

HOOVER  
JUL 30 1976  
INSTITUTION

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER SEVEN 282

FEBRUARY 19, 1973

103

FIFTEEN CENTS



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## Nixon Advisor Admits Food Prices Will Soar

BY  
A REPORTER

WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 13—A top Nixon adviser admitted yesterday that prices are out of control and that the cost of everything from food to clothing will soar in February and in the coming months.

This statement was made before the devaluation of the dollar by 10 percent, which will have a drastic effect upon the cost of living in this country. Nixon's claim that the devaluation will not affect "the average American" is the biggest lie since his earlier claim that Phase II would control prices.

Not only will imported goods become at least 10 percent more costly, but basic commodities produced in this country will skyrocket.

So, combined with the inflation rate before devaluation, leading businessmen are predicting that prices could rise anywhere from 15 to 20 percent in 1973. For foodstuffs, which are particularly affected by the devaluation, the rate of inflation could be in the area of 25 percent.

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He went on to say that there would be a "bulge" in the prices of non-food commodities as well.

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## Death of a Steelworker

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## DEVALUATION MEANS:

# Inflation, Wage Cuts, Trade War

### Political Committee Statement

The announcement late Monday night that the dollar will be devalued by 10 percent, the official price of gold raised to \$42.22, and the Japanese yen allowed to float upwards has in no way resolved the economic crisis that brought the major capitalist countries to the brink of financial collapse over the weekend.

In fact, the settlement which was patched together while panic stricken finance ministers of Europe and Japan kept the money markets closed sets the stage for the disintegration of the international monetary system.

Not only have the Smithsonian Accords of 1971—hailed then by Nixon as the greatest monetary decision "in the history of the world"—been smashed, but it has been replaced by a desperate arrangement that is based upon the understanding that it is impossible to determine the real value of any currency.

In other words, what particularly marks this latest arrangement is the expectation of the capitalist governments that it must break down almost immediately. While the Smithsonian Accords attempted to determine the exact value of each major currency through internationally recognized realignments, no such agreement was possible this time.

Instead, all established relations between different currencies have been thrown out the window. What exists now is a totally chaotic system of "floating" currencies whose official values shift from day to day. As of Monday night, the currencies of Japan, Switzerland, Britain and Canada were floating against the dollar. They will soon be joined by all the currencies of Europe.

But the basic problem remains unsolved. Although the dollar has been devalued, it remains impossible for Nixon to permit the reestablishment of the dollar's convertibility into gold, which he suspended on August 15, 1971. In effect, all foreign currencies will be floating against the dollar which itself represents only the paper it is printed on.

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Exclusive Interview

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# British Troops Spread Terror In N. Ireland

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The extreme right-wing Ulster Volunteer Force in North Ireland is stepping up its campaign of assassination and terror against Catholic workers. In the past few weeks, a number of unarmed civilians have been killed in Belfast.

British imperialism and the Protestant capitalist class are attempting to provoke civil war on an extensive scale. The rightists are being encouraged now by the repressive actions of the Lynch government in the south.

In a surprise move, Irish Prime Minister Jack Lynch has called a General Election for February 28. Lynch calls the election now to strengthen his hand against the Irish Republican Army and to prepare for attacks on the Irish workers and their unions.

The Irish workers are now moving against Lynch on the issues of inflation, his repressive powers, and the decline in the economy that has led to a deterioration of the living conditions of the working class.

## POWER

Above all, Lynch seeks a return to power to take action against the Irish workers. Lynch stressed the need for a strong majority government by saying that: "It is now essential if a protracted period of political uncertainty and instability is to be avoided.

"The government must have and must be seen to have a clear and unmistakable mandate to speak and act for the Irish people."

This is because the plans of the Heath government are to whip up the shooting and the repression by the Army in Ulster to prepare the way for a dictatorship.

# Civil War Rages In Vietnam

BY DAVID NORTH

Civil war continues to rage in Vietnam as the so-called settlement signed in Paris last month is being completely exposed as a vehicle for new aggression by American imperialism against the workers and peasants of Indochina.

Nixon's talk about paying reparations to North Vietnam and Kissinger's current mission to Hanoi are calculated charades designed to cover up the fact that the United States is still prosecuting the war with a vengeance.

While American fighter bombers and B-52's conducted more than 300 missions over Laos and Cambodia, fierce battles broke out within miles of Saigon. Local detachments of the National Liberation Front have beaten back attempts by puppet forces of the Thieu regime to capture liberated areas.

## PROVOCATIONS

There are reports of repeated provocations by the puppet army, supplied by US weapons. In the Delta, Thieu's army opened fire on districts controlled by the Provisional Revolutionary Government. During the holiday of Tet, helicopters machine-gunned houses flying NLF flags.

On February 7, the reactionary Vanguard Movement of William Craig called a one day general strike against the arrest of two members of the paramilitary Ulster Defense Association which stands for more attacks on the Catholic minority.

The same day Protestant gunmen fired into a Catholic funeral procession for IRA members. They wounded several people including an 11 year old boy.

The so-called White Paper of the British government, which is supposed to decide on the formation of a new government to replace the present British direct rule, is a cover for the preparation for imposing a military dictatorship. Heath has been unable to decisively defeat the Irish working class which continues to fight for its freedom from the exploitation of British imperialism.

## LIQUIDATE

The reason Heath must move now to liquidate the resistance in Ulster is directly linked to the deepening of the economic and monetary crisis internationally.

Heath seeks to free his hands in Ireland in order to devote his attention to the growing trade war, the problems of the Common Market and the struggle of the British working class against Tory pay laws and the Industrial Relations Act.

The crisis of the British government and its agents in the Irish bourgeoisie will bring Irish and British workers together in a common struggle against a common enemy.



George Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party.

# Pompidou 'Red Scare' Fails To Halt Left Lead

BY MELODY FARROW

With less than one month to go before the French elections for the National Assembly, President George Pompidou has opened a blistering attack on the Left Union of the Socialist and Communist Parties.

The latest Sofres poll published in France shows the Left Union continuing to lead with an expected 47 percent of the vote and the Gaullist Party of Pompidou behind with 36 percent.

In his speech, Pompidou accused the Left Union of seeking to establish "dictatorship" and of threatening all the traditions of Gaullism. He declared that he would never govern with a Socialist or Communist Prime Minister and Cabinet.

Accusing the Left Union of wanting to "take power," Pompidou stated: "Events like those

of May 1968 could always recur, whatever one thinks, and everyone would do well to reflect on this."

This speech follows shortly after Alain Peyrefitte, president of the Gaullist Party, accused the Left Union and particularly the Communist Party of preparing a "putsch" and said that a victory of the Left Union would create a "revolutionary dynamic" despite the wishes of the CP leaders.

## "RED SCARE"

Pompidou's campaign is aimed at creating a tremendous "red scare," of raising the spectre of mass uprisings, strikes and chaos to frighten the middle classes.

Pompidou knows very well that the Communist Party and the Socialist Party do not seek to challenge capitalism and have collaborated with the Gaullists in previous governments as well as in 1968. What Pompidou fears is that the French workers will see the victory of the Left Union as a mandate for strike action and factory occupations, like those that swept the country in 1936, that will go beyond the limits of the Stalinist and reformist leaders.

The government has also shifted its strategy of depicting the Socialist Party as the innocent "rabbit" caught by the "cobra": the CP. Recently the Gaullists have made open overtures to the Socialist Party to break with its CP partners and have even offered to welcome the SP leaders into the government.

## RADICALS

The Communist Party has become increasingly concerned with the possibility that the capitalist party, the Radicals, will make a deal with the Socialist Party to join the regime later, in exchange for supporting the SP candidates at the polls next month.

George Marchais, General Secretary of the CP, has called

for the largest possible CP vote on the first round March 4 in order to strengthen its position in the coalition. On the second round, the left will back the can-

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# Gas Warfare On African Strikers

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The government of South Africa and its police are preparing for a confrontation with South African strikers that could lead to a massacre of the Black workers.

Last week, the police in the port of Durban fired tear gas into a crowd of 7000 workers. A group of 200 who broke away and attempted to march on the factory was driven back by another tear gas attack. Still another group surged forward and confronted the police. Already the police have arrested 200 workers.

The army is now patrolling the ports of Durban in full battle dress. The strikers have become increasingly bold and refuse to be intimidated.

The four month strike wave of workers in private industry was joined by 16,000 municipal workers on February 7. Groups of workers invaded the city buildings to bring others out on strike until the entire city was paralyzed.

On February 6 the strikers rejected the offer of city officials for a 15 percent increase (about \$2.50 more per week) and insisted on at least \$12 more.

Three-fifths of South African workers make less than the official poverty level and are not allowed to organize in trade unions. The Minister of Labor declared that he would never risk the future of South Africa "in this reckless way" by granting trade union rights to the workers.

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# General Strike Threat To Free Philly Teachers

BY FRANK ELLIOTT

**PHILADELPHIA**—In the face of massive fines and jail sentences against the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT), the AFL-CIO Philadelphia Council has threatened general strike action in defense of the striking teachers.

President Frank Sullivan and Chief Negotiator John Ryan of the PFT have been sentenced to six months to two years in prison for defying a court ordered back to work order.

The union itself has been

financed \$160,000 to be increased \$10,000 a day as long as the strike continues. In addition, Sullivan has been personally fined \$5000.

The judge has refused to grant bail or appeal rights unless the teachers return to work and Sullivan and Ryan are now im-

prisoned in the State House of

## 1199 Ranks Shout 'Strike' In Hospital Walk Out

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

**NEW YORK, Feb. 13**—Hospital workers took part in a one hour strike at 33 voluntary hospitals on February 8.

The stoppage occurred at noon at the hospitals belonging to the League of Voluntary Hospitals, over the cut in the 7.5 percent increase won last July. Workers have yet to see one penny of that increase.

The action at Beth Israel Hospital was representative of what occurred throughout the city. Hundreds of workers packed the hospital auditorium, with management and union representatives present. When the Administration asked the workers what they wanted, several delegates spoke out at an open microphone.

A Rank and File Committee supporter said that workers were "tired of meetings, stalling and waiting around," and posed the need for strike action. She received tremendous applause.

At Kingsbrook, there was a 99 percent response and hundreds of workers sat in in the administration offices for nearly an hour. Afterwards, a brief outdoor mass meeting was held by 1199 Vice President Dave White that strike action would be taken if the increase was not forthcoming, and "next time not for one hour and not so politely." This was greeted by applause and shouts of "strike."

The response on February 8 was even bigger than in the demonstrations before the contract last July. The disciplined and united action of 30,000 workers showed what could be done.

### LEADERS

The union leaders, however, continue to beat around the bush. At some hospitals the workers were told that all-out strike action would be called. But at the city-wide delegates meeting that

same night, 1199 President Leon Davis again confined himself to talk about "escalating the action." He refused to mention strike action and opposed a motion for strike action now.

The hospitals now say they have sent a statement to the Cost of Living Council in Washington asking it to restore the 1199 increase, although for months they asked that it be cut. They are also demanding that the union officials publicly state that all future disputes will be submitted to arbitration.

Leon Davis has refused to agree to this, no doubt anticipating the rebellion any such statement would touch off in the union. There is no one who thinks that Nixon's Council will change its position.

### DAVIS

Davis, at the same time, demagogically attacks the call for strike action and the fight for labor support, claiming that hospital workers can expect nothing in the way of support because none of the union leaders answered the call of 1199 for a meeting to discuss the fight against Phase Three.

### IGNORED

The union officials have ignored Davis' call for a meeting on Phase Three precisely because they know and fear the response to any call for action against Nixon. Millions could be mobilized against Nixon if the hospital workers take the lead.

The fight for strike action and a full program to meet all the attacks in the hospitals will be discussed at the St. Louis meeting of the Continuations Committee of the Labor Party Conference, which will be attended by a large delegation of 1199 members from several different cities.



Both photos: When the leaders of the Teachers Union were jailed this week in Philadelphia, 5000 trade unionists rallied outside the State House of Corrections to demand their release.

Correction.

As the sentences were announced, 48 union leaders representing all the major unions in the Philadelphia AFL-CIO Council confronted Mayor Rizzo at a meeting at City Hall, threatening action by the labor movement.

"This is a disgrace for a city with 300,000 union members," said John Morris, president of Teamsters Local 115. "The only time I've seen anything worse was when Mayor Lindsay put Mike Quill in jail and he died."

Ed Toohey, president of the Council, promised its support in physically manning the picket lines and in calling a city-wide rally. He also said that a one day general strike was a "real possibility."

### OPPOSITION

The growing opposition to the government among workers was expressed in a rally held on Sunday outside the State prison where Sullivan and Ryan are jailed. Five thousand union members, which included not only PFT members but delegations from Custodial Workers Local 1201, International Union of Electrical Workers, teachers from New Jersey and from Philadelphia



suburbs, as well as representatives from garment, retail clerks, ship builders and other unions rallied despite the bitter cold.

The fighting spirit of the assembled teachers was in sharp contrast to the reformist pleas put forward by the official leadership. They called on Mayor Rizzo to free the jailed leaders and urged unionists to elect people more responsive to the labor movement.

Spirited chants of "Rizzo is a pig" and "Free our leaders" dominated the rally. The impatience of teachers at the inactivity of the labor leadership was expressed as one teacher interrupted speaker David

Sheldon, president of the AFT, with a shout of "put the judge in jail," and was met with applause by the assembled teachers.

As one teacher put it: "I've been a union member for 20 years, in the PFT and before that in other unions. The first thing I did when I became a teacher was to join the union. This situation is the most disgusting I've ever seen. We definitely need a general strike. I'll do anything that's necessary to get our leaders out of jail."

The Philadelphia AFL-CIO Council, which to this point has taken no action toward general strike, must be forced to carry this through by a fight in every union in Philadelphia.

## Farinas Petitions Pour In

BY NANCY FIELDS

**NEW YORK**—This week the Juan Farinas Defense Committee received letters of support from all over the country in its campaign to win a March parole for Juan.

Michael Hayman, president of the Child Development Federation of Teachers in Minneapolis wrote that:

"After having closely studied the facts in this case, I am able to draw only one conclusion: Mr. Farinas was convicted and denied parole previously because he is a socialist.

"I, myself, the membership of our union and the working people of this country feel that the continued imprisonment of Juan Farinas is outrageous and intolerable. I must prevail upon you to grant Mr. Farinas his freedom without further delay."

Strong support came from Chicago, an area where the labor movement is faced with sharp attacks because of the Nixon budget cuts. The ranks of the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, who are being threatened with the layoff of 1200 workers, filled five petitions demanding that Farinas be released immediately.

Members of United Steel Workers of America Local 65 and Local 19 in Chicago also endorsed

the campaign and a sizeable collection was taken up in both locals.

Auto workers from many plants around the country, including workers from Local 600—the largest local in the country—signed petitions and sent letters to the Parole Board.

University students and faculty, who are among those hardest hit by the budget cuts, have rallied to Juan's defense. The Minnesota Student Assembly voted by an almost unanimous decision to send a letter to the Parole Board.

The Student Government of Pennsylvania State University sent a telegram as well as a \$50 contribution to the defense fund. Faculty and students at Chaffey College in Claremont, California also endorsed the campaign.

DeWitt Gilpin of Region 4 of the UAW, Cecil Patrick of Local 849 of the Dining Car Employees, Robert Simpson of Local 743 of the Teamsters, John Zupan of Local 1497 of the American Federation of State, County and

Municipal Employees and Jack Spiegel, manager of Lake States District Council No. 4, United Shoe Workers of America, all sent letters to the Board which related the fight to free Farinas to the defense of the basic rights of all trade unionists.

The Defense Committee has learned that the Parole Board will make its decision in early March. We urge all trade unionists to continue the petition campaign to ensure that the Parole Board is flooded with petitions demanding Juan's release.

This fight takes on greater urgency in light of Nixon's vindictive decision to go all-out to ensure that all those who resisted the Vietnam War receive the maximum punishment. All letters and telegrams should be sent to: US Board of Parole, 101 Indiana Avenue N.W., Washington D.C. 20537.

Contributions, which are urgently needed, should be sent to the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 West 14 Street, New York, New York 10011.

## Rebellion In Tarrytown GM Ranks Build Caucus In UAW

BY A REPORTER

TARRYTOWN, N.Y.—As working conditions continue to deteriorate in the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plant here, a rank and file rebellion is developing against the leadership of United Auto Workers Local 664.

Like Leonard Woodcock himself, Local President Calore has done nothing to stop the attacks by management on the men. Last week, a worker in the plant described how the local leadership tries to prevent the ranks from fighting GM:

"Calore is a sellout in every degree. When you call for a committeeman—who's on full time—to voice a grievance, he'll talk to the foreman but the grievance will never be written. Hundreds of Paragraph 78s relating to productivity and speedup go by the boards.

### SENIORITY

"Also, there's no defense of seniority. A guy working 20 years can wind up doing a job usually done by guys starting out and

## Maryland Bill Attacks Union Funds

BY

MARY GREGORY

BALTIMORE—In preparation for establishing conditions to smash the power of the trade unions, a reactionary, anti-labor law is being proposed in the Maryland state legislature.

State Senator Bishop has introduced a bill that would make unions responsible for damages that a court decides has been incurred by one of its members. During a period when the working class is now moving into major struggles, the aim of this law is to place the unions in a position where they must either become the policemen for the government against the militancy of the rank and file or see the union funds, which represent an important part of the material ability of the unions to fight back, seized by the courts.

This law, like the ones being introduced in a number of states against the union shop by the "Right to Work Committee," are part and parcel of Nixon's preparation for war against the organized workers. These laws can only be fought now and the unions defended by the labor movement building a labor party.

visa-versa. It depends on whether or not Calore and his pals like you. New guys and I get different jobs every day. It seems that there are no limits on the number of jobs you can get every day.

"There are no meetings and I never see Calore. In my opinion, all the procedures put in by GM are always approved by him. No meetings, no votes. Maybe there's a meeting every three months.

### HARASS

"If you speak out against conditions in the plant, the union leaders harass you. Sometimes they try to get you to sabotage something so you can be laid off or fired.

"Calore and Woodcock must come down. There's no sense pussyfooting around with these people. They serve the capitalists who own GM. Woodcock has to get off the wage advisory board and Calore has to go.

"He isn't liked in the plant but the men fear him. Still, I think we can beat him if we take up a fight for the men. The elections are in April. We must build a caucus against Calore."

### PROFITS

The worker also discussed Phase Three. "I don't know what Nixon's trying to prove," he said. "The capitalists are making record breaking profits. They can't let the worker support his family or give his kids an education.

"This plan of Nixon's is directed against the wages of all workers. Prices will go up. This plan is an all-out drive to lower living standards and the worker's life."

He said that he would be attending the emergency meeting of the Continuations Committee in St. Louis. "I think it's absolutely necessary because of the things that have happened in the past.

### RELY

"You work for 20 years hoping for something to materialize. Working people must have something to rely upon. The Democrats and the Republicans are the same except Nixon has busted up the Democrats. They're bankrupt.

