

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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DECEMBER 11, 1972

103

## Preparations For Mass Unemployment---

# Close 3 Piers Cut 1500 Jobs In Brooklyn

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

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Brooklyn International Longshoremen's Association Local 1814 President Anthony

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(Continued On Page 18)



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## Continuations Committee Statement

# Emergency Meeting To Answer Nixon

BY DAN FRIED

Secretary, Continuations Committee

The Continuations Committee of the National Committee For A Labor Party Now has called an emergency meeting of the Committee to be held in St. Louis on Sunday, February 18 to take forward the fight for the trade unions to form a labor party that was begun at the October 21 conference of 325 trade unionists and youth in Chicago.

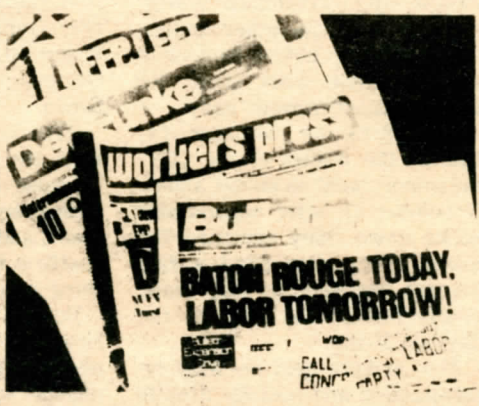
The St. Louis meeting will organize a nationwide campaign in every union demanding that the full strength of the working class now be mobilized through the calling of a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party to defend the labor movement against the vicious attacks of the government and the employers that have

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The Southgate, California Local 216 of the United Auto Workers has shown the way forward with the passage by an overwhelming majority of a motion by Rudy

Sulento demanding that the labor movement immediately call a Congress of Labor and that the UAW fight for the formation of an American Labor Party. (See article, page 20.)

The refusal of the entire labor bureaucracy in all its wings, from Leonard Woodcock to George Meany to Thomas Gleason and Frank Fitzsimmons to mobilize the vast power of the labor movement independently in its own party has allowed Nixon and the corporations to reign blows down upon



## INSIDE Toward A Workers Press In The U.S.

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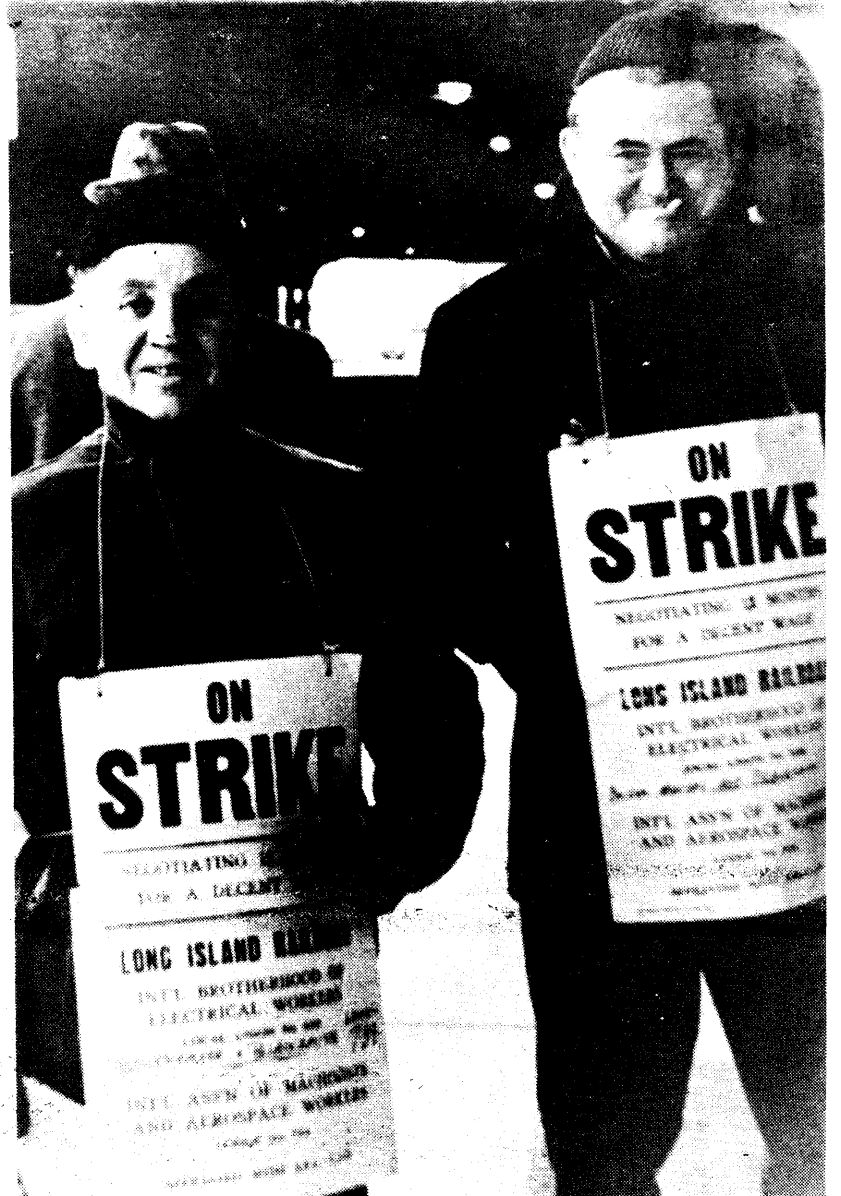
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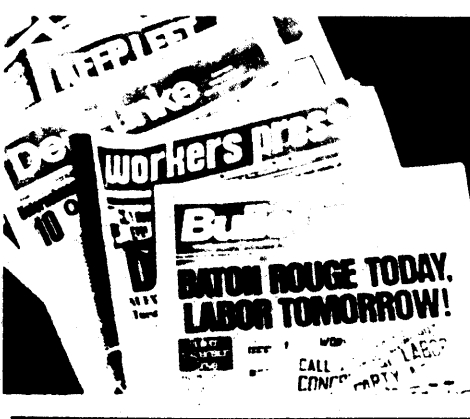
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# Australian Labour Party Sweeps Vote In Election

BY ED SMITH

The Australian Labour Party swept a coalition of the Liberal and Country Parties out of office in the national elections held last Saturday.

It was the first defeat for the right-wing Liberal-Country coalition in nearly a quarter century. The Liberals campaigned on a policy of anti-union laws and cutbacks in social services.

## LIBERALS

The Australian working class used the Labour-Liberal contest to express its utter hostility to the union-busting Liberals. The vote was also an endorsement of Labour's pledge to withdraw troops from Singapore and Malaysia, to re-examine the SEATO and ANZUS military pacts with the United States, and to establish diplomatic relations

with Peking.

The victory of the Labour Party a week earlier in the New Zealand elections spurred the Labour victory in Australia. In countries all over the world, the working class has begun to intervene in politics, which is reflected first of all in big gains for the traditional working class parties.

The past several weeks have seen the victory of the Social-Democratic-Free Democratic coalition of Willy Brandt in Germany, Labour victories in Australia and New Zealand, and big gains for labor in elections in Canada and the Netherlands.

## AMERICA

American workers must begin their political intervention through the foundation of their own political instrument, an American labor party.



Australia's Gough Whitlam of the Labour Party.

## 1,000 Airport Workers End Israeli Strike

BY

A CORRESPONDENT

One thousand Israeli airport workers have ended the strike they began on Thursday of last week for higher wages. Nearly all of Israel's air communication with the outside world was cut off.

The Israeli workers' strike comes hard on the heels of the general strike by Arab workers in Lebanon against government repression of the labor movement.

The strikes demonstrate the growing unity of the struggle of Arab and Israeli workers against capitalism and shows the way toward overcoming the grip of Zionism and imperialism in the Middle East.

## DEPRIVE

For the first time since the anti-riot law was passed, it is being used to deprive French trade unionists of their basic right to fight through their unions for better living standards. It shows that Premier Pompidou is determined to establish dic-



Dublin demonstration against Prime Minister Jack Lynch, who continues to move toward open military rule. His new laws would imprison dissidents without trial or proof of guilt. See article page 15.

# NLF Battalions Rebel Against Negotiations

BY A CORRESPONDENT

As Henry Kissinger, Nixon's envoy, and North Vietnam's Le Duc Tho began what has been described as the last round of talks in a settlement of the Vietnamese War, resistance is growing within the National Liberation Front to the cynical deal being discussed by the U.S. and the Stalinists.

The French newspaper, *Le Monde*, reported last week that a rebellion broke out in the forces of the NLF. According to *Le Monde*, on November 10, under orders of North Vietnamese General Le Vink Khoa, three battalions of soldiers attacked the leaders of the Provisional Revolu-

tionary Government and the NLF who favor "fair" negotiations.

The three leaders of the revolt were Vo Chi Cong, President of the Revolutionary Party of the People (South Vietnamese Communist Party), Tran Bach Dang, member of the presidium of the NLF Central Committee, and Vo

Van Mon, also on the NLF Central Committee.

## DISAGREEMENTS

Reportedly, disagreements in the NLF leadership have grown since the 1968 Tet offensive. The three leaders of the rebellion accused Huynh Tan Phat, President of the PRG, of being "defeatist" and attacked his position that a military victory is "unrealistic" and that the NLF must accept negotiations.

*Le Monde* reports that the rebellion was launched before dawn against the bunkers of these leaders, forcing them to retreat. The opposition leaders sent a delegation to Tran Nam Trung, Minister of Defense and Chief of the Army, urging him to join them in a reorganized Central Committee. Trung instead called for the crushing of the rebellion.

On November 11, the dissidents were surrounded and two of the three battalions surrendered. The other escaped. It is this resistance that now confronts the leadership in North Vietnam.

## DRAFT AGREEMENT

North Vietnam is now demanding that the U.S. sign the draft agreement worked out in Paris in October. But the US has made it clear that it will stand behind Thieu's demand that all North Vietnam's forces be withdrawn from the South.

The North Vietnamese are opposed to the withdrawal of their Army from the South, claiming correctly that Vietnam is their country and they have a right to be there, which the Americans do not.

Having worked out a "tentative" settlement in October, Nixon, after his election, added new demands which included the withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from the South. Kissinger also reportedly refused to admit the possibility of "neutralist" participation in a future Saigon administration and indicated that the US would not force Thieu to free the 200,000 political prisoners.

(Continued On Page 18)

# French Workers On Trial For Demanding Pay Raise

BY MELODY FARROW

In the largest demonstration in the city of Lyons since the General Strike in 1968, 12,000 French workers marched through the streets November 27, in solidarity with nine shop stewards from the Berliet auto plant in Venissieux.

The workers are being brought to trial, under the provisions of the 1970 anti-riot law, for giving out leaflets and demonstrating for a wage increase inside the factory.

The Berliet workers on the march, joined by trade unionists from all the important plants in the region, gathered before the court and shouted "Popaul in Jail," a reference to the Berliet director.

At the same time, eight painters and eight other workers from the same plant have been forced to appear in court because they refused to touch cars assembled at another plant in sympathy with a strike in Berliet.

In Caen, ten workers have received suspended sentences and fines for locking up the directors and occupying their factory in 1970 after a co-worker was fired.

## DEPRIVE

For the first time since the anti-riot law was passed, it is being used to deprive French trade unionists of their basic right to fight through their unions for better living standards. It shows that Premier Pompidou is determined to establish dic-

tatorial control over the working class. The employers, backed by the government, arrogantly refuse any negotiations.

It is becoming increasingly difficult for the Communist Party and its trade union federation, the CGT, to control the growing wave of lengthy strikes.

## COMMUNIST PARTY

Everywhere they seek to isolate and hold back the struggles to token protests. Despite the threats of Berliet that he would give nothing, the Communist Party mayor of Venissieux pleaded for "real negotiations."

In the northern region of Alsace, the Communist Party, together with the other unions, has forced the potash miners to end their five week strike for only the most meager gains.

Beginning on October 24, against the wishes of the CGT, the miners went on strike, and on November 17, after negotiations broke down, they occupied the mines. They demanded a five percent increase, a 1000 franc yearly bonus, and pay for the days on strike.

The strikers held on with determination and courage despite the minimal support given by the

unions. The workers' wives played a leading role, helping the men to picket. After the occupation began, one striker's wife said:

"We will no longer guarantee anything...our nerves are close to breaking, we will fight to the end." Another said: "The miner has no future anymore, we feel as if he no longer matters."

On November 16, 6000 miners, with their wives and other workers, marched in Mulhouse with a large banner that said: "We Shall Overcome." But the approach of the CGT and the Socialist Party union federation, CFDT, was to call on the Prime Minister Pierre Messmer, to intervene.

## SABOTAGE

The Stalinists of the CP are consciously sabotaging these strikes in order to preserve their "responsible" image in the election campaign. The attitude of the Communist Party was summed up bluntly by its General Secretary Georges Seguy:

"The time which separates us from the elections enables us to increase union pressure to impose concessions on the government and the bosses. But we reaffirm that we will not do anything to upset the elections..."

But the Communist Party will find their task of sacrificing the needs of the workers in exchange for good relations with Pompidou a very difficult job.

# Big Vote Seen For MFD As Miners Polling Starts

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

In the most important election held by any union in many years, the entrenched, corrupt Boyle leadership is being challenged by the Miners for Democracy, which has wide support from militant miners.

The MFD has brought large numbers of discontented and militant rank and filers behind them, so that they actually pose a real alternative to the Boyle leadership, and could even win this election.

