph student meeting which would be open to all "democratic students."

This Randolph Committee was a hand-picked group of NSA liberals and YPSL's. Three YSAers had been thrown out of an organizational meeting of this group on the preceding Saturday and it was clear that "open to all democratic students" meant exclusion of the YSA.

The meeting had been packed and voted to dissolve itself by a vote of 17 to 8. The YSA interpreted this to mean that those 17 people voting to dissolve the committee had in effect resigned.

The Stalinists, by their actions, had placed themselves in a very difficult position. They had handed control of the committee over to the Trotskyists through their attempt to destroy it. At the same time, they were excluded from participating in the Randolph Committee. As expected, the Randolph Committee did nothing after their rally. If the YSA had given in to the demand to stop picketing, it would have meant destruction of the movement.

At the Harlem rally, Randolph launched a heated red-baiting attack on the YS from the speakers platform. He attacked the Youth Committee for Integration. While holding up a copy of the April issue of the YS with its banner "Boycott Woolworth's" headline, he attacked it as communist. Buell Gallagher, president of CCNY, followed suit. In response to these attacks, the sales of the YS increased.

The next meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee showed that the YS and its supporters could withstand these attacks. Twenty five people attended. They represented 11 colleges and high schools. Only four of them were YSAers. Fred Mazelis was elected chairman and Nora Roberts treasurer. The Committee voted to hold a rally on April 8, and laid plans for the next picket line. Over 150 high school and college youth joined the picket line. Additional forces from CORE and the SP-SDF swelled the line to 300 during the day. At the height of the picketing, the Youth Committee sent in forces to occupy lunch counter seats and conducted the first Northern sit-in of the whole campaign. The audacity of this tactic put the New York Youth Committee on the front page of the New York Times and the Herald Tribune, with a full page picture spread in the New York Daily News.

On May 17 demonstrations were held across the country. Three hundred marched in Chicago and over 100 in Seattle. In Madison, over 600 students marched down State Street to the steps of the Capitol demanding an end to segregation. In New York, 10,000 boycott pledges were handed in to Woolworth's national headquarters.

This campaign became an international one when the Toronto YSA demonstrated in front of the Toronto Woolworth's. Many messages of international support were also sent.

In the editorial board minutes of the Young Socialist, Tim Wohlforth outlined the strategy of the Woolworth's campaign:

"Our task is the organization of a mass movement among the students of the North in support of the Southern students' integration struggle. We seek therefore to form broad Ad Hoc committees representing the active militant students on the campus and in the high schools as well as community organizations such as NAACP, CORE, NSA for these committees and their participation in these committees if they wish. We do not however hand over the leadership to these elements as we know they will do all in their power to stifle the movement and that their lead-

ership is not necessary to rally students to the actions..."

"As can be gathered from the reports of our activity in Philadelphia, New York, Boston and a few other areas our comrades are deeply entrenched in this movement. It is also becoming clearer just how decisive our leadership is to the preservation and expansion of a Northern solidarity movement with the Southern sit-in struggle. However, I feel that it is possible that all our comrades have yet to grasp fully and completely what we are doing in this campaign. Some areas continue to lag in their intervention or have allowed a single act of intervention to substitute itself for the type of activity we have been conducting in New York, Philadelphia and Boston.

"There is a certain tendency to look upon our role as merely that of a petitioning body urging some other 'respectable' forces into action..."

"This tendency is quite understandable as it flows from our previous mode of political functioning during these last few years of isolation and the witch-hunt. What these comrades fail to grasp is that for once we have a chance to act independently of these 'respectable' forces..."

Within a few months the Woolworth's demonstrations subsided. While not immediately forcing the desegregation of lunch counters, this campaign played a major role in gaining that victory.

The fight against lunch counter segregation was only the beginning of a decade of struggle. In the mid-1960s Black workers and youth erupted in spontaneous rebellion against the conditions imposed upon them by capitalism. The limited gains won in 1960 set the stage for the next rounds in the struggle. Every step of the way it was shown that racism, discrimination and all other fundamental attacks could only be eliminated for good with the overthrow of capitalism.

The 1960 sit-ins were the beginnings, the first stirrings of great class movements to come. It was not simply Black Southern students on the move. Underneath that was the movement of millions of workers, white and Black. The period of relative political stability was giving way to a period of explosive class struggle.

Of course, mistakes were made in the course of this struggle. But on the whole the YSA took up a correct fight. It fought for leadership, it participated in all the main struggles and fought to reach the broadest layers of youth on the questions facing them. At the same time, it did this through an uncompromising struggle against Stalinism and reformism, which sought to strangle the movement at its birth. This was a period of important training and experience for the young cadres of the YSA.

**FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE YSA**

In the midst of the Woolworth's campaign, on April 15-18, 1960 at the Second National Convention of the Young Socialist Supporter Clubs, it was moved and carried to constitute that body as the Founding Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. This convention had a four point agenda:

1. Founding of the YSA on a nationwide basis. (Declaration and constitution).
2. The international political turn and its impact on the struggle against American militarism by youth. (War Resolution).
3. Memorandum on the 1960 elections.
4. Tasks and Perspectives Resolution.

One of the most important differences discussed at the Convention was over the relationship of the YSA to the SWP. Previous to this, the Young Socialist Supporters had no formal ties to the SWP. The draft document presented to the Convention stated:

"The Young Socialist Alliance is in basic political agreement with the Socialist Workers Party. It recognizes that only the SWP of all existing political parties is capable of giving the working class political leadership on class struggle principles. It therefore offers its political support to the SWP..."

This met with opposition from many quarters. One of those who opposed this section was Peter Buch. He chose instead to formulate the relationship as "The YSA therefore looks to continued close fraternal relations with the SWP in the development of a political program for the YSA..."



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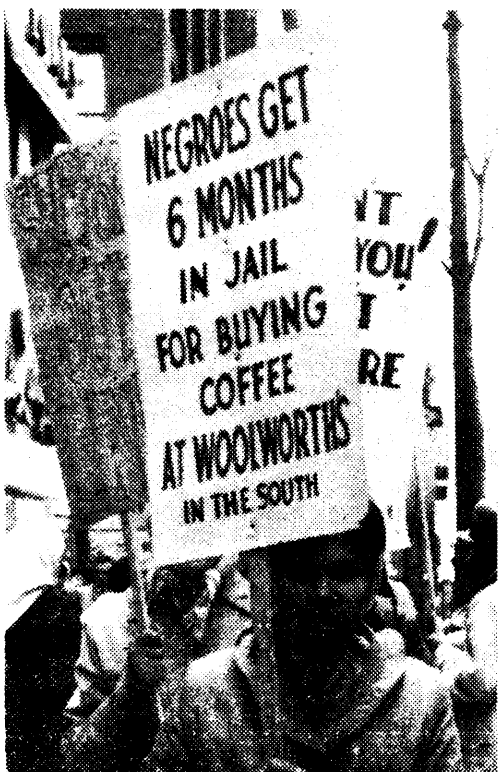
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In response to the discussion over this section of the draft statement, Tim Wohlforth and Jim Robertson wrote in the Discussion Bulletin:

"To a large extent the actual nature of the youth movement we are building is related to the way in which this movement relates itself publicly to the SWP.

"It is not so much the political identity of the youth movement that is involved. By and large most of the critics of this section do not criticize because of their own opposition to the SWP—in fact in most cases the critics are members of the SWP. What is really at issue is the type of youth movement we are creating."

"To omit Section 11 is to leave the document with an immense and obvious hole in it. We carefully explain that a revolutionary party is needed, that the youth movement can be no substitute for a revolutionary party, that the CP and SP-SDF are not such parties, that no new one has arisen and—? To not stick in the punch line is to either suggest that we must set ourselves the task of creating a new revolutionary party as none exists or it is simply an evasion and one which has as a lesser objection the fact that it would fool no serious political element.

"We have nothing to be ashamed of! The SWP is the only party in this country to really fight for socialism. We declare in Section 1 that we are committed to the traditions of Marxism. The whole history of the Trotskyists in this country should be a matter of study and pride: the defense of truth and revolutionary integrity through the years of Stalinist abuse and worse; a militant role in labor strike struggles; intransigence in the face of imperialist war and witch-hunt."

The Convention passed the section calling for political support to the SWP.

The Convention reaffirmed the eight points put forward at the National Conference of the Young Socialist Supporters in 1958, as well as giving a brief history of the struggles that led to the creation of the YS, starting with the formation of the Left Wing Caucus in the Young Socialist League.

The YSA was also founded as an internationalist organization. This did not simply mean having fraternal relations and exchanging greetings with other sections of the world movement. It meant that the organization based itself on the understanding that the class struggle was an international one, and the fight for socialism in any one country could only succeed by basing ourselves on all the history and struggles of the international working class and its revolutionary vanguard. The Convention defeated an amendment to the founding declaration which would have stated that the "YSA base(s) (itself) on the American tradition of struggle against its ruling class."