"I think part of the fight for the new leadership is the labor party. Workers must understand that Nixon's behind GMAD. It's political and economic—to drive us into the pit. The pit is the place under the line where men, who should be short—but are usually tall—stand crouched eight hours per day with little or no relief and take care of the bottom of the car. That's what GMAD is all about."



Trainmen of the United Transportation Union struck the bankrupt Penn Central Railroad against reductions in crew size. Government quickly forced the 28,000 men back to work with a 90 day cooling off period.

## Penn Central Jobs At Stake

BY SANDY MEREDITH

PHILADELPHIA—Twenty-eight thousand trainmen who struck Penn Central Railroad last Thursday in a fight against the implementation of a one man reduction of crew size were forced back to work by emergency legislation passed by Congress and signed by Nixon.

The 90 day cooling off period will now be used by the government to try to force through the elimination of 5700 jobs and above all to prepare the ground for the passage of Nixon's bill to outlaw strikes in the transportation industry.

The government and the capitalist press used the strike to try to whip up an anti-union campaign in the middle class. The heads of the big corporations such as GM, Ford and Chrysler led the cries for action against the railroad workers.

The showdown between the union and Penn Central is a showdown between the big corporations, the government and the entire labor movement. What is at stake is not only thousands of jobs but the basic rights of the unions.

The leaders of the United Transportation Union (UTU), in complete prostration before the government's attack, ordered the men back to work, and the trains began moving again Friday.

The fighting spirit of the ranks of the UTU, who received the full support of the ticket agents and maintenance crews in completely shutting down the railroad's operations, was expressed by one member who recalled the historic battles of the 1940s between the union and the government: "Remember 1940. We did it then and we can do it again today."

### FINANCIAL CRISIS

The Penn Central is in such deep financial crisis that it is barely operating from day to day

on a ready cash basis. Its trustees claim that a strike exceeding 10 days would be enough to wipe out the cash assets which it is currently operating on and force the railroad to go out of business.

In turning down the latest plea for \$1.6 million, Treasury Secretary George Shultz said: "The message we're trying to give them (the trustees) is 'no thank you.'"

### SLASHING

The railroad owners, with the complete support of Nixon and Congress, now move to keep their railroad alive by slashing the jobs of thousands of workers.

One hundred and fifty of the 500 yard workers at 30 Street Station here have been notified that they will be fired, together with 5700 crewmen. The union estimates that 25,000 union jobs around the country will be slashed if the Penn Central's plans are carried out.

### TREACHEROUSLY

The union bureaucracy is now treacherously hinting that, in view of the shaky position of the Penn Central, it will accept the job cuts on that railroad as long as they are not used as a precedent by other railroads around the country.

The men must throw this sellout right back in the face of the leadership by demanding a nationwide strike to halt the job cuts and union-busting attacks. They must fight now for a labor party pledged to nationalize the bankrupt railroads together with all industry under workers control.

## Schaefer Strike For Union Rights

BY A REPORTER

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Strike action has shut down the Schaefer brewery here as the ranks of the Cement and Gypsum Workers Union are fighting to defend their union and win decent wages.

For the past two years, the F. & M. Schaefer Brewing Company has deliberately sabotaged every attempt by the union to engage in negotiations over conditions. The wages in the Allentown plant are two dollars an hour less than what Schaefer pays in their Brooklyn and Baltimore plants.

The company has also refused to guarantee a one week paid vacation after a year of employment. In order to be eligible for the six paid holidays a year, a worker must be on the job 10 consecutive days before each holiday. Schaefer has also attacked the eight hour day by refusing to define the limit of a working day.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John  
Labor Editor: David North  
Art Director: Jeannie Cooper  
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## A Question Of Revolution

The slashes in education, hospitals, jobs and poverty programs are sharp attacks launched by Nixon against the entire working class. Nixon's new budget rips apart every gain and right won by workers and youth and poses the greatest dangers to them.

State, city and private universities have suffered deficits of millions of dollars. Construction of new facilities has been halted, while other colleges have been forced to close up. The death of one student at Stony Brook is the result of these vicious budget slashes.

It is in this situation that organizations like the Young Socialists Alliance and the Young Workers Liberation League come forward in order to stifle the movement of workers and youth who are fighting these attacks.

Both of these organizations are latching on to the fight against the budget cuts in order to prevent the movement of workers and youth from being turned toward revolutionary politics.

They agree that the government has money for education so they are trying to take the energy and the hatred youth have for Nixon's policies and divert it into a mere pressure campaign on the government to give more money.

John Hawkins, a Brooklyn YSA organizer, stated at a Young Socialists meeting at Brooklyn College that: "The solution to the problem of education is to take a little money from the war and switch it over to education. Nixon has the money but he just doesn't want to give it out."

As Nixon signs a treaty which will maintain capitalism in Vietnam, he steps up the attacks on the American working class. Every section of the working class has been hit by Nixon's new policies.

In order to avoid confronting the working class after World War Two, the government artificially inflated the dollar many times over its actual value. Today, this move to avoid a head-on collision with the working class falls apart.

Raging inflation means that the US must restore the dollar to its actual value. This can only be done by destroying all the false capital that they have created, which means they must viciously slash everything.

If the government did have the money, it would continue to fund programs in order to avoid the sharpening of the antagonism between the capitalists and workers. The only way the government can stop inflation and restore value to the dollar is by attacking the working class.

Every move by the government is aimed at destroying all the gains won by the workers through bitter struggles. Nixon has made it clear that he is not only going to deny any further concessions to the working class, but he is going to move to destroy all the past gains.

The fight for reforms becomes reactionary in a period when Nixon is declaring war on workers and youth. It becomes a cover for actually protecting the existence of the capitalist system.

The only movement which can stop the attacks on workers and youth is the movement of the working class. This is the only force which can stop Nixon.

The government will not give in unless their power is threatened. The struggle must be led to a fight for socialism. This is the only answer to the attacks against workers and youth.

The fight to defend workers and youth from the measures of the government is a fight for workers to take over the government and establish socialism. This means forming an independent party of workers to defend workers and youth politically from the offensive of both the parties of capitalism: the Democrats and Republicans.

The Young Socialists see that the struggle of workers and youth today must be turned politically toward revolutionary politics.

The Young Socialists has already launched a campaign to defend the right of youth to an education. We are fighting on the 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 unions to call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

Only with a revolutionary program can Nixon's attacks be answered. It is through this fight that the working class can come to power and destroy this system.

The Young Socialists will hold a national steering committee meeting along with the Workers League Continuations Committee Meeting for a Labor Party in St. Louis. The attacks on the youth are not separate from the offensive launched against the entire working class.

At this meeting the Young Socialists will map out a strategy to carry this fight forward nationally.



LA Young Socialists intervened at a meeting against the budget cuts, held by youth from the STEPS training program in Watts. The program ends in September because of budget cuts, dropping 500 youth.

## Budget Cuts To Blame In Stony Brook Death

BY JULIAN OTIS

STONY BROOK, N.N.—Tremendous anger on the part of students has swept the campus following the death of one student who fell into a manhole containing live steam. The manhole was lying open, with no fence of any kind around it because, as one administration official put it, there was "no money" to provide protection.

The death of 18 year old Sherman Raftenberg comes at the same time as Nixon announces his budget cuts for education. With the massive construction, much of it now halted midway because of these same budget cuts, safety hazards are everywhere on the campus.

There are countless small craters all over the campus with no warning signs to those walking by and highly inefficient and insufficient lighting on campus and especially on the roads.

One student, John Fein, told the Young Socialist, "In my own dormitory, there is a hole in the roof and rain pours into the building. It becomes dangerous just to walk up and down the steps, and people have slipped and fallen."

The death of Raftenberg has aroused the students here to move against the deteriorating conditions of the school and against the budget cuts which are responsible for the dangerous conditions.

As Mark Eisendorfer, who knew the dead student, pointed out clearly: "It starts at the uni-

versity but it comes all the way from Albany and Washington. We need more aid to the universities."

The radicals like the Attica Brigade and the liberals on the campus are attempting to derail the movement of the students into impotent protest politics. At one of the several meetings held throughout the campus, 50 to 200 students attended only to have the entire fight against the cuts sabotaged by the liberals who called for writing letters to Senators and Congressmen.

### DEMANDS

A list of 40 demands was drawn up which calls for better safety conditions, construction of roads, better health facilities and a doctor on duty 24 hours a day. These demands are to be presented to President Toll.

Students are demanding that they be met within two weeks. According to the liberal leadership, if they are not met, further action will be taken.

However, these demands, isolated from a political struggle against Nixon's budget cuts, become a dangerous diversion into reformism which can only lead to the defeat of any struggle.

A YS member raised the sharpness of the situation which led to the death of this student. He stated that it occurred as a result of the government's attack

on education and part of the attack on the standard of living of the working class as a whole.

### POLITICAL

Today any demand for decent conditions becomes a political fight against the government and its policies. Therefore, the only defense of the basic rights of students is through a turn toward the trade unions.

The liberals, reformists, and radicals on campus who refuse to pose this are playing a reactionary role by allowing the students to remain separated from the working class and unions.

The YS has presented the only perspective which can defend the students at Stony Brook by demanding that the fight be taken to the trade unions. This means calling for safe conditions on campus and no budget cuts through joint strike action of teachers and students.

### UNION

The teachers union, the Professional Staff Congress, whose wages, tenure, and increments are under attack must call for support from the entire labor movement through general strike action. The political fight must begin by demanding a Congress of Labor to build a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

# \$5 Million Cut Forces Temple Students Out

BY DENNIS HAULING

PHILADELPHIA—Temple University, one of the largest universities in the country, with a student enrollment of 25,000 students, has been told by Governor Shapp that its budget of \$54.9 million will be cut by \$5.4 million.

Shapp, in his annual budget announcement, made it very clear that Temple must now carry out its educational policies on last year's budget. As one university official stated: "Inflation alone will make it impossible to maintain educational programs at present levels, let alone provide for any advancement."

These cuts, which have their deepest impact on money allocated for instructional costs

## Lehigh Tuition Jumps \$200

BY A YS REPORTER

LEHIGH, Pa.—Nixon's recent decision to cut \$1.7 billion in federal funds to education will have disastrous consequences for universities. In an interview with the *Young Socialist*, Dean Stanford, who manages all financial aid at Lehigh University, summarized the present situation:

"There are some bleak things in the offing now. Many award sources are drying up. Industrial sources are tightening up due to lost profits, and with continuing inflationary trends, the tuitions will have to rise."

For Lehigh students this has already meant a \$200 a year increase in tuition, bringing the present cost to \$2850 for 1973-1974, along with an average room and board cost of \$1300 per year. The major threat was exposed when Stanford explained Nixon's new proposed financial aid program.

### BOEP

This program, the Basic Opportunity Educational Program (BOEP), will provide a maximum of \$1400 in federal aid to every student. From this \$1400, the amount which the government determines the parents should pay will be deducted, as well as the amount the student could earn in summer employment.

Under this program, a large number of students currently receiving aid would become ineligible or would only receive a token amount of assistance.

### PRIVILEGE

"There will be a massive reshuffling of the student population. Many able students will simply not be able to afford college," Stanford said. This means education will become a privilege for the rich and totally out of reach for working class and most middle class families."

Assistant Dean of Students Nathan Hage, who is in charge of minority admissions, told the *Young Socialist* that the budget cuts "could be disastrous."

and student aid, will mean the closing down of many departments and the laying off of hundreds of staff and faculty. Shapp is also eliminating 1400 state jobs.

### TUITION

Temple is already \$25.1 million in debt and in order to overcome this debt has proposed major tuition changes. At the present time, full time in-state students pay \$40 a credit. The University now plans to charge all students tuition by the number of credits they take, thereby raising tuition from \$485 for 16 credits to \$645.

This will result in an increase of \$320 a year for in-state students and twice that amount for those from out-of-state. The tuition increases will force many youth out of school. As one student told the *Young Socialist*, "If they raise the tuition here, I'm going to have to pack my bags and go home."

At the same time, it was announced last week that the National Institute of Mental Health, the funding source for all clinical psychology programs and mental health centers in the country, will be closing down on June 30. The government has clearly stated that there is no money in their coffers to educate youth.

The only defense for the youth at Temple is to fight for a general strike in Philadelphia to defend the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers and to demand that the trade unions call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party to defend the right of youth to an education.

## Wayne State Takes Over Student Paper

BY

TERRENCE CROSS

DETROIT—The Board of Governor's of Wayne State University in a meeting on February 9 assumed virtual control of the student newspaper, the *South End*.

In a recommendation to the Board of Governors, university President George Gullen requested an amendment of the school's present publication statutes and the resignation of Gene Cunningham as editor.

The present publication policy places the *South End* under the control of the Student Newspaper Publication Board (SNPB). The SNPB charter states that: "The Editor shall have the freedom to establish and implement editorial policy of the student newspaper."

Under the new amendment, the SNPB will be enlarged from its present membership of six (four students and two non-students) to twelve (seven students and five non-students). In addition, the editor can define policy only "within the framework as established by the Board (SNPB) and their Statutes as they may be amended from time to time."



University of Wisconsin students face the end of direct student loans coupled with tuition hikes.

## Wisconsin Students Fight Loan Cutback

BY A YS REPORTER

MADISON, Wis.—"I remember when Nixon was first voted into office, not this last time, but four years ago, he threatened to cut the school grants, cut loans, and scholarships. That was when I was first in high school and I was worrying about it. If Nixon is now going to cut out the National Defense Loan, I may not be back next year."

The phasing out of all direct student loans is just one more bombshell in a whole series of budget attacks against University of Wisconsin students. The next fiscal year means larger classes and more TV-teaching, as 400-500 academic staff and civil service jobs are cut.

Tuition will be raised from its already high rates of \$297 per semester for in-state residents and \$953 per semester for out-of-staters, while the quality of education deteriorates. The University of Wisconsin is a state

school, supposedly designed to give all state residents the right to inexpensive education.

The end of federal support programs for colleges cuts \$604,000 in land grant funds from the UW, \$197,000 from instructional funding, and \$378,000 in research. The loss to the Madison campus alone will amount to \$4.5 million, while the state-wide university system faces a \$7 million cut.

Calling his budget "bare bones," Patrick Lucey, governor of Wisconsin, eliminated \$35

million from the UW Board of Regents' requests. Citing decreased student enrollment as the excuse for cutbacks, Lucey plans to drive more and more students out of college with increasing tuition and decreasing loans and grants.

The LEO program which gave minority youth scholarships for one year of law school has already found itself this year with only half of the necessary funds.

At the same time, living costs in the university dormitories are prohibitive. Costs for the year vary from \$970 to \$1330 for nine months, depending on meal plan. In a revolt against the food prices, small portions, binding contracts for the entire school year rather than semester, and rules on visitation, a Resident Halls Tenant Union was formed last week at a meeting of over 150 angry residents.

Every single student that the *Young Socialist* talked to was bitter about the living costs, particularly for food.

"I'm on meal plan one and if I were to stick to my meal plan, I'd have to eat in the snack bar every time, and just eat hamburgers and grilled cheese. I could never eat anything else."

It is the most basic right to have an education that is being stripped away by the "bare bones" budget. The Madison Young Socialists will be holding an emergency meeting February 22 at 7:30 in the Memorial Union to launch the campus-wide campaign for:

- No budget cuts and no layoffs. Free higher education for all.
- Joint strike action of students and teachers unions.
- The teachers unions to call on the entire labor movement for support through a general strike.
- The teachers unions to call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

Gullen has the final say on all appointments to the new SNPB. Three job categories at the *South End* will be eliminated: Technical Consultant, Bookkeeper, and Business Manager.

### ATTACK

Gullen's suppression of political opposition comes at a time when students are moving against the massive tuition hikes at Wayne State. The attack on the *South End* followed several weeks of pressure by Gullen and the *Detroit Free Press* on the editorial board of the *South End*. Ostensibly, the reason given for the attacks center on the *South End*'s "excessive treatment of revolutionary ideology" and "incivilities" expressed in a supposedly anti-Semitic article.

After the *South End* editorial board had apologized in print, Gullen used this article to start his attack. This was done in spite of an earlier statement by the head of the Michigan Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith that he disagreed with Gullen's opinion that the article expressed anti-Semitism. The charge of anti-Semitism was the same charge leveled against the former editor, John Watson, in

1968-1969 in an attempt to oust him.

### REFUSED

The Committee to Defend the *South End*, headed by members of the revisionist *Young Socialist Alliance*, refused to fight for the defense of the *South End* on a political basis. Speaking at a rally on February 8, YSA members spoke only of the civil liberties that are under fire, taking all pressure off Gullen.

Speakers at the rally turned many youth away, while they were still speaking. These speakers avoided the political issues and did not allow any discussion from the audience.

The *Young Socialists*, although prevented from publicly speaking, fought around a program to mobilize youth in a political fight against Nixon. The YS calls for:

- The Detroit labor movement to defend the rights of the *South End* to be a student run newspaper.
- No tuition hikes.
- No budget cuts.
- Detroit labor movement to raise the call for a Congress of Labor and labor party to defend youth and workers from Nixon's attacks.

**Iron Shackles For Attica Inmates**

**The Real Criminals Are Free**

BY ADELE SINCLAIR

The frame-up trial of 61 Attica inmates is being prepared behind closed doors and iron shackles in Warsaw, New York. They are being charged with counts ranging from murder, kidnapping, unlawful imprisonment, coercion and assault, to arson, robbery and promotion of prison contraband.

Every pre-trial motion of the defense has been denied by Judge Carmine Ball, one of Rockefeller's hand-picked judges and a friend of State Attorney General Robert Fisher. Every motion of the prosecution has been accepted.

Judge Ball, who also presided over the grand jury which handed down the indictments, completely bypassed the constitutional guarantee to a jury trial. He is also opposing the defense motion for a change of venue from Wyoming County where a frenzied, lynch atmosphere has already been created.

The defense is now seeking to have Judge Ball disqualified from the trial, presenting information which clearly ties him to the prosecution.

Unlike the right-wing hysteria it whipped up at the time of the rebellion in September 1971, the

capitalist press now maintains tight-lipped silence. The Young Socialist interviewed Tony Williams, one of the indicted prisoners now out on bail.

When asked why he thought the state had waited so long (17 months) to begin the trial, Tony stated:

"It's a psychological thing—if the trial were held immediately, the event would still be prevalent in people's minds. Walter Dunbar, who's the Assistant Commissioner under Oswald, set the emotional atmosphere to get us. By telling the press that we slit the throats of guards and castrated them, he hoped to set the pace for a mass mob.

"We know we're not going to get any justice anyway. Rockefeller didn't care about anybody—the inmates or the guards."

**CRIMINALS**

Tony went on to discuss the political character of his case and his prosecutors:

"You know that \$73 billion in heroin was taken from (New York) police headquarters. They're taking all this dope—the same people who are prosecuting me. How's a criminal gonna try

me?