Miller and Treblovich, candidates of the MFD, have taken their campaign right into the mines themselves, making countless visits to the vast houses where miners change their clothes between shifts. They have managed to unleash a groundswell of rank and file revolt, particularly among young miners, which could sweep them into the leadership of the union when the votes are counted.

## GROUNDSWELL

But the groundswell could easily go beyond the confines of the union itself into a whole fight against the government and its attacks on the labor movement. Such a fight would pose a lead to the entire working class.

It would inevitably raise the demand for a labor party so that the unions can defend themselves politically.

The Workers League is supporting the MFD and demanding that it lead such a fight.

Bulletin reporters last week visited the mining town of Portage, Pennsylvania, and talked with rank and file miners. The feeling in the town is that the election would be close. The leadership of the Portage local supports Boyle, as do many of the other UMW members, according to people the Bulletin talked with.

## CHANGES

There was not very much enthusiasm for him among anyone with whom the Bulletin spoke, however. Most said that they thought the union needed

changes, but were wary of the MFD, suspecting that they might not be much different from Boyle.

One UMW member said: "We don't want a leader with a silver spoon in his mouth. We need somebody for the rank and file." When asked if he thought that Miller represented such a candidate, he replied: "I guess so. Boyle had a silver spoon right from the start. The working man has been getting kicked around for too long. We need a change."

The Workers League urges all miners to vote for the Miners for Democracy slate, and to fight for this leadership to carry through a real struggle to defend the miners against the mining companies and the government.

Such a fight involves an immediate demand for a Congress of Labor to plan a battle to defeat Nixon's union-busting strategy, for general strike action and the construction of a mass labor party.

## Jones & Laughlin Slash Steel Jobs

BY HAL SMITH

PITTSBURGH—Since the re-election of Nixon and his announcement of "new plays" against the trade unions, the nation's steel corporations have stepped up their drive for increased profit through productivity speedup and a rash of new layoffs in basic steel.

The announcement by Jones & Laughlin of an additional 300 layoffs at the Hazelwood works here has now been followed by an announcement by the Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Company of the elimination of 200 jobs resulting from closure of the fabricating division at the Monessen, Pennsylvania works. In addition, Republic Steel announced that it will close its nut and bolt division,

dumping another 800 workers in Cleveland and Gadsden, Alabama.

The latest layoffs by Jones & Laughlin are one more step by the company to boost its profits by phasing out these older facilities in the Pittsburgh area. In the last year, this has meant a cut-back at the Southside plant from 5000 to 2100, with the work force at Hazelwood now being reduced to 3500 from 5000 18 months ago.

The Hazelwood Local 1843 of the United Steelworkers of

with absolutely nothing having been gained by the show of defiance and determination on the part of the rank and file to protect their jobs and standard of living.

This wildcat exposed for all to see the bankrupt position of the union bureaucracy, which hid behind a technicality in the contract and refused to even give information to other parts of the plant and to the press, and to block any effort to bring out the entire plant in support of the grievances raised in the wildcat.

This is not a new position on

the part of this bureaucracy. Four months earlier, when the blast furnace was shut down by a similar wildcat, they blocked every attempt to get support for the strike. They blocked instead with management, which subsequently carried out the most vicious layoffs on an already diminished work force.

These treacherous policies must not be tolerated. The rank and file must answer this attack on their right to strike for decent wages and working conditions with the formation of a caucus for new leadership.



Bulletin reporter speaks to Natick, Mass. Wonderbread workers, who have joined bakers across the country in striking for a Monday through Friday work week.

# New York Printers Threaten Strike Action Against Pay Board

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, Dec. 4—The Stereotypers' Union No. 1 today informed the publishers of the major daily newspapers that it was terminating its contract because of the Pay Board's three percent cut of a wage increase negotiated in 1970.

This action brought to three the number of printing trades unions that are threatening strikes within 60 days over the cuts.

The leaders of the 10 printing trades unions held an emergency meeting to review their policies under the pressure of mounting oppositions to the Pay Board among the ranks.

Jack Kennedy, president of the Stereotypers' Union, called upon the Pay Board to reconsider its action. But he told the Bulletin that "appealing to the same Board that knocked you down is not the easiest thing in the world."

## ANGRY

He said that the 800 members of his local were "angry and quite disturbed" by the Pay Board.

George McDonald, president of Mailers Union No. 6, which terminated its contract last week, stated that a strike after January 25, 1973 was a "strong possibility."

The Mailers Union is demanding that the publishers re-open negotiations over the contract.

Noting a "big increase in militancy" among the union's 1200 members, McDonald stated that "any action for strike would receive strong support."

## CHANCE

He added that the Mailers would negotiate with the publishers, not the Pay Board, because "I don't think we'd have a chinaman's chance of getting one penny more from the Pay Board."

## USWA Stabs Bethlehem Wildcat

BY M. GREGORY

SPARROWS POINT Md., Dec. 4—A four day wildcat at the Bethlehem Steel Sintering mill was ordered to end by United Steel Workers of America Local 2610 officials, when the company threatened to fire every man who did not return to work.

## CONDITIONS

The wildcat, which began on Thursday November 9 over work conditions and incentive pay, was ended Tuesday November 12,



# State Intervention Endangers Strike By LIRR Ranks

BY DAVID NORTH

NEW YORK, Dec. 4—The Long Island Rail Road has been stopped dead on its tracks by 500 non-operating workers who began strike action last week after rejecting the six percent wage increase proposed by an emergency board set up by Richard Nixon.

In an open blow against the Pay Board, the striking 12 union coalition of carmen, teamsters, clerks, electrical workers, sheet metal workers and other non-operating workers are demanding an increase matching that won earlier by L.I.R.R. trainmen.

In order to obtain parity with the operating workers, the striking unions are demanding a 28 percent increase retroactive to January 1, 1972 on a one year contract that would shatter the Pay Board guidelines.

The strike is being supported by the 1700 trainmen, who have refused to cross picket lines set up throughout Long Island and Jamaica.

Every attempt has been made by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority and the government to prevent a strike by the non-operating workers. The ranks have been working without a contract for all of 1972.

## SAME BOSS

In an interview with the Bulletin, the men on the picket line declared that they would not go back to work for less than parity. "We're all working for the same boss, and we should receive the same pay," said one worker.

"How in hell can we go back to work for less than parity," said another worker. "The cost of living is unbelievable, especially in food and clothing. The dollar isn't worth more than 15 cents, on top of that."

Dr. William J. Ronan, chairman of the MTA, which runs the L.I.R.R., has stated that it would be impossible to meet the union demands.

Far from being a protector of the public interest, Ronan is the spokesman of the powerful banks like the Chase Manhattan, which as bond holders derive enormous profits from the running of the railroad.

In order to maintain the

## Jersey Central Fires 450

BY A REPORTER

NEWARK—The "crash effort to save" the Central Railroad of New Jersey, begun 16 months ago by management and union leaders, has now led to the firing of 24 percent of the company's employees.

In order to save about six million dollars in payroll expenses, the Jersey Central—with the quiet approval of the union leadership—laid off 450 workers last week.

Greater cuts are expected as the company implements more of the work rule changes that have been accepted by the union over the heads of the ranks.

The new agreements wipe out

L.I.R.R. as a money-making operation for the banks, Ronan has enforced a high attrition rate among non-operating workers and refused to improve service for the commuters.

Only by taking the L.I.R.R. out of the hands of the bond holders and placing it under the control of the workers can the railroad be run in the interests of the commuters and the ranks.

On Friday, shortly before re-entering negotiations with Ronan, Anthony D'Avanzo, general chairman of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, told the Bulletin at the International Hotel at Kennedy Airport that he would not accept less than a 28 percent agreement.

When asked if he would strike again if the Pay Board cut the increase, D'Avanzo replied: "I can assure you that the Pay Board will not cut the increase."

He said that the Pay Board would favorably consider the productivity gains made by the L.I.R.R. because of attrition.

While D'Avanzo may have confidence in the "fairness" of the Pay Board, the ranks should learn the lesson of what happened last month to the New York printers.

## Ft. Pierce Labor Begins Drive For New Contract

BY BRUCE MCKAY

FORT PIERCE, Fla., Nov. 30—City workers here were finally able to get their local union underway Tuesday night with an organizational meeting which over 60 percent of the present membership attended.

Although formation of City Workers Local 1224 was announced after a mass meeting on September 23, six weeks of futile talks between city officials and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers (IBFO) stalled the movement of the workers.

"We're ready to go now," newly-elected local president William Beasley told the Bulletin.

Beasley promised a real fight to gain recognition and a contract which will give workers decent wages and working conditions.

### POLITICAL FIGHT

The fight of city workers here, like public employees everywhere, is above all a political fight, not only against the city administration, but also against reactionary state laws and Nixon's Pay Board.

Fort Pierce Mayor Dennis Summerlin has proposed using over \$100,000 in federal revenue sharing funds to buy 20 new

the face of an all-out attempt to break the union in Boston.

Davis came to Boston for one hour and did not even come down to the picket line. Rather he, together with a delegation including New England Area Director Elliot Small, Boston Organizer Vinnie Greisi, and Exe-

cutive Secretary Moe Foner went to pay a visit to Governor Sargent and Mayor White.

Out of these meetings came the word that the cops will now go a little easier. One picket told the Bulletin about the new procedure by which the police will operate. The plan simply cuts down the number of police visible by the picket line.

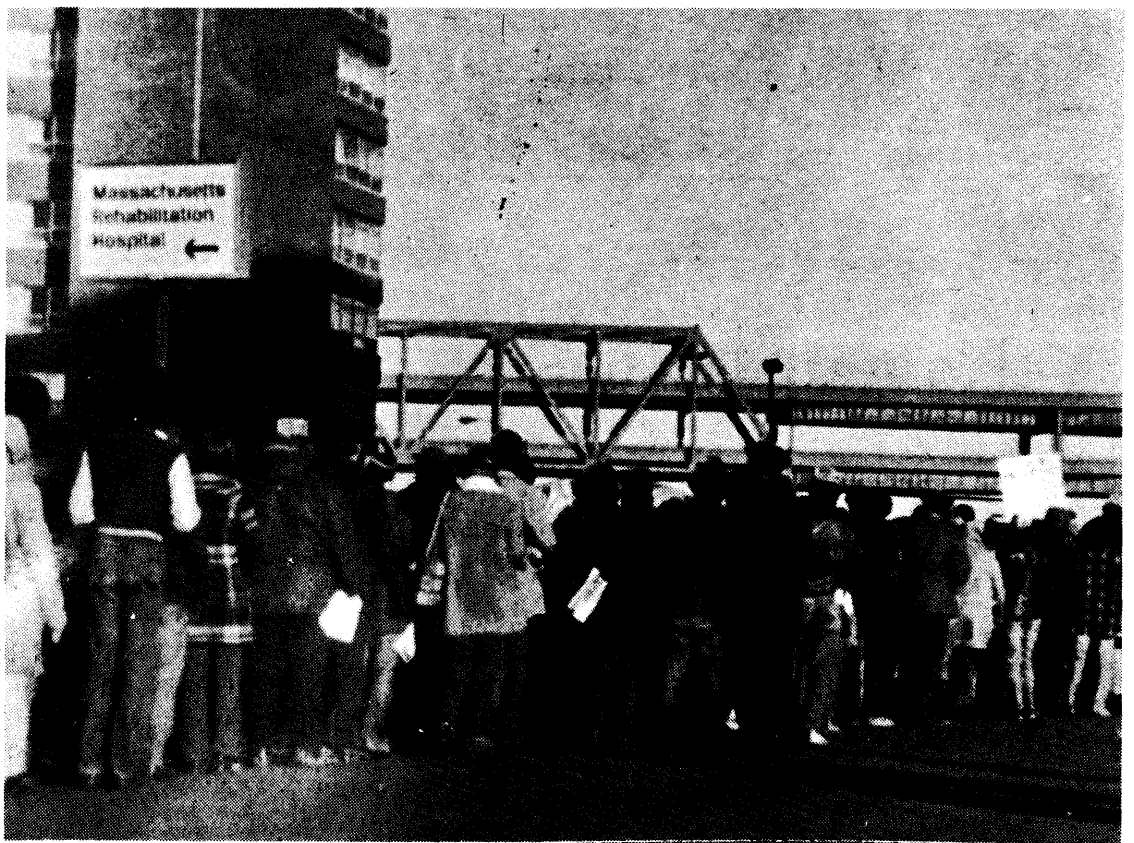
The official support by the United Electrical workers that just recently was voted shows the potential that can be fought for and won in the labor movement in order to win this strike.

Instead of mobilizing labor support while in Boston, Davis and the local leadership went begging to the very men who ordered the cops and dogs against strikers in the mass arrest of less than a week before.

The official support of the UE, as well as the support on the line from individual Teamsters, Meatcutters and other unionists shows that mass support can be built.

The trial of the 36 arrested at the demonstration outside Mass. Rehab on November 18 begins next week. Republican Sargent and Democrat White ordered the beating and mass arrests of strikers.

The fight to win this strike must be to mobilize labor support against these attacks and to prepare the political fight for a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans.



Boston Local 1199 hospital workers continue their strike despite mass arrests and police brutality. The picket line at Rehabilitation Hospital is seen from a distance as police prohibit photos.

## Court Convicts Hospital Ranks For Boston Strike Action

BY MARTY JONAS

BOSTON, Mass., Dec. 2—Four members of Local 1199, who were arrested during the first week of the strike against Massachusetts Rehabilitation Hospital, were found guilty here yesterday of disorderly conduct, and a union organizer was found guilty of Assault & Battery as the hospital employers use the courts to try to break the organizing drive.