The internationalist perspective was at the heart of the basic document on war which was written by Shane Mage and adopted by the Convention. This resolution analyzed the class relations behind the role of American imperialism around the world. It explained the fundamental differences between the Soviet Union and the United States and posed the threat of a new world war coming out of the contradiction between the gains made by the workers' states and the drive of imperialism to expand and preserve its system. The resolution stated that war could only be stopped by extending the socialist revolution all over the world, and that meant the fight for socialism in the US, the heart of world capitalism.

One of the most important decisions of the Convention was the adoption of the Memorandum on the 1960 Elections. This memorandum called for support to the SWP candidates as part of the fight for an independent labor party and revolutionary leadership for the working class and the youth. It stated:

"American experience, past and present, has confirmed that, as in all other countries, political parties are organizations of economic classes and in fact are totally incomprehensible unless viewed primarily from this standpoint. Our principled opposition to the Republican and Democratic Parties is based on their character as class parties of capitalism. This is demonstrated by the historic origins of these parties, the un-failing consistency of their policies in defense of the interests of the capitalist

class, and the composition of their leading circles.

"The pattern of history has shown that at one stage or another the working class feels compelled to organize itself into its own party. That this has not yet been the case in America only indicates that this step is still on the agenda of unfinished tasks. Disillusionment in the capitalist parties is already evident in significant sectors of the working class who see the 'politicians' as the opponent on the picket line and in the government bodies. This growing disaffection plus the now accepted theory that labor must be in politics indicates that the historical trend in America likewise is toward an independent party of labor.

"The first national conference of the supporters of the Young Socialist translated these general conceptions into the proposition that the duty of socialists is to help the labor movement make its inevitable break with the Democratic Party by propagandizing for a Labor Party. Therefore the conference rejected the policy of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation of supporting the Democratic Party.

"Recent events (the steel strike, Landrum-Griffin, Kennedy bill) have disclosed that a significant break in class relations has taken place in this country.

"While this new situation in American politics has not yet produced a mass break with the Democratic Party, it has already prepared a more receptive audience for socialist education especially among the youth.

"The 1960 elections provide a magnificent opportunity for socialists to reach, educate and prepare militant youth to play an indispensable role in the coming decade of class struggle.

"We commend the Socialist Workers Party for all of its efforts to encourage the broadest socialist intervention in the coming elections. Their's will be the only ticket to call for a Labor Party.

"Therefore we offer our support to the candidates of the SWP and pledge ourselves to work actively for the largest possible vote for socialism this November."

The founding of the Young Socialist Alliance was an historic step in the development of the Trotskyist movement. This step was greatly feared and hated by those counterrevolutionary forces within the workers movement, most importantly the Stalinists.

The development and formation of the YSA materially weakened the Stalinists. They admitted this in the pages of Political Affairs, when they wrote:

"Among the conditions for the establishment of a Marxist youth organization is the existence of a substantial body of non-party socialist-oriented youth, participating in various degrees in the activities of existing youth in its formation. Since this condition is not yet fulfilled in a sufficient number of areas in our country, the formation of such a national organization would be premature."

This statement appeared in March 1960 just before the founding of the YSA. In August of the same year, the Stalinists reviewed the situation again, with a sharp attack on the growing forces of the YSA:

"A smaller number have joined the Young Socialist Alliance or support its newspaper, the Young Socialist. The line of this organization is Trotskyite, publicly supporting the political position and candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. They continue their main function in life of trying to win or split the genuine Marxist Left. Due to their opposition to peaceful co-existence and their denial that the socialist lands are socialist and splitting tactics in the mass movement they do not hold many youth for long. But they do disorient some and drive them from all progressive activity."

The Stalinists feared the YSA because they feared the movement of youth on which it was based. Their plans for peaceful co-existence with the imperialists were being disrupted more and more.

Within a few months of the YSA Founding Convention, the Stalinists launched a new youth formation called Advance. The bureaucracy in Moscow had been shaken but not destroyed by the events since Stalin's death. Now, as the class struggle deepened, the US supporters of the Moscow bureaucracy sought to intervene

in order to derail this movement.

The YSA was formed through theoretical struggle against Shachtmanite centrism, the YPSL reformists, the Stalinist sympathizers on the YS editorial board. After the Founding Convention, it entered a critical period, a period of very rapid political developments in which there could be a very rapid development of the youth movement, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

1. Report to the Editorial Board of the Young Socialist on the Labor Day YSL and YPSL Convention. September 2, 1958. By Tim Wohlforth.
2. The Young Socialist, Vol. 2, No. 4, January 1959. P. 4.
3. Ibid.
4. The Young Socialist, Vol. 2, No. 6, March 1959. P. 1.
5. Ibid., P. 2.
6. Young Socialist Editorial Board Minutes, February 15, 1960.
7. Appendix A of March 7, 1960 Editorial Board Minutes.

8. "Our Orientation in the Current Sit-In Campaign," Appendix B of the March 7, 1960 Editorial Board Minutes.
9. "One Again On Our Orientation," by Tim Wohlforth. Appendix C of the March 28, 1960 Editorial Board Minutes.
10. Young Socialist Forum, Vol. 3, No. 2, (whole no. 8), P. 9.
11. On "Political Support" to the SWP (Amendment to "Where We Stand") by Peter Allen (Buch). Received March 31, 1960. Young Socialist Forum, Vol. 3, No. 3, Whole No. 9, P. 9.
12. On Section Eleven of the Draft "Where We Stand" Declaration. By Tim Wohlforth and Jim Robertson, Young Socialist Forum, Vol. 3, No. 3, Whole No. 9. P. 12.
13. Ibid., P. 13-14.
14. Proceedings of the Founding Conference of the Young Socialist Alliance, Philadelphia, April 15-17. P. 13.
15. Memorandum on the 1960 Elections, Proceedings... P. 32.
16. Resolution of the 17th Convention CPUSA on the Youth Question, Political Affairs, March 1960. P. 76.
17. "American Youth On The Move," by Dan Ross. Political Affairs. August 1960, P. 29.

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# Jack Gale Books

## Men Of The Second International

**POLITICAL PROFILES.** By Leon Trotsky. New Park Publications. \$2.50 (paperback). 171 Pages.

Most of the political figures sketched in this book are leading members of the pre-World War I European Social Democratic parties. Each of these parties was to undergo a complete opportunist degeneration and to support its own ruling class in the imperialist slaughter of 1914-1918.

Yet the men Trotsky writes about here—men like Victor and Fritz Adler of Austria, Jean Jaures of France and Paul Singer of Germany—were certainly political giants compared with the Wilsons and Brandts of today.

It should be remembered also that these were the "great men" of the Socialist International—certainly far more famous figures internationally than the relatively unknown political journalist Leon Trotsky, even though the latter had been chairman of the Petrograd Soviet in 1905.

Even so, Trotsky could see political traits and weaknesses in these leaders which were to come to tragic fruition in 1914. He speaks, for instance, of Victor Adler's "skepticism" and of Jean Jaures' world of "the electoral pact, the parliamentary platform, the challenging question, the oratorical duel, the backstage agreement and at times the ambiguous compromise."

### PERCEPTION

Despite this sharp perception, prior to 1914 Trotsky—who was not at that time a Bolshevik—was still lenient in his criticisms.

It is significant that a number of these pre-war sketches carry footnotes of a later date which are considerably sharper.

For example, Trotsky adds a 1922 postscript to his earlier portrait of Fritz Adler, who assassinated the Austrian Minister-President Sturgkh:

"Fritz Adler's personal courage was not sufficiently matched by physical strength of thought.

"When freed from prison by the revolution, Adler capitulated to the party which had previously brought him to despair and then had betrayed him. Now Adler acts as a leader of the two and a half International serving the cause against which he had attempted to stand up for if only by staking his life."

But no one could foresee the depths to which the Second International would sink. Lenin himself at first thought that the newspaper which reported the German Social Democrats voting for the Kaiser's war credits was forged.

Trotsky, however, was able to point out the weaknesses and dangers of the "Austrian" method—i.e., "complex maneuvers, half-threats and half agreements." The older layer of Social Democrats had braved the censorship, the police and the monarchy, but their successors in the leadership came to the fore not only in conditions of legality, but when the party was going through a period of uninterrupted growth in numbers, organizations and influence.

The defeat of the 1905 Russian Revolution, which taught the Bolsheviks many invaluable lessons for revolutionary work, "taught" the European leaders that organization and maneuvers were more successful than a principled political basis in the masses and a struggle for



revolutionary consciousness.

When only an irreconcilable, revolutionary offensive policy could take the working class forward, the leaders of the European section of the Second International substituted strategy planning by the leaders for a turn to the masses.