"If I sentence you, I'm not only sentencing you but your whole family, because of the hardship they have to bear."

He brought in the use of the Dred Scott Decision in court. This is an historic case in which a Black slave who escaped to free territory in the North, was denied the rights of freedom on the basis that he was merely the property of his white slaveowner.

"The Black man has no laws which the white man is bound to respect. But since we know this is not only a racial thing, my formulation was that poor people have no laws which the rich are bound to respect.

"Is it a coincidence that the same symbol 'In God We Trust' is in the court as on our currency? Rich people get out on bail, poor people go to jail."

Tony spoke of George Jackson, stressing the importance of revolutionary consciousness as central to the defense of the working class.

In drawing the lessons of the Attica rebellion, Tony said that: "Attica reflected to me the type of unity and solidarity that can be achieved when some of the

**Young Socialist**



Tony Williams

brothers are politically aware.

"We got to work together for a common goal and know the enemy. We can't be the enemy among ourselves. We must have some type of ideology and tactics and we have to be sincere. People are waking up, not in mass numbers as we'd want them to be, but they are waking up."

The frame-up of the Attica inmates, like that of Juan Farinas, Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee, must be understood as an attack upon the basic rights of youth and working people.

"What goes on in penitentiaries

goes on in society across the world, except more brutally, more unsophisticated—no use of diplomacy," Tony stated.

The defense of political prisoners is part of the defense of every democratic right which the working class has won through bitter struggle. The labor movement must expose mass murderers like Nixon and Rockefeller for their preparations to bring Vietnam and Attica down upon the American working class as a whole and take up a political defense against this frame-up.

**'Capitalism Is An Empty Refrigerator'**

BY A YS REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—Nixon's end to the "age of permissiveness" means the literal starvation of many young people and their families. He is cutting millions of recipients from welfare with absolute contempt for their lives. In an interview with the Young Socialist, Ann, a young mother, explained how "permissive" welfare actually is.

Ann and her two year old daughter Paula live in a housing project in Minneapolis. Ann receives \$167 per month, and must pay \$22 a week for rent, \$20 for utilities and \$42 for food stamps which, because of inflated food prices, never last the entire month.

"I fed Paula on dry cereal for three days because I didn't have any milk. Now, my mother is taking care of Paula until the end of the month because I ran out of food stamps. I had to borrow a can of soup from a neighbor. It's really degrading.

"I can't show my empty refrigerator to my social worker because she'll say I didn't budget my money right. Most people are happy when the first of the month rolls around. I'm not, because I don't have any more than I had on the last day of the month. To me, capitalism is an empty refrigerator."

Recently, Ann had \$115, which she had saved to move to a better apartment, stolen at gunpoint. Welfare then gave her \$30 worth of groceries because they thought she would "blow" the money if they gave her the cash.

Ann would like to get a job or complete her high school education. But she cannot pay the \$50 deposit to get a phone installed to inquire about school or jobs.

Ann would like to get Paula into a day care center, but welfare will not allow her to do so unless she is employed or a student. So Ann remains tied at home with little furniture, no food, no job, no education, and no money for even one night out.

This is exactly what capitalism has to offer youth today. That is why Ann joined the Young Socialists—to defend the right of youth to jobs, education, and a decent life.

We will continue the Young Socialists Program next week.

**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**



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Devaluation

(Continued From Page 1)

the crisis is the massive inflation of the dollar which was required after World War Two in order to avoid a head-on confrontation with the working class.

However, the development of the economic crisis now must force a new political relationship between the classes. The measures taken by the capitalist leaders Monday night create conditions of trade war and commercial collapse that will bring the working class in every country under the most vicious attacks.

No less than last December's saturation bombing of North Vietnam, Richard Nixon's calculated decision to force upon Europe and Japan the full weight of the dollar crisis—thereby driving them to the brink of economic anarchy and civil war—demonstrates that American capitalism is the prime agent of barbarism in the world today.

Trotsky declared in 1924 that "American imperialism is in essence ruthlessly rude, predatory, in the full sense of the word, and criminal." The rich significance of that statement can be appreciated in the light of the past week's developments.

In order to reverse the enormous balance of payments deficit of the United States, Nixon has forced a revaluation (through floating) of the yen. Similarly, Germany, after absorbing more than six billion dollars in one week, which will have a devastating impact in terms of inflation of the mark, will also be forced to float its currency.

Germany and Japan were brought to heel over the weekend through open intimidation by representatives of the Nixon Administration.

Now that the dollar has been devalued and its competitor currencies will begin to float upwards, Nixon is determined to press harder against Europe and Japan. Currently in the works is a new trade bill in which Nixon will put forward the demands of the most protectionist sections of the American ruling class.

The purpose of these measures is to destroy the international working class. All the demands being made by Nixon pose to the decrepit ruling class of Europe and Japan the necessity of resorting to fascism as the only means of preserving capitalism in their countries.

But every American worker must understand that he, no less than his European and Asian brothers, is a target of Nixon's attacks.

The events of the past week and the devaluation itself show that Nixon has not retreated one inch from his determination to crush the American working class.

- The devaluation means that the cost of living will soar as all foreign goods will become more expensive in this country. At the same time, the savings of every working and middle class family is simply worth 10 percent less.

- Nixon signed the emergency bill passed by the Democrats and Republicans in Congress to stop the strike by the Penn Central Railroad workers for 90 days and give the government time to make new laws that would outlaw a strike completely, thus allowing the company to fire 6000 men.

- The Cost of Living Council denied West Coast longshoremen the 30 cent raise won last year and originally cut by the Phase Two Pay Board, demonstrating what Nixon meant last week when he said that he is ready to use "the stick in my closet."

- Leaders of the Philadelphia teachers strike were thrown into jail, foreshadowing the type of action the Nixon Administration is prepared to take against the 4.5 million industrial workers who face contract battles later this year.

- The government has continued its attempt to divide the working class by centering its budget cuts against poorer workers and youth.

Therefore, American workers can only defend their standard of living by coming to the defense of workers in every part of the world through a struggle in this country against the Nixon government.

The same trade union bureaucrats like Meany, Abel and Woodcock who are jumping aboard Nixon's protectionist bandwagon under the guise of saving "American" jobs are the same men who have served capitalism hand and foot by refusing to fight Phase Three and standing idly by as wages are cut, assembly lines speeded up, and workers laid off.

It is through the struggle against Phase Three, with general strike action and the construction of a labor party that will fight for socialist policies, that the great movement of American workers can be linked up with that of the European working class.

The successful carrying out of these international tasks—upon which the life of every American worker depends—requires the development of a Marxist leadership of the working class. To begin this fight is the historic responsibility of the emergency meeting of the Continuations Committee of the Labor Party Conference which takes place this weekend in St. Louis.

## What we think



United National Caucus, picketing at the United Auto Workers Convention in April 1972, refuses to fight for strike action.

## Centrism In The Trade Unions

The United National Caucus, the main opposition to the Woodcock leadership within the United Auto Workers, held a conference on February 3-4 to formulate demands for the September contract fight to be submitted to the UAW skilled and production workers conferences this month and to the special UAW bargaining convention in March.

In addition to demands relating to the fight against speedup, unemployment, and inflation, the conference voted to go before the UAW convention to propose that the UAW call for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party and that the UAW drop its support for "progressive" Democrats and Republicans.

This motion was carried against the opposition of several key leaders of the UNC, including Art and Edie Fox of Detroit who, while supporting the idea of a labor party, opposed the fight now for the UAW to break completely with the Democrats and Republicans.

Fox now finds himself in a position of being voted down and in a minority in the very caucus which he founded. Fox's opposition to the labor party because "workers in the shop would not take the UAW seriously" echoes the words of the American Communist Party. It is his block with the Stalinists that Fox seeks to preserve. This was his role at the last UAW Convention and the last conference.

Fox today joins with the Stalinists and a section of the trade union bureaucracy like Woodcock, which attacks the Meany and the Fitzsimmons but above all seeks to keep "politics" out of the unions and prevent the break from the Democratic Party. These forces now come together against a Marxist, a Trotskyist leadership in the unions.

Art Fox was for many years a supporter of what then was the Trotskyist movement in the US, the Socialist Workers Party. As a supporter of the SWP, Fox based himself on the bitter struggle against the Stalinists and all others who refused to fight for a labor party. In the early 1960s, Fox demanded that the SWP take the labor party slogan "off the shelf" and actually began to campaign for it in the unions. Now that this fight is posed as never before by the crisis of capitalism, Fox wants to put it on the shelf.

It is precisely at the point when the very defense of the unions requires the building of a labor party, and when the conditions have been objectively created for its construction that Fox refuses to fight for this demand in the unions.

Today every section of the working class is under attack. Nixon, who rules in the interests of the banks and the big corporations, has said that the days of reforms are over.

Nixon has launched these attacks because this is the only way that the capitalist class can hope to survive the severe economic crisis. The very existence of this system necessitates the destruction of all the rights and gains the unions have won. Only by reducing masses of workers to poverty can the capitalists hope to restore some value to their mountain of paper dollars.

This is why the defense of these gains is not simply a trade union question, as Fox would have it, but a question of the unions taking up a political fight against this government and the system that stands behind it.

The trade union bureaucracy today

from Meany to Woodcock has joined with Nixon in implementing Phase Three. These leaders begin with an acceptance of this system and maneuver within it at the expense of the rank and file of the unions.

The millions of workers who are now directly under the fire of the government must begin to fight in a new way. Militant struggles today isolated from the political fight against the government which do not challenge the reformist trade union leadership cannot defeat Nixon.

The only way there can be a break with the class collaborationist policies of the trade union bureaucracy is by building a Marxist leadership. This means the organization of the most politically conscious sections of the working class into a revolutionary, Trotskyist party, which fights constantly against the prevailing trade union consciousness of workers and for a Marxist understanding of the crisis, the role of the state and the revolutionary nature of the tasks facing the working class.

It is Fox's rejection of this understanding that lies behind his evolution. Fox began in an earlier period as a supporter of the Marxist movement in the United States. In the critical struggle within the Trotskyist movement, Fox initially supported the International Committee of the Fourth International against the turn of the Socialist Workers Party back to those forces who sought to liquidate the Trotskyist movement. But in this critical struggle Fox retreated, saying that the SWP would reform itself in time.

Fox always saw the degeneration of the SWP simply as a turn away from an orientation to the working class and the trade unions, as a question of bad times, and not as a turn away from Marxist theory, and a refusal to train trade unionists as Marxists. Fox, in fact, went along with the SWP and broke with it only when his trade union activity was

threatened.

Today Fox has come into collision with the needs of the working class and the determination of the auto workers to fight. This collision takes place because the trade union consciousness and militancy of the working class now comes into conflict with the political tasks posed by the crisis of capitalism and the attacks on labor. It is this conflict which is behind the turn of workers to the fight for a labor party.

Fox plays the same role in the unions as forces like Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers, James Morrissey in the National Maritime Union, and William Litch in the United Steel Workers of America. Litch at the Steelworkers Conference last summer was the biggest supporter of McGovern. Morrissey and Miller were responsible for inviting the intervention of the government into their unions. All of these forces have refused to fight for the building of a labor party and have in one way or another sought to keep the unions tied to the government and capitalism.

The construction of an alternative leadership in the unions requires a fight against these elements, the Stalinists and centrists who now aid the labor bureaucracy in trying to head off the development of a labor party.

This party is necessary in order to defend the unions and the working class as a whole against Nixon's attack. It will develop in the course of revolutionary struggles by the working class in Europe and America, immediately raising the necessity to defeat Nixon and to fight for a workers' government.

It is for this struggle to mobilize the unions against Nixon and to build a labor party to fight for socialist policies that we must construct a new leadership in the unions.

This is the purpose of the February 18 meeting in St. Louis and the fight for the twice weekly Bulletin.

## Building the Bulletin



### Over 500 Subs In One Week

During this past week we have received 536 subs which is our highest figure for a week between subscription drives. This brings our total to 1899.

We will be running our Spring Bulletin Circulation Drive from March 1 to June 1. Our goal is 12,000 subs which, together with increases in bundle sales, will bring our paid circulation up to 25,000. This 25,000 circulation will be vital as a base for the publishing of the Bulletin twice-weekly in the Fall.

The devaluation of the dollar, combined with Nixon's latest measures aimed at the workers here and abroad, makes clear the urgency of expanding the Bulletin into a twice-weekly and to prepare for its daily publication in the next period.

A new press will be installed by

Labor Publications, Incorporated, publishers of the Bulletin, within the next two weeks. Arrangements have been completed to have a 100 percent union shop in operation by the beginning of April to print the Bulletin and other publications.

Starting March 1, we will enter the second critical leg of our fund drive to pay for this press and related costs necessitated by launching the Bulletin twice-weekly. We have set a goal of raising \$50,000 by June 1. Already \$5,041.38 has been received.

We urge all our readers, supporters, Workers League and Young Socialist branches not to await the official opening of these drives but to immediately take up the fight for the circulation of the Bulletin and for the fund drive.



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

by Guy Williams

## 6. The Lessons

The growth of the YSA after the regroupment period was based on the traditions of the Trotskyist movement. There was a continuity between the fight of the Left Wing Caucus inside the YSL, the launching of the **Young Socialist**, and the Detroit Conference decisions. The Left Wing Caucus's struggle was a continuation of the earlier struggle against Shachtman and Abern in 1940. The **Young Socialist** from the beginning took a clear revolutionary position on the main questions facing the youth. The Detroit Conference turned the movement towards broad layers of youth on the basis of the Trotskyist program.

However, because the theoretical and philosophical roots of all the problems facing the movement were not probed, there was actually a turn away from Marxism during the regroupment period. The internal crisis grew without being consciously guided and fought out, and it exploded with new force soon afterwards.

Only a month or two after the founding convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in April 1960, sharp differences of a very confused character were expressed on the National Executive Committee.

### CLIQUE AND FACTIONS

The internal life of the Trotskyist youth cannot be understood separate from the internal life of the SWP. The faction fight in the YSA in 1960 was extremely confused, continuing for months during which almost nothing was clarified. Neither side began from the fundamental questions, from international perspectives and the problems of the world movement.

Especially after 1953, the internal life of the SWP was dominated by organizational maneuvers and clique formations. In 1953, Cannon had led the decisive break from Pablo with the "Open Letter" to the world Trotskyist movement in defense of Marxist principles. But the party turned away from theoretical questions almost immediately afterwards. The decay of theory led inevitably to a situation where secondary questions dominated. Where the probing of philosophical and political differences was avoided, class pressures were reflected in extremely distorted ways.

Within the SWP, there was a long history of informal, personal groupings. This was the situation during the period of the birth of the YSA. The youth movement began to manifest the same disease from the start.

Cannon, Dobbs and Kerry all had personal followings inside the SWP. Murry Weiss was the leader of one of the most in-group groupings. This group was made up

of intellectuals and semi-intellectuals, largely divorced from work in the trade unions and the working class. Weiss had played an important role in the fight against the Cochranites, who were Pablo's supporters inside the SWP in 1953. He and his supporters were also to play a key role in the development of youth work.

This group was privately denounced as a clique, but the leadership refused to take up any political struggle, and their hostility to the Weiss group took on a clique character of its own and reflected an anti-theoretical and anti-intellectual outlook.

The political divisions and contradictions within the SWP leadership which had been hidden behind personal groupings, exploded in the mid-1950s. Cannon then intervened to resolve a tense situation. He maneuvered and made a deal as he had in the past. With no political discussion, Weiss was asked to dissolve his group, while he was kept in his position of leadership. Cannon thought he had settled a bothersome source of friction. He had only pushed aside a sore which would continue to fester and grow.

There were two other groups, which played an opposition role in this period, and showed the consequences of the anti-theoretical outlook in the movement. The Cowley group was based largely in the Brooklyn branch among some trade union members. The Marcy group had existed for about 10 years as a small circle, composed largely of the entire Buffalo branch of the SWP. Marcy had some supporters among the youth.

Both the Cowley and Marcy groups blocked together against the regroupment policy. They could only see party policy in bits and pieces, however. Because this op-

position did not base itself on the questions of philosophy and perspectives, it could make no contribution to resolving the crisis and went over to revisionism itself.

Cowley counterposed an orthodox outlook to what she saw as the party losing its bearings. She counterposed a proletarian orientation to the maneuvers of the leadership with the middle class circles around the Stalinists. She made some very telling criticisms of the ISP election campaign, the coalition of the SWP with the supporters of the **National Guardian** and others from the Stalinist milieu in 1958.

But Cowley's opinion on what was wrong with regroupment reflected complete disorientation. She was opposed not so much to the policy as to any turn to the Stalinists at all. She also displayed complete lack of interest, if not hostility, to the construction of a youth movement. Concerning the crisis in the Stalinist movement, she wrote:

"In the absence of a broad leftward movement today, the tendency of groups and individuals breaking with Stalinism, and of the radical movement generally, is to the right ... The 20th Congress was not a defeat for social democracy..."

Cowley's proposals were based upon doing what she thought had been done in the past, and continuing along the same lines in a situation which she characterized as one of capitalist stability under which there would be no change. Behind her criticisms, therefore, stood a completely formal method, a method which prevented her from understanding anything. With this deeply conservative and pessimistic outlook, Cowley quickly became demoralized and left political activity.

The Marcy group made a more rapid

and decisive attack on Marxism. They had existed as a small circle in the SWP for about 10 years. For the Marcyites, hostility to regroupment was based on going over to the Kremlin's position. They supported the invasion of Hungary on the grounds that the 1956 revolution was a counterrevolution.

The position of Marcy's supporters, in favor of an exclusively proletarian orientation within the youth movement, was connected to their pro-Stalinist outlook. Their labeling of all opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy as counter-revolution reflected the same method which had led Pablo and his supporters to predict centuries of deformed workers' states and the self-reform of the bureaucracy. A completely rigid and schematic assessment of the postwar situation and the Cold War led Marcy and his supporters to see only the power of imperialism and Stalinism, not the crisis of capitalism and the bureaucracy, and not the movement of the working class at the heart of this crisis.

The youth leadership correctly fought this group at the Detroit Conference in 1958. At that time, they opposed the perspectives adopted by the Conference. They expressed their pro-Stalinist position in the form of a left sounding call for a proletarian youth organization. Less than two months after the Detroit Conference, this group walked out of the SWP. These supposed left critics of regroupment, who are now called the Workers World Party, have apologized for nearly every twist and turn of both the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies.

It was within this difficult internal framework that the forces which had come from the YSL sought to develop as part of the leadership of the YSA and as part of the SWP itself. The YSL left-wingers could not become a part of any of the existing cliques, semi-factions and factions within the SWP because political differences of a principled character prevented this.

In the first period of its development, the entire left wing was very close to Murry Weiss. This position was strengthened by the fact that the leading SWP youth, with which the YSL left-wingers collaborated in the early stages of building the Young Socialist newspaper, were part of the Weiss clique. But the sharp differences which arose over regroupment disrupted relations with Weiss far more than the decision of the SWP leadership to have Tom Kerry, rather than Weiss, act as the liaison with the youth. It was Weiss' supporters among the youth who took the most liquidationist positions, thus threatening the very existence of the youth movement.