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Fort Pierce city negotiator takes on the job of busting city unions. He is an avid Nixon fan.

critical gains won by the railroad workers over the past 20 years. Under the provisions being written into the contract, the workers will receive only a basic day's pay on a five day week basis.

This means that all additional pay that had been received by workers for extra mileage travelled or special assignments will be eliminated.

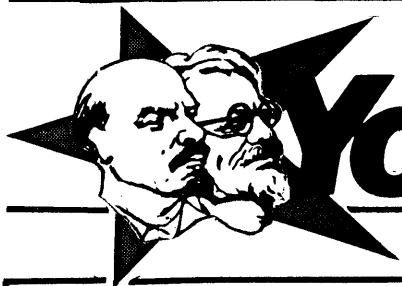
At a court meeting on the contract changes held two weeks ago, Jersey Central Vice-President J.R. Walsh stated that: "These new contracts will be novel in the railroad industry."

Judge Aggelli, who approved the revisions in the contract, replied: "If they're beneficial, let them come."

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## Defend The Right To An Education!

Nixon has declared war against the right of working class youth to an education.

Colleges are dropping special programs and courses because of lack of funds. Even the most prestigious colleges like New York University have threatened to shut down.

The Detroit Board of Education has voted to close every elementary, junior high, and high school in the city for two months on December 31.

In Chicago, School Superintendent James F. Redmonds has submitted a budget that would cut the school year by 17 days and eliminate 2322 jobs in the educational system.

The University of Maryland faces a seven million dollar budget cut and Mayor Lindsay of New York has threatened to cut as much as \$20.2 million from the City University's proposed budget.

John Dewey High School in New York City, which is supposed to have the most advanced curriculum and is only a few years old, has received an ultimatum: either shut down, or become transformed into a regular high school with double sessions.

In East Harlem, parents and teachers of District 4 have boycotted classes in protest of budget cuts.

Knowing that these attacks have produced tremendous opposition from the working class, the government has begun to employ a conscious policy of racism.

In all cases, right-wing politicians, devoted to Nixon's line on busing, like Conservative Party candidate Andreassi in Canarsie, and fascistic forces, like the American Nazi Party in Gage Park, have led the racist attacks in order to confuse and divide the working class.

What we are witnessing is an attack on a fundamental right that the American working class has won. The right that the working class fought for to defeat the child labor policies of the ruling class, demanding that the youth be taken out of the factories and placed in schools, is being reversed.

Now the government is throwing youth out of schools and onto the streets. Behind the government's attacks stands the economic crisis of the capitalist system which is incapable of providing the basic needs of the working class.

While the youth are denied education, teachers and whole sections of workers connected with the teaching profession are threatened with elimination of their jobs.

It is the unions which are under attack through the mass layoffs that are being prepared, and it is only the unions which can defend the rights of working class youth to an education and jobs.

This is why the stands taken by the leaders of the Chicago Teachers Union, who have accepted a two week cut in the school year, and Albert Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers, ordering teachers in East Harlem to break the boycott, leave both the youth and teachers defenseless.

The Young Socialists is opening a campaign, calling special meetings at all the high schools and colleges to defend our rights to an education.

We do this at a point where the revisionist Young Socialists Alliance has abandoned any fight to defend the youth. The developments in East Harlem have proved that the working class is way beyond the reactionary theory of "community control" which the YSA holds.

The Young Socialists is intervening on these central questions of education and unemployment as part of the fight to build the spring conference that will launch the YS movement nationally.

It is only the revolutionary program of the Young Socialists that can unite teachers, students, and parents against the government.

The YS program stands:

\*For an education that prepares us for a job. Rather than cuts in education, we must demand that billions of dollars be put into the schools in order to provide more schools, smaller classes and more activities.

\*For the unity of students and teachers. They have a common enemy. We must give full support to the demands of the teachers and their right to union wages and working conditions.

\*For real training in school under union and student control.

\*For free higher education for all. Youth have the right to a living wage while they are going to school. We stand for open admissions.

\*For no cuts in financial aid programs.

\*For busing to integrate and upgrade education. Minority students must not be kept out of school because of overcrowding conditions prepared by the government.

We call on the unions to convene a Congress of Labor to defend the working class. Both teachers and students are under attack.

To meet this offensive, the trade unions must build a labor party to provide the working class with the political weapon against the Democrats and Republicans.

# School Boycott Sweeps New York As Fight Against Cuts Builds

BY MIRIAM ROSARIO AND LIANA FLORES

NEW YORK—A mass meeting of over 800 parents and teachers was held in District 4 on December 4 in P.S. 155. The meeting was called by the East Harlem parents and students to discuss the layoffs and budget cuts.

What dominated the meeting was the resistance by the parents and teachers who spoke of the rotting conditions forced upon the school system by the government.

The boycott, which started last week, was spurred on by the firing of five teachers and principals, and the transfer of students to other schools.

Since the beginning of the year, the funds have been drastically reduced. The excuse given for this reduction has been that there is less enrollment.

Jessie Gray, an Assemblyman, spoke and sought at all points to try to behead the movement of parents and teachers by stating that a meeting was arranged with Herman Badillo and Percy Sutton and promised that the school was getting money. Of course, the figure could not be revealed and the pittance that they would receive would be shared equally by all the schools.

### DETERMINATION

This strategy did not dampen the determination of the parents. A member of the para-professionals, who was also a parent, disagreed that the problems were resolved. She replied to a letter sent by Danny Perez, head of a poverty program in East Harlem, who launched an attack against the teachers union. He was attempting to divide the teachers and parents.

Perez stated in that letter that the parents would be the victims of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) and of the Principal's Union. He threatened any teachers supporting the boycott by withholding the money provided by the poverty agencies. Mrs. Bessie Canto replied to his charges.

"We are not succumbing to the pressures. We know that the unions are powerful and we, the parents, are in unions too. There are times when we can all agree on the same issues. The government has always taken advantage of us because we are minorities. But we have the right to have a say in our children's education."

She went on to dismiss the idea that the central solution was community control. "None of the parents want to become members of the local school board. It gives one delusions of grandeur."

### UNITY

It is the sharp economic crisis affecting the school system, which has resulted in the closing of Detroit schools for two

months, 20 million dollars being taken away from the City University system, and the cutbacks at the elementary grades which now produces the unity of teachers and parents, against all those who seek to divide them and keep them at each other's throats.

The perspective that the Young Socialists is fighting for among youth, parents, and teachers, is a unity between these groups with no acceptance of the intolerable conditions facing the schools. The boycott must be expanded as has begun now in Ocean Hill-

Brownsville, in order to be successful.

Central to the fight for decent education is an immediate strike to be called by the UFT to shut every school. The Young Socialists is calling on the city-wide trade union movement to call a mass demonstration against the cuts in education and all the attacks being launched against the labor movement.

This now means the fight for a labor party pledged to socialist policies. This the only way youth and workers can defend their education, jobs, and working conditions.



A mother sits at the gate during boycott of P.S. 155 in District 4.

## OEO Slashes Funds For Milwaukee Indian Schools

BY NANCY RUSSELL

MILWAUKEE—The office of Economic Opportunity Director Phillip Sanchez has viciously slashed \$113,000 in grants to Indian schools in Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and St. Paul, "pending investigations" of a leader of these schools, whom he claims took part in the recent takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C.

Officials here are moving to carry through the same onslaught against the right to an education that is taking place throughout the country.

Wisconsin's state manpower (job training) director stated a few weeks ago that "the future of manpower programs that deal with poor and minority groups in Wisconsin looked very grim indeed." Sanchez's decision takes its place with the rest of the state's moves to deny youth the education or training for jobs.

The Indian Community School in Milwaukee and a neighborhood community center in Milwaukee which function to provide services for Indians

seeking employment, housing, social services, vocational training and alcoholic rehabilitation were to receive \$73,000.

It was exactly the denial of basic rights, under the cover of governmental law and order, that the Indian protestors were out to expose. The American Indian movement has announced that several of the seized government documents will be released to "reveal that corruption, conflict, pollution and outright graft and theft had occurred within the Interior Department to dispossess tribes and tribal members of valuable mineral, oil, natural gas, water rights, Indian lands, and land allotments."



# Cutbacks Force Students Out Of San Jose College

BY A YS REPORTER

SAN JOSE—Because of the inability of many youth to get any government financial aid or a part-time job there has been a drop in enrollment of 10 percent at City College this semester. The Board of Trustees has used the enrollment drop to justify a whole series of cutbacks, already causing many students and teachers to suffer. Many classes that were supposed to be offered were dropped the week after school opened. Other classes have become overcrowded with up to 80 students in some history classes.

One student when asked about the cuts stated, "Reagan is cutting back on the scholarships for minorities and making education cutbacks everywhere. That's because he knows where he's getting his money from, the wealthy."

Some non-tenured teachers at City have been especially hard hit by the cutbacks, because they are either paid on an hourly or class by class basis. When these teachers lose classes they also lose a great part of their income. One tactic used by the administration was to offer some non-tenured teachers more classes than they could properly prepare for and then if the teachers did not accept this type of

speedup, cut them back to one to three classes.

As one part-time teacher said, "I really worked hard to get a degree so I could teach, but I stuck to it, because I really wanted to teach. Then I find out when I got my degree there are no jobs. Now that I finally got a job after a year of unemployment they're telling me I don't have the right to teach my students properly."

These cutbacks are only the beginning of what the administration would like to see. This was revealed at the first Board of Trustees meeting. One board member, after hearing that some classes were kept open as a compromise to the students and teachers involved, stated, "If I had my way and the building had facilities for larger class sizes...I see no reason why we couldn't fit 200 students into some of those courses."

These attacks represent nothing less than a declaration of war against both the rights of the students and the teachers at City College. In response to this a history teacher stated, "What the Board of Education would really like is for the teachers to tape their courses on a tape recorder and have the students tape it off of that recorder and reduce the whole educational system to the size and value of a closet."

In the face of these vicious attacks the main political tendencies, the Nationalist Somos Raza and the Stalinist groups, are completely paralyzed with no perspective for fighting back. Only the program of the Young Socialists fights for the unity of all students and teachers against the destruction of education.

## Teachers Vote Strike Over Wages

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—Teachers here are preparing for a real struggle with the Board of Education for pay hikes and increased benefits. On November 15, members of the St. Louis Teachers Union voted unanimously to give the Union's executive authority to call for a strike vote in their dispute with the Board.

RAISE

The teachers are fighting for a \$1000 per year raise over the present base level of \$7200 per year and a commitment from the board to pay teachers' hospitalization insurance.

In July the Board of Education approved a budget granting no pay increases for teachers except at the top levels. The union is demanding that the pay increases take effect from January 1. Informational picketing will begin at selected schools after this weekend. Last week, teachers organized a mass picket of 350 at the school board meeting, expressing their determination to fight.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

One of the important struggles in this case is the question of collective bargaining with the Board. Teachers at present have no chance to determine whether the Teachers Union or Teachers Association should represent them. A unity of all teachers is being forged with this claim.

Students must support the teachers' demands in a fight to maintain a decent standard of living for all workers and youth.

## Young Socialist



Crowded Monday meeting called by East Harlem Parents' Council against budget cuts and layoffs.

## Chicago School Board Plans To Cut 1,200 Teachers' Jobs

BY A YS REPORTER

CHICAGO—Just at the start of contract negotiations for 1973, Chicago School Superintendent James F. Redmond has arrogantly presented a budget calculated to wipe out all the gains made in teaching conditions and education since the founding of the union in 1964.

Redmond first shifted building fund money to avoid closing schools for eight extra days in December—lost days which brought the Chicago Teachers Union to the brink of strike action last spring. Then, he released the budget plan which will be the Board's

basis of negotiation toward the January 1 deadline.

The record 838.8 million dollar budget proposes to slash the school year by 17.5 days, and cut up to 2322 jobs in the school system.

Chicago teachers had their 1972 contract raise slashed from 8 to 5.5 percent. The tentative budget

has no provisions for raises. Class size and class load will be increased with the slashing of between 1100 and 1200 teaching positions, in addition to the more than 600 positions cut this year.

Social center and substitute teacher services would be drastically reduced. In fact, total dollars allocated for instruction purposes is down from the present 369.3 million to 361.4 million.

Other school board employees would be hard hit as well. Many administrative workers, plus school psychologists, teacher-nurses and social workers would have their work year cut to 10 months. Engineer-custodians, firemen, watchmen, janitors, and window washers would have their work weeks cut to four days, and 39 jobs will be cut or eliminated through attrition.

The implications of the proposed budget are staggering, and the CTU president's assessment that the budget is a "blueprint for chaos" hardly begins to deal with the question. The School Board, backed by Daley, Nixon and the capitalist class as a whole, is out to smash the teachers' union, and to undermine and destroy the free education system which was established by the fight of the working class in the early decades of this century.

The real meaning of the continuing crisis at Gage Park becomes more clear. Every reactionary force is being brought out to stir up divisions among the parents and the students, to create disturbances so that the Board has an excuse to slam down on the youth.

The fight against these conditions must be a part of the negotiations between the CTU and the School Board. The position accepted by the CTU leadership to allow a two week cut in the school year must be reversed. The union must not be allowed to crawl and submit to the demands of the board.