This "miserable prostration" of the official socialist leaders revealed itself at the outbreak of war in the form of unbridled servility towards their own state.

This prostration was personified by Karl Kautsky.

Trotsky explains how Kautsky became the vulgarizer of Marxism. Kautsky took shape ideologically in an epoch of reform. For him reform was the reality, while revolution was a theoretical generalization and a historical perspective.

Trotsky describes how an entire leading layer of the International was destroyed because it could not reach beyond the immediate conditions in which it developed:

"The organization of the German proletariat grew uninterrupted, the funds swelled, the number of newspapers, deputies and municipal councilors multiplied unceasingly.

"At the same time reaction held on firmly to all its positions. From here flowed the inevitability of the collision between the two polar forces of German life. But this collision did not set in for a long time while the forces and the resources of the organization grew so automatically that a whole generation had time to get used to such a state of affairs, and

although everyone wrote, spoke or read about the inevitability of the decisive conflict—like the inevitability of the collision between two trains going towards each other along the same track—they finally ceased to sense this inevitability within themselves."

And, as in Germany, a whole generation grew accustomed to this self-sufficient growth of the organization, so in France the leading figures immersed themselves in parliamentary routine, recalling the revolution only in Sunday speeches.

What emerges from this survey is that national patriotism can destroy even the greatest socialists. Such was the fate of Georgi Plekhanov—the "first fount of Marxist thought in Russia."

Trotsky explains this not only in terms of Plekhanov's individual weaknesses, but also by the fact that he was a forerunner.

### PRACTICE

He was, says Trotsky, "not the leader of the active proletariat, but merely its theoretical harbinger." He defended the principles of Marxism in polemics, but did not have the opportunity of applying them in practice. He could pass over without attention the most colossal cowardice and compromise by the European parties, yet always be on guard against false formulations in literature.

Unable to overcome the limitations of his early experience, the same Plekhanov, who had declared at the Zurich International Congress of 1893 that the revolutionary movement in Russia would triumph as a workers' revolution or not at all, was to pull back 24 years later from the implication of this—that the workers

had to smash the state power and build their own state.

Yet this book is not a parade of political tragedies. It is far from pessimistic. It not only gives a unique picture of the leading figures of a whole historical period, it breathes confidence in the future victory of the European working class.

### MARXISM

Explaining why the Menshevik leader Martov took the road to reaction despite his revolutionary instinct, Trotsky points out that Marxism is both a method of objective analysis and a prerequisite for revolutionary action.

It is this belief in revolutionary action that rings out in the entire book, but nowhere more forcefully than in the chapter devoted to the revolutionary martyrs Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

"Through the intermediary of the leaders of Social Democracy the bourgeoisie has made an attempt to plunder the spiritual possessions of the proletariat and to cover up its banditry with the banner of Marxism. The proletariat of Germany has suffered a great deal at the hands of those who have been put at its head. The blood of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg cries out.

"This blood will force the pavements of Berlin and the stones of that very Potsdam Square on which Liebknecht first raised the banner of insurrection against war and capital to speak up. And one day sooner or later barricades will be erected out of these stones on the streets of Berlin against the servile grovellers and running dogs of bourgeois society!"

# TOWARDS A TROTSKYIST DAILY IN THE U.S. The Fight for the Transitional Program

BY DAVID NORTH

With the founding of the Fourth International in September of 1938 and the adoption of the Transitional Program, new tasks were placed before all the national sections of the Trotskyist movement. From the earlier period of sorting out forces in the twin debacle of Social Democracy and the Third International, the Fourth International now had to make the sharp turn toward constructing a mass movement. Armed with the Transitional Program, the Fourth International placed its strategy before millions of workers betrayed by the Social Democrats and, above all, by the Stalinists.

On October 22, 1938, the Socialist Appeal proclaimed the foundation of the Fourth International and published the full text of the Transitional Program (The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International).

"The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat." So begins the most important Marxist document since the Communist Manifesto.

### EXPAND

In order to confront this crisis, the Plenum of the SWP held the following month decided that it was necessary to expand the Socialist Appeal to a twice-weekly. The decision was explained in terms of bringing the Transitional Program into the American working class. Furthermore, it was understood that the necessary development of the paper required a change within the SWP itself.

The article on the National Committee meeting, which appeared in the November 26, 1938 issue stated:

"In line with the decision on the paper, the Plenum went to work to reshape the party organization to enable it to apply the revolutionary program of the transitional demands."

The following week, James Cannon explained that the decision of the National Committee to publish the Appeal as a twice-weekly "was motivated above all by the fact that a weekly paper no longer adequately serves our political tasks and aims. We need and must have right now a means to speak twice every week, to hit twice as often and twice as hard."

He added: "Of course, no other organization of comparable size would dream of undertaking such a task. But Trotskyists by habit proceed from the necessities of a situation and then look for the possibilities to meet them."

A drive to raise \$3000 for the launching of the twice-weekly was begun; and the collection went well over the top more than a week before the target date for the first issue of the expanded Appeal, which appeared on February 14, 1939.

### CHANGE

Sharp criticism by Trotsky of the tendency of the Socialist Appeal, edited by Shachtman, to be distant from the life of the working class helped to bring about a change in the newspaper by the time the twice-weekly was launched. In particular, Trotsky urged that the Appeal become a more powerful instrument of political action; and through the fight for the Transitional Program the paper underwent an important development.



As Roosevelt stepped up his attacks on the trade unions in preparation for war, the Socialist Appeal fought to mobilize workers against the rotten Democratic Party. It began the fight, again after prompting by Trotsky, for the construction of an independent labor party. Not only did it expose the hypocrisy of the New Deal, over such issues as Roosevelt's criminal refusal to allow the refugees of Hitlerism to enter the United States, but it also led the working class in the fight against the cuts in the WPA and physical attacks on the trade unions. Every issue of the Socialist Appeal carried the demand: "Build Workers' Defense Guards."

### RALLIED

In the fight against fascist tendencies developing within the United States, the Socialist Appeal rallied thousands of workers. When the neo-Nazi German American Bund announced plans to hold a monster rally in Madison Square Garden, the Socialist Appeal called on workers in New York to demonstrate against fascism. More than 50,000 workers re-

sponded to the Appeal, in spite of the slanders of the Communist Party, and circled the Garden. The terrified American fascists called on the New York police, who charged the massive picket line mounted on horses.

Several weeks later, the fascist Father Charles Coughlin declared that he and his followers would rally in Union Square. Again, the Socialist Appeal called on the labor movement to stop Coughlin's "invasion" of the historic site of great trade union demonstrations.

"Let the fascists see the anger and might of the working class," declared the Appeal. The support among workers for this campaign against Coughlin was so great that the fascist priest called off his rally.

The success of the Appeal and the growing distrust among trade unionists of the Stalinists were creating favorable prospects for the establishment of the Socialist Appeal as the first daily Trotskyist paper in the United States. It was even possible to publish the Appeal as a tri-weekly for a short period of time upon the outbreak of the World War in Sep-

tember 1939.

However, the Appeal abruptly suspended twice-weekly publication on November 24, 1939. It was forced to go back to a weekly after the outbreak of the faction fight with the petty-bourgeois opposition led by Burnham and Shachtman. The refusal of these two leaders of the SWP to defend the Soviet Union unconditionally and their attack on dialectical materialism reflected the enormous pressure of American imperialism on the middle class.

Both Shachtman and Burnham left the SWP in 1940: the latter moved directly into the extreme right wing of American imperialism and the former into the bankrupt "third camp" of anti-communist social democracy.

Never again did the Socialist Workers Party publish its newspaper more than once a week. At first, the cause for the retreat lay in objective conditions and limited resources. Later, the fundamental problem became one of perspectives and a turn away from internationalism.

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK



# From Lordstown to Vietnam & Back



BY DAVID NORTH

**LORDSTOWN—“It’s not that I planned to be or want to be a radical, but it’s just that I’m dead against everything General Motors is for.”** Less than an hour earlier, Bob’s shift in the massive Lordstown GM assembly plant had ended; and now he sat in a tavern called the Pink Elephant, describing his feelings about the plant which he, along with several thousand other young workers, shut down last year for three weeks.

“Nothing has improved in the plant,” he said. “The management still treats us like machines. They don’t seem to think we even have feelings. Nothing matters to them except production, so they run the line faster and faster.

“I’ve got to admit it. Working here is the biggest blow to my morale. It’s changed my opinions about quite a few things.”

It has been five years since Bob, 23 years old, first went to work in the Lordstown plant. In between, he spent two years in the marines, returning to work from Vietnam just a few weeks before the strike.

“You know, the Vietnam war made me very bitter. I guess that being over there really shook me

up. When I came out of Boot Camp, I was about the most patriotic character you’d ever want to meet. I was really down on anybody trying to criticize this country. I probably would have given you some trouble.