Those in the YSA leadership who resisted the excesses of regroupment, which included the bulk of the former YSLers, found themselves drawn to the Cowley group and the Marcy group because of the position of these groups on regroupment. But there was no principled basis for any kind of collaboration and in the end it was the youth leadership who fought it out against Marcy in particular.

The closest political collaboration actually existed between the YSA leadership as a whole through Tim Wohlforth with the central party leadership through Tom Kerry. However, the YSA leadership as a whole, and particularly those who had come from the YSL, were not really part of a group around Kerry or Dobbs.

Did the YSL left wing then survive as an entity itself, "unassimilated," as Peter Camejo would later claim? The answer to that is absolutely not. Actually, the sharpest divisions existed as the issues in dispute within the whole of the youth leadership divided the left wingers as well. In the early period, those youth associated with the Cochranites, who had come along with the left wing out of the YSL, were among the most fervent supporters of the liquidationism among the youth. They were not alone. Shane Mage continued his treacherous role of compromise with liquidationism. Mage, in fact, spent most of 1959 hitch-hiking through Algeria and Morocco as a radical tourist. He did not concern himself with the problems of the development of the YSA.

On international issues in particular,

there was great confusion within those in the YSA leadership who had come out of the YSL. Mage had close relations with the French section of the International Committee. He wrote in the *Militant* defending their position of support to the Algerian nationalist group, the MNA. He even conducted a debate over the question with the Pabloites which was published in an SWP internal bulletin. The position of the French section on the MNA was, in any event, as erroneous as that of the Pabloites, who supported the FLN faction.

Wohlforth, with Robertson's support, for a period expressed interest in the political positions of the Pabloites as put forward by their English speaking representative, Sherry Mangan. James P. Cannon learned of this while Wohlforth was on national tour. He had Wohlforth over to the house and had him sit down and read through the internal documents of the struggle with the Pabloites, particularly Cannon's speech to the majority faction on relations with Pablo. Wohlforth became convinced that whatever confusion he still had on Pabloism, it was clearly a liquidationist tendency aimed at destroying the existing cadres of Trotskyism and thus they were like the Shachtmanites which he had fought earlier.

In early 1960, Wohlforth was part of the SWP delegation to a special meeting of the International Committee held together with the Canadian section and Gerry Healy, representing the Socialist Labour League. Following that meeting, a much closer international collaboration was carried out between the YSA and the Young Socialist movement built around the paper *Keep Left*. It was under these circumstances that the Socialist Labour League and *Keep Left* sent greetings to the founding conference of the YSA. Gerry Healy wrote:

"On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labour League we would like to send you our best greetings as well as congratulations for the great work you are doing under extremely difficult circumstances."

It can therefore be said that the YSL left-wingers emerged as the main leadership of the YSA under conditions in which the very party they became part of was itself in the middle of a contradictory struggle. While this struggle did not take a clear political form until 1961, it was nonetheless there. The break from centrism by the left wing could not be completed under the conditions of joining a movement which itself was plagued with the same disease.

Like the SWP as a whole, the left wing was confused and torn apart by centrist pressures which were not confronted openly and fully. At the same time, the left-wingers shared a common experience of struggle against centrism and were an expression of the first movement of the American working class through the beginnings of a movement among youth. This background in no sense prevented the left-wingers from fighting through issues which cut across the old faction lines as in the case of Mage. At the same time, the relations were yet to become wholly political and principled and could not become so until the battle was drawn on an entirely different level—within the party itself and over international questions.

#### FACTIONALISM WITHIN THE YSA

This was the background to the emergence of majority and minority factions in the YSA right after the Founding Convention in April 1960. Although there were some changes in membership on the YSA National Executive Committee, for most of the time the lineup was five to three or five to four. The majority was composed of: Tim Wohlforth, Martha Wells, Jim Robertson, Shane Mage and Fred Mazelis. Only Mazelis was not originally from the Left Wing Caucus. The minority was made up of: Nora Roberts, Jim Lambrecht, Art Felberbaum and, for some of the time, Sherry Finer. Finer was the daughter of SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs. The others were supporters of Weiss.

The completely unclear factionalism, which consumed entire meetings of the NEC and seriously interfered with the work of the organization, was a sign of the

real breakup of the youth leadership. The forces originally from the SWP, as well as those who had come out of the YSL, could go no further without confronting the international questions.

On June 6, 1960, Wohlforth introduced the "Memorandum on the Antiwar Movement." This document became the object of much debate and very little clarity. Wohlforth began this statement with the moods of the students.

"We have received requests for a clarification of our line in relation to the antiwar groups, marches, demonstrations, etc., from a number of areas including New York City, Boston, and Los Angeles... All the comrades have been aware of the startling change of mood on the American campus that has come to a head this Spring..."

He then proceeded to a brief discussion of the state of the antiwar movement, its leadership and activities, and to the YSA's tactics:

"Our first task is the most important: Despite programmatic differences of the most serious nature, we must enter every organization and participate in every activity which objectively opposes the prowar policies of the capitalist class... Our goal should be the creation of an independent student action movement of militant opposition to the US military establishment and the war policies of our government."

This proposal to build a middle class protest movement on a minimum program was based on an attempt by Wohlforth to draw the lessons of the history of the student movement in the US. In the spring of 1960, he had written the pamphlet "Revolt on the Campus."

In this pamphlet, Wohlforth wrote about the student movements of the 1930s and of their evolution and the Stalinist policies which dominated them. He also wrote about the history of the Trotskyist youth movement, and made an assessment of its propagandistic character. He explained that this was the unavoidable product of the inexperience, immaturity and relative isolation of the revolutionary forces. Concerning the role of students, he wrote:

"Capitalist society creates in the student a rather peculiar phenomenon, which while basically a part of the middle class is more subject to non-middle class influences than is the class as a whole. One can say that, outside of the special case of the barracks, the campus is the only place in capitalist society that young people are organized separately from adults and where they are forced into a common situation with common problems. It is therefore only in his role as a student (excepting again the soldier), that a young person can exert an influence and play a political role in capitalist society."

Wohlforth went on to justify a permanent and primary campus orientation for the youth movement, an orientation first and foremost to the college student, not the high school and working class youth.

"The campus is to the youth what the factory is to the working class. It is where capitalist society concentrates a social grouping, organizes it, and therefore creates out of it a powerful counterforce to the ruling class. It follows that a youth organization must in all periods orient toward the campus and the student just as the adult radical party orients toward the factory and the factory worker."

If this conception sounds familiar, it is because it has actually been taken to its logical conclusion by the revisionists today. Ernest Mandel, their leading international theoretician, has developed the theory that students and other middle class layers are part of a new working class. In the US, the SWP and YSA orient entirely to the students and to middle class protest, developing slogans such as the "Red University," separating the students from the working class and the struggle to lead the working class on the basis of Marxist theory and program.

Back in 1957, in the preparation for the launching of the *Young Socialist*, as well as in preparing the publication of the *History of the International Socialist Youth Movement*, Wohlforth had taken the position of fighting for a revolutionary youth movement which looked to the working class and sought to deepen its roots in that class. He had posed the need for a campus orientation not as an end in itself but as part of the forging of a

revolutionary leadership among youth who would build a working class youth movement.

But now Wohlforth was proceeding mechanically, reacting just to the surface of the movement among students, not seeing it as a reflection of the first stirrings of the working class, but simply as a development parallel to the working class.

#### WEISS GROUP

The reaction of the youth supporters of Weiss to Wohlforth's "Memorandum" was to launch a full-scale factional war. James Lambrecht wrote a critique denouncing its alleged capitulation to pacifism. This same Lambrecht had led a move on the YSA NEC only a month earlier, in opposition to Wohlforth, in favor of the YSA providing ushers for a civil rights rally in New York being run by A. Philip Randolph. Randolph had just finished a red-baiting campaign aimed at excluding the



Farrell Dobbs, left, in Cuba in 1960 in period of preparation with the Pabloites. Jack Barnes, top, replaced Carl Feingold as organizer and quickly became a leader in the extreme right wing of the SWP. Below, Barry Sheppard was recruited straight from the

YSA from the campaign to boycott Woolworth's in support of the Southern students fighting lunch counter segregation.

The Weiss supporters had also been the most consistent advocates of a liquidationist line during the regroupment period. A few months later, they were to drop this whole question of the student movement and pick up the subject of Cuba, which they characterized as a healthy workers' state, with Castro as a modern Lenin. Art Felberbaum wrote in an attachment to the April 18, 1961 minutes of the YSA NEC:

"The program of the Cuban Revolution and its leadership moves closer to Trotskyism day by day; the day it showed that it understood the permanent revolution was a new stage in that development. This is our point of departure. Our tactic—the tactic of 'French Turn,' of the fusion with the Musteite-led centrists, of the fusion with the Left Wing Caucus of the YSL—is regroupment. In this instance,

the programmatic basis and tasks are different. This tendency is at the head of a workers' state. But the tactic is essentially the same..."

The zig-zags of the Weiss group reflected complete impressionism. Their orthodox position on the antiwar movement was their last left cover for complete capitulation to revisionism, as they called for liquidation into Castro's movement. This group proceeded with the method which Pablo had used before them. They fastened onto an aspect of the world situation, as with the colonial revolution or the crisis of Stalinism. They saw this aspect in a completely one-sided way, divorced from an international understanding or strategy.

Revolutionary developments were then turned into the justification for turning away from revolution, turning away from the construction of a revolutionary party. The subjective factor was seen as automatically reflecting the irresistible

The other element in the situation was the SWP leadership itself, which had very few supporters within the YSA leadership. Just as Cannon had maneuvered for a deal in relation to the Weiss group some years earlier, the party leadership now proposed to maneuver around the political dispute which had flared up in the YSA.

In September 1960, the SWP Political Committee was invited to send a representative to the YSA NEC. Tom Kerry functioned as this representative for nearly a year. He sought to moderate the factionalism which, under the circumstances of the political unclarity involved, was completely correct.

On October 10, the Weiss supporters dissolved their minority faction on the NEC. The disputed drafts of a "Tasks and Perspectives Resolution" were withdrawn, and a joint drafting committee was formed to work on a new one. At the November 1960 Plenum of the YSA, both majority and minority agreed to a

discussion within the International Trotskyist movement began. The struggle within the youth movement had been its first unclear tremors. It would soon be superceded by a fundamental discussion encompassing the very fate of the movement which Leon Trotsky had begun, and with it the future of the working class itself.

The international discussion broke out first on a secondary issue, that of the Cuban Revolution, which could not be understood outside of an understanding of the whole of capitalist development and of the development of revisionism. The majority comrades in the YSA leadership began also with this issue. Seeing in the SWP leadership's adaptationist position on Castro the revisionism similar to that expressed by Shachtman in the earlier period, and like that which had been under the surface in the controversies over regroupment, the majority leaders of the YSA went into opposition. Wohlforth, Mage and Robertson submitted to the Political Committee a memorandum on the Cuban question. This occurred during the same fall period when the struggle with the Weissite youth was being consummated.

The YSA leaders submitted this statement as members of the SWP and not as YSA members. They sought to have a discussion within the party and on a leadership level. They did not at that point form any kind of faction around this issue. At the same time, the YSA leaders did not yet see the full implications of the controversy which was breaking out. They viewed it more as a matter of defending orthodoxy against revisionism, as this was expressed around the question of Cuba.

On January 5, 1961, the Socialist Labour League wrote a letter to the National Committee of the SWP which sharply posed all the questions which had been brewing in the International movement since 1953. This letter stated that Pabloism represented a tendency which had broken with Trotskyism and which had drifted even further away over the years. It opposed the whole course of the SWP back toward reunification with Pabloism. It proposed instead a renewed struggle to construct the Trotskyist movement in a new period of class struggle.

At the National Committee Plenum held in January, Tim Wohlforth represented the minority position on Cuba. Shortly thereafter, on March 8, Wohlforth submitted a "Memorandum On The World Movement," which took essentially the same stand as that of the SLL. On this basis, a minority was organized within the SWP which was part of an international tendency including the SLL and the French section of the IC.

In the period from January to June, a very bitter factional struggle took place within the SWP which completely overshadowed developments within the youth movement. Clearly the fate of the whole movement was at stake. The minority grew to about 60 supporters—the bulk of whom came from the young members of the SWP. In addition, the minority remained the majority of the youth leadership.

On the very eve of the June SWP Convention, a special all day National Committee Plenum was held. It opened with a special report from Tom Kerry who accused Wohlforth of factionalizing the youth and turning them against the party over the Cuban and related questions. Kerry neglected to point out that Wohlforth had only approached youth who were members of the SWP and had done so through proper party channels. The real worry of the SWP leadership was over the widespread character of the opposition to its policies among its younger members.

It was at this time that Cannon made a proposal to the minority comrades. He proposed that two comrades be removed from the NEC, the YSA's leading body. This would be done by setting 27 as the age limit for membership. The two to be removed would be Robertson from the party minority and youth majority, and Lambrecht who represented the other tendency. These two comrades would be replaced by neutral comrades not involved in past faction situations. At the same time, Carl Feingold would be added to the NEC as the representative from the SWP.

Since it was posed that this arrangement would lessen the whole factional situation, it was accepted by the minority comrades

whose main concern was to get some sort of hearing at the convention for the critically important international questions. Clearly, control of the YSA's top leadership would now depend on the political character of the "neutrals" who were added.

In the period immediately after the Convention, a new factional situation developed on the YSA NEC. While Barry Sheppard was accepted on the NEC as one of the neutrals, the NEC majority resisted the seating of Peter Camejo as the other neutral. Their position was that these two were far from neutral, because both had been outspoken defenders of the party majority faction's line and hostile to the present leadership of the YSA. They held that it was the task of the upcoming YSA National Conference to decide the political issues before the YSA and to choose its leadership. In the interim, the existing leadership would submit to party discipline within the youth movement if requested to.

It became immediately clear that the party leadership would be more than happy to push this issue all the way through to expulsion of the party minority. It became equally clear that the need now was for the minority to turn into the party to fight day and night to reach the working class layers of the party, to fight through the international issues. To continue a factional course within the youth, regardless of the merits of the issues involved, could only be harmful to the future of the youth and the party. Thus, it became necessary for the youth majority to vote in Peter Camejo and become a minority.

This still left open the question of how the political issues within the YSA would be resolved. First, the party leadership refused to explain whether the SWP members in the YSA were expected to follow the line of the party majority in any discussion on Cuba in the YSA. It appeared that the question was being left intentionally vague in order to set the minority up for suspension or expulsion. Then Morris Stein, one of the old party leaders, intervened to insist that the leadership should state clearly whether or not an open discussion on Cuba would be allowed, and he proposed that it should be. It was then decided to allow such a discussion.

Thus, at the 1961 YSA Convention, a combination of the age limit and the discussion on Cuba resulted in a complete change of leadership. The former majority of Wohlforth, Robertson and Mage was reduced to one representative on the NEC. The party leadership sought to allow a political discussion only insofar as it suited its organizational maneuvers. By this time, however, the youth leaders who had formed a minority in the party were able to clarify some of the issues, explaining the relationship between the dispute on Cuba to the questions facing the international movement. On this basis, the minority received some 20 percent of the vote at the Convention.

It is also important to note that Tim Wohlforth got up at the Convention and corrected the mistake which he had made the year earlier in regard to the student and the antiwar movement. This was another important step in clarifying the issues and laying the basis for a principled struggle within the party, a struggle which was to go on inside the SWP for another two and one-half years.

Finally, the party leadership also maneuvered the key supporters of Weiss out of their leading positions in the youth movement. This was done with the aid of the nominating commission, a body which had been used for years at SWP Conventions, supposedly to democratically elect a new leadership, but actually to maneuver between various cliques and groupings within the movement. This commission was now used to remove certain people, in particular Art Felberbaum. The Weiss supporters were then left with only one representative on the NEC.

The party leadership had now succeeded, through the kind of organizational maneuvers that it had many years of experience using, in changing the youth leadership with a minimum of discussion and with absolutely no statement or accounting with the Weiss group.

Though they successfully maneuvered their own supporters into the leadership of the youth movement, the SWP leaders solved nothing, and within a few years were confronted with a political



Preparation for reunification... Carl Feingold as New York extreme right wing of the YPSL in 1959



into the YSA. Page 9, on May 17, 1960 three Young Socialist Alliance members handed in 10,000 pledges to boycott Woolworth's at the firm's corporate headquarters. This campaign in support of the sit-ins of the Southern Black students was a high point in the early activities of the YSA and was prepared for through the struggle to defend Trotskyism among youth.

surge of historical forces. Behind the revolutionary phrase-mongering all contradiction and movement was removed, and the result was that no need was seen for revolutionary leadership in the youth movement, in Cuba or elsewhere.

With this method, Weiss and his supporters became the biggest boosters of unity with the Pabloites, from whom the SWP had split in 1953. In 1960-1961 the entire SWP leadership, and not just Weiss, began to move closer and closer to the revisionists. What was then posed more sharply than ever was an examination of the roots of revisionism in the Trotskyist movement as part of the struggle to develop perspectives and a youth movement at that time.

At the same time, the Weiss group sought to line up the party leadership against the youth leadership of Wohlforth, Mage and Robertson. The Weiss supporters sought to oust the youth leaders as part of their campaign for unity with the revisionists.

joint statement to guide the work of the organization in defense of the Cuban Revolution.

At this Plenum, the YSA majority group also issued a separate statement explaining its reasons for agreeing to the joint statement and, in the course of this, labeling the minority as cliquists and factionalists. Kerry intervened strongly against this for the majority in effect brought the factional issues back in at the very moment it was agreeing with the Weissite youth to remove them. This reflected a confusion and impatience on the part of the majority which was still seeking to short circuit the necessary, and very soon to come, process of political clarification.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION

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Farrell Dobbs, left, in Cuba in 1960 in period of preparation for reunification with the Pabloites. Jack Barnes, top, replaced Carl Feingold as New York organizer and quickly became a leader in the extreme right wing of the SWP. Below, Barry Sheppard was recruited straight from the YPSL in 1959



into the YSA. Page 9, on May 17, 1960 three Young Socialist Alliance members handed in 10,000 pledges to boycott Woolworth's at the firm's corporate headquarters. This campaign in support of the sit-ins of the Southern Black students was a high point in the early activities of the YSA and was prepared for through the struggle to defend Trotskyism among youth.

YSA from the campaign to boycott Woolworth's in support of the Southern students fighting lunch counter segregation.