## Cops Kill Indian Youth

BY A YS REPORTER

REDLAKE, Minn.—Brian Des Jarlait, 15, a resident of Red Lake Chippewa Reservation, was killed by a gunshot to the face by policemen Friday night. Police say that the youth had a double-barreled shotgun pointed at three officers, and that after three warnings, when he didn't surrender his weapon, they shot.

"Our men told him to drop his weapon," an official of the BIA said, "after all, we're human beings too. And when he didn't surrender his weapon after a third warning he was shot."

Des Jarlait's killing set off protests and anger throughout the reservation. Gasoline stations were ordered closed and extra BIA men were brought to the reservation to deal with the disturbances.

## Maryland Students Support YS Rally

BY NICK LUCAS

COLLEGE PARK—University of Maryland students gave strong support to the Young Socialists' fight for the unity of Black and white students in the struggle against cuts in education, jobs, and living conditions at a meeting called by the YS to protest the murder of two students at Southern University.

The position of the YS was endorsed by two students from Southern University who told the meeting: "It's not a matter of Black or white. Money is green no matter what race you are. Everybody is hit by Nixon, not just Blacks."

Applause greeted the YS call for a labor party to unite all sections of workers and youth. The Young Socialist Alliance and various as-

sorted middle class radicals saw their efforts at a class boycott in protest of the Baton Rouge murders fizzle before their very eyes.

The University of Maryland is faced with a seven million dollar budget cut, a tuition hike and a 20 percent cut on work-study grants which will make it impossible for hundreds of working class youth, both Black and white, to attend school this coming semester and next year.

At the meeting, the YS called for the unity of Black and white around a program of jobs for all, open admissions, and no tuition

hikes. "Only in this way," said a YS speaker, "can we truly demonstrate our solidarity with the students at Southern and avenge the murders."

REFUSE

Not only did the YSA refuse to fight for a program that would unite all students in light of this situation and in solidarity with the students at Southern, but they also refused to take a stand against racism.

"It's not up to us to decide what to do but to the Black students," said one of the liberals and friends of the YSA.



The following is an interview with Dany Sylveire of the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists in Britain. She was recently in the United States where she spoke at meetings in New York and Cleveland on the Fourth International Today.

At these meetings the just released film of the British Young Socialists Right to Work March was shown. Here she discusses the Right to Work campaign and the building of Keep Left, the weekly paper of the Young Socialists in Britain.

YS: Since Nixon's August 15 decisions, we have seen that unemployment is becoming the most critical problem facing youth in all the advanced countries. In Britain unemployment is already over the one million mark. The British Young Socialists are building a leadership, mobilizing youth against unemployment and the Tory government which is responsible for it. The Right to Work March, the Young Socialist feels, has been an historic achievement for the international Trotskyist movement. Could you briefly go into the Right to Work campaign and its effect on the British working class?

Dany Sylveire: We started the Right to Work campaign in February and we held the first of a number of marches to demand the "Right to Work." We organized unemployed youth, not just simply to beg for a job but to demand the right to work. We said this was not a privilege but a basic right of the working class in Britain, without which a worker cannot live. It is this system which cannot supply a job, that has to be replaced.

1930s

So we said in the campaign we demand the right to work. We were not marching as the Hunger Marches in the 1930s, although we brought back memories of the Hunger Marches. We were not begging for a crust, but we were marching instead for our rights, to say that we were not prepared to allow the Tory government and the ruling class to drive us back to conditions like the 1930s and worse. This is, of course, what we face with the August 15, 1971 decisions of Nixon. We marched on the policy that this cannot be achieved without bringing down the Tory government. It wasn't simply a protest against unemployment. To win the right to work requires the bringing down of the Tory government. That means a fight to demand that the trade union leaders call a general strike to bring down this Tory government, and to replace those leaders if they aren't prepared to carry out this fight with leaders who are prepared to. The Tory government must be replaced with a Labour government pledged to carry out socialist policies, particularly bringing back full employment.

We drew the marches together in five main towns. The first march started out in Glasgow and marched for five weeks to London. The purpose of the march was first of all to take this central issue which faces the working class in Britain, the issue of unemployment, into the working class and in doing this to actually build the Young Socialists branches throughout the countries through which we marched. At the same time, we struggled to build an alternative leadership within the unions that is prepared to fight this Tory government.

Further, we launched what was really the biggest campaign ever in the labor movement since the period of the 1930s on this question of unemployment. We went into every trade union branch, shop steward's committee, district committees of unions, even national bodies of unions, factories. Members up and down the country spoke at meetings of workers, not only in committee meetings, but in many cases meetings of factory workers, posing these policies and calling for support for our campaign. We asked not just simply for verbal support, but support in terms of giving money for food, clothing and boots through the marches, and also accommodations, if they were in towns that the march was passing through.

The marches could never have stayed on the road for one single day without the massive support of the working class. I mean, they just couldn't have in terms of the need for things like food, clothing, boots and a place for sleeping. They

marched throughout the whole of the country. We started up whole new branches of the Young Socialists, preparing for the massive rally that we were to hold at the end of these marches at Wembley Pool. We sold tickets along the road as we marched, and from early morning until night we talked politically, and spoke to thousands. In fact, all the marches together spoke to millions of workers throughout the whole of the country.

Now, at that time, the march for the right to work was a demand we put forward, and we popularized that demand. It was later taken up by other sections of workers like, for instance, on the docks. The dockers faced containerization and massive cutbacks in jobs. There was, of course, the strike that developed over this issue, which culminated in the jailing of five dockers under the Industrial Relations Act. Our campaign took place right in the middle of the miners' strike and it was at a time when the whole country was facing hours of the day in blackouts. We won tremendous support from the miners up and down the country. In fact we had some miners that marched with us who were striking at the time and thus were able to do so.

In many towns, we were greeted by the leading workers in the labor movement. They brought out bands to greet the marchers as we marched into the towns with them and they spoke at meetings. These marchers didn't just march. Every evening they had meetings. Either there was a public meeting in the town, or they had one among themselves on Marxist theory, or they had some form of a meeting in the evening.

The only forces, of course, that tried to block the demonstration were the Labour Party leaders and the trade union leaders, who put out, like they did against the Hunger Marches in the 30s, from the headquarters of the Labour Party to all the local Labour Parties, instructions to oppose the march, to refuse to give it accommodation or finance or food.

Yet, despite that, we were able to win enormous support from Labour Party members and from trade union members, even though in one or two towns they had the right-wingers step in to get us thrown out of halls and so on. Despite all that, they couldn't prevent us from marching.

#### ORGANIZE

Now the area that we marched through was an area that had no tradition in militancy, apart from the miners. It's mainly an agricultural section of the country. The industry that exists there is at a very low level of trade union organization, if it has any at all. The factories we went into were hardly organized, and yet we got an enormous response. We held meetings in preparation for the march. Youth came to those meetings who wanted to know what we were doing, which in an area like that showed a considerable shift politically. Then, of course, the major support that we won was from the miners, except where the Stalinists dominated them. Even then, the rank and file miners supported us, but the leadership was very wary and did not want to give us trade union headquarters for sleeping.

The major thing about all the marches was that they really served to begin to bring forward a layer of youth to develop and train them to become leaders in the Young Socialists. They were trained politically and theoretically because they got a glimpse of the kind of strength that the working class has, if given leadership, and they saw the decisiveness of leadership in this period.

Of course, all these marches converged on the Wembley-Empire Pool in London where we had almost 9000 who attended the rally there, which of course this film showed.

We got support in most cases from trade union branches, the Shop Steward's Com-

## Young Socialist



# "We Marched Through England For Our Right To Work"

mittees, the District Committees, and thousands of sections of workers up and down the country, on a scale we've never known, ever.

YS: In other words, the march and the whole campaign meant a tremendous development of the Young Socialists, and the newspaper, Keep Left. Keep Left more recently, since the march, has become a weekly.

Dany Sylveire: The marches paved the way for the growth that was necessary and the development that was necessary inside the Young Socialists to establish Keep Left as a weekly paper. In fact, it was established in May of this year, which was not long after the Right to Work Marches. The marches laid the groundwork and the basis for this.

Keep Left has always been active as a real weapon in terms of giving leadership inside the Young Socialists in the fight for our policy, bringing up all the problems and issues that face the youth, relating them to the struggles of the working class and fighting to develop political consciousness among youth. Keep Left gives the youth the understanding of the period that they're living in, the kinds of struggles that we're entering into, the struggle that's necessary for the building of the movement in this period in order for the working class to fight.

Keep Left of course was founded many, many years ago in the middle of the fifties. But it was a paper that led our struggle inside the Labour Party for our independent policies, for the nationalization of basic industries under workers control and without compensation; for the withdrawal of all troops from the colonial countries; for an end to police brutality; for an end to the attempts to use a wage freeze, and to defeat the Tories. It enabled us to build an alternative leadership within the Labour Party against the betrayals of the right wing.

Of course, for this struggle, it was banned in 1962. At that point it had a circulation of 10,000 a month. So at that time we made a decision about the future of the paper, and we decided to continue the paper. We decided we would just have to find new means of circulating it and to prevent expulsions. In other words, we decided to defy the ban and the proscriptions on the paper. We were able to do this successfully because in fact the circulation of the paper increased considerably, and we were able to continue to circulate, and to bring a majority into the Labour Party Young Socialists, in 1963, and also within the Representational Election Committee. This happened despite the fact they had previously expelled members of the Election Committee who supported Keep Left.

It was the paper which led the fight to turn out and organize working class youth. The fight to build an alternative working class leadership was a fight to build a movement among working class youth, and to take up all the issues which face the working class. Then we led the way for the re-election of a Labour government, the first Labour government in years. It was at this point that the Labour leaders became very worried and embarrassed by a youth movement that refused to keep its mouth shut and refused to participate in their betrayals, but instead insisted on a fight for principles. So then they expelled the entire Young Socialists movement from the Labour Party, and Keep Left as well.

Since then Keep Left has led the fight to build an independent revolutionary youth movement outside the Labour Party, and of course both the Young Socialists and the circulation of Keep Left has tremendously increased. It increased to over 20,000 a month. This paved the way for the weekly Keep Left which is the first Trotskyist youth weekly in the world.



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## War Council In Camp David

The appointment of George P. Shultz as head of the Council on Economic Policy marks a new stage in Nixon's preparations for war against the American and international working class.

While remaining Secretary of the Treasury, Shultz now assumes this new position—created by Nixon—operating with broad powers and no legal or traditional restrictions. He is to be Nixon's "Kissinger" of worldwide and domestic economic matters.

It will be his job to mobilize the full power of American capitalism for a brutal trade war against Japan and Europe that will pave the way for economic chaos and civil war in those countries.

At the same time, Shultz will implement the plans of big business for the destruction of the living standards of American workers.

But the task of smashing the American working class is not being left to Shultz alone. In order to destroy every gain won by workers since the building of the CIO, Nixon is in the process of completely transforming his administration.

Nixon is creating a new government completely different from any which has existed in the whole history of the United States.

\*He is virtually abolishing the cabinet, an institution of American government that has existed since George Washington became president in 1789. In place of cabinet officers, who have specific functions and who must answer to the Congress, Nixon is appointing all sorts of top-level private advisers whose actual responsibilities are known by nobody; and, therefore, nobody but Nixon can tell them what they may or may not do.

To these positions, Nixon is not appointing the usual political personalities who have a certain fear of public opinion but rather the ruthless executives of the giant conglomerates: men like Robert Ash, the millionaire former president of Litton Industries who recently said: "We've got to get away from the appropriations mentality."

\*Nixon is throwing Congress into the dustbin and assuming powers for the presidency that are not granted in the Constitution. By directing a \$6 billion cut in the Pollution Law passed by Congress over an earlier presidential veto, Nixon has assumed full power over the budget and annulled Congress' right to overrule his veto.

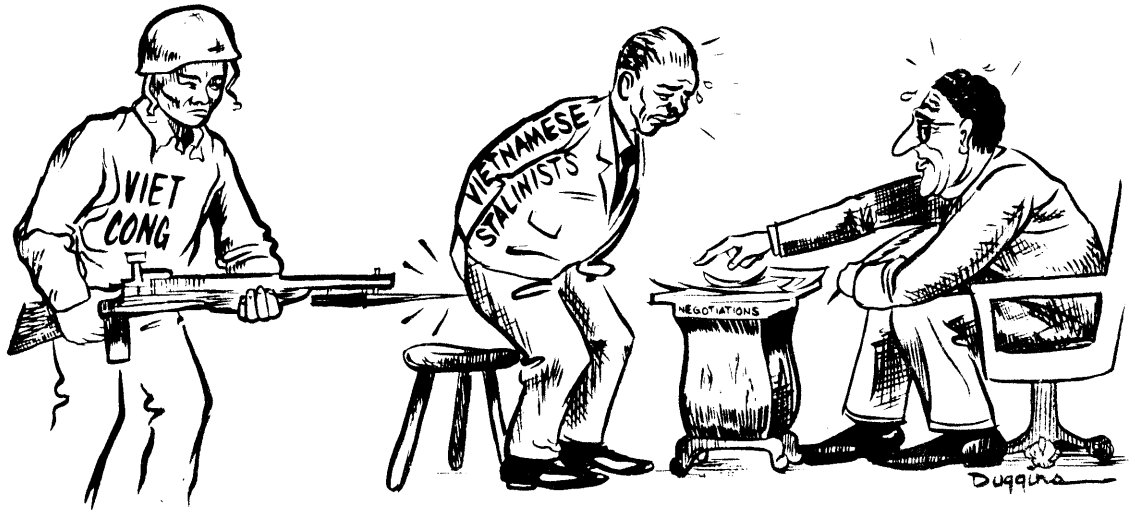
\*Nixon has moved the government out of Washington, D.C. Since 1800, every president has lived in the White House, less than two miles from the Supreme Court and Congress. This was a tradition observed even by Lincoln, when the White House was occasionally within walking distance of the Civil War battle front.