“But after one month in Vietnam, I started to feel differently. I’ll tell you one thing: we weren’t the good guys over there. Back home you read all about the Vietcong atrocities. Well, you should’ve just watched the American army in action, cutting heads off and what not.

“Man, in Vietnam one cannot even think like a human being. Everyone is supposed to turn sadistic. It’s hard to describe. I never felt so hated in my entire life. Even the kids hated us and I don’t blame them. After all, we tore up their villages.

“The only people who seemed happy to have us there were the rich Vietnamese and maybe some prostitutes desperate for

money. Vietnam affected me. My buddies were getting shot up and then there’d be all these dead Vietnamese people lying on the road for the villagers to bury. For months I just kept wondering why everyone had to die.

“Another thing that really upset me was Kent State. I used to hang out there quite a bit with the ratio of women to men there being four to one. Then, while I’m in the marines, I heard about the four students getting killed by the National Guard. My fiancee knows a friend of one of the girls who was shot. She wasn’t even protesting, just walking around. Then she caught a bullet in her head.

“I was upset. Being in the marines, I know something about the equipment the military has to take care of demonstrations. Why, they’ve invented a nausea gas which could have everyone puking their guts out. But they just went ahead with bullets.

“Well, after getting out of the marines I came back to work in Lordstown. That’s really been an experience. If I start describing conditions, I might not be able to stop.

“Like today, I hit my head while on the line and everything started spinning. I wanted to go to the hospital so I called our committeeman. In the meantime, I missed a couple of jobs. When the committeemen finally arrived, all he thought about were the jobs I’d missed.

“Or take the paint department. In the summer, the temperature sometimes went over 100 degrees because no one bothered to repair the ventilation system after it broke down.

“Let me tell you something else. I wanted to go to the bathroom, but I couldn’t get the foreman over to the line to replace me. You see, they hadn’t repaired the horn which is used to get his attention.

“Here’s something else that burned me. A man was promised to be released early one day. Then, at the last moment, the company forced him to stay in the plant because the foreman said there weren’t enough men in the plant. But why the hell do they lay men off if that’s the case.

“You put all these things together and you realize that GM is trying to break you down. They do it in so many different ways. I know a girl who wrote a college

report on how GM is polluting Cedar Lake—turning the whole thing into a stinking swamp. It turns out that her father works with GM, and the company threatened to fire him if the report gets around. That’s how GM works.

“The way things are, I’m ready to strike and so are most men in the plant. But a lot of us don’t think that the UAW really wants to back us when we fight. Now, I’ve always been able to take care of myself and because I can’t count on the union, I’ll usually settle the grievance on my own. But some things you can’t fight by yourself.

“This guy Godfrey (the director of GMAD) is out to break us. But there’s going to be a fight if he keeps pushing the men.

“I think I know what you mean when you talk about organizing labor against Nixon in a real fight. It’s not too hard to see that GM works hand in hand with the government. Nixon lets the company get away with price increases but our wages are frozen.

“I didn’t vote for McGovern or Nixon. I just couldn’t see how those men could be for anything that I’m for. They’re with GM. I would be for a labor party because that seems to be something I could identify with. But I am sure that I don’t belong with either the Democrats or Republicans.”

# Midwest News



After a bitter fight against their leadership, Cleveland non-teaching employees struck for decent wages. Leadership last week approved a settlement which provides for not one cent in wage increase.

## Transit Men Defeat Layoff Deal

BY DEBRA WATSON AND WILL LONG

CHICAGO—One thousand five hundred workers, over half of the membership of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, packed their union hall last Tuesday evening to defeat a proposal by the union leadership for a compromise with the Chicago Transit Authority Board.

Union President Leonard Beatty tried to push through a plan that would reduce the number of layoffs. He refused to lead the fight to defend all jobs now threatened by the CTA.

"There will be a strike," a union member told the *Bulletin* before the meeting began. "That decision has already been made.

It was made in peoples' homes and over the telephone last week."

### LAI D OFF

One thousand two hundred members of Local 308, who operate the Elevated System, and of Local 241, which represents the bus drivers, have been told they are to be laid off on February 18. This is the plan by

the CTA Board to eliminate 23 Elevated Stations and 18 bus routes on that date.

At the same time, workers in both locals have been denied pay increases due to them through their cost of living clause in the 1972 contract. Last summer the Pay Board cut their August increase of 14 cents to 2.5 cents. The December adjustment has been completely denied.

"If we let them get away with this now, what are they going to do to us next year?" shouted a woman at the meeting.

The harassment has already begun with some layoffs the Board claims are allowed by the automation clause in the contract. Two elevated stations have been closed, the Dorchester station on the main north-south line, and Sedgewick station on the Ravenswood line.

Hardest hit by the planned cuts in transit is the area of Cabrini Green and Sedgewick. Workers in this area face the total elimination of any public transportation.

Local 308 bus drivers are to meet Monday February 5. Many drivers feel that a strike vote is necessary. Talks between the city and the state concerning aid to the CTA are completely stalemated with the city saying it will grant \$10 million if the state comes up with matching funds. No funds are forthcoming and the layoffs have begun.

All CTA workers must strike and demand all back pay be paid, no layoffs, no service cuts.

## Cleveland Union Ends Strike With No Raise

BY A REPORTER

CLEVELAND, Feb. 5—Leaders of the five unions of non-teaching employees who shut down city schools last week for the first time in Cleveland's history have signed an agreement with the Board of Education that amounts to a complete sellout.

The new contract, which has yet to be ratified by three of the five unions' memberships, does not provide for even a one cent increase in wages. The ranks had struck for a \$500 raise.

Led by Joe Murphy, president of the Service, Hospital, Nursing Home and Public Employees Union Local 47, the bureaucrats have ordered the ranks back to work without a pay increase. They have accepted the claims of the Board of Education that Cleveland has no money.

At last week's mass member-

ship meeting of all five locals, the 2500 non-teaching employees nearly chased Murphy out of the auditorium when he presented the contract offer which he has now signed. The ranks voted unanimously to defy a court injunction and to begin strike action.

Cleveland teachers refused to cross the picket lines.

In order to weaken the ranks and win ratification, the union leaders have scheduled separate meetings of their locals. Although Local 47 has not yet voted for the contract, Murphy has sent its 1500 members back into the schools.

## Food Workers Lose Increase

BY MAC CARPENTER  
CINCINNATI—The Cost of Living Council has ordered a roll back in wages which will cost 2234 Kroeger Company supermarket employees here \$9.80 per week beginning with the present pay period.

The decision came after an appeal by the company which held that the 25 cents to 60 cents per hour wage increase granted workers in the second year of the present contract exceeded Phase Two guidelines.

### CONTRACT

The present contract between the company and the retail store employees union Local 1099 was signed September 14, 1971 after a

three week strike. It called for wage and benefit increases over two years—19 percent retroactive from May 21, 1971 to May 1, 1972, and 14.6 percent from May 2, 1972 to July 28, 1973.

### WAGE CUTS

The roll back, which amounts to 24.5 cents an hour for each employee, cuts second year gains to 8.1 percent including benefits.

James M. Connally, president of the union, called the government's action "legalized highway robbery," and pledged to appeal it. Connally said he feared "the Kroeger pattern will be imposed on all the other members of our union and the food industry."

## Ford Men Fight 58 Hour Week

BY A REPORTER

LORAIN—An explosive situation has developed in the largest Ford assembly plant in North America, where the company has combined a vicious productivity drive with compulsory overtime which has workers on the job up to 58 hours per week.

During the past few months, Ford has disciplined a large number of workers for refusing to remain on shifts that last from 6 pm to 4 am.

"There is a fight in the plant everyday against Ford's attempts to increase production," stated United Auto Workers Local 425 President Mike Pohorence. "The company is trying to cut costs and eliminate manpower, while at the same time taking away the men's free time."

## Pilots Pay Cut To 6%

MINNEAPOLIS—The government has now slashed the third year increase won by pilots of Northwest Orient Airlines after their three month strike last year. The increase, originally slated to be 12.3 percent starting last July 1, has now been cut to 6.2 percent. Under Nixon's Phase Three the government is now slashing all wage increases.

Last November, 82 percent of the local membership voted for strike action against production grievances under Paragraph 78, but a settlement was reached.

"I think that Ford wanted to avoid a strike then because this is the only plant that produces the Econoline van," Pohorence said. "But things are bad again and the men are bitter."