The Weiss supporters had also been the most consistent advocates of a liquidationist line during the regroupment period. A few months later, they were to drop this whole question of the student movement and pick up the subject of Cuba, which they characterized as a healthy workers' state, with Castro as a modern Lenin. Art Felberbaum wrote in an attachment to the April 18, 1961 minutes of the YSA NEC:

"The program of the Cuban Revolution and its leadership moves closer to Trotskyism day by day; the day it showed that it understood the permanent revolution was a new stage in that development. This is our point of departure. Our tactic—the tactic of the 'French Turn,' of the fusion with the Musteite-led centrists, of the fusion with the Left Wing Caucus of the YSL—is regroupment. In this instance,

surge of historical forces. Behind the revolutionary phrase-mongering all contradiction and movement was removed, and the result was that no need was seen for revolutionary leadership in the youth movement, in Cuba or elsewhere.

With this method, Weiss and his supporters became the biggest boosters of unity with the Pabloites, from whom the SWP had split in 1953. In 1960-1961 the entire SWP leadership, and not just Weiss, began to move closer and closer to the revisionists. What was then posed more sharply than ever was an examination of the roots of revisionism in the Trotskyist movement as part of the struggle to develop perspectives and a youth movement at that time.

At the same time, the Weiss group sought to line up the party leadership against the youth leadership of Wohlforth, Mage and Robertson. The Weiss supporters sought to oust the youth leaders as part of their campaign for unity with the revisionists.

joint statement to guide the work of the organization in defense of the Cuban Revolution.

At this Plenum, the YSA majority group also issued a separate statement explaining its reasons for agreeing to the joint statement and, in the course of this, labeling the minority as cliquists and factionalists. Kerry intervened strongly against this for the majority in effect brought the factional issues back in at the very moment it was agreeing with the Weissite youth to remove them. This reflected a confusion and impatience on the part of the majority which was still seeking to short circuit the necessary, and very soon to come, process of political clarification.

**THE INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION**

In the very course of this most difficult and confusing factional situation within the YSA top leadership, the fundamental

monstrosity. Because the party leadership could not and would not train the youth on the basis of Marxist principles, it created a leadership which has now become the driving force behind every tendency in the SWP to completely liquidate even the remnants of any connection with Trotskyism. In the YSA today are the most right-wing and anti-working class elements, who know nothing about the struggles which formed men like Dobbs and Kerry. The pragmatic method in the SWP has led to complete disaster.

#### THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

There were two individuals in particular whom the SWP leadership groomed for leadership in the youth movement, and who were to preside over the complete degeneration of the YSA.

The first was Barry Sheppard, who had been a supporter of the Shachtmanite right wing during the struggle of the Left Wing Caucus in the YSL. Only later, in 1959, was Sheppard recruited from the YPSL—into which the YSL right wing had liquidated itself—into the YSA. Sheppard had almost no record of independent political struggle. He is now a top leader of the SWP.

The second was Peter Camejo, who was recruited to the YSA in 1958, left in April of 1959, and rejoined in August. Camejo and Sheppard were both from Boston, and they became the leadership of the YSA after the 1961 Convention. Camejo came from a pro-Stalinist background. He was the son of a prominent Latin American capitalist, and his mother was an American citizen who came from a Stalinist background. It was precisely the struggle of the *Young Socialist* against Stalinism and revisionism which Camejo had strongly resisted in the early development of the movement. The April 26, 1959 minutes of the *Young Socialist* editorial board noted that Camejo had resigned, and that this was no surprise since he had "shied away from any identification with the YS."

Camejo played an important role in building the YSA, but always on the most shallow level, never fighting for theoretical development, and always seeing the growth of the movement in the narrowest and crudely pragmatic way. Camejo was a demagogic speaker, optimistically predicting huge growth for the organization without ever developing perspectives to show how the growth would take place or what it would mean for the movement.

The man who maneuvered Camejo and Sheppard into their position of influence was Carl Feingold. Feingold was known as Cannon's man, having functioned for some time as SWP organizer in Los Angeles, where Cannon lived from the 1950s on. Feingold was also considered to be friendly to Weiss. For these reasons, he was not fully trusted by the leaders in New York around Dobbs and Kerry. But he was brought to New York and he did the organizational job to which he was assigned.

After doing this job, however, Feingold found himself maneuvered out as organizer of the important New York branch of the SWP, to be replaced by Jack Barnes. Feingold wound up, some years later, as a supporter of the Shachtmanite International Socialists. This was a stinging condemnation of the methods of organizational maneuvering followed by Cannon. This was how Feingold was trained. When there was no longer a place for him, he changed his political suit with about as much difficulty as one buys a new suit of clothes, and as if the fundamental 1939 struggle against Shachtmanism had never taken place.

Jack Barnes was originally Feingold's agent, but also someone with whom the central party leadership felt much more secure. Barnes came from Carleton College in Minnesota, but had played almost no role in the youth movement. He moved into the party, and soon to New York, where he replaced Feingold as New York organizer. He was involved from the beginning only in the internal apparatus of the organization. He emerged within a short time, with no theoretical and political training and no experience in the class struggle, as one of the top leaders of the SWP, and a leader of the extreme right wing who sought to break all ties with Trotskyism.

The development of the original majority group of the YSA in 1960 contains its lessons as well. It was only on the basis of the international questions that the original issues, which were raised in the very birth of the YSA, could be finally fought out. The issue then was: centrism or Trotskyism. This issue, too, had to be fought out within the party opposition as well as between the party opposition and the party majority.

It was in the period after the decision was made to break from the factional course within the YSA that the differences within the left wing began to arise. This represented a turn as fundamental as the original turn to stand on international issues in the spring of 1961. It meant devotion to the hard struggle of winning working class forces within the party to the opposition, while at the same time searching to the roots of the degeneration of the SWP.

This led in time to a new split in 1962 led by James Robertson and supported by Shane Mage. Nearly three-quarters of the old Left Wing Caucus followed Robertson, refusing to subordinate themselves to the construction of an international tendency. They were unable to complete the break begun in 1957 with centrism. They remained politically with the Scott Ardens and their ilk who first opposed Shachtman only to break with those who fought it through against Shachtman.

Robertson today maintains a small unprincipled sect called Spartacist, while Mage went all the way to an open renunciation of Marxism in favor of psychedelic idealism.

It is not surprising that the SWP today is afraid of its own history. It cannot face this history because it would require an accounting of where it stands, of how and why it has broken from everything that is revolutionary in its past.

The only significant attempt to deal with the history of the youth movement was a speech given by Peter Camejo in 1970, on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the founding of the YSA. This effort of Camejo's was smug and complacent. It represented a lying attempt to remove the living movement in our history, to wipe out everything the revisionists cannot explain today.

If Camejo tried to explain the role of the early leaders of the YSA, in particular the leaders from the Left Wing Caucus, he would have to explain why these leaders were expelled from the SWP. He would have to explain how they were able to build a youth movement.

If he were to explain the real nature of the early struggles of the YSA—its internal life as well as its activities—he would have to deal with regroupment policy, the role of the Weiss group, and other questions which cannot be answered. So Camejo's account was a fraud from beginning to end. He began by denying the whole meaning of the struggle in the YSL out of which the YSA was born. He said:

"A handful of the people in the Independent Socialist League and the Young Socialist League refused to join the Socialist Party, for one simple reason—the Socialist Party openly supported the Democratic Party."

As everyone in the SWP at that time knew, the fight in the YSL was not simply over the decision to join the Socialist Party. It was a fight against centrism, a fight for Trotskyism in which most of the central political questions of the day were raised and fought out, including the role of the liberals, the Hungarian Revolution, the colonial revolution, and the fight for revolutionary leadership in the advanced capitalist countries.

The Left Wing Caucus did not and could not begin this fight as Trotskyists. They were won to Trotskyism in the course of the struggle: that struggle against the opponents of Trotskyism, the Shachtmanites. Camejo distorts and denigrates not only the principled fight of the Left Wing Caucus, but the role of the SWP itself in winning over this section of youth. In this respect, the SWP leadership performed a truly historic task in the building of a youth movement and in laying the basis for a new generation of revolutionary leadership. Camejo then goes on to minimize the role of the Left Wing Caucus in the construction of the youth movement.

"Right from the start the key political

element in this formation was the young comrades in the SWP. But there were also these 30 people from the YSL who played an important leadership role—they were people like Tim Wohlforth, the leader of the Workers League, and James Robertson, the leader of the Spartacist League, and others."<sup>10</sup>

Several paragraphs later Camejo lets slip a statement in which he says something quite different.

"The leadership that the YSA had in those days—people who had come from the Independent Socialist League and the Young Socialist League—had certain weaknesses which it had picked up from its previous political experience. It was basically a weakness that characterized petty bourgeois type organizations. They had this big carry over of rigidity and formality that they picked up in the infighting and maneuvering of the left-wing social democratic organizations to which they belonged prior to joining the YSA. Plus they had not totally dropped the political program of the Young Socialist League, in my opinion. It was soon revealed, as I will explain, that they did not really fully agree with the YSA."<sup>11</sup>

First Camejo says that the Left Wing Caucus was not "the key political element." Then he calls it "the leadership that the YSA had in those days." Then he says that they "did not really fully agree with the YSA."

Camejo cannot produce a shred of evidence of this last charge. It was these leaders who formed the YSA. It was they who fought more consistently than any others, including Camejo himself, for the program of the YSA. While Camejo was complaining about the hostility of the *Young Socialist* toward other tendencies like the Stalinists and the Social Democrats, the Left Wing Caucus leaders had joined the Trotskyist movement and were fighting for the Trotskyist program in the youth.

Both the youth from the SWP and those from the Left Wing Caucus played an important role in the formation of the movement. But it was the latter who played precisely the key political role. For a whole period, the only SWP member on the YS editorial board was Bert Deck. The leading role was played by Wohlforth, Robertson and Mage, not against the SWP, but precisely because they had come over to the SWP, and functioned as SWP members even before they formally joined. This connection is what Camejo seeks to hide at all costs. The key role in the launching of the *Young Socialist* and the YSA was played by Trotskyist youth who had been won over in the struggle against Shachtmanism.

Rather than give an objective historical account, Camejo is forced to slander the youth leadership, who fought Shachtman, claiming they were tainted with Shachtmanism. The 1956-1957 fight did not complete the struggle against centrism and that was not surprising. But Camejo will not recognize the decisive step that was taken.

Camejo's discussion of the differences on Cuba was designed to avoid the international questions around which the struggle actually took place. The differences on Cuba could only be understood in relation to the international movement, the struggle against revisionism, and the struggle within the SWP itself. All these questions are ignored by Camejo. Otherwise he would have to explain the present crisis in the revisionists' United Secretariat. He would have to make an assessment of the reunification between the SWP and the Pabloites in 1963 and he would have to discuss all the philosophical questions which the revisionists are determined to avoid, but which come back to haunt them more and more.

Another major lie of Camejo's was his amalgamation of the tendency which formed the Workers League with the Robertson group, which formed the Spartacist League in 1963.

"The minority also had a document which explained what they were going to do, that is, how they were going to work against the YSA and the SWP but stay within them. We found out about this document so we expelled them. They went on to form a group called the Spartacist League and a group called the Workers League."<sup>12</sup>

As Camejo knows, the group which formed the Workers League was not expelled for nearly a year after the expulsion of Robertson. It was expelled for requesting a discussion on the entrance into a bourgeois coalition government of the Ceylonese LSSP: an entrance which was supported by the SWP and its international co-thinkers up until the very moment of its great betrayal.

In the period from 1958 to 1960, the new forces attracted to Trotskyism went through the experience of building a youth movement as part of the American movement, with all its strengths as well as weaknesses. This was a healthy development, a necessary development. It was a stage that could not be bypassed. It was also a development which could not have taken place in the Shachtmanite cesspool of middle class radicalism, just as today nothing can be learned except in struggle against the SWP revisionists.

Now the YSA has turned its back completely on Trotskyism. It has turned its back on the very first issue of the *Young Socialist*, with its clear revolutionary stand on the tasks facing the working class and the youth. It has turned its back on the struggle of the Left Wing Caucus out of which the YSA was formed. It has turned against the first "Motion on Editorial Board Policy" of the *Young Socialist*, with its clear fight for a labor party and for a socialist fight against imperialist war.

It has also turned its back on the fight for the revolutionary youth paper. Eight years ago it changed the format of the *Young Socialist* from a newspaper to a magazine, following in the footsteps of Shane Mage and others who feared that the movement would reach out to lead the struggles of masses of youth. Some years later it liquidated the *Young Socialist* entirely.

Meanwhile the Trotskyist movement in the US reestablished the continuity of the revolutionary youth movement with the Conference of Revolutionary Youth on December 18, 1971 and the launching of the *Young Socialist* pages in the *Bulletin*.

Now the revisionists have attempted to begin publishing a newspaper again, in answer to the development of the Trotskyist YS and the YS pages in the *Bulletin*, and the preparations for launching a national youth movement in the immediate future. The circulation of the revisionist monthly paper, which they now fraudulently call the *Young Socialist*, is only 5500. In 1959, the monthly circulation of the YS was 4200. With the YSA today claiming over 1000 members, that means an average of less than five papers are sold by each member per month.

The founding conference of the Young Socialists, planned for May 26-27, 1973, will be a fitting answer to the revisionists. It will be a continuation of the struggles to build a revolutionary youth movement, based on all the lessons of our history. If we study and apply these lessons in the explosive period of revolutionary struggle we face today, we can be confident of building a mass revolutionary youth movement which will play a crucial role in building a leadership to take the working class to power.

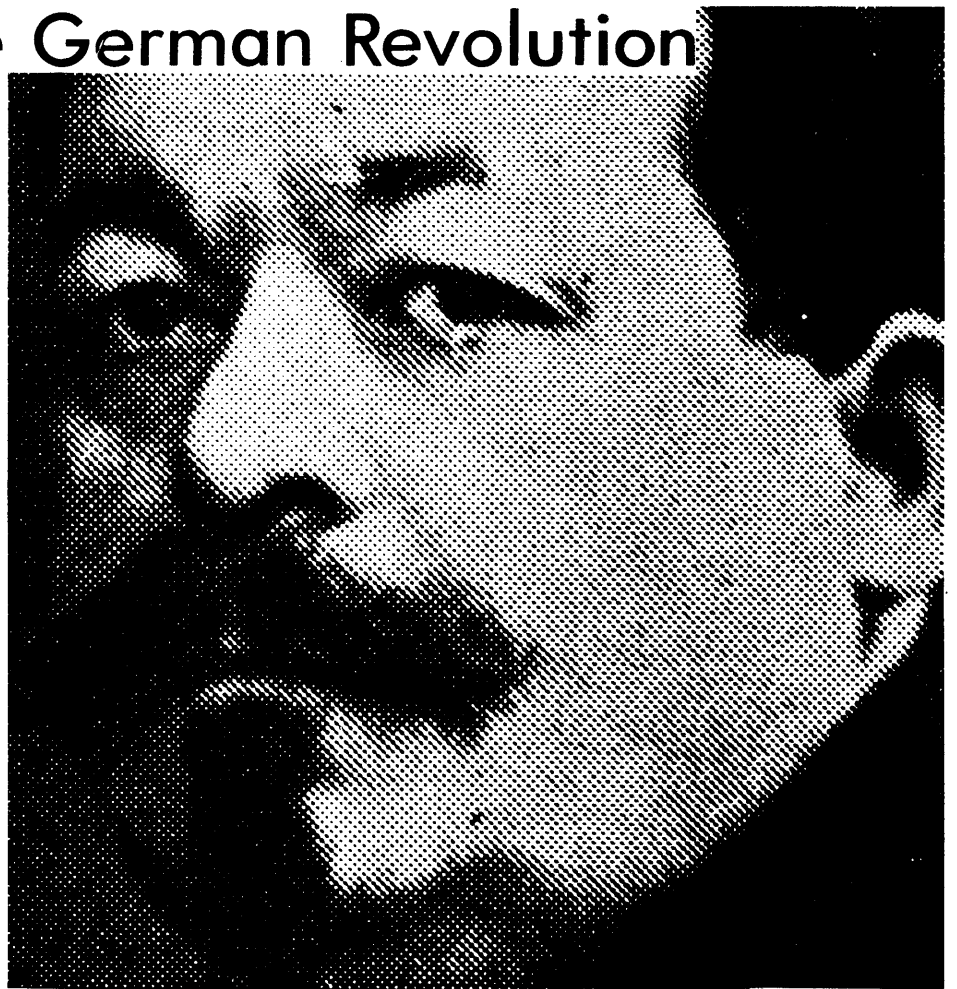
#### CONCLUDED

We will conclude the series *Towards A Trotskyist Daily in the U.S.* in next issue.

1. SWP Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 20, No. 1, January 1959.
2. "Proceedings of the Founding Conference of the Young Socialist Alliance, Philadelphia, April 15-17," *Young Socialist Forum*, Vol. 3, No. 4, August 1960, P. 5.
3. "Memorandum on the Antiwar Movement," by Tim Wohlforth, *Young Socialist Forum*, Vol. 3, No. 5, September 1960.
4. *Ibid.*
5. "Revolt on the Campus," by Tim Wohlforth, a *Young Socialist Forum* publication, September 1960.
6. *Ibid.*
7. "Remarks on 'The Conscious Element in the Social Process,'" by Art Felberbaum, Attachment to YSA NEC Minutes, April 10, 1961.
8. *Young Socialist* Editorial Board Minutes, April 26, 1959.
9. *Young Socialist Organizer*, Vol. 13, No. 4, April 29, 1970.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Young Socialist Organizer*, Vol. 13, No. 5, May 13, 1970.

## Jack Gale Books

# Lessons Of The German Revolution



Social Democrat Friedrich Ebert in 1918-1919 period in Germany.

**FAILURE OF A REVOLUTION: GERMANY 1918-19.** By Sebastian Haffner. Translated by Georg Rapp. Andre Deutsch. \$6. Illustrated. Published January 18, 1973.

The failure of the German Revolution of 1918-1919 had fateful consequences for the working class in the whole of Europe. When the Bolsheviks took power in Russia in October 1917 they did so with the confidence that the revolution would spread to the advanced countries, and especially to Germany, from which help would come.

The isolation of the first workers' state was, in the first instance, a result of the failure of the revolution in Germany.

The negative lessons from the failed German revolution complement the study of the reasons for the success of the Bolshevik Revolution.

In fact the German events of 1918-1919 have attracted comparatively little attention, certainly much less than they deserve. The Social Democrats have done their best to conceal their treacherous role. Even the reactionaries are scarcely proud to recall their part when the Empire to which they clung was repudiated by the masses and they had to resort to naked terror against the revolution.

Only the genuine revolutionaries, like Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Eugen Levine—all martyrs—emerge from the story with credit. But the fact remains that they were not prepared for the events which took place and committed serious errors.

At the center of events in 1918-1919 stood the Social Democratic leaders Friedrich Ebert, Gustav Noske and Philipp Scheidemann. If German capitalism survived the ordeal which followed in the wake of military defeat it was thanks, above all, to this trio. Their conscious betrayal stands out plainly from Sebastian Haffner's stark and vivid narrative of events published by Andre Deutsch.

In Germany, at a time when power was within the grasp of the working class, these leaders, who had already supported their "own" bourgeoisie in the imperialist war, became the principal defense against revolution. In the name of socialism, even in the name of revolution, they strangled it and earned little more than the contempt of the enemy class whose power and property they saved.