Now Nixon plans to spend most of his time in Camp David in the Maryland hills, running a personal government with his new advisers.

These are all moves toward the dictatorship which is required by big business in order to destroy the unions, create mass unemployment, and take away all the rights workers now have.

This emergency situation gives the greatest urgency to the call by the Continuations Committee of the Labor Party Conference for a meeting of its members in St. Louis on February 18 to deepen the fight for the Congress of Labor.

The Continuations Committee will lay plans for the development of a nationwide movement for this Congress which will unite the entire working class in action against Nixon and construct a labor party that will replace him with a government pledged to socialist policies.



"I'd love to sit down, but I get this pain..."

## What we think

### Trade Unions And Doug Jenness

The Socialist Workers Party and its youth movement, the Young Socialist Alliance, having abandoned Marxism, have not prepared for this period of renewed class struggle and are now thrown into crisis and disintegration. As with all centrist tendencies which try to stand in the middle of the road and base themselves on the politics of the middle class, with the movement of the working class they are torn apart and move sharply to the right.

At the recent convention of the YSA, the revisionists consciously tried to run away from the crisis and opened a barrage of attacks on the working class. This was the heart of the presentation given by Doug Jenness, editor of the *Militant*, to the panel on "Revolutionary Strategy for the Trade Unions." Jenness devoted his remarks to a vicious slander of the working class and to an attack on the Workers League.

Speaking as an embittered middle class radical who, now with the emergence of the working class and the disintegration of the protest movement, has had the rug swept from under him, Jenness sought to put the blame for the failure of the antiwar movement and the election of Nixon on the backs of the working class. Jenness blamed the working class for not ending the war and not becoming involved in the antiwar movement.

This is the most cynical piece of rubbish. The SWP together with the Communist Party constructed a movement based on middle class protest, consciously excluding the working class and a class program to mobilize the working class against the war, the attacks on the unions and against the two capitalist parties who are responsible.

But Jenness took this a step further revealing the real position of the SWP in relation to the working class. In an attempt to answer our charge in the November 20 issue of the *Bulletin*, that the SWP's claim that the American workers were responsible for Nixon's election was slander, Jenness stated: "This is not slander. This is what is. This is the fact." The working class according to Jenness is "conservative, racist and sexist."

The unions, he said, are not what they were in the 1930s. They did not form a labor party in the 1930s and have become corrupted and privileged. Completely distorting Trotsky's writings on "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," in which he warned of the moves of the government to incorporate the unions into the state and called for the formation of revolutionary leadership, Jenness states that the unions have already been absorbed into the imperialist state, support the capitalist parties, avoid confrontations and are loyal to the capitalist government.

We reiterate once again—this is slander. The SWP attempts to equate the working class with the trade

union bureaucracy and with Nixon and thus to completely write off the only organizations this class has to defend its conditions. This is far worse than slander. These are preparations by the SWP for actually going over to a section of the capitalist class and lining up against the unions.

The SWP moves to this position at the point when Nixon, far from having accomplished the destruction of the independence of the unions, is preparing this by using the collaboration of sections of the bureaucracy like Brennan. The SWP now joins the capitalist press and the liberals, who are trying to equate the working class with Brennan and Nixon, to whip up an hysteria against the working class in the middle class. Not only does the danger to the independence of the unions by Nixon's moves pose before the revolutionary party the necessity to construct a revolutionary leadership in the unions, but the whole movement of the working class now stands against these attempts and against Brennan's.

This period in particular is dominated by the resistance of those sections of the labor movement that have been considered politically conservative in the past. It is precisely because of Nixon's attacks, which threaten the jobs, wages and working conditions of the so-called privileged sections of the working class, that the old relationships are being broken up. This is why we see today a tremendous movement against the attacks by the Pay Board and against unemployment by the printing trades who, this week, said they will strike the Pay Board, and by the construction workers who have mobilized in the thousands against the attacks on union rights.

This the SWP refuses to see. It begins with its blind impressions of the "facts." Marxists do not dismiss facts but confront the contradictory reality behind those facts as participants in the struggle to change that reality.

Today, it is not a question as Jenness claims of a "quiescent" labor movement but of a working class which is determined to defend its rights and conditions and is now going into struggle not only against the employers but against the government. It is under these conditions that the ranks of the labor movement come into collision with their reformist leadership. It is this situation that creates the conditions for the construction of a revolutionary leadership which is built in conflict with the present consciousness and practice of the working class.

It is this task that the SWP refuses to confront. All of their talk about the quiescence of the labor movement and the corruption of the bureaucracy becomes really the excuse for accepting the present leadership of the unions. Thus, Jenness said that

the SWP is against building "power caucuses in the unions." But it was most clearly expressed when Jenness attacked the Workers League and our Chicago Conference For A Labor Party Now. Here, he expressed not only his fear of the working class but of a leadership actually being constructed in it.

First of all Jenness stated that it was "ridiculous" to call a conference on a labor party because this is "not on the agenda," that a labor party has not been created and the fight for a labor party is a "fraud." The SWP today turns against the central strategy for the American working class, which is to break it from capitalism, at a time when the crisis not only requires the formation of this political instrument to defend the unions but creates the conditions for its development after this election and with the breakup of the Democratic Party. The SWP must in fact take responsibility for attempting to prevent the development of a labor party.

But the two things that upset Jenness the most at our conference were, as he put it, "the picture of Trotsky on the podium" and the presentation on the *Bulletin*. Jenness rhetorically asked what does the working class have to do with Trotsky or the *Bulletin*. The SWP has gone so far from Trotskyism and over to centrism that today it openly rejects the necessity to construct a Trotskyist party in the working class and to build a paper dedicated to this task.

Contrary to the wishes of the SWP, the program of Trotskyism will in the next period be the program of millions of workers. This was in fact what was posed at our Chicago conference which brought forward new layers of advanced workers who, throughout the conference, emphasized the need for the *Bulletin* to organize the working class and change its thinking. This is what the SWP fears now that its position has been exposed and its movement torn apart.

Trotsky, in his pamphlet *The Trade Unions in the Imperialist Epoch*, from which Jenness quoted, warns of the dangers posed to the trade unions in the period today and states: "...the work within the trade unions not only does not lose any of its importance but remains as before and becomes in a certain sense even more important work than ever for every revolutionary party. The matter at issue is essentially the struggle for influence over the working class. Every organization, every party, every faction which permits itself an ultimistic position in relation to the trade union, i.e., in essence turns its back upon the working class, merely because of displeasure with its organizations, every such organization is destined to perish. And it must be said deserves to perish."

So it must be with the SWP today.





# 350 Rally For The Fourth International Today!

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

**NEW YORK**—Almost 350 youth and trade unionists packed Horace Mann Auditorium at Columbia University here for a meeting on the Fourth International Today.

Sponsored by the Workers League and Young Socialists, similar meetings are to be held in Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. A meeting has already been held in Cleveland, Ohio at the time of the recent Young Socialist Alliance Conference.

The meeting marked an important turning point in the development of the Fourth International. At the moment when the capitalist crisis and the struggle of classes it brings about reaches a new and decisive stage, the revisionist groups claiming to be Trotskyist like the Socialist Workers Party and YSA are thrown into the deepest demoralization and confusion. The forces of the International Committee of the Fourth International receive new strength because the IC prepared for this crisis, trained its cadres through this preparation, and now is determined to build mass parties of workers in all countries.

#### BRITAIN

Keynoting the meeting was Dany Sylveire representing the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League and the British Young Socialists. "All over the world," she began, "capitalism has entered a new stage in its most serious crisis in history. The past period of negotiations dominated by compromise forms of rule is being broken up. When Nixon says that he has been elected to change things in the United States, from the 'period of permissiveness' by carrying out cutbacks in welfare, education, jobs, he means he intends to go to war on the working class. These words are very similar to those uttered by British Prime Minister Heath when he was elected in 1970: 'We have been elected to change the

course of history.' Now in Britain also we have the complete breakdown in negotiations and the establishment of the framework for a corporate state."

Comrade Sylveire described the growing conflict between Heath and the trade unions as Heath seeks to impose a wage freeze and fine key unions.

"For the first time in the history of British trade unionism the Tory government has not only abolished the democratic rights of trade unions but has also abolished their right to determine their members' wages and conditions of working. This has now created a situation in which the cost of living is now undergoing enormous increases whilst the working class is prohibited from raising its wages accordingly. In such a situation an explosion of far reaching importance is on the way in Britain."

"It is within this economic and political context," she concluded, "that we have been maintaining and improving the daily Workers Press over the past three years." She announced the decision of the Socialist Labour League to hold a conference in March to initiate the building of the revolutionary party in Britain.

#### MANIFESTO

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary, spoke for the Workers League. He noted that it was 125 years ago this month that the Communist League met in London and assigned Marx and Engels to write the Communist Manifesto. It was exactly 100 years ago that the first English edition of the Communist Manifesto appeared—printed in New York.

"The Communist Manifesto begins with the declaration that the history of society has been a history of class struggle and in capitalist society this is simplified and deepened to a struggle between the capitalist class and the working class. It is this struggle we now face as Nixon works up 'new plays' for his second term of office. In August 1971 he declared war on workers in every country. Now that he is

re-elected he intends to carry through on that war. This is what we must prepare for. This is why we are having this international meeting now to answer Nixon."

It was 55 years ago that Lenin and Trotsky led the Russian working class to power. He was able to establish the world's first workers state because he based his struggle on Marxist theory," Wohlforth noted. It is this conscious struggle for Marxism that is essential today if we are to prepare to construct a leadership of the working class to answer Nixon.

Wohlforth pointed out that Lenin in his "Letter To American Workers," recognized the past revolutionary achievements in this country, noting "the immense, world-historic, progressive and revolutionary significance of the American Civil War." Lenin also could see the future of the American working class when he stated: "The American workers will not follow the bourgeoisie. They will be with us, for civil war against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the world and of the American labor movement strengthens my conviction that this is so."

#### MARXISM

Concluding on our tasks today, Comrade Wohlforth stressed the need to develop ourselves as Marxists as we take up the fight for a Congress of Labor to answer Nixon's attacks. He pointed out Trotsky's prediction that: "Marx will become the mentor of the advanced American workers."

Abby Rodriguez, editor of the Young Socialist, commented on the recently held convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, youth organization of the Socialist Workers Party. He explained

The second part of *The POR, OCI, and International Committee* will appear in next week's *Bulletin*.

\* \* \*

Full report from the Midwest Trailblazers: Page 12.

how the abandonment of Marxism by the SWP had led its youth organization into a completely middle class blind end where today they abandon the peace movement they worked in so long, having no perspective at all to replace it with. Above all, he noted the turn away from the capitalist crisis, and its requirements that we lead the youth in a fight back.

"The Young Socialists," Rodriguez concluded, "will take up this leadership. We have a right to education, a hard fought for right of all workers. Now they are taking this away from us with cutbacks in the colleges and high schools. We will not allow this. We will fight back as part of the working class."

#### INTERNATIONAL

Also speaking was a Polish youth who protested the attack on workers and youth by the Stalinist bureaucracy. "Today," he stated, "in order for the working class to achieve the political revolution, it is required that we construct sections of the Fourth International in these countries. It is on the basis of the past struggles and experiences in these countries that these sections are going to be built and Stalinism destroyed."

A Haitian worker denounced the new Duvalier regime and called for Haitian revolutionaries to break from all forms of Stalinism in order to be able to carry through the socialist revolution on that impoverished island. There can be no nationalism now and socialism later. It must be a socialist revolution as part of the international movement of the working class led by Trotskyists.

#### FILMS

There was a tremendous response to the two British films, *Three Years of the Workers Press* and *The Right To Work March*. The latter film was in beautiful color and made a deep impression on many youth present who were also unemployed and could see the need to construct a revolutionary movement here to carry through the same battle.

Lucy St. John, editor of the *Bulletin*, gave a brief presentation on the fight for the *Daily Bulletin* at the end of the meeting. In the largest collection ever at a public meeting, \$2305.10 was raised for the *Bulletin* Fall Expansion Fund Campaign.

# BUILDING A WORKERS

Statement of the Political Committee



Above left, Lenin reading the Bolshevik paper Pravda; Above right, Trotsky reading the Militant, paper of the Socialist Workers Party. Lenin insisted on an understanding of the class nature of the press in the workers' movement. Trotsky's papers of the Communist class, etc.

The re-election of Richard Nixon has been immediately followed by preparations for new attacks on the working class. The decision to place George Shultz, Secretary of Treasury, in overall charge of economic matters is a key part of this preparation. There will be trade war in Europe, wage freeze tightened here, credit restriction with related growth of unemployment, and a continuation of inflation.

While the Pay Board continues to slash wages, the price commission has just granted in-

creases to the auto barons. "Permissiveness" is to end in relation to the working class only. What is in store for workers can be seen from Baton Rouge, mounted police attacks on printers' picket lines in Cleveland, mace attacks on newspaper workers in Wilmington, Delaware, and the murder of a longshoreman in Baltimore.

This new situation facing all workers and youth requires the development of a press to express the interests of workers, to organize the forces in the labor movement to force the unions to call a Congress of Labor to map out a common program for the fight back, and to develop a revolutionary movement to establish a socialist society which will put an end to this system of unemployment, decay, and murder.