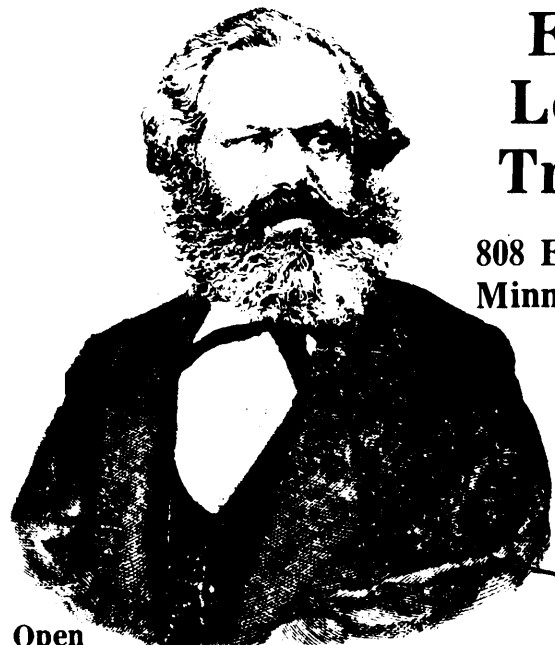
### NATIONAL SHUTDOWN

Pohorence said that he did not believe that Woodcock's mini-strike strategy had been effective, and that he would favor a national shutdown against the speedup drive which has hit Ford workers as well as those in General Motors.

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# City Budget Cuts Month Pay From Chicago Teachers

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

CHICAGO—Just four days after Chicago teachers accepted a School Board proposal and ended their strike, Superintendent James Redmond forced through the 1973 budget, which he balanced by cutting 31 days from the school year.

Unless new subsidies totaling \$69.8 million are found, Chicago schools will close on November 7 and every employee, including teachers, janitors and cafeteria workers, will lose a month's pay.

Board members approved the budget. They were counting on getting aid from the state and federal government. Their decision was made within hours of Nixon's budget message which made it clear that no federal money whatsoever will be available for education.

issues concerning teachers, police, firemen, and all other public employees.

Members of the Chicago Teachers Union must force their leadership to confront this new threat without any delay by calling for action against this budget by the entire labor movement. Teachers must take part in the February 18 Continuations Committee meeting in St. Louis to fight for a labor party. This question is now being discussed openly in their union's press.

## LAW

Meanwhile, Illinois legislators are moving fast to push through a strike ban law for public employees. The bill would create an Illinois Public Employment Board.

This three member panel, to be appointed by the governor, would administer the act, which establishes the right of collective bargaining, but provides binding, third party arbitration on all

# GMAD Speedup Brings Record Profit

BY ED SMITH

DETROIT—General Motors, the world's biggest corporation and trend setter among the Big Three auto companies, announced here

last week that sales and profits for 1972 were the highest in GM history.

The GM report frankly admits that even last year profits were maintained at their high level only by the

most ruthless attacks on plant conditions and by developing vicious speedup methods. This is the meaning of the rise of the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) in 1972.

The report states that in 1972 sales reached a record 7,790,000 units as compared to 7,779,000 in 1971. But their employment of 773,000 workers worldwide in 1971 declined to 760,000 workers in 1972. Thus, in 1972, 13,000 fewer workers produced 11,000 more units—a graphic illustration of speedup.

## WAR

This speedup war against the ranks is being stepped up each week. At a meeting of the United Auto Workers Local 7 at the Dodge Hamtramck plant last

Sunday, the story carried by the Bulletin last week about an immigrant Yemenese worker who collapsed on the line was confirmed by union officials.

## HORRIFYING

The details they provided make the incident even more horrifying. Before he collapsed, this worker told the foreman that he was feeling sick and wanted to see the doctor. The foreman told him that there was no relief available and ordered the worker to stay on the line.

Ten minutes later the worker collapsed. One minute after that the "unavailable" relief took the worker's place on the line.

Chrysler has instituted a new policy for the Dodge Main company clinic. Any worker sick for more than 24 hours receives a telegram from the clinic demanding that he come in for a clinic exam.

Almost invariably, the worker is declared "able to work," no matter how sick he is. The exam of a worker's family doctor is not accepted. Any worker who refuses to go back to work is fired immediately.

## UNREST

There is enormous unrest in the ranks over the situation, which was reflected in the uproar that followed the exclusion of a Bulletin reporter from the meeting by the Local 7 leaders.

A woman worker at Ford's Utica Trim Plant, in suburban Detroit, reported that a new clinic system similar to Dodge Main's had been instituted in her plant. She told the Bulletin:

"We're supposed to have a chance to get ready for our contract in advance but there is no discussion going on in the union. We really don't know our leaders. The UAW is democratic, they say, but in Utica Trim Plant there hasn't been a union meeting in five years. They're supposed to get a quorum of 40 members and they just don't get it."

The February 18 emergency meeting of trade unionists in St. Louis will take up the fight for the 1973 contract.



Steelworkers at the Evans Steel Barrel plant in St. Louis have been on strike since February 1 for cost of living escalator. The men just voted representation by the USWA and have been working a full month without a contract. Management has stated "not one red cent for wages."

# Minn. Labor Scores Pact

BY AN AFSCME 1164 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS—In the face of angry and vocal opposition, Jim Muske, president, and Joe Robison, director, of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 6, rammed through a sellout wage package proposal last week.

For months, the ranks of Council 6, Minnesota State Employees Union, were assured that their leadership was prepared to battle the legislature for a wage package that included a \$500 minimum monthly salary, 75 cents across the board wage increase over two years, full dependent insurance coverage, full cost of living, and more.

Letters were hastily sent to each local, giving only one week's notice for a full delegates' meeting. The agreement Muske feebly tried to present as a victory would not even bring many present employees to a \$500 salary until 1975.

## RECEIVE

Some employees would receive only a three percent increase, even if the joint proposal is accepted by the legislature as proposed. Others would not receive any increase the second year and no one would come close to getting 75 cents. In exchange for backing down on the wage demands, delegates were asked to accept 10 cents an hour shift differential and \$10 per month toward the cost of dependent insurance coverage.

Many delegates demanded the full rank and file membership of Council 6 be allowed to see the agreement and vote.

## RAMMING

Later, another delegate from outstate challenged Muske from the floor. "I don't think I've seen this whole pay plan. But if it's the one I think it is, it isn't worth a damn."

Muske replied that in negotiations, you have the "old give

and take and we had to give." A Minneapolis delegate then politely asked, "Is it possible to get a list of what you gave away?"

A number of delegates took the floor and expressed their disgust. One said, "The main thing we have to live with is our salary. You've sold us down the drain." As a member of the 1164 Caucus for a Decent Contract stated:

"You don't start with what we need. When 15 percent of state employees qualify for food stamps and you accept this plan you're not representing state employees and standing on our strength. You tell us we should accept this because it's all we can get through negotiation and compromise with the government. We must reject this plan and fight for our original proposals."

In the final discussion, Steve Billings from Local 1011 said: "You've said these are first steps. Four years ago, we accepted a small wage increase in order to get a collective bargaining bill. You said we at least had our foot in the door. Two years ago we got a collective bargaining bill in exchange for a small wage increase. We at least had our foot in the door. Now we're supposed to accept this because we at least have our foot in the door. My foot's been in the door so long it's starting to pinch."

Muske was able to push through a vote to accept this agreement as the proposal Council 6 will be presenting to the legislature. The 1164 Caucus for a Decent Contract has begun the fight to rescind this action by

demanding that 1164 send letters to each local urging them to send delegates to the next Council 6 meeting. This meeting must reverse the decision and fight for strike action to win the original wage plan, end the hiring freeze and prevent any layoffs.

# Scabs Attack Oil Strikers

BY A REPORTER

PINE BEND, Minn.—The strike by 315 members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 6-662 against Koch Oil Company is now going into its second month, with the Wichita based company taking drastic measures to try to destroy the union. Scabs from as far away as Texas continue to operate the refinery.

On striker told the Bulletin that he had applied for a job in another company, using Koch as a reference. Koch's personnel manager had told the hiring officer at the other company to go ahead and hire him "because no striker is ever going to get his job back here again."

So stringent are the company's new rules that the local's past president, Joe Hammerschmidt, is still involved in litigation from being fired last June for "making an unauthorized telephone call."

The scabs carry dangerous weapons, including loaded guns, with which to threaten the strikers on the picket lines. This was reported in the St. Paul Pioneer Press.

Last week a scab deliberately swerved his car in order to run down a picket at the main gate.

Safely on the other side, the coward screamed, "I'll do it again!" The picket, who was knocked to the ground, suffered severe injuries.

Besides scab inspired provocations, the union has had to put up with threats from Wackenhut guards on the picket lines. This same outfit provided guards to Continental Oil in Wrenshall, Minnesota in 1969, when pickets were tear gassed during a strike by another OCAW local.

Yet it is the local and international union that are now faced with legal action for alleged violations of restraining orders issued by Judge Robert Bruenig of Dakota County District Court. Before the order was issued, about three trucks were getting through the picket lines.

Since the order was issued, 27 trucks have entered the plant daily. Also, 85 percent of the oil refined by the scabs in the plant is pumped through pipe lines.