### LUDENDORFF

Haffner shows how, when Quartermaster-General Erich Ludendorff, the real chief of the German army, became certain of defeat in September 1918, he determined that its obloquy should rest on a civilian government, not on the army. This meant a change of government and the emergence of the Social Democrats as a government party—one deeply fearful of revolution.

The first tremors of revolution came from the fleet when the sailors of Kiel mutinied against the officers' scheme to make a last ditch attack on the British navy. Within a few days workers and soldiers had set up their organs of power in the main towns of Germany with little violence or bloodshed.

Lacking leadership, lacking a revolutionary party, the councils hung back from seizing full power; they did not take over the factories or interfere with bourgeois property.

As Haffner puts it:

"The Russian example may have had an encouraging influence from afar, but there were no Russian emissaries to provide the revolution with leadership. In fact, anywhere but in Munich, this revolution had no leaders and no organiza-

tion, no general staff and no plan of operation; it was the spontaneous creation of the masses, of the workers and the common soldiers. Therein lay its weakness, all too soon to become evident, but therein also lay its glory."

But it was hardly glorious to be defeated—nor was it a question of "Russian emissaries" (too reminiscent of the slander in 1917 that Lenin was "a German agent"). The German revolution surely stands above all as a terrible lesson to all those who bow down before spontaneity—or a "revolution of councils," without a revolutionary party.

It was the lack of such a party which prevented a situation of dual power opening the way for a successful working class revolution. Ebert and his colleagues were thus able to play the role which Kerensky would have played in Russia.

### PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR

As the revolution gathered force, Ebert came to the fore, taking over the government "to preserve law and order," becoming first Chancellor and then People's Commissar. As Haffner says:

"If he was still to prevent the revolution, he would have to begin by appearing to lead it. There was no other way, but this way it might still work."

With the Kaiser in flight and the war at an end, Germany hovered for weeks between revolution and counterrevolution. The state was in the hands of "People's Commissars" who "hated revolution like sin" and played a devious double game to prevent its success.

The revolutionaries lacked that indispensable instrument—a revolutionary party. As Haffner sees it:

"Germany in 1918 was at no point threatened by a Bolshevik dictatorship; for the simple reason that the essential instrument of power, a Bolshevik party capable of dictating, did not exist. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had no organization whatever until December 30, 1918, and only a very feeble one thereafter; nothing to compare with Lenin's corps of professional revolutionaries prepared by 14 years of training."

The leaders of the councils were reluctant to assume the responsibilities of power. They were, for the most part, loyal Social Democrats, or anxious to reconcile all tendencies behind some kind of parliamentary democracy.

### EBERT

Ebert's Social Democratic government, more particularly Ebert himself, worked closely with the Army High Command in 1918-1919 to wrest power away from the workers' and soldiers' councils and to "clear Berlin of Spartacists" (i.e., the supporters of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht).

The full extent of the secret understanding between Ebert and General Groener for the army was only known many years afterwards. In fact the chairman of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) gave every encouragement to military reaction which the workers' and soldiers' councils wanted to smash.

Already on December 6, 1918, a Spartacist demonstration had been fired on and six people were killed. On Christmas Eve a still bloodier clash took place, this time between the People's Naval Division and troops called in by Ebert. Workers, with women and children, poured into the streets and ensured the victory of the sailors.

Again there was no leadership to take advantage of this success: it was followed within days by a decisive defeat. Haffner writes:

"The fate of the German Revolution was decided in Berlin during the week of January 5 to 12, 1919. History remembers it as Spartacus Week—but wrongly. What happened that week was not a communist rising against the Social Democratic government. It was an attempt by the Berlin workers to regain what they had won on November 9 and 10 and had meanwhile half lost, and to regain it by the

same means as before."

Despite the existence now of the German Communist Party (KPD), founded at the end of December, leadership was once again lacking. The "spontaneous mass explosion" ended in defeat. No one gave orders for a decisive onslaught on government buildings.

"The KPD had neither foreseen nor desired the January rising, they had neither planned nor guided it. They were in fact horrified by the unplanned, leaderless, mass stampede," writes Haffner.

Once again a spontaneous uprising of the masses proved unable to prevail against the counterrevolutionary cunning of Ebert and his military backers. Noske, another Social Democratic leader, brought in the army freebooters, the extreme right-wing embryo fascists, the "Freikorps" to repress the workers. "Someone has got to be the bloodhound," he said. The name stuck.

Under the direction of Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske a bloody civil war was unleashed against the workers throughout Germany from January to March, 1919. It was heralded by the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg by Guards officers under SDP instigation.

The potential leaders of the German Revolution were quickly put away. Their murder, says Haffner:

"...was historically the most potent event in the drama of the German Revolution."

It effectually beheaded the leadership which might have been able to turn the tide. As recently as 1962 a Press handout from Bonn tacitly justified the murders which were described as "executions by shooting under martial law." Thousands more were murdered in the following months.

### 400,000 ARMED MEN

Ebert and Noske let loose 400,000 armed men against the working class to save the new bourgeois republic and capitalism in Germany. Haffner tends to make them out more unsuspecting and confused than they really were. The ruthlessness of the repression was so obvious, and the reactionary nature of the Freikorps and army chiefs so open, that they must have been fully aware of what they were doing.

Was Ebert a victim of "a strange trait of blinkered incomprehension," as Haffner claims? It does not seem likely. Ebert had supported the war, cooperated with the army and wanted the victory of Imperial Germany.

Only in Munich, where there was a determined revolutionary leadership which knew what it wanted, did the working class enjoy a brief success. Here two outstanding leaders appeared. The first was

Kurt Eisner, who Haffner says, was:

"...the only man in Germany who had enough shrewd insight to grasp what the German Revolution was aiming at and ably to assist its birth."

But Eisner was shot down by an assassin in February 1919. There followed a period of immense turbulence in the course of which another remarkable figure emerged, Eugen Levine. Tragically he took control of the revolution when it was already doomed. The man Haffner regards as "quite unlike Liebknecht or Rosa Luxemburg, was perhaps made of the stuff to become a German Lenin or Trotsky" could only fight a rearguard action. He was taken prisoner, tried and shot. He died shouting "Long Live World Revolution."

Despite some shortcomings, Haffner's book gives a vivid glimpse of the character of the German Revolution, but it provides no documentation, no references and its treatment of many aspects is summary in the extreme. It sets out to demolish three "legends" that there was really no revolution at all, that it was a Bolshevik revolution imported from Russia and that German defeat in 1918 was brought about by "a stab in the back."

Haffner's position is that the "...revolution is no disgrace. Coming after four years of starvation and exhaustion it was something to be proud of. The disgrace was its betrayal (and the German working class)...never recovered from the blow."

The conclusion remains ambiguous. The revolution could only have been safeguarded if it could have broken the power of the bourgeois state and established the dictatorship of the revolution. For this a revolutionary party was necessary. The lessons of the events of 1918-1919 must begin there. Haffner appears to believe that there could have been some other kind of revolution—it is not made clear which.

In any case he is pessimistic about the future. He claims:

"The German workers' revolutionary tradition is extinguished."

That is not so, either in the west or the east. It can and must be re-kindled, however low it may seem to burn at the present time. When the powerful and well-organized German working class re-discovers its revolutionary and Marxist traditions, it will quickly settle accounts with the monopoly capitalists in the west and the bureaucracy in the east.

In this historic task of rebirth, the understanding of the lessons of the failed revolution of 1918-1919 will have an indispensable part to play. Haffner's book, for all its author's pessimism, can make a contribution and it should be widely read in this country, as it has already been in Germany.

# DEATH OF A STEELWORKER



BY DAVID NORTH

**It was a Sunday afternoon, January 7. At 2 p.m., Rick Hertzog told his wife that he was ready to leave for work in the National Tube plant owned by US Steel.**

"Why do you want to leave now?" Martha remembers asking him. "It doesn't take you more than 30 minutes to get there and you don't start work until 3 p.m."

But Rick did not want to take any chances being late because in Lorain, Ohio it is not easy for a young worker to come by a steady job. During the past year, he had been laid off a number of times; and now that he, his wife Martha, and their one year old daughter Laurie had moved into a new apartment, Rick wanted to make sure he kept the job in the mill.

Martha kidded her husband a bit about his punctuality, finally persuading him to stay home a few minutes longer. But at 2:15 p.m. Rick kissed her goodbye and left for the plant. Martha never saw him alive again.

That evening, shortly after 10, less than an hour before the end of the shift, 20 year old Rick Hertzog was killed in the plant. US Steel and the Local 1104 bureaucrats of the United Steel Workers of America call it an accident.

But Marty Trelka, Rick's uncle, who has worked in the National Tube plant for 24 years, describes what happened differently:

"The union paper says it was an accident 'pure and simple.' They'll never be able to have me believe that. I say Rick was like a lamb led to slaughter."

Rick did not die in an accident. He was murdered by US Steel in the course of its ruthless drive for profits. Without the slightest interest in the life of this young worker, the plant management had Rick—on the job for only five days—working on the wrong shift

in one of the most dangerous parts of the mill without any proper training and under conditions that were a mockery of even the most deplorable safety standards.

#### STEAM

When he arrived in the plant that afternoon, Rick was assigned to the coke mill. It is assumed that a new worker is to be broken in by the foreman or an extremely experienced worker. But Rick was placed with a worker not much older than himself. Because the heating equipment is completely inadequate, clouds of steam accumulated in the area of the quenching car where Rick was working.

Through this area runs what is called the door machine. Steel workers must maneuver carefully to avoid this powerful vehicle which moves along a track while opening different furnaces. But on the evening of Rick's death, the entire track was enveloped in steam.

The worker who was breaking Rick into the job suggested a coffee break and moved toward the locker room. Rick tried to follow him. But because the fog from the steam was so thick that he could not see more than six inches ahead of himself, Rick lost sight of his co-worker. Not knowing the layout of the plant, he moved across the track.

Grady Donaldson was operating the machine door. "I couldn't see a thing that evening," he told the Bulletin. "When there's steam building up, it's impossible to see anything."

#### CRUSHED

Within seconds Rick was dead. The machine door hurtled over Rick and crushed him. In his brief report, the coroner listed the time of death as 10:05 p.m.

The company kept the plant operating, and sent a guard to in-

form Joe and Bertha Hertzog that their son had just been killed.

"They came from the plant around a quarter to twelve," Bertha recalls. "Rick's father had gone up to bed and I was sitting here crocheting and watching television when I heard someone knocking on the door. I thought to myself 'Who the heck is coming at this time?'"

"I was a bit afraid to open the door, but I put the light on and noticed that the guy had some kind of badge on. I opened the door and he said 'Is your husband home?' I told him that Joe was in bed but they wanted to talk to him. So I called up to my husband and he came down.

"When Joe came down, the guard checked whether we had a son named Richard. When he said 'yes,' the guard replied 'Your son has had an accident.' Well, I immediately thought that maybe he'd had an automobile accident because Rick should have been home long before.

"My husband asked if Rick was badly hurt. When the guard said 'fatal,' that was it. I don't know what happened after that because I know that I sat in that chair and I was screaming. Then the guard left and Martha came over. That's it. I don't know anything else."

#### PREVENT

Immediately, US Steel moved to prevent any investigation of the circumstances surrounding Rick's death. Just in case his family was planning a lawsuit, the company acted to isolate them from possible witnesses. They were told that it would not be possible to arrange a meeting with Roger Rhone, who had been working with Rick just before the accident, because he is too distraught emotionally.

"Everything is being hushed up," says Marty Trelka. "I demanded a coroner's inquest but it was denied on the grounds that there has to be a crime involved in the accident. So I asked them what they would call what happened to Rick."

Nor is it easy to find people who are anxious to talk about Rick's death.

"I knew Rick though he never

came in here," admits Millie who works in a tavern across the street from the mill. "He was a fine boy. Now that he's dead, the company is blaming the whole thing on him. But I'm not going to say anything more about it because I want to stay here."

From the one place where Marty and the Hertzog family expected strong support—Local 1104—none is forthcoming. The leadership, closely tied to Steel Workers President I. W. Abel, is just as anxious as the company to bury the case. The local bureaucracy stands completely behind Abel's reactionary collaboration with US Steel's productivity drive.

Just three weeks before Rick was killed, the president of the local, George Pashkevich, flew down to Washington, D.C. to participate with Abel in the joint "labor-management" conference on productivity. It was at this meeting that Abel scolded the ranks for not producing more profits.

The Lorain Labor Leader, newspaper of Local 1104, barely mentioned the death of Rick. It carried the report in the sixth paragraph of an article entitled "Steelworkers 'Question' Plant's Safety Program." The paragraph whitewashed the company:

"Hall (the Safety Committee Chairman) indicated that the unfortunate death of the young worker in the coke plant a few days ago was still under investigation, but admitted that exhaustive investigation and information gathered so far pointed to the death as being 'accidental, pure and simple.'"

Marty was stunned when he saw the union paper calling his nephew's death a "pure and simple" accident. When he demanded an explanation from the union officers, Pashkevich claimed that he had not seen the article before it was published.

Marty does not accept the explanation. "I don't expect anything from the company, but when the union takes the side of management—that really hits home. Pashkevich told me not to speak to you because you're a communist. So I said to him:

'What's wrong with that. What have you done about Rick?'"

#### BITTER

Older workers in the plant recalled similar "accidents" and are bitter about the refusal of the bureaucracy to fight for better conditions. One worker in his 50s told the Bulletin: "Like all steel plants, nothing is said about conditions until something happens. But we can't bring the boy back. A lot of this has to do with the union which is run by men who sit on their hands all day. After a while, I stopped paying attention to union meetings and the rest.

"Once I went to a meeting to ask about conditions in the plant because Abel was there. But when I raised my point, Abel just got up and said: 'You're out of order.' That's why I don't go to meetings. They don't listen to the men."

When one visits the mammoth Lorain Works, in which US Steel produces a great part of its pipe products, it is possible to obtain a brochure in which the following is written:

"Safety is the most important aspect of steelmaking as around-the-clock emphasis is placed on mill safety precautions. It is more than hearsay when steel men remark that they are safer on the job than at home. Lorain Works' excellent safety record in recent years confirms this statement."

No one in Lorain has ever heard a worker from the plant say anything of the sort. "Conditions which we have to work under in the plant are pitiful," declared Joe Modock, Rick's closest friend. He has been in the plant for six years.

"Where I work, in the blooming mill, it's just dirty. There's no regard for safety. Once I complained about running a crane because the lighting wasn't proper. The foreman said he'd send me home if I didn't start running the crane. Men could have been badly hurt if the crane hit them. But the foreman only said that lights are being ordered, and I told him 'Sure, for the last year.'"

Shaking his head, Marty told the Bulletin: "I don't know how they can boast about safety con-





ditions in the coke plant. Management is responsible for Rick's death. They don't even know who was on duty when he was killed. First of all, I don't think Rick was even instructed in all the safety rules. Then they had him walking around where he couldn't see.

"Now, the company is saying that there's hardly ever any steam in that area. Hell, it's full of steam three out of five days.

"Another thing is the fact they had him on the wrong shift. He was supposed to be working from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. When I asked the management why Rick was put on the late shift prematurely, they said they did it because Rick was so 'advanced.' As if I didn't know they're just trying to butter us up to explain their mistake away."

In addition to covering up the real conditions in the plant that caused Rick's death, his wife Martha revealed that: "Now they're spreading rumors that Rick was tired when he came to work, but that's not true. When he went to work he was fine. Sure, we had moved some furniture earlier in the day, but Rick was very strong. In fact I had to fight him from going to work too early."

#### JUBILANT

When Rick had been able to start work in the plant, months after submitting his application, the entire family was jubilant. "When Rick would be laid off, he was really depressed," his mother said. "But when he had a job, he was wonderful. He wanted to work in National Tube for security. We thought that working with a big company, and it's about the biggest here, is more reliable than these small firms. The only thing Rick had against National Tube was that they paid only every two weeks. But I told him that he would have to budget himself to make the money last."

Martha felt just as happy: "Finally, we had a job and an apartment. It seemed that everything was going good. Then this

happened."

For months, Rick's father, Joe, had tried to get him a job in the auto plant where he has worked since the 1940s. But the plant was not taking men on. "It's really a shame," he says now. "Rick knew everything there was to know about cars. When I brought a new car home, it didn't leave the garage again until Rick had taken it apart and put it back together again. But I couldn't get him into my plant no matter who I spoke to."

The family was especially pleased when Rick first went to work in National Tube last January 2 because he had fought for nearly one year to get the job. Martha described the arrogance with which US Steel had treated Rick after he submitted his application.

"He nearly did not get the job. Rick first put in his application in May, but they weren't calling anyone then. So he tried keeping a job in other places but was laid off—actually he quit one of the jobs because he was only earning \$1.65 an hour. Rick wrote out another application in August, and then he heard from his uncle Marty that the company had taken on men who had signed up later.

"So Rick went down to the mill to find out what was going on. He spoke to this company man who was very snotty to Rick, saying that my husband hadn't filled out his application. Then the guy got the record book and just slung it at Rick. Well, Rick was kind of mad but still held on to his patience. He just looked through the book and sure enough found his application.

"The company man didn't know what to say. But then he looked up and said: 'I know why we didn't hire you. Your application was messy. Your penmanship is no good.'

"Rick filled out the application again and handed it to a secretary. She picked up another application belonging to this man who had all sorts of references, and she asked Rick: 'Who would you hire?' Rick told her that it

wasn't his fault that he didn't have a lot of job experience. Finally, Rick got the job. He took his physical and passed it. Then he went to an orientation session, and then they told him he could start work January 2.

"He started that Tuesday and worked odd jobs until Friday. Rick had a day off Saturday, and then he went back to work Sunday on the late shift for the first time. He didn't tell me what he was going to do in the mill."

Rick was killed that night, crushed by the machine door that he had not been able to see because of the blinding steam.

"Do you know what this so-called 'accident' means," asks Marty. "US Steel took away 45 years of work from Rick, of love for his family, of life."