This is why we have launched our campaign to expand the circulation of the Bulletin and to obtain the funds necessary to install our own web offset press so we can expand the Bulletin's size to 24 pages, launch the Young Socialist as a monthly paper in the fall, and lay the basis for transforming the Bulletin into a daily newspaper.

#### POWERFUL

This situation requires the development of a powerful workers press in the United States. In the course of developing such a press we can learn much from Lenin who constructed the Bolshevik Party, which led the Russian working class to victory 55 years ago.

Marx laid the theoretical basis for the modern socialist movement. But it was Lenin who confronted the task of actually constructing a workers party and forging

it into a revolutionary instrument not only to defend the working class but to go over to the struggle to establish workers' power itself. In this struggle Lenin devoted great effort to the construction of a workers press. It was one of his central pre-occupations in time, thought, and work.

In an article on the history of the workers press in Russia, Lenin noted that this press was divided from its origins into two trends: "It is a remarkable fact, one that has not been duly appreciated to this day, that as soon as the mass working class movement arose in Russia (1895-96), there at once appeared the division into Marxist and opportunist trends—a division which has changed in form and features, etc., but which has remained essentially the same from 1894 to 1914.

"Apparently, this particular kind of division and inner struggle among Social-Democrats has deep social and class roots...The fact that the legal Social-Democratic press of 1905, 1906 and 1907 was a press of two trends, of two groups, can only be accounted for by the different lines in the working-class movement at the time—the petty bourgeois and the proletarian...Only by studying the history of Marxism's struggle against opportunism, only by making a thorough and detailed study of the manner in which independent proletarian democracy emerged from the petty bourgeois hodge-podge can the advanced workers decisively strengthen their own class consciousness and their workers press."

These two trends are expressed even more sharply today in the United States and internationally. They find their highest expression in the opposite development of the Bulletin on the one hand and the Militant on the other. This division is no less deep than that which existed in Lenin's day between Bolshevism and Menshevism. It is over the same essential issues.

The Bulletin bases itself on Marxism. It assessed the character of capitalism and the development of its international crisis. On this basis it has developed a program to lead the working class in its struggle against the attacks which the large corporations and Nixon must now make against it. Only the Bulletin campaigned this last fall for a labor party, organizing right in the midst of the election period a national conference of trade unionists to carry forward this fight.

The Militant has abandoned Marxism in favor of impressionism and opportunism. It denies the capitalist crisis, seeing a return to the period of the 1950s when

there was a low level of class struggle. It abandoned the fight for the labor party in the midst of the election campaign. It has turned its attention completely away from the working class, devoting itself exclusively to the middle classes.

These are two trends, reflected through two papers. The division is irreconcilable. It is a reflection of class forces.

Lenin not only noted the political differences between the two trends in the workers press. He also noted the different relationship between these papers and the working class in their methods of financing, circulation, and related matters. The press of the opportunists not only presented a conciliatory line towards the capitalists but had its connections through the middle class with capitalism and little or no connection with the working class. The Bolshevik press on the other hand was supported by masses of workers, sustaining itself through their efforts primarily.

Lenin assessed the Menshevik press, showing that its circulation was small and therefore not self-sustaining. It maintained itself primarily through contributions from individual friendly bourgeois and occasional middle class circles—not from the working class. He concluded:

#### LIQUIDATIONIST

"The experience of a daily newspaper, which openly appeals to the masses, was bound to disclose the real class character of the liquidationist trend. And that is what it did. The liquidationist newspapers, indeed proved to be a bourgeois undertaking, which is supported by a minority of the workers...Even from the financial aspect, experience goes to prove that it is possible to run a well-established workers' newspaper with the aid of workers' kopeks, but impossible to do so with the aid of bourgeois rubles. The liquidationist undertaking is a bubble, which is bound to burst."

If we assess the financing of the Militant and its circulation, we can make an even sharper judgement of this trend. In the first place, the Militant does not even make an effort to develop its circulation among the working class. It would be an exaggeration to say that even a minority of workers support the Militant or that a significant minority of its supporters are workers.

The Militant is no longer self-sustaining on the basis of income from sales and subscriptions. The vast bulk of its subscriptions are sold at a rate of 5 cents a copy, considerably below cost for a 28

## 522 Subs In One Week

This week we received 522 subs which is a great step forward. This is equal to the number gotten the preceding week but this time without the help of the Michigan-Ohio Trailblazing team. The grand total is now 3,695, over half way to our goal of 6,500 by December 31st.

Branches which excelled include Brownsville—65, Baltimore—51, Fort Greene—41, East New York—31, Washington—30. The Bay Area branches also took important steps forward.

We must now achieve 4,875 in just two weeks to meet the three-quarter mark. We warn all branches and supporters that not only must each branch meet this goal on time but they must make every effort to go way over the mark. The two remaining weeks of the drive after the three-quarters mark are in the midst of the holiday season creating great problems for sub work.



# S' PRESS IN THE U.S.

Committee of the Workers League



ment. The Menshevik press is today characterized by the papers shown on the right. The press of the International Committee (left) is rooted in the movement of the working class, and built by the support of workers.

page paper. In the case of the several thousand subscriptions sold by teams, even this amount is given to the team for its support.

The situation with bundle sales is not much better. The *Militant* receives only 12½ cents a copy from street sales, the remainder either being used for other purposes by the branch or in almost all cases used to cover unsold copies. This means that close to one-half of all bundle sales of the *Militant* are not actually sold and that income from these sales also does not cover the cost of producing the paper.

Thus the money to put out the *Militant* does not come from its readers through their purchase of the paper. The *Militant* runs no campaign to raise the additional subsidy from its readers. In fact it does not even run fund drives from the members of the Socialist Workers Party. Only the YSA has fund drives, which are held only once a year, are always in late and many times incomplete, and which do not meet the needs of the YSA itself, not to mention the *Militant*.

## WEALTHY

The *Militant* is actually subsidized through contributions raised privately from wealthy supporters of the SWP and YSA. Well over a half million dollars has been raised this way over the past few years. Its financing is thus much like that of the liquidators' papers which Lenin discussed.

Like those papers it is based on a bubble which can burst. If the wealthy middle class decide they have had enough with even the mild radicalism of the SWP, then the funds dry up and the bubble bursts. There are already indications that this process has begun as the private financing campaign of the SWP is bogging down. This is the reaction of the middle class radicals to the actual development of the working class in struggle.

The distance of the *Militant* from the working class is expressed in another way. Since its founding in 1928, the *Militant* has been a union paper printed by union labor in a union shop. For the past year or so the *Militant* has dropped the union label and now maintains a non-union shop. This takes place at a time when union printers have had their wages slashed by the Pay Board, have faced police horses and mace in their strike struggles, and now confront the growth of non-union, largely web offset printing under conditions of a general shrinkage of printing as a whole. How far from "the interests of the working people," still written on its masthead, can you get?

The *Militant* is able to take such a step only because it is rarely even sold near a union meeting or a picket line and only because its staff have become completely cynical in relation to the working class.

The situation with the two other papers with weekly or more frequent national distribution is essentially the same. The Stalinist *Daily World* is committed to the Democratic Party and the labor bureaucracy. It is rarely ever sold on the streets, is the only national paper constantly handed out free, and maintains a subscription rate below even mailing costs on a daily paper. It, too, relies on its wealthy friends and not on the working class for its sustenance. The *Guardian* has been deservedly reduced to a shell of its former self, but this shell, too, is sustained through gifts of the middle class.

## INTERNATIONAL

If we turn to the international arena we can find an additional example of the same two trends. The Socialist Labour League in Britain, member of the International Committee, is now celebrating the third anniversary of its daily paper, the *Workers Press*. This paper, the first Trotskyist daily in the world, has not only survived, it has developed. It has gone from a four page large size paper produced five times a week to a 12 page tabloid paper produced six times a week. Its circulation has now reached 20,000. In addition *Keep Left*, the paper of the Young Socialists, is now produced as a weekly.

The *Workers Press* is self-sustained. It is sold by individual supporters throughout England as the cost of distributing through commercial wholesalers is too high. In addition, it receives each month a sustaining fund made up of small contributions from workers in pub collections and the like. It is produced and supported as were the Bolshevik papers in Lenin's day.

A year ago this fall the French OCI broke from the International Committee of the Fourth International. Their political position was like the economists and liquidators of Lenin's day and the SWP of today. They were opposed to the construction of the Fourth International, putting forward spontaneity theories about united fronts thrown up and expressing the movement of the working class. They have combined with all manner of centrists against the International Committee.

Now at a time when all of Europe faces a trade war with American imperialism which cannot fail but bring these countries to the brink of revolution, the OCI must



announce it is cutting back its weekly paper *Information Ouvrière* to eight pages! This is a movement which once rallied 8000 youth to Le Bourget airport!

We have proceeded to develop the *Bulletin* in Lenin's way. We started modestly with a fortnightly mimeographed newsletter in 1964. We have now developed it into a 20 page weekly in two colors which will have a circulation of 20,000 by the end of the year. It has always paid its way. We never gave away a single copy. We are beholden to no one. Each sale of the *Bulletin* strengthens our ability to develop the paper. Each sale of the *Militant* or *Daily World* weakens those organizations financially.

## FUNDS

We do not at this point require or are we asking for funds to sustain the *Bulletin*. Our request for funds is so that we can purchase equipment to make great changes in the *Bulletin* and to prepare us for a daily paper. We are in the process now of raising \$50,000 and we will need another \$50,000 next Spring.

These are large sums. They come from the efforts of our readers, the branches of the Workers League, and the branches of the Young Socialists. This money comes from raffles, cake sales, book sales, movie showings, Christmas fairs, dances, and in large part out of the pockets of those who make only modest salaries.

The movement of the working class against Nixon has strengthened the *Bulletin*. It has made it possible for us to raise these funds and to make a major increase in our circulation. We are now able to plan an even greater development. The movement of the working class has weakened the other trend, the *Militant*. It creates fear in its middle class backers and thus financial difficulties.

## CRITICAL

We are right now in the final stage of our Fall \$50,000 Fund Drive and in our Winter campaign for 6500 subs. It is a critical

stage. We urge all our readers to lend us a hand at this time. Even a dollar or two will help. A couple of subs from friends will make a big difference.

We say to all our branches: You have so far done a magnificent job in raising what is a very large amount of money. This job must now be carried through to completion in the next two weeks **without hesitation**—in full and on time. The objective conditions furnish both the possibility and the necessity to carry forward this task. But it will be the conscious fight of the branches on the basis of our principled program which will be essential to complete this task.

We can and will complete and go over our goal of \$50,000 by December 15. We can and will complete and go over our goal of 6500 subs by December 31.

## Fund Hits Three-Quarter Goal

We have received \$4,348.30 this week bringing our total over the three-quarters mark to \$40,678.51 on our Fall \$50,000 *Bulletin* Expansion Drive. Special mention must be made of the \$2,288.10 which came in independently of the branches, largely from the recent Fourth International meetings. We also received \$200 from St. Louis and \$266.68 from Minneapolis.

We are now in the last decisive stage of the fund drive. There are only two more weeks to go and we must therefore bring in an excess of \$5,000 a week. If this push is made we now have every indication that we can go over the top and on time.

At stake is the successful completion by December 15 of the first stage of a two stage drive to raise \$100,000 to install a web offset press so that the *Bulletin* can be expanded to 24 pages, a monthly Young Socialist newspaper published, and a basis laid for a daily Trotskyist paper in the U.S. in the near future.

# A WORKERS' PRESS IN

Statement of the Political Committee of the Workers League



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BY NANCY FIELDS

Recognizing the necessity for building a mass revolutionary newspaper to meet Nixon's attacks, the **Bulletin** sent six trailblazing members of the Workers League and the Young Socialists to the industrial heartland of the Midwest, Ohio and Michigan, during the last two weeks of November.

In that time, 522 subscriptions and over 700 individual copies of the **Bulletin** were sold among trade unionists, on the campuses, and to high school students. The **Bulletin** headline: "No Jobs, No Schools, No Housing" drew a tremendous response from workers and youth throughout the area facing these attacks by Nixon.

The decision to send the trailblazers throughout the Midwest as part of the fight to lay the basis for the daily **Bulletin** was made at the Chicago Conference for a Labor Party Now! There, the critical role that the **Bulletin** plays as a weapon in the hands of workers was explained by one steelworker from the Kaiser plant in Fontana, California who urged everybody "to get behind the **Bulletin**, that's how I found out about the labor party."

That the next four years of Nixon will not be the same as the last was clearly shown in all the areas the trailblazers hit. Faced with school closures, tuition hikes, price increases and massive layoffs and speedup, the working class, in the five cities on the campaign, has begun a major offensive against the attacks of the corporations.

#### FLINT

The all-out productivity drive by the corporations was one of the central issues raised throughout the campaign. This was at the center of the **Bulletin's** campaign in Flint, Michigan, a city dominated by General Motors. Over 52 subscriptions were sold, largely to members of the United Auto Workers who are now coming under the sharpest attacks through the speedup schemes designed to increase profits while laying off hundreds of workers.

The drive through Flint took place shortly after one auto worker was baked to death in the ovens because of this vicious speedup. The auto bosses have clearly demonstrated that they will destroy all safety standards to insure that their profits are increased. Accompanying this tremendous speedup are mass layoffs. As one Buick subscriber told the **Bulletin**:

"I've been laid off for over six months and there appears to be no chance of my getting back in. Things look so bad here that I'm moving my family back South. My Dad has worked for GM for 26 years and now—with only a few years to go before retirement—he has been laid off. These companies couldn't care less about their workers. When they don't need you any more, they throw you on the junk heap and leave you to rust."