The great danger faced by the union in this strike is the belief that they can win it by a legal fight in the courts. What is required is support from the entire Twin Cities labor movement to throw up a mass picket line of thousands around the plant.

# EUROPE SLAMS DOOR ON DOLLAR . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

This statement leaves no doubt that Nixon realizes that the defense of American capitalism requires the defeat of the working class through the smashing of its trade unions and democratic rights.

Behind these threats is the international economic crisis which has reached a new level of anarchy.

Stringent control measures adopted by the German cabinet at an emergency meeting Friday evening could not head off the inflow of millions of dollars as

leading multi-national corporations joined speculators in the frenzied conversion of their holdings into marks, which they temporarily consider to be a more reliable measure of value than the dollar.

However, as the sharp upward movement of gold toward the \$70 level indicates, there is a growing realization that all paper currency is worthless.

The furious activity on the world money markets exposed all the tensions between the United States and its European and Japanese competitors, which

are now being released in trade war.

In spite of a personal telephone call from Shultz, German Foreign Minister Helmut Schmidt refused last week to revalue the mark.

"Schmidt would rather bite off his tongue than float," said a close aid. "He can't even hear the word. It's a psychic problem for him."

### REVALUATION

The problem is not psychic. German industrialists are determined to prevent a revaluation of the mark which would have dis-

astrous effects upon their trade position.

Similarly, the Japanese resisted strong pressure to revalue the yen and purchased about 300 million dollars last Saturday morning to back up existing exchange rates. However, the Tokyo stock market continued its sharp decline in the face of American threats to institute new protective measures against Japan.

Suggesting the imposition of new import surcharges as a means of improving the US balance of payments deficit, Herbert Stein, chairman of Nixon's Council of Economic Ad-

visers warned: "We will have to take our own action if cooperation is not forthcoming."

There can be no peaceful solution to this crisis in which the entire world monetary system is being torn apart by the anarchy of capitalism.

Required now is the building of a Marxist leadership through the fight for a labor party to defend the working class against Nixon's attacks. To take up this fight, we call on trade unionists to attend the Emergency Meeting of the Continuations Committee in St. Louis on February 18.

# PROGRAM FOR AUTO STRUGGLE

(Continued From Page 1)

Instead, he plans to avoid a fight against General Motors and the other companies altogether—just as he has refused to fight them over the last three years.

The ranks must hold Woodcock responsible for the conditions now in the plants. Not only has he allowed the working and living conditions of UAW members to deteriorate, but he has stifled every attempt by the ranks to fight back.

The "Woodcock Team" will not fight for a decent wage increase. It was Leonard Woodcock who supported the Phase One 90 day freeze, the Phase Two Pay Board, and the Phase Three Cost of Living Council which maintains the 5.5 percent guideline.

Nor will the Woodcock bureaucracy fight against speedups. During 1972, it deliberately sought to isolate the struggles of the locals against GMAD. The mini-strike strategy was designed to avoid a real national fight against GM.

As for jobs, the situation in the aerospace industry exposes the utter bankruptcy of the Woodcock program. At the last convention of the UAW in Atlantic City, Paul Schrade, Woodcock's man on the West Coast, was dumped because he had done nothing to stop the thousands of layoffs.

With the contract deadline only several months away, Woodcock is already working overtime to sell out the ranks and sign the worst settlement in the history of the UAW. He is passing the word that the UAW, one of the most powerful unions in the world, is too poor to fight General Motors. He claims that the 1970 strike exhausted the strike fund.

This is a naked lie. The main problem confronting the UAW is not funds but leadership. The great strength of the UAW lies in the determination of its members to defend their stan-

dard of living and the fact that they can depend upon the full support of the entire American working class in a struggle against the auto bosses and Nixon.

All the weaknesses of the UAW are concentrated in the refusal of the leadership to fight. And at the heart of the Woodcock leadership's collaboration with GM and Ford is its collaboration with Nixon's attacks on the working class. Woodcock is opposed to mobilizing the ranks in a political fight against Nixon through the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist programs.

Because Woodcock will not break from Nixon's Democratic Party allies and construct a labor party, he has no alternative to the programs Nixon is putting forward. Therefore, Woodcock is prepared to sign a contract in 1973 which meets the needs of big business, not the auto workers.

The fight for a decent contract in 1973 requires the building of a leadership within the UAW that understands the political requirements of the crisis, a leadership that sees the struggle against Nixon as the heart of the coming contract battle.

The Continuations Committee proposes this draft of contract demands as the basis for the development of a nationwide caucus of auto workers which will provide a real alternative to the bankrupt Woodcock program and show the way forward to victory over the auto bosses and Nixon.

All the demands put forward in this contract will meet fierce resistance from the companies and government. The very nature of the capitalist economy, which is now in the grips of the deepest crisis in its history, requires that auto workers—along with the rest of the working class—be hurled back not only in the plants but also in their homes.

It is not enough that wages be cut, lines be sped up and workers laid off. At the same time, Richard Nixon—who is the

# Program For 1973

The Continuations Committee calls for the building of caucuses in each UAW local around the following contract demands that meet the needs of the ranks. It is through the struggle for this contract against the sellout proposed by the bureaucracy that a new leadership can be built, the auto bosses defeated, and Phase Three smashed.

**WAGES.** The ranks must win a 20 percent increase for the first year of the contract to defend their living conditions against the big inroads already made by inflation over the last three years. There must also be a full cost of living escalator clause which compensates the ranks on a monthly basis for any rise in prices.

**JOB SECURITY.** The contract must include a provision barring any layoffs. All UAW members currently laid off must be called back and new jobs must be opened up for young workers by establishing the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

**SPEEDUP.** The speedup must be ended by winning a contract in which the UAW and the companies set a national standard on

spokesman of all the corporations—must slash funds for housing, education, health care, social services and even school milk programs.

To carry out these attacks on every facet of the life of the working class, it is necessary for Nixon to strip workers of their democratic rights and prepare for dictatorial forms of rule.

### MARXIST LEADERSHIP

To meet these attacks requires the development of a Marxist leadership within the UAW that will mobilize the ranks in a political struggle against the government in defense of all trade unions and the entire working class.

At the center of this political

time, cycle and jobs. The amount of jobs performed by each worker per hour is not to exceed 40. There must be the abolition of the 1970 contract's Paragraph Eight, which gives management complete control over production standards in the plant.

**GRIEVANCES.** The 1973 contract must give the ranks the right to strike over all contractual violations. Paragraph 117, which strictly limits strike action to production standards, must be abolished. The contract must guarantee a speedy grievance procedure. There should be no more than two weeks between the filing of a grievance and final action.

**OVERTIME.** All overtime must be voluntary, with double-time on weekdays and triple-time on weekends and holidays. By allowing Ford and GM to keep the men in the plants up to 58 hours per week, Woodcock has let the lives of auto workers be disrupted and permitted the companies to stockpile in preparation for layoffs and the coming struggles.

**PENSION.** There must be a real "30 and out" without any age qualification and with full pension benefits of \$650 per month. A

cost of living escalator must be incorporated into the pension. Social security benefits are not to be considered part of the \$650. Every auto worker must become eligible for full benefits 30 days after he begins work.

**HEALTH AND SAFETY.** The new contract must provide for adequate medical facilities within the plant under the supervision of a doctor appointed by the UAW and whom the ranks may dismiss if he shows partiality to the company. There must be unlimited medical absences with full pay. There must be a national safety code enforceable in each plant through the shutdown of production with full pay until the management corrects all violations.

**HEALTH CARE.** There must be a national health plan in which the auto companies provide full medical coverage for every UAW member and his family. All medical expenses, from hospital care and therapy to ordinary visits to the doctor, must be met by the company.

**VACATIONS.** Paid holidays must be increased to 18 days per year plus a two week vacation after one year and four weeks after five years.

fight is the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist policies. The labor party will be the weapon of a united working class defending its past conquests and all its rights. Fighting for the nationalization of industry under workers control, the labor party would open the way for the establishment of a workers' government that would resolve the crisis in the interests of the working class.

The United Auto Workers, with its great traditions of struggle and sacrifice, has been from its birth a pillar of the American working class. It was the auto workers who invented the sit-down strike and in that way clinched the victory of industrial unionism in the United States.

Once again the ranks of the UAW must lead the working class. They can rally the entire labor movement—including the four million other trade unionists who face contract battles this year—by fighting for this contract proposed by the Continuations Committee and demanding that the UAW summon a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party.

All auto workers must make preparations to attend the emergency meeting of the Continuations Committee in St. Louis on February 18. Full discussion on the draft contract proposal will lay the basis for the building of caucuses in every local that will guarantee the victory over the auto bosses and Nixon.