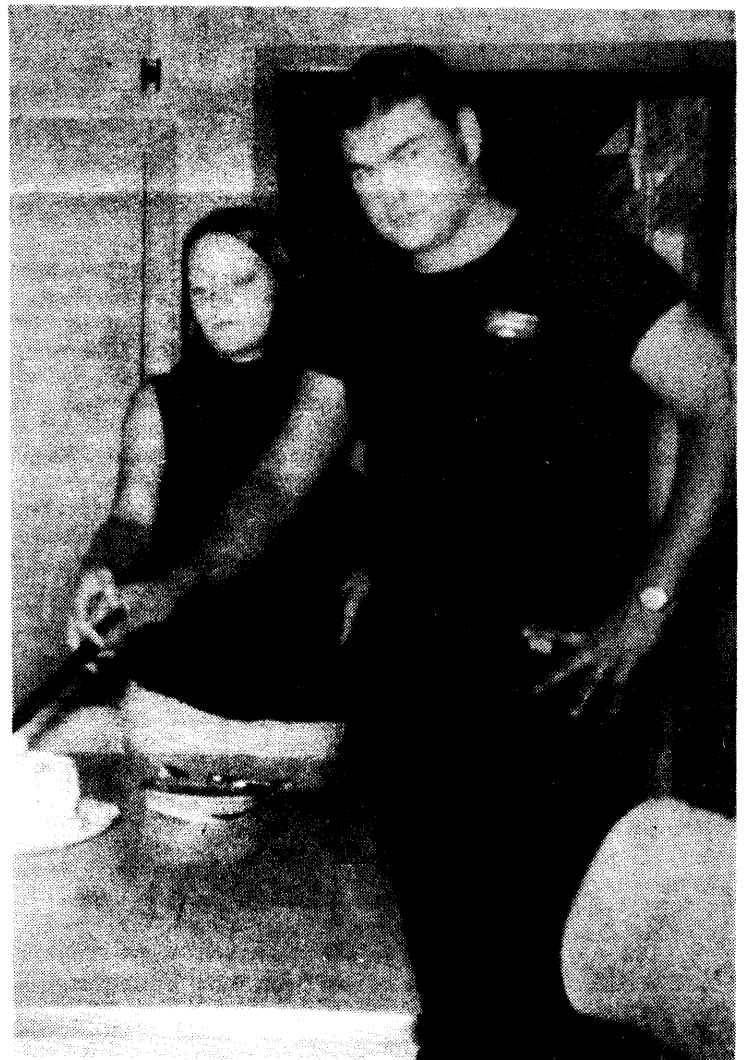
"And maybe they took away Laurie's mother," adds Martha, "because I might have to work all day now to support her. Rick's death means that I'm a 20 year old widow with a child who has a club foot and needs a lot of attention, maybe even an operation."

#### LAW

Under Ohio state law, the company does not owe Martha one penny. US Steel does not even have to pay her Rick's paycheck for the only week he worked because she is not yet 21.

"I don't know how long it will be until I begin to come back to myself," says Rick's mother, whose eyes are red from crying. "This afternoon before you came I had another crying jag. My neighbor came over and helped me to stop. But losing someone you've raised and known for 20 years really goes deep."

Nothing has changed in the National Tube plant since the death of Rick Hertzog. Two weeks after US Steel murdered Rick, another young worker nearly lost his leg in the plant. On the day the Bulletin spoke to men outside the plant, the ambulance passed through the gates twice. And every day, the ranks face the danger of lead poisoning.



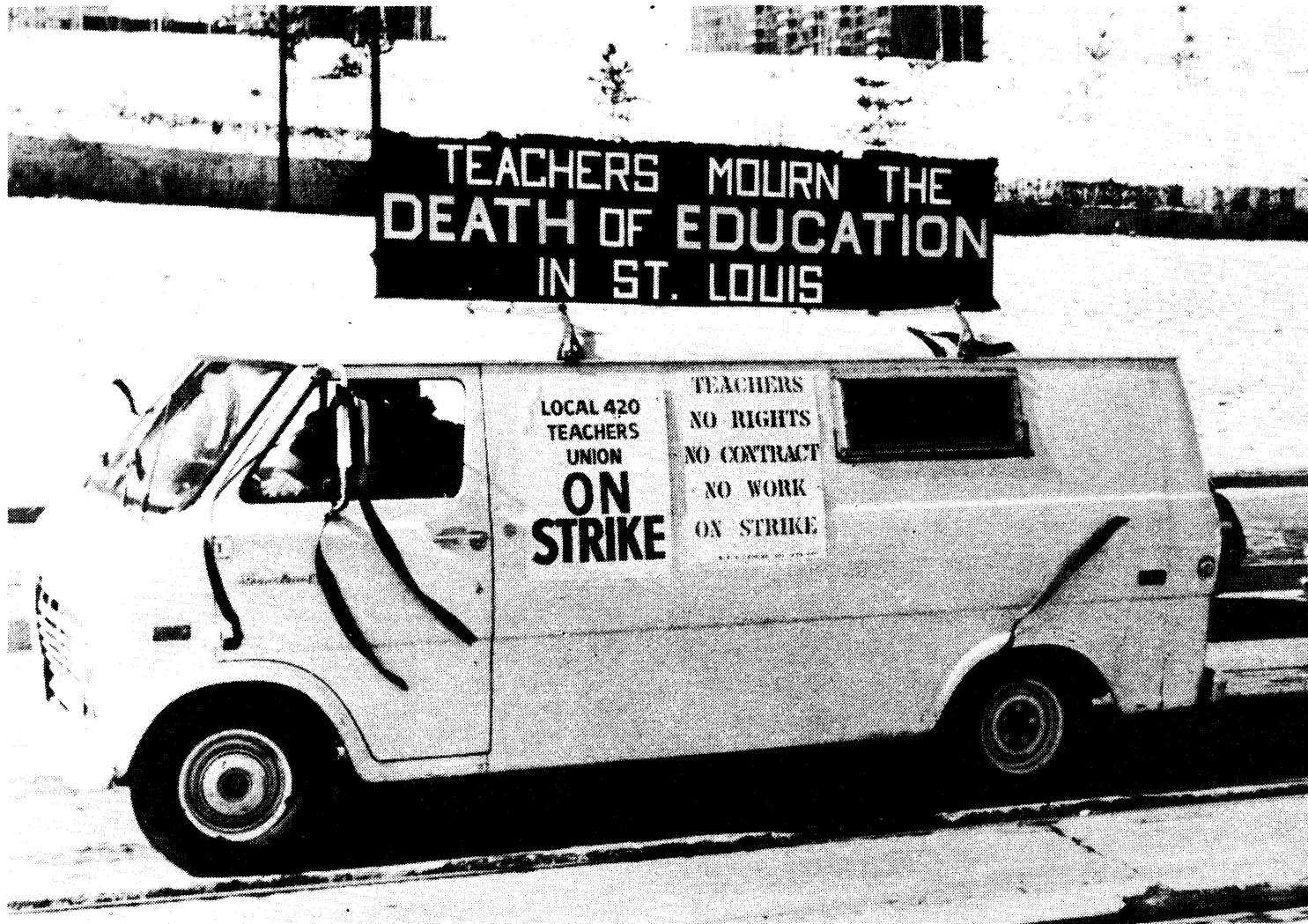
US Steel's National Tube plant in Lorain, Ohio, left, where Rick Hertzog was killed. Above, Rick's family (left to right): his wife Martha and his parents, Joe and Bertha Hertzog. Directly above, Rick and Martha at a family celebration after their wedding.

But conditions in National Tube are not unique. Two weeks ago, William J. Lindley was crushed to death in the Fontana plant of Kaiser Steel—a victim of the determination of the steel bosses to reap their profit even if they have to kill workers to do it. And these crimes, allowed by a union bureaucracy which protects its privileges by supporting the bosses, are the results of what the press calls "pioneering efforts in productivity."

In the plants of every industry

in the country, the conditions which led to the death of Rick Hertzog are being reproduced. It is through merciless speedup and a complete disregard for the lives of the ranks that big business—goaded on by Nixon—intends to solve its economic crisis. It is only through the building of a socialist leadership in the trade unions that fights for the nationalization of industry under workers' control that it will be possible to put a stop to the crimes of which Rick Hertzog was only one victim.

# Midwest News



St. Louis, Feb. 8—Teachers union prepares motorcade demonstration against the School Board, which is trying to push wage cuts and union-busting schemes on city labor. About 200 cars, including trade unionists from other unions, went to the Board offices downtown.

## Board Cuts Chicago ILA Pay

**BY WILL LONG**  
**CHICAGO**—Nixon's Pay Board, in one of its final moves, slashed 15 cents off the wage increase for last season won by Local 19 of the International Longshoremen's Association.

The contract, due in April 1972 and finally signed in August, included a \$2.27 wage and benefits package over three years. Seventy cents in wages was to be given the first year. Since the Pay Board refused to make a ruling on the increase until nine months had gone by and the docks were closed for the winter, the men never received one penny of their increase during the entire year. Now their lump sum payment will amount to 55 cents per hour worked.

"We are behind in wages. This is the issue. I believe we're five to seven years behind. With this 55 cents, we are at \$4.92 an hour. This year we'll be at about \$5.30 if we get our increase. We should have been making this four years ago.

"We should be making six something or seven dollars an hour. Longshoremen should be making as much as the average construction worker."

After the Board's long-awaited announcement, the leadership of Local 19 called an emergency meeting to vote on whether or not to accept the cut. An estimated 40 percent of the dockers voted to reject the Board's action. As one member said: "I don't see why you should vote on something that's already yours. What

belongs to you they should release."

Joseph Sykes, Local 19 president, offered nothing in the way of a fight back for those who wanted to reject the Pay Board decision. One docker told the *Bulletin* that: "Sykes said 'Let's accept it.' All he wanted to do was cram it down our throats."

At the same time, Sykes would not say what is happening in the other Great Lakes ports. The contract covered all the locals, but each local will decide for itself how to handle the Pay Board's attacks. A chief steward said:

"Everybody should do the same thing. It shouldn't be held this way. If the contract is sent in the same for all, it should come back for all. But we don't know anything, if they've (the other locals) accepted it or not. We don't even receive the newsletters anymore."

What is at stake on the Chicago docks is much more than the 15 cents. Not only is the government ripping up the contract that had been signed, but they are also preparing for massive layoffs, including the closing of practically all the Chicago piers except Calumet, which is the best equipped to handle containerized cargo.

### DECREASING

"We produce more work, we're faster at handling cargo than most ports. We had the name of one of the fastest ports but now the work is decreasing," said one docker.

In fact, the amount of cargo going through the Chicago ports was at a record high this year. But the use of containers has eliminated work for many of the 2500 full and part-time dockers.

Since SUB payments, which the men draw over the December-April shutdown, and all fringe benefits are figured on

the basis of hours worked, the cutting of man-hours threatens every man on the docks.

Now the company is beginning a new training program this spring to teach young workers how to run the new machinery. This means the new machinery will not only force massive layoffs, but it will also destroy the seniority system and

Chicago's unique union controlled hiring practices by reserving crucial jobs for the newest workers.

The rank and file must fight this betrayal by building a caucus now to demand the full 70 cents, and to prepare for strike action immediately in April if the 1973 increase is not in the first pay check of the season.

## AFSCME Bureaucrats Witch-Hunt Opposition

**BY AN 1164 MEMBER**

**MINNEAPOLIS**—In a desperate attempt to head off the anger of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 6 rank and file members against the sellout wage package recently negotiated between Council 6 and the State Civil Service Board, the leadership has opened a witch-hunt against the 1164 Caucus for a Decent Contract, which is fighting against this sellout.

At the 1164 February membership meeting, a resolution was presented that raised "suspicion that bosses have infiltrated the union" and slandered caucus members as "surrogates for the bosses."

The resolution demanded that the president appoint a legal committee to establish "by laws with teeth" to rid the union of such "excrement." This witch-hunt is being backed by supporters of Progressive Labor.

Members of the CDC fought against this resolution by reasserting every point of its program and demanding that the local leadership and the supporters of Progressive Labor explain why they were completely silent at the Council 6 delegates' meeting when Robison, head of Council 6, said nothing about Democrat Governor Anderson's recent hiring freeze, the proposed elimination of 1250 state workers, and of the status of the

wage negotiations.

In challenging the present leadership, one CDC member stated: "It is not the CDC that threatens this union. It is your silence. What did you say in defense of state workers and their jobs? Nothing. What program do you have for leading state workers against Anderson? None."

"The only forces leading the opposition to the Council 6's total acceptance of Anderson's attacks is the CDC. We stand on every position and leaflet we have fought for. We will continue to fight for the mobilization of all state workers into strike action against Anderson and anyone else who stands in our way in our fight to defend ourselves."

The supporters of the Stalinist PL led the attack on CDC on behalf of both the local and Council bureaucrats. They frantically rush to cover the tracks of Williams (1164 president) and Robison. Supporters of the Young

## Caseworkers Rally To End Job Freeze

**BY**

**A BULLETIN REPORTER**  
**CHICAGO**—Sick-ins and picket lines on February 2 express the determination of Cook County's Department of Public Aid employees to defend their union and jobs.

Hundreds of members of the Illinois Union of Social Service Employees are threatening full strike action unless a two year hiring freeze is lifted.

The freeze, declared by former governor Richard Ogilvie, has left the department understaffed by an estimated 2000 workers. Although special permission was recently granted for the hiring of 100 new caseworkers, no assignments have been made. Workers say that financial typists and clerks are also badly needed.

### MILITANT

The most militant demonstration was at the Southern District office, the county's largest. Philip Mullane, union steward, said that the office serves approximately 73,000 welfare recipients.

Forty caseworkers from the office were recently transferred to special projects, leaving 53 workers to handle caseloads of over 900 recipients each. Caseworkers and office staff picketed through their lunch hour, chanting "Underpaid and Overworked." With this demonstration, welfare workers join the struggle that is growing among Chicago's public employees. With an impending strike by city transit workers, mounting anger over layoffs at Cook County Hospital, and the continuing school crisis, Chicago is headed toward city-wide strike action by public employees.

The opposition of many of the delegates at the last meeting toward the sellout is the basis upon which a new leadership will be constructed to fight for decent wages and working conditions

# Norwood Worker Collapses From GMAD Speedup

BY MAC CARPENTER

NORWOOD, Ohio, Feb. 7—A veteran of 20 years on the line in the cushion shop keeled over with an apparent heart attack here today. To this date, he remains in the hospital in serious condition.

The General Motors management will not say anything or even release his name. Union officials say they are not sure if it was a heart attack or just sheer exhaustion.

The backbreaking pace of the speedup at the GMAD plant here is beginning to take its toll. The pace of 832 cars per eight hour day, the issue that these workers went on strike over last year, has been increased to 832 cars per eight hour day with 500 less workers.

To push the men still further, the company insists that they must now work a nine hour day. Several weeks in a row they have been forced to work six days a week. The company claims the overtime is not forced. The company simply hints that if you don't do it, they can find men who will.

In interviews with the Bulletin, the men said that GM intimidates men by circulating rumors of layoffs and a plant shutdown. It hires men to circulate stories about "lazy workers" and stating that the company is entitled to a "full day's work."

The men are being exhausted both physically and mentally so that General Motors can boost its profits.

## Job, Health Services Cut In Wisconsin

BY MARTIN WOODARD

MADISON—Whole sections of Wisconsin workers and low income families face a double-barreled assault in 1973 through the proposed national and state budgets.

The state of Wisconsin will cut almost 1000 job positions in the next two years, if Governor Patrick Lucey's budget is accepted by the state legislature.

The State Department of Health and Social Services is slated to lose 680 positions over a two year period. These include jobs at the Green Bay Reformatory, the Children's Treatment Center at Sparta, and 150 jobs in the State Department of Transportation.

As a consolation, all Budget Officer Goldstein could offer was that the workers involved would have "all the rights that would come along with layoffs."

Nixon's proposed federal budget will eliminate \$1.33 billion in funds for the Dane County Community Action Commission. This program is funded through the Office of Economic Opportunity, which is scheduled for termination in 1973. One hundred ninety-three CAC workers will lose their jobs in Dane County alone. As a direct result of Nixon's assault, Head Start, Youth Employment Training, Adult Education, Family Planning, Community Development, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Latin-America Project, and housing, food and recreation for the elderly will be eliminated.

One hundred fifty-five of CAC's workers are low paid or without training and will find it impossible to find new jobs. The elimination of CAC will cut off services to over 20,000 Dane County residents, an area where 75 percent of the residents live below the federally-defined poverty line. Congress has left CAC with operating funds for five weeks.

Paul McLeod, board member of CAC, stated: "The reasons for cutting CAC can't be monetary. Just the increase in the military budget Nixon proposed this year would run all 900 CAC agencies in the US for 13 years."

Fast on the heels of the increasing instability of the dollar, attacks are being leveled at social services and jobs all across the country. The unions throughout the state must issue a call for a Congress of Labor to defend all jobs and vital social programs.



Food service workers, members of United Electrical Workers Local 767, on strike against Antioch University. "They want to subcontract out the dining halls...union busting tactics—that's all it is."

# Chicago Bus Drivers Angry At Strike Delay

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

CHICAGO—"I just couldn't believe what was going on," said Benny, a Chicago bus driver with eight years seniority. "I thought they would be behind us on this at least. But those guys don't intend on calling a strike."

Rather than go along with the farce engineered by the leadership of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241, he and over half a meeting of record size walked out of the February 5 meeting.

In an eleventh hour campaign to hold back the militancy of the ranks that has been growing since the November 31 expiration of their contract, the leadership of the 9600 Chicago bus drivers maneuvered to postpone a strike vote until February 25.

"We don't have a contract, that's the major issue," said one worker who has been a union member for two and one-half years. "That's why this is the biggest meeting I've been to. We wanted to vote to strike Monday night. I would say 99 percent of the guys who came were there to vote to strike."

The angry ranks shouted questions at the flustered leadership. They simply ran through the agenda and did everything to avoid taking a strike vote on the spot.

### DEMANDED

In spite of the maneuvers to create complete disorder and end the meeting, the ranks demanded that the leadership confront the attack on the cost of living clause carried out by the Pay Board last June. The drivers said that: "Nixon has dissolved the Pay Board and we want the money they owe us."

Odell, who has worked for the

students:

"The student workers, before the strike, had over 600 hours a week in part-time work and I think they had about 160 members in their union. When they closed the Inn, they cut them down to 300 hours and ARA proposed to give them 185. So that's why they hit the street with us. Of course they've always backed us, but now they have a big grievance too. So we're all in this together."

The Teamsters are honoring the picket lines, but the university has threatened to break the line:

"We have a threat over our heads now—they say the dormitories are out of paper supplies. They say they're going to run some in if they have to run over us. And we say they're not going to run them in."

## Antioch Workers Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

**YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio**—Ford service workers here are striking Antioch University against the attempt to subcontract the food service department and lay off workers.

The university is partially shut down because of the strike. Evelyn Campbell, recording secretary of Local 767 of the United Electrical Workers, which represents the workers, told the Bulletin about the issues in the strike:

"They want to subcontract out the dining halls, bring in ARA (a food service firm) and put a lot of our people out of work. If we let them get by with that, they'll be subcontracting the housekeeping work, the maintenance work, the skilled trades and there'll be nobody left. If we let them get away with it, nobody will have a job. Union busting tactics—that's all it is."

### DEFICIT

"They say they have a very big deficit. They sat up there and let it pile up for years and suddenly they can't let it go one day longer. They got to cut it out of our hides."

"Any of the experienced people in the dining hall can run the place a lot better than Ray Klontz and his crew. If they run up a deficit that big it has to be deliberate—to bust the union."

### SUPPORT

Mrs. Campbell said about the support received from the

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Chicago Transit Authority for 10 years, said: "It seems they are trying to force us to strike. Now they say we can't get most of the money we are owed because it fell due during the wage freeze."