In Flint, the desire to launch an offensive against these attacks was shown in the overwhelming strike vote taken at the Buick plant. However, the fear of the trade union leaders resulted in the postponement of action on this vote. The betrayals of these so-called leaders was discussed in all the areas.

All of the new UAW subscribers expressed their disgust with Woodcock's "Apache" strategy. As one Buick worker said: "It's not doing anything as far as I can see. It's like telling GM not to worry because we'll all be back on the line after two days. Also, this way, the union doesn't have to pay any strike benefits and the state any unemployment. So, who loses? Only us workers."

The dissatisfaction with the present union leadership raises sharply the need for the construction of a new leadership within the unions that would actually defend the gains and rights of trade unionists today. Throughout the tour, this was the central question posed to the trailblazers—how to actually build that new leadership in the unions.

One young Chrysler worker in Cleveland said: "I'm working 10 hours a day now after being laid off all summer. The



First **Bulletin** Trailblazing team as they set out on Midwest campaign.

# Trailblazing The Midwest For The Bulletin

safety conditions in the plant are terrible but when we complain to the union, they just ignore us. I didn't think we could fight these guys because they've been in so long it's like trying to fight City Hall. But, with the **Bulletin**, maybe we can really unite all the workers and really take them on."

The growing revolt against the trade union bureaucracy was shown in Dayton where the trailblazers campaigned one week after the wildcat walkouts had hit four major plants there. The understanding that this fight must be taken beyond trade union militancy was reflected in the sale of 44 subscriptions in one afternoon in that area.

In Cleveland, the **Bulletin** campaign followed on the heels of two major strikes in the area: one by the city employees and one by the pressmen of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. Both strikes had been accompanied by vicious strikebreaking techniques. The pressmen's picket lines had continuously been broken up by mounted police which had resulted in the injury of several strikers.

Here, many of the new subscribers discussed the need for a defense against these brutal measures as well as how the city workers could be protected from the massive layoffs now being planned. It was revealed that the mayor plans to lay off half the city employees and replace them by computers manufactured by a corporation which he owns.

Over 350 subscriptions were sold in Cleveland, largely to steel and auto workers and teachers as well as to students at Glenville High School and on the campuses in the area.

#### CAMPUSES

The effect of the economic crisis was expressed throughout the area in the educational cutbacks and tuition increases in the high schools and on the campuses. Today, the basic right to an education is being taken away by the budget cuts which will shut the schools down in Detroit and Pittsburg and, as teachers told the **Bulletin**, is threatening to shut them down in Cleveland in the coming period.

The tremendous desire of the youth to fight back against these attacks was reflected in the sales of subscriptions at all

the campuses. At Ohio State University, which is phasing out all its research facilities, the need for the **Bulletin** was illustrated by one student who said:

"How can we actually fight back? After all these years of student protest, it is obvious to me that student powerism is dead."

When the program of the Young Socialists was discussed, he, along with many other students, wanted to begin to build a club on the campus immediately.

At this campus, the response from students was: "This is what we need—a socialist organization on campus."

#### CLUBS

At Oberlin, tuition is going up \$125 next semester at a school which already has an exorbitant tuition. Today, the middle class is also being sharply affected by the economic crisis and many students at Oberlin told the **Bulletin** that they will either have to work or drop out in the face of this tuition hike. Because of these conditions, a Young Socialist club was actually constructed at Oberlin out of the subscription campaign.

At Case-Western Reserve University in Cleveland the tuition is increasing \$175 in the coming semester and enrollment is down by 400 from last year because of the already prohibitive hikes. Here, the **Bulletin** reached out not to the old radical students but to students completely new to politics. The attacks on the aerospace and engineering industries by Nixon brought a response from engineering students who are seeking a way to defend their future.

At Cleveland State University, the real fear of the revisionist Young Socialist Alliance in the face of the powerful impact the **Bulletin** was having throughout the Cleveland area was shown when they called on the Administration to have us thrown off the campus. In spite of the arrival of the city police, the trailblazers were able to sell eight subscriptions and over 75 papers while the YSA sat at their table demoralized.

On all the campuses, the marked turn by students to questions of Marxist theory and the history of the Trotskyist movement was shown by the large sales of literature as well as tremendous interest

in having classes set up at the schools.

The cutbacks in education, which have created chaotic situations in high schools around the country, led to an explosion at Glenville High School in Cleveland during the campaign there. One student told the **Bulletin**: "They have cut the number of teachers in half and now they run this place like a prison. After reading the **Bulletin**, I can see that what we need here is a Young Socialist club."

Throughout all the campus and high school work, an understanding that students by themselves could not fight back and defend their rights alone was fought for. The program of the Young Socialists was posed as the alternative to all those misleaders who seek to keep the students isolated and confine their struggles to protests for reforms in a period when no reforms can be granted.

It is the objective conditions today which laid the basis for the tremendous expansion of the **Bulletin** in this area. As one teacher in Cleveland who bought six pamphlets along with her subscription said: "I didn't know there was a paper out here actually fighting what Nixon is trying to do. But now that I do, I'm going to tell all my friends about it."

#### SUCCESS

The success of the trailblazing campaign has to be seen as the preparation for the construction of branches of the Workers League and Young Socialists in the Midwest.

The tremendous response to the **Bulletin** shows that the American working class is moving on the offensive and is seeking a new leadership against Nixon's attacks. The Workers League and the Young Socialists will construct that Marxist leadership in all these areas in the coming period.

The daily **Bulletin** will be the major weapon in the construction of that conscious leadership capable of mobilizing the working class to defeat the attacks and taking up the fight for power and to establish socialism. The expansion of the **Bulletin** and the fight to lay the basis for the daily paper becomes the central task of the revolutionary party today.

Julius Irving, artistic director and stage manager of the Vivian Beaumont Theater, was not far off the mark when he stated: "Any civilization that allows culture to perish is perishing itself."

Prevented from staging a number of important plays because of a shortage of funds, Mr. Irving has announced his resignation.

But the dramatic arts are not the only aspect of Lincoln Center that have been hit by the financial crisis. It was recently revealed that the Philharmonic Orchestra is \$449,000 in the red.

The Philharmonic's budget for fiscal 1971-72 was \$5.3 million. However, the generous "patrons" of the arts were not generous enough to prevent the huge deficit. There are better investments, you see, than music.

**DEFICIT POSITION**

If the Philharmonic is in financial difficulty, you can imagine the situation facing other orchestras in the country. Amyas Ames, chairman of the Philharmonic, reports that 27 other major orchestras are in "a cash deficit position."

Of course, the captains of industry and finance who own the cultural centers have something of a solution to the crisis in music—the musicians will have to perform for less money.

Two years ago, the owners of the Metropolitan Opera House cancelled all the productions for several months rather than pay the orchestra and chorus a decent wage. The Philharmonic is getting ready to do the same, as contract negotiations are scheduled for 1973.

Ames is admitting that a major difficulty facing the Philharmonic is the upcoming musicians' contract. "This is no normal crisis," he warns. "Now for the first time our budget goes far beyond anything coming in. The good burghers will have to rally to the cause."

**PROFIT**

The "cause" is, of course, not art and culture, but making a profit out of the talents of the orchestra.

There seems little chance that the "burghers" will contribute what is needed. Last year, a study undertaken for the American Symphony Orchestra League revealed that to be "meaningful," public support would have to be approximately 25 percent of total expenses.

Government support for the leading 28 orchestras amounts to a scant nine percent of operating costs. The Philharmonic received only \$331,000 from city, state and federal sources.

On November 16, the management of the Philharmonic inserted the first of four "Messages To Those Who Value Music" in the program book, in which the outlines of the financial crisis were clarified.

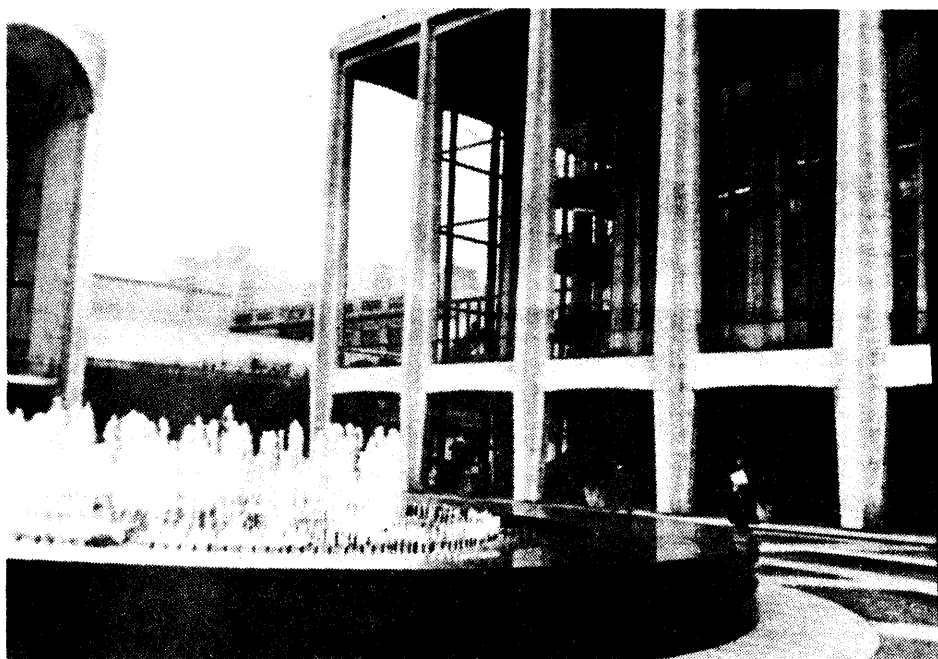
But this will do nothing to solve the difficulties facing the cultural life in this city or any other part of the United States. As Julius Irving pointed out, the city is perfectly prepared to permit "culture to perish."

**Lou Belkin Theater**

**As Culture Goes Out Of Business**



Lincoln Center, home of the Metropolitan Opera and the New York Philharmonic, is now facing financial crisis and the threat of closure.



**Marty Jonas Film Crisis On The LA Freeway**

**PLAY IT AS IT LAYS.** Directed by Frank Perry. Starring Tuesday Weld and Anthony Perkins, from the novel by Joan Didion.

This movie focuses on the disintegration of Maria Wyeth, a model-turned-actress in the Hollywood milieu. Maria obtains a divorce from her husband, Carter Lang, then gets an abortion, and spends most of her life travelling the Los Angeles Freeway.

She has no particular destination. Maria has done it so often that she takes a couple of hard boiled eggs with her in the morning and when lunchtime comes around, she cracks them on the steering wheel and eats them while cruising at 70 mph. The only product of her relationship with Carter Lang has been the two pictures with her he directed, and a mentally disturbed child, Kate, whom Maria visits often in an asylum. It was

Carter who had the child put there.

**PHONEY**

Carter is a real phoney of a director who worries about "existential" qualities in his films. The two films he directed starring Maria were "Maria," an Andy Warhol-type "documentary" where Maria just responds to off-camera questions from Carter, and "Angel Beach," a motorcycle epic.

Maria's best friend is BZ, the producer of Carter Lang's films, played by Tony Perkins. BZ is a complete cynic and Maria's only friend. He continually throughout the film invites her to come as far as he has come, to where he knows that there is only—nothing. Maria resists this at the beginning, she argues that there is some meaning to life, it's just a matter of finding it.

This film is perhaps the sharpest handling since "Bob and Carol and Ted and Alice" of the descent into complete chaos of sections of the middle class. Frank Perry's direction is very detached, and so the full horror of Maria's disintegration does not really sink in until the last lines just quoted. Sequence follows sequence with few hysterical moments. The low-key way in which Maria describes her days and nights turns into such alienation that by the end of the film it is obvious that

she no longer sees her life as anything but a film playing itself out. That is the meaning of the offscreen voice asking her the question at the film's end.

The images and sounds of the Freeway are especially effective in showing Maria's meaningless existence. Over and over the sign saying "Yield" pops in as an image. The most effective shot is of Maria's yellow sports car, then the camera pulls away, slowly, until we see from half a mile up, thousands of cars on the freeway, the yellow one a speck among them, all going this way and that, some straight, some taking the intricate maze of the cloverleaf. Southern California has not been used in such a chilling manner since Nathaniel West's 1930s novel Day of the Locust.

**DREAMS**

Southern California has become the optimum setting of novels and movies for the dashing of all the dreams of the middle class. This is where the crisis is now hitting the hardest, where aerospace and electronics firms are collapsing, where the movie industry itself is in serious trouble.

**BURSTING**

In the midst of all those bubbles bursting, the middle class feels its riches

to be very temporary. If all of that can go down the drain (like Maria's fetus in the recurrent abortion images) then what can have any meaning?

All of this is expressed in the extraordinary acting of Tuesday Weld and Anthony Perkins. Tuesday Weld gives the kind of performance we would have only expected from Jane Fonda. (This is the best performance by an actress since Fonda in Klute.) Weld goes from just being faded, but glamorous, to completely empty. Perkins plays the cynicism of BZ with bite, desperation, and the kind of reasonableness that can only bait Maria into going further along the road to madness.