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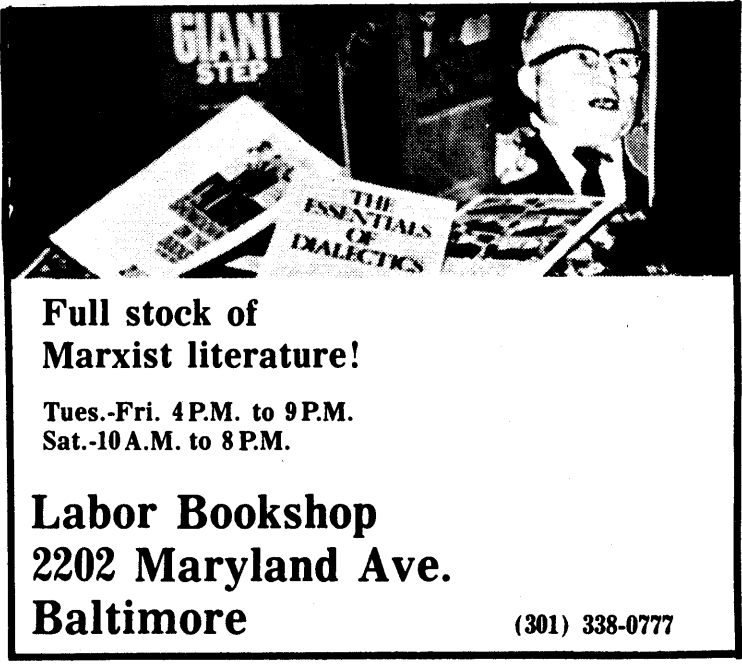
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## West Coast News



Ernie Lewis of the Los Angeles Young Socialists speaks to a crowd of 45 trade unionists and youth at a meeting to build towards the February 18 Emergency Meeting to be held in St. Louis.

## Fontana Steel Men Quit Productivity Committee

BY TOM NICHOLS

FONTANA—On the basis of the precedent established in the continuous weld pipe mill, where productivity was increased by a whopping 32.1 percent, the speedup at the Kaiser plant continues, and resistance to it gathers momentum among the mill's 8000 employees.

Management's insistence that it may have to close down the pipe mill despite the one-third increase in productivity has not been ignored by the men in the other departments.

In the yards and roads department, where a switchman, Bill Lindsey, was killed last week as a consequence of a faulty connector switch, new remote control devices on the trains inside the mill will slash each crew from five to three. The job of firemen will be eliminated entirely along with one of the three switchman positions, leaving only one engineer and two switchmen.

According to one worker in the department, "Those guys are fighting mad. They face the loss of 40 jobs in the department and there is nothing that they can do about it."

The new four-unit operating schedule in the coke oven plant has produced a heavier workload coupled with less incentive pay

and prompted a 31-4 vote among the leadership in the department against any cooperation with the new schedule.

In the plate mill department, management removed a panel board, labeled the removal a "technical innovation," and thereby eliminated three recorder positions.

Altogether, 10 jobs in this department have been slashed since the 1971 contract in which I.W. Abel made the union a partner in Kaiser's drive to get more out of fewer workers.

### GRIEVANCES

The six grievances which grew out of these 10 layoffs have yet to be arbitrated, but, since only 10 percent of all grievances filed nationally are settled in favor of the worker, there are few illusions here that Kaiser's drive to eliminate jobs can be fought through the established grievance system.

Despite a specific section in the last contract to the contrary,

management continues to pull individual laborers out of the by-products division to use in the coke ovens to carry forward its plan to pool all laborers in the factory in order to eliminate the jobs of dozens of young workers.

### BOYCOTT

Four out of seven union men boycotted the last departmental company-union productivity meeting and two out of the three who did attend vowed never to return. The pair returned to the by-products department and declared that the committees are a fraud to destroy jobs.

These are the first movements in the struggle to break with the Abel leadership's drive to assist the steel employers in eliminating hundreds of thousands of jobs.

It can only be carried forward with the construction of a labor party pledged to the nationalization of steel under workers control.

## Youth Back Magee

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Forty Black students from Nairobi College were thrown out of the Ruchell Magee trial for "disrupting the orderly proceedings of the court."

When Magee entered the entire audience rose in silent solidarity. The next day Judge Colvin announced that any further disruptions would result in an automatic five day jail sentence and permanent banning from the remainder of the trial.

The bourgeois press has not mentioned a word of this incident, maintaining a silence which is only broken when Magee seeks to speak and is thrown into the isolation cell.

The Stalinist People's World continues its outrageous policy of refusing to report the trial while

finding plenty of space in its columns to report such burning developments as the latest meeting of California Democrats.

Judge Colvin has now taken further measures against Magee by refusing him permission to speak to his attorney without a petition filed three days in advance.

Behind the 40 Nairobi students who rose in solidarity for Magee there are thousands of workers and youth who stand with them. The absolute panic shown by the ruling class at the slightest sign of support for Magee only reflects their fear of the millions



Ruchell Magee

who will soon be taking up Magee's demand for the "right to rebel" in mass actions against the government.

It is urgent that the labor movement speak out in the defense of this heroic fighter. It is the trade unions that are next in line for the "justice" dispensed by these courts.

# Big Support For St. Louis Conference

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—An extremely successful meeting of 75 trade unionists and youth here voted overwhelmingly to send a large delegation to the St. Louis emergency conference on February 18.

Attending were workers from the UAW, IBT, NABET, AFSCME, SEIU, CWA, Butchers Union and construction as well as an extremely large section of youth from Palo Alto.

A perspectives report by Jeff Sebastian stressed the uncontrollable nature of the international crisis now breaking out and the rapidly maturing conditions for a tremendous leap in consciousness by the working class.

He stressed the enormous responsibility of the trade unionists and youth in attendance to prepare for massive movements of the working class through the construction of a Marxist leadership.

"Every worker and youth trained today in a struggle for a Marxist perspective is a pledge for thousands to come." This would be the decisive preparation for overcoming the gap that exists between the present thinking of the working class and the objective situation.

Ann Lore for the Young Socialists spoke on the urgency of the youth turning towards the trade unions and the enormous potential for training a Marxist leadership.

### SKEPTICISM

A small section of the meeting sought to bring in skepticism and middle class doubts about the sharpness of the crisis and the capacity of the working class to fight back.

This was taken up decisively by a number of youth whose every day existence left no room for doubt as to the reality of the crisis or the determination of the working class to fight.

An extremely important development was that a number of older trade unionists came forward with their determination to defend themselves against this government and their absolute certainty that the labor movement would fight tooth and nail.

As one teamster put it, "When I go down to the meat counter, or try to support my three kids today, I'm ready." These statements brought forth a huge burst of applause from the youth present.

### TROTSKY

It was precisely this development that Trotsky spoke of when he said, "Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can guarantee the preliminary successes in the struggle; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution."

A magnificent collection of \$530 was raised for St. Louis and a big section of youth came forward to join the Young Socialists.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—An enthusiastic meeting of over 45 trade unionists and youth unanimously endorsed the emergency conference for a Labor Party in St. Louis.

Dennis Brehm, speaking for the Workers League said: "Phase Three is a great step towards depression and dictatorship. The trade union leaders will not face up to fighting Nixon but instead cooperate with Nixon's plans to destroy every basic right of the working class. At the center of the fight for the labor party is the preparation of a new leadership to defend the working class and raise every single political issue before it."

Representing the Young Socialists, Ernie Lewis urged the youth to turn to the trade unions and Marxist theory as the only defense to fight Nixon's attacks.

Lively discussion from the youth and trade unionists centered around the breakup of living conditions that is being forced on the working class.

The enormous 32.1 percent productivity increase at the Kaiser Steel plant was described by a young worker from United Steelworkers Local 4765. "Productivity doesn't put any money in the workers' pocket—productivity is turned into its opposite and the machines are used to enslave us."

In a tremendous collection \$400 was raised to send a delegation to St. Louis.

## FREMONT . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

able to contain the fighting spirit of the ranks. The whole fragile coalition came apart at the seams in a shouting match and massive confusion when the conservatism of the leadership was challenged from the floor and someone asked the question: "What is your program, where are you taking us?"

The UAW ranks are preparing for the sharpest struggle in the history of the union. This requires a leadership which will fight all the way for a 20 percent wage increase per year, thirty for forty, absolutely no layoffs or speedup, and a full escalator clause to meet soaring prices.

These demands can only be met by mobilizing the UAW against Phase Three and building a labor party to end all controls.

## ELLSBERG . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

cial testified that he couldn't quite remember the memorandum ordering removal of Miller's analysis even though he received a copy of the order.

What is now absolutely clear is that the government is determined to keep vital information from the defense in order to obtain a conviction. Despite this, Judge Matt Byrne denied a defense motion to dismiss the charges.