A compromise proposal to reduce layoffs instead of defeating the CTA's plans altogether was soundly defeated by Rapid Transit employees at the Local 308 meeting the week before.

The Local 241 bureaucracy tried to pretend the problem was not there at all, claiming the CTA plan to lay off 1200 workers was a bluff. The meeting exploded when a driver stood up and asked about the eight men who had already been laid off.

One worker explained the anger of the ranks who demanded that the leadership defend these men. "When they hired me, they said we would be guaranteed 40 hours and no layoffs. That's why I took the job, because there wouldn't be any worry about finding a new job. When they brought it up at the meeting that eight guys had already been laid off, we wanted to do something right away."

Then the leadership played their final card, claiming that there is no money in the strike fund of this local, which has never had an official strike. Angry workers stormed out of the meeting.

Strike votes are being taken by the locals on February 13 and 21. There must be immediate action by ATU members against the retreats of the leadership.

A strike must be fought for on the basis of a program including the fight for a new contract based on a full cost of living clause, no layoffs, and complete compensation for money due since last June. The fight for a Congress of Labor to call for the construction of a labor party to defeat Phase Three must be the center of the fight that faces Chicago's transit workers in the next few weeks.

# FRANCE . . .

(Continued From Page 2)  
 didate who gets the strongest vote.

This election campaign has exposed all the weakness and desperation of the French regime which faces a major political challenge at the very moment when its economy is in deep crisis and it enters a ruthless trade war with the United States.

The first big blow of this trade war was the decision of Trans World Airlines and Pan American Airlines to cancel their 13 options on the supersonic airplane, Concord. The Concord was set up as a joint venture between France and England to break into the US domination of the aerospace industry.

This decision, one year after United Airlines and Air Canada cancelled their orders, is a deliberate measure aimed at wiping out European competition. Nationally, there are 30,000 workers involved in the project and in Toulouse, the heart of the Concord production, at least 15,000 jobs are at stake.

## CONCORD

The French press has tried to play down the impact of the Con-

## PRICES . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

record 62.4 percent annual rate for the December wholesale price index.

At the same time, Stein insisted that wages would be tightly controlled under Phase Three. He declared that it would be "absolutely incorrect" to think that Nixon has shelved the wage controls established during Phase Two.

## EXPOSE

Stein's remarks expose the bankrupt claims by the trade union bureaucracy that Phase Three will be more lenient on wages while holding down prices. The ruthless determination of Nixon to hold down wages was expressed by Stein when he answered a Congressman who asked whether the pay guidelines would be rigidly enforced.

"It is going to take a little while to make believers of people again, but we will do it," Stein replied.

cord cancellations by blaming the high cost of the plane as the reason. Henri Ziegler, president of the National Industrial Aerospace Society, announced that the Concord program would continue in expectation of a resurgence of orders in 1975.

The fate of the Concord, however, is entirely dependent on the US. This is only the beginning of Nixon's drive to push down European industry.

French production has been steadily declining as Germany has grabbed an increasing share of the European market. Companies like Berliet, a truck manufacturer, are now run at a deficit and have been forced to combine operations with the Swedish Volvo company, a move which will bring further layoffs for French workers.

What this means is that a government of the Left Union, if it wins this election, will be immediately faced with revolutionary struggles by the French workers in response to the attacks of the US and French capitalists.

This situation will make any form of collaboration or compromise between a left majority in the Assembly and Pompidou, as head of state, impossible for the capitalists. Pompidou has clearly warned that he will not nominate a SP or CP member as Prime Minister. He intends to provoke a confrontation by either dissolving the Assembly or changing the Constitution.

The statement of the Communist Party senator in Toulouse on the Concord crisis that "the national interest is at stake," and the statement of the CP's economic advisor that they will work within the structures of the world market exposes the Stalinists' acceptance of capitalism.

In a period when French capitalism can only survive by seeking to destroy the living standards and organizations of the working class, only a complete break with capitalism and its parties, the fight for nationalization of industry under workers control and the preparation for taking power will defend the working class and small farmers.



Members of SSEU-371 and 1549 in New York (social workers and clerks) met to plan a citywide strategy against the city's attacks and to prepare a delegation to the St. Louis Continuations Committee conference.

# VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

ty, the revolutionary power is always present under different forms. In many villages, the people are only waiting for the arrival of the Control Commission to replace the Saigon flags with ours and set up popular committees."

Throughout the liberated areas, it has been reported that the popular committees, which function in the midst of mass meetings, have acted to shatter the power of the landlords and corrupt officials of the Thieu regime.

Describing the brutal repressions being carried out by Thieu, a member of the NLF said:

"It is the nature of imperialism. The revolutionary movement is so strong that Thieu has no choice. And he knows it. He must choose the fascist road because for him there is no other."

The lack of support for Thieu even within the army was revealed in the desperate order by Saigon's General Lan that all fraternization between Southern and Northern soldiers be stopped.

Another young revolutionary explained that although there was a cease-fire: "The social revolution, which began during the old regime of the mandarins, always continues. The struggle of classes is a constant."

The great danger of Stalinism in this situation consists in its deliberate attempt to undermine the military strength of the revolutionary forces. This policy of betrayal is backed to the hilt by the American Communist Party, whose secretary, Gus Hall, has praised the reasonable foreign policy of Nixon.



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# Rumored Film Pact Contains 25% Job Cut

BY SHEILA BREHM

**HOLLYWOOD**—The film industry here is in a financial crisis that is causing massive unemployment with some union locals reporting 70 percent out of work.

This week, film industry officials, seeking to "cut costs and save Hollywood," announced that an agreement had been reached with the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (IATSE), covering 25,000 craft workers. The agreement would destroy 25 percent of the jobs by establishing a basic stage crew of nine workers, breaking strict lines of jurisdiction between jobs and forcing workers to do jobs outside their craft.

Two union officials from IATSE Locals 727 and 728 denounced the agreement as an "outright lie," stating that no such arrangement exists.

A union official from Local 727 said he felt the plan was announced by management as a "feeler" to test how far they could actually go.

## PROTEST

As soon as the plan was announced, the studios jumped to warn the crews, "There will be no more fooling around, do as you are told to do." Hundreds of irate production workers telephoned union offices to protest the plan.

An electrician from Local 728, working on location at the TWA terminal at Los Angeles Airport said his life is anything but

glamorous. He worked only six and one-half months last year. He explained that, "A lot of the layoffs come from new kinds of equipment. All the large lamps are new; they are much lighter with less cables and generators. It used to take 15 guys to run a set like this; now there are only seven."

The membership of Local 727, covering craft service workers, has been cut by 50 percent since 1969. The average earning last year was only \$3000. Today there are 60 jobs a day for 225 available workers.

## FAILURES

The film industry, dependent on easy money, is being caught up by the lack of confidence in the overall economic situation. A large number of multi-million dollar failures, such as the \$100 million dollar loss from Twentieth Century Fox's "Hello Dolly," have more than aggravated the situation.

The fact that IATSE international president Richard Walsh has not denied the validity of the recent agreement opens up great dangers. Any agreement to force workers to do jobs outside their craft will open the way for even more unemployment.

As major studios such as Universal and Paramount operate way under capacity, the only solution is the nationalization of the entertainment industry.



Film crews working on location at TWA terminal at Los Angeles Airport. Members of IATSE are faced with huge unemployment and studios are threatening to deny job jurisdiction.

# Chronicle Slanders Magee Self Defense

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

**SAN FRANCISCO**—The San Francisco Chronicle has just published an entire page special on Ruchell Magee written from the point of view of a liberal "sympathetic" to Magee, and entitled "Ruchell Magee's Stubborn Battle For His Rights." Actually the article viciously attacks Magee as a "psychotic" hopelessly fighting those who want to help him.

The outbursts of Magee against the court are just a "ritual." Using a psychological report filed by prison doctors, Magee is labelled "a schizophrenic and psychotic, suspicious of everybody ... pressured to impress others."

In this way the Chronicle justifies the court for removing Magee from the courtroom and refusing to let him speak in his

own defense.

Finally the Chronicle says that the separation of Magee's trial from Angela Davis' was due to Magee's "determination to do things his own way," not to the Stalinists' wish to curry favor with the middle class by conducting a liberal defense of Davis and abandoning Magee.

This reveals the main purpose of the article, which is to cover up the criminal silence over the Magee trial on the part of the Stalinist People's World and other radical groups, while blunting Magee's attempt to conduct a revolutionary defense.

At the same time the People's World has finally broken its silence in order to disarm any

support for Magee. It uses the expulsion of forty Black students from the trial for a show of solidarity with Magee in order to cover over the class nature of the trial. The judge expelled Blacks from the courtroom, therefore he is a racist and should be removed from the case.

In this way they seek to equate the heroic working-class fighter Magee with the agent of the growers Juan Corona. Both are "victims of racism." To cap it all, the Stalinists refuse to call for Magee to be freed, contenting themselves with praising his defense attorney, who acts as an open agent of the prosecution.

## SABOTAGE

It is no mistake that the Chronicle and the People's World now come together against Magee. The fear that youth and workers will rally to him drives both to sabotage a class defense of his actions.

Ruchell Magee must be freed. Every class fighter in the youth and unions must demand Magee's freedom and the release of all political prisoners.

# Dockers Demand Fight Against 30¢ Pay Cut

BY BARRY GREY

West Coast longshoremen are demanding action by the Bridges leadership to win back the 30 cent pay increase cut by the Cost of Living Council Friday.

Dockers at the huge LASH pier in San Francisco were furious over the government's action. Many directed their anger straight at the Bridges leadership, which refused to fight against the original cut and against government intervention in last year's strike.

One docker said, "This is a dictatorship, that's all it is."

Many dockers agreed on the necessity for immediate strike action against the government to win the entire 30 cents.

One docker said, "I'm for a shutdown. We need a general

strike. They should be penalized for not paying us."

As for Bridges, he said, "Bridges' tactics are very mysterious."

All of the bitterness over the last contract, which won absolutely nothing after a four month strike and was subsequently cut to ribbons by the Pay Board and the courts, has come to the surface in the wake of the government's action.

That contract was agreed upon on the stipulation that the end of mandatory controls would mean the restoration of the pay cut. Therefore Bridges must be forced to carry out strike action to enforce the contract and restore the full 30 cents.

# CORONA . . . Get Tough Drive For Professional Army

(Continued From Page 20)  
capitalist class gearing itself for all-out war.

## OBSCENE

The revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party have played a critical role in providing support for La Raza Unida Party and campaigning for a Black party as well to split the working class and prevent the development of a labor party. They have remained completely silent over the nationalists' defense of Corona, refusing to confront the obscene logic of nationalism, which now seeks to unite the youth with their butchers.

The working class can only defend itself by mobilizing as a class in a labor party, which will be constructed in a bitter struggle against the nationalists, Stalinists, and revisionists, who will more and more openly take the side of the enemy class.

**FORT ORD**—Nixon is now completely reorganizing and disciplining the army. This reorganization attempts to bring the troops back under the harsh discipline of the old army to increase efficiency and fighting capacity.

The impossible living conditions are bringing hundreds of working class youth into the armed forces seeking to take advantage of the new pay scales, unit of choice options and other "benefits."

Here at Fort Ord, the emphasis is being put on combat readiness training and consequently there has been a tightening up of discipline and security with punishments for any slight misbehavior. One GI stated: "They're crazy. I thought that when I finished basic training this harassment would be all over."

The troops are being forced to pull extra duty in the form of remedial training classes on weekends and weekday nights as a punishment for disrespect and neglecting regulations. Whole platoons may be assigned to do field training exercises in combat maneuvers as a regular duty.

The officers and sergeants are proceeding with complete arrogance and are provoking and pushing one measure after

another. In one company several men have been reduced in rank and fined for missing extra duty. Security guards are being posted in the barracks 24 hours a day forcing GI's to work six and seven days a week.

These rapid changes mean that a whole period of reforms and concessions to GI's has come to a halt. The army is being whipped into shape to be used to enforce Phase Three and to enforce international trade war.

This new period is reflected by one GI when he says, "They are toughening up on everything because this time they want an army that will be ready for war."

The government knows that the demoralized army that refused to fight in Vietnam is not the instrument they need. Unable to maintain discipline in the face of growing opposition and revolts in the Army and Navy, the panic stricken capitalist class is now organizing a volunteer army, of highly paid professionals to be mobilized against the working class.

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# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

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

PHONE 415-621-1310



West Coast longshoremen, shown here at hiring hall in San Francisco, are demanding that the Bridges leadership take steps to win back the 30 cent pay increase wiped out by Nixon's Cost of Living Council.

## Trade War Threatens New Aerospace Slump

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The aerospace industry has been in deep crisis since 1968, with 160,000 workers losing their jobs in California alone. The new moves by the United States toward trade war with Japan and Europe will mean new and even greater shocks for the industry.

The two main American airlines, TWA and Pan American, have cancelled their options to buy 13 of the British-French supersonic plane the Concorde.

This is an action calculated to bankrupt a whole section of European industry and throw 50,000 or more out of work. It is the signal that the "normal" competition of capitalist boom is to be replaced by the economic nationalism that dominated the 1930s and led to World War II.

### RUTHLESS

This conflict will require the most ruthless measures for speedup and rationalization of production to compete for the rapidly shrinking market. Last

fall North American-Rockwell began to bring in speedup experts from the infamous GMAD division of General Motors to apply assembly line productivity techniques to aircraft production.

A recent article in *California Business* spotlights the thinking of the aerospace monopolists and their bankers as they gear up for battle. Most are pessimistic about future employment in the industry.

"We're all in the process of laying people off, or will be," said K.R. Kiddoo, corporate director of manpower resources at Lockheed Aircraft in Burbank. He says the employment slide after 1968 was "arrested ever so slightly" in 1972 because it was an election year. "But since the election, the damn thing has turned over again and we're continuing our decline. What you see throughout the whole industry is outright cancellation or stretch outs of current programs and no new starts. The only thing we can anticipate is more layoffs particularly of highly trained, scientific people because we have no new programs in the pipeline. It's not a good picture."

### PROTECTED

The aerospace industry has grown fat on its protected government market. Tightened up military procurement and cost cutting measures mean that the rest of the American capitalist class wants the industry to shape up and pull its weight in the trade war.

A Los Angeles banker told *California Business*, "Its (aerospace's) experience in the private market is about nil. It must compete with companies

experienced in the private sector. Many aerospace companies have the technical knowledge but not the marketing expertise."

Intensified competition will drive other companies to the position of Lockheed, which avoids a catastrophic crash only through government handouts.

### SUICIDAL

Already the major non-government market for aerospace is threatened by the outbreak of suicidal competition among the commercial airlines. The granting of new routes to Hawaii has driven the profits from this once lucrative route down below zero.

### RATE WAR

A full scale rate war rages on the key North Atlantic routes. Every major airline in the United States is running at a loss, and this will soon have an effect on procurement of new planes.

Last week McDonnell-Douglas laid off 200 workers at its Long Beach facility. It is reported that the 15,000 workers there will be cut to 10,000 in April and 5000 by next fall. McDonnell-Douglas has lost the contract for Japanese commercial aviation to Lockheed.

The aerospace industry faces devastation because of the rapidly developing trade war between America, Japan and Europe. The same fate is in store for workers in key industries like auto and steel.

The only way forward is through the mobilization of the unions in a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party committed to the nationalization of industry under workers control.

## Stalinists, Nationalists Rally To Juan Corona

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The case of Juan Corona has exposed the completely reactionary nature of nationalism and the Stalinists and revisionists who cater to it.

Corona is a farm labor contractor who for twenty years has made his living trading in the flesh and blood of farmworkers, many of them illegal aliens with no means of defending themselves. Recently he was convicted of the murder of twenty five farmworkers in the Sacramento Valley.

Now he is being hailed as a Chicano national hero by the La Raza Unida Party and the Communist Party. A rally of 1500 Chicanos, many of them youth, was held at Fairfield, site of Corona's trial.

Speakers from La Raza Unida and the Stalinist-led National United Committee to Free All Political Prisoners protested the unfair practices of the prosecution and demanded "justice for Corona." This huge turnout from all over the Southwest is a sign of the determination of thousands of Chicano youth and workers to defend themselves from Nixon.

No doubt the prosecution has been determined to get Corona no matter what normal judicial procedures were ignored. The move by the capitalist class towards dictatorial methods of rule means that they cannot deal fairly even with their own lackeys.

But the nationalists seek to cover over completely Corona's class role by whipping up

hysteria about the 'racism' in Corona's trial in order to unite the working class youth with their deadliest enemies.

In this dirty job, the Stalinists

play the dirtiest role. Their paper, the *People's World*, has featured Corona several times as the lead article on the back page, while Ruchell Magee is ignored. They praise the demonstrators for kneeling in the mud to pray for justice. That is where the Stalinists hope to put all the working class and youth—on their knees before Nixon and a

### Dockers Must Strike Phase III Cut

## Editorial

The rejection by the Cost of Living Council of the ILWU 30 cent raise cut by the Pay Board last year spells out exactly what labor can expect under Phase Three.

Not only does the wage freezing provision of Phase Two still stand but now through the Cost of Living Council Nixon has assumed dictatorial powers over wages.

The action against the ILWU is a warning to every union that 4.5 million workers coming up for contracts in 1973 can expect the same treatment.

During the 1971 contract negotiations Bridges threatened a strike if the Pay Board cut a penny off the docker's increase. Despite the support of the entire labor movement he backed down and agreed to a 30 cent cut with a face saving clause allowing the renegotiation at the expiration of Phase Two.

The opposition to the cut was so enormous that every labor leader except Fitzsimmons was forced to walk off the Pay Board in protest.

The refusal of Bridges to fight and the unwillingness of the labor bureaucracy to do any more than protest has given Nixon the ability to maintain the wage freeze and precious time to prepare bigger blows under Phase Three.

As though speaking directly to dockers outgoing Price Commissioner C. Jackson Grayson in defense of Phase Three has just warned that: "On the union side we need

more willingness to give on labor-saving machinery...In some cases this will mean reduction of work force."

Once again the ILWU is thrust into the lead of the entire labor movement as the victim of the Phase Three controller's first action in a wage case. Once again the labor bureaucracy is collaborating with the very board that is administering the cut. Once again, Bridges has indicated in the Dispatcher, ILWU newspaper, that only a strike can restore the cut.

There can be no simple repetition of Phase Two, however. Phase Three means uncontrollable price increases with massive attacks on living standards and the very right of the unions to exist. The labor movement must be mobilized to smash Phase Three and defeat this strike-breaking government.

Dockers must demand a strike to defend a contract which the Price Commission has just contemptuously ripped to shreds. The AFL-CIO, Teamsters, and auto workers who face the same cuts must mobilize behind the dockers in this fight.

Strike action to restore all cuts, force Meany, Woodcock and Fitzsimmons off Nixon's Board and destroy Phase Three and the Cost of Living Council before it destroys the unions is the only way forward.

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