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

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

PHONE 415-621-1310

## Fremont GM Auto Workers Order Woodcock To Call National Strike

BY A UAW MEMBER

FREMONT—Over 300 members of United Auto Workers Local 1364 in the General Motors Assembly Division plant here mobilized for the January 28 membership meeting and overwhelmingly passed resolutions demanding that Woodcock get off Nixon's Cost of Living Council and call a national strike against the intolerable speedup in auto.

Absolutely furious over the open treachery of Woodcock and his local lackeys and determined to mobilize the full strength of the UAW to win the upcoming contract, the men, led by the leaders of the Brotherhood Caucus, launched a noisy attack on the local leadership for their endless junkets all over the country and countless other bureaucratic atrocities.

The men gave a fighting lead to the entire labor movement by voting to a man for a resolution calling on the American trade union movement to smash Phase Three and Nixon's 5.5 percent wage guidelines, to absolutely reject any government interference, and to mandate the delegates to the upcoming pre-contract convention to fight for a 20 percent wage increase for each year of the contract and to make a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay the top demand.

The local bureaucracy was absolutely paralyzed in the face of this rebellion. For the past 28 months they had successfully discouraged the local meetings from having a quorum of 144.

At the meeting, two-thirds of the youthful crowd stood up and came forward to be sworn in as new members of the UAW.

It is no accident that the ranks come forward at this time and begin to take up the life and death political questions facing the UAW in the upcoming contract.

In this context the policies of the Brotherhood Caucus leadership stand out as absolutely bankrupt.

Immediately following the membership meeting the Brotherhood Caucus called a meeting to which everybody was invited. It was chaired and led by a whole section of ex-bureaucratic type opportunists who emerge at this point to cut off the development of a political policy for the UAW, keep the upsurge of the ranks within syndicalist channels, and divert the militancy of the ranks to further their personal bureaucratic aspirations.

At the meeting the Brotherhood leadership was un-

(Continued On Page 19)



## Ellsberg Documents Not Secret

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—The government's case against the Pentagon Papers defendants is being blown apart by recent testimony from the Pentagon officials revealing that key documents do not relate to the national defense.

While Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo are being tried for conspiracy, it is now out in the open that the real conspirators are running the government.

Testifying with the jury excused, retired Lt. Col. Edward A. Miller, ex-official of the Pentagon's Office of Security Review, said he was asked to write an analysis in 1971 of nine volumes and two documents which were said to form the core of the case against Ellsberg.

Miller was to determine if they were properly classified top secret. His conclusions, made public this week, were that the volumes contained no classified information.

This damaging evidence in favor of Ellsberg was ordered removed from the Pentagon files in late 1971 according to Miller. When Miller stated that he had made a copy of the analysis for his personal file, he was instructed by Judge Matt Byrne that this constitutes a violation of federal law and advised to take the Fifth Amendment. Miller refused to stop answering questions.

Pentagon and Justice Department officials have testified this week that they were unaware of Miller's analysis until it turned up in the Pentagon files last weekend.

A Department of Defense official said the documents were not classified. (Continued On Page 19)

## Forward to the DAILY Bulletin



Over \$500 was raised to send a delegation from San Francisco to the Emergency Conference of Trade Unionists in St. Louis. Ann Lore, left, spoke on the urgency of youth taking their struggle to the trade unions. After the meeting, unionists and youth discussed perspectives for building a leadership to fight Nixon.

## Forge Teamster-Docker Unity Against Phase Three Editorial

The ILWU demand for payment of a 30 cent increase places it in the forefront of labor's fight to defeat Phase Three. It is all but certain that the increase will be cut.

Bridges refuses to rally the labor movement to fight for payment and simultaneously announces that the merger with the Teamsters Union is off.

This takes place in the face of new attacks being prepared against transport workers.

The American Farm Bureau Federation disclosed plans for legislation to outlaw strikes in the transportation industry.

The hostility of the ILWU ranks to the merger does not express an unwillingness to fight but a hatred of the Teamster bureaucracy and a complete lack of confidence in Bridges.

Longshoremen face an immediate pay cut and destruction of their jobs and conditions. At the same time the Teamster ranks will be in an all-out fight as Fitzsimmons and Nixon attempt to impose 5.5 percent on their wages.

There is a tremendous potential to forge a fighting unity between the most powerful unions in the country. A leadership must be built in both the ILWU and the IBT that will fight for:

- Immediate strike action if the 30 cent increase is rejected.
- Complete solidarity in action in the upcoming contracts.

- No jurisdictional disputes. A 40 hour guarantee, with no loss in jobs for every transport worker.

- A federation of all transport unions for a united fight to smash Nixon's attacks.

- A congress of the labor movement to launch a labor party.

The February 18 Continuations Committee meeting in St. Louis is being built to carry forward a strategy to defeat Nixon and must be built by dockers and teamsters.

The ABEF requested the use of the Marines in the last longshore strike.

Referring to the 135-day longshore strike last year, and gearing up for June 30 when the present ILWU contract expires, the federation will demand the most reactionary anti-union laws, including:

- Amendment of the emergency strike provisions of the Taft-Hartley law to cover regional transportation strikes.

- An arbitration procedure in which the arbitrator would choose one of the final offers of the employers or the unions.

Treasury Secretary George Shultz spelled out what is coming when he said: "If some people don't conform to the rules we will find out. It isn't hard to clobber someone. Washington loves it. The trick is to be ready to clobber and we will be."

In the face of this the ILWU has rejected Bridges' proposal for a merger with the Teamsters. Throughout this fight Bridges has identified completely with the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy. It has been impossible to win rank and file support on this basis.



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LOS ANGELES—The government's case against the Pentagon Papers defendants is being blown apart by recent testimony from the Pentagon officials revealing that key documents do not relate to the national defense.

While Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo are being tried for conspiracy, it is now out in the open that the real conspirators are running the government.

Testifying with the jury excused, retired Lt. Col. Edward A. Miller, ex-official of the Pentagon's Office of Security Review, said he was asked to write an analysis in 1971 of nine volumes and two documents which were said to form the core of the case against Ellsberg.

Miller was to determine if they were properly classified top secret. His conclusions, made public this week, were that the volumes contained no classified information.

This damaging evidence in favor of Ellsberg was ordered removed from the Pentagon files in late 1971 according to Miller. When Miller stated that he had made a copy of the analysis for his personal file, he was instructed by Judge Matt Byrne that this constitutes a violation of federal law and advised to take the Fifth Amendment. Miller refused to stop answering questions.

Pentagon and Justice Department officials have testified this week that they were unaware of Miller's analysis until it turned up in the Pentagon files last weekend.

A Department of Defense official said the documents were not classified. (Continued On Page 19)

## Forge Teamster-Docker Unity Against Phase Three Editorial

The ILWU demand for payment of a 30 cent increase places it in the forefront of labor's fight to defeat Phase Three. It is all but certain that the increase will be cut.

Bridges refuses to rally the labor movement to fight for payment and simultaneously announces that the merger with the Teamsters Union is off.

This takes place in the face of new attacks being prepared against transport workers.

The American Farm Bureau Federation disclosed plans for legislation to outlaw strikes in the transportation industry.

The hostility of the ILWU ranks to the merger does not express an unwillingness to fight but a hatred of the Teamster bureaucracy and a complete lack of confidence in Bridges.

Longshoremen face an immediate pay cut and destruction of their jobs and conditions. At the same time the Teamster ranks will be in an all-out fight as Fitzsimmons and Nixon attempt to impose 5.5 percent on their wages.

There is a tremendous potential to forge a fighting unity between the most powerful unions in the country. A leadership must be built in both the ILWU and the IBT that will fight for:

- Immediate strike action if the 30 cent increase is rejected.
- Complete solidarity in action in the upcoming contracts.

- No jurisdictional disputes. A 40 hour guarantee, with no loss in jobs for every transport worker.

- A federation of all transport unions for a united fight to smash Nixon's attacks.

- A congress of the labor movement to launch a labor party.

The February 18 Continuations Committee meeting in St. Louis is being built to carry forward a strategy to defeat Nixon and must be built by dockers and teamsters.

The ABEF requested the use of the Marines in the last longshore strike.

Referring to the 135-day longshore strike last year, and gearing up for June 30 when the present ILWU contract expires, the federation will demand the most reactionary anti-union laws, including:

- Amendment of the emergency strike provisions of the Taft-Hartley law to cover regional transportation strikes.

- An arbitration procedure in which the arbitrator would choose one of the final offers of the employers or the unions.

Treasury Secretary George Shultz spelled out what is coming when he said: "If some people don't conform to the rules we will find out. It isn't hard to clobber someone. Washington loves it. The trick is to be ready to clobber and we will be."

In the face of this the ILWU has rejected Bridges' proposal for a merger with the Teamsters. Throughout this fight Bridges has identified completely with the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy. It has been impossible to win rank and file support on this basis.