Play It As It Lays puts Frank Perry into the ranks of the few American directors to watch for important and penetrating films. He has managed to lay bare the middle class's emptiness with a sharpness that Antonioni was never capable of. Where Antonioni only bored us (as in Red Desert) with the dreariness of the middle class's "fun," Perry manages to stun.

Where Antonioni's symbols are only used for their own sake—thereby remaining enigmatic and making Antonioni a big cult hero—Perry's images are to the point (the coiled rattlesnake under every rock, the Los Angeles Freeway) and propel the film to its powerful ending.



# Baltimore Cops Beat Docker To Death

BY TIM STEVENS

**BALTIMORE**—Eugene Richardson, a longshoreman, died here on November 28th after lying for three weeks in City Hospital paralyzed from the neck down.

The paralysis and death were as a result of injuries sustained on November 4th, when Richardson was attacked by two plainclothes city cops while watching a crap game.

His mother, Mrs. Mildred Richardson last week gave the *Bulletin* an exclusive interview about the attack. "They (the plainclothes police) bent his neck all the way down to his knees. He dropped to the ground and they grabbed him, rolled up their fists and punched him in the back. While they were beating him they kept yelling: 'You militant, you militant.'

"When he fell to the ground, he lost his speech. They said: 'Get up, you drunken so-and-so.' The reason why he couldn't tell them he wasn't drunk was because he lost his speech. He does not drink. He doesn't even smoke.

"Then they said: 'I'll get you up.' They grabbed him by the shoulders and threw him into the police car. They called a paddy wagon and told him to get up and walk to it. He couldn't move. They took him by the shoulders and dragged him. They threw him in the paddy wagon on the floor, handcuffed. And the other two boys told them: 'That man is sick.' One of the police said: 'Yes I know. I heard something crack.'

#### BROKEN NECK

"Then they carried him out to City Hospital laying on the floor with his neck already broken.

They didn't even bother to call an ambulance. And the dirty rats have even been out to the hospital to see him. A white lady was in the room visiting her son and when they came into the room she thought it was some fellows off the job where he worked.

"She said when they went over to the bed he had his eyes closed. One of them said 'Eugene' and he opened his eyes. She said when he opened his eyes he turned pure white and started to shiver all over. They said: 'Can you walk? Can you use your legs?' He said: 'I'm paralyzed all the way down to my legs. My neck is broken and it hurts.'

#### SHAKING

"So they left and when they left one of them had the guts to pat him on the legs and say, 'Get well soon Eugene.' That's what those dirty rats did.

"The lady went over and said he was shaking real bad. She said: 'Eugene, get yourself together. Calm down.' And he said: 'They're the ones who did this to me.'

Dr. Allan March, chief of orthopedic surgery at City Hospital, told the local press last week: "There is no chance of recovery. It takes a great deal of force to inflict this type of injury and it is most frequently seen in cases of high speed motor vehicle accidents."

The police report filed by the two plainclothesmen claimed that Eugene Richardson resisted arrest and assaulted one of the cops.

However, two witnesses denied this and said that Mr. Richardson, who is Black, was watching them play dice and did

nothing to provoke the two plainclothes cops who failed to identify themselves. William Johnson, one of the two witnesses, said: "I might serve some time for telling the truth, but they hurt that man for no reason."

The police report does say that Eugene Richardson received a broken neck, but there is no explanation for it.

"I don't care what anyone else says," says Captain S. Avara, commander of the Southeastern Police District. "The report filed explains exactly what happened."

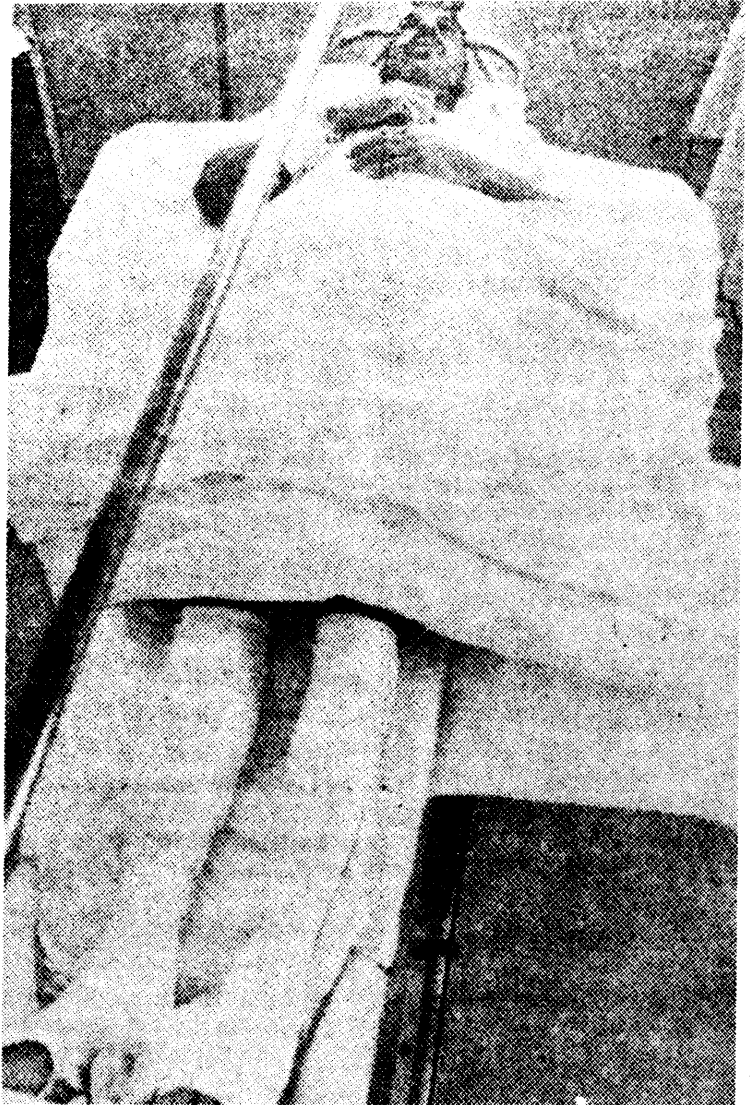
The police have attempted to intimidate the two witnesses in order to silence them. Charles Puckett, another of the witnesses, has been subject to almost daily harassment.

"He was here the other day," Mrs. Richardson told the *Bulletin*. "The boy was terrified. He wanted to know who he could see about it, who he could talk to."

#### TRIAL

At the trial of Puckett and Johnson yesterday on gambling charges the two cops testified that Eugene Richardson had resisted arrest "while we had the cuffs on him." Both Johnson and Puckett angrily denied this but their objections were overruled by District Court Judge William Hudnet. They were found guilty and fined \$25.

Mrs. Richardson became hysterical in the court and had to be helped from the courtroom by friends. "They could have locked him up with the other boys but instead they chopped him down,"



Eugene Robert Richardson, Baltimore longshoreman, lying in traction in hospital, shortly before his death from a police beating.

she sobbed. "They chopped him down with their hands because he looked like a radical."

Although Dr. March has reported that Eugene Richardson died "of complications resulting from his injuries," no one has been charged in connection with his death. Captain Avara said that the case will not be treated as a homicide nor will any action be taken against the two plainclothes cops, Brenton and Webster, pending an autopsy.

#### NIXON

Longshoremen throughout the city are silently raging over the arrogance with which the state has perpetrated this killing. "Those b.....s are nothing but gangsters with badges," a

longshoreman told the *Bulletin*. "Now they want to give the death penalty for shooting craps. This is what they mean with 'law and order' and no more 'permissiveness.' They never used to bust guys for shooting craps.

"All I can say is they must have had it in for this guy, didn't like his looks and decided to work him over. And now these gangsters have killed a man. Nobody's safe now if that's all it takes to get killed."

All trade unionists and youth must take this warning seriously. With the murder of Eugene Richardson, it is apparent the sort of forces Nixon is assembling to deal with workers and youth as they resist his attacks against jobs and living standards.

# Brennan: A Traitor In Nixon's Pay

BY MELODY FARROW

The nomination of Peter J. Brennan, President of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York, is a central part of Nixon's strategy to attack the gains of labor and destroy the trade union movement.

In one of the most despicable betrayals in the history of the labor movement, Brennan has joined a class that has openly declared its intentions to break the trade unions and drive down the living standards of American workers.

Far from representing a "friend" for labor in Washington, as Brennan and George Meany claim, he will be used to do the dirty work of Nixon. His job will be to try and shove Nixon's wage cuts and union-busting policies down the throats of trade unionists.

As the class lines for battle are drawn between the workers and the government, sections of the union bureaucracy like Brennan openly side with Nixon and the ruling class against the members they are supposed to represent.

What Nixon hopes to accomplish is to split the labor movement, to paralyze its ability to fight and to use the union leaders to assist in destroying the independence of the unions.

Shortly after his nomination, Brennan held a news conference in which he warned of "rough days" ahead and praised Nixon for his "guts and fortitude." Brennan stated that he hoped pay controls "will be phased out" and claimed he supported the principle of collective bargaining without interference.

While he claimed he was opposed to compulsory arbitration, he said hopefully disputes could be settled "without strikes" and declared "we should do all we can" to avoid long strikes. He completed his warm words for Nixon by saying that the President wanted labor to play a part "in shaping up the country."

#### OMINOUS

This nomination is especially ominous for construction workers who are first on Nixon's list of union-busting. As has been reported in the November 13 *Bulletin*, a secret memorandum prepared by the Labor Department aims to do away with the Davis-Bacon Act, which requires union wages to be paid on all federal building sites.

Some of the ways Nixon hopes to achieve this is by paying union construction workers the prevailing wage at the non-federal sites in the area, exempt-

ing projects of less than \$100,000 from Davis-Bacon regulations or to "provide by legislation or regulation if it can be done, that the Secretary of Labor is not required to make a wages determination in all cases." The minimum wage (only \$1.60) would be used on all contracts which have no determination, as stipulated under the Service Contract Act.

Thus, Brennan has been picked to preside over the destruction of the wages of his own members. All Brennan's talk about phasing out pay controls is a complete fraud coming from a man who has been an outspoken champion of wage controls and cooperation with the employers.

Brennan was elected to head the Building and Construction Trades Council of New York City in 1957. During Brennan's rise in the labor bureaucracy, the union was the target of corruption charges and was reported to have gangster connections.

In February 1957, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Local 138 (Operating Engineers) was accused of collusion with the contractors. The year before a business agent of the local was killed in a jurisdictional fight.

In 1957, Richard Gray, president of the Building Trades Department in the AFL-CIO, called for a one year wage freeze by all unions to stop inflation. In 1959, the Building Trades Council established the Construction Industry Joint Conference

with the employers to prevent strikes and increase productivity.

In 1970, Brennan was behind the organized attack of 200 construction men on a demonstration against the Cambodian invasion and the Kent State killings. Through bribery and threats, he organized a demonstration in Wall Street with banners proclaiming "All the way with the USA" and other solidarity slogans with the capitalist class. After this Brennan was invited to the White House by Nixon.

When Brennan talks about "shaping up the country," he is talking about preserving the profits of the large corporations and industrialists at the expense of the working class.

#### DETERMINATION

But Brennan's ability to impose these attacks on the trade unions is another matter. The construction workers have shown their determination to fight back and defend their unions. There are indeed rough days ahead for Mr. Brennan.

All the capitalist papers are spreading the slander that the working people are Nixon supporters and that this is the meaning of Brennan's nomination.

Brennan only represents himself and the handful of corrupt labor bureaucrats. It is the task of the working class to fight in the unions to throw Nixon and his labor allies out and construct a labor party that will unite the working class and bring it to power.

BY ED SMITH

The "Green Tory" government of Irish Prime Minister John Lynch has entered on the road to dictatorship. Using the new security laws just passed by the Irish Parliament to strangle democratic liberties, Lynch hopes to smash the resistance mounted by the Irish Republican Army to his British Tory collaborators in Ulster.

At the same time, he prepares for the coming confrontation with the Irish working class, whose standard of living faces collapse under the blows of international recession and entry into the Common Market.

The new repressive laws, passed by the Irish parliament in the late hours of last Friday, have abolished the centuries' old legal tradition of "innocent until proven guilty."

Instead, under the cover of stepping up the fight against "illegal organizations" like the Irish Republican Army, which is fighting the occupation army of British Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath, Lynch has laid the legal foundations for an actual police state in Ireland.

Under the new law, which goes into effect this week, anyone accused by a senior police officer of being a member of the IRA or any other illegal organization will be immediately deemed guilty by special non-jury courts set up by the Lynch regime. The police need not present any evidence of membership whatsoever. The statement of one senior cop is sufficient for conviction and imprisonment.

Besides abolishing the principle of "innocent before proven guilty," the new laws make it a crime punishable by a five thousand pound fine (\$12,500) and five years in jail to "interfere with the course of justice." "Interference" is stated to mean "all public statements, meetings and processions...if they are considered to influence any criminal or other judicial proceedings."

#### DICTATORSHIP

These laws, the weapons of dictatorship, are being introduced in the volatile political situation that has followed the frame-up trial and imprisonment of Provisional IRA chief of staff Sean MacStiofain. The imprisonment of MacStiofain was arranged immediately after a personal meeting between Irish Tory Lynch and British Tory Heath.

Both Lynch and Heath are determined to break the IRA resistance to the Tory plans to "settle" the Ulster question by leaving the area in the hands of British imperialism. They wish to free their hands to deal decisively against the movement of their own working classes.

MacStiofain's imprisonment, along with that of Kevin O'Kelly, the news features editor of the state broadcasting system who had refused to identify MacStiofain before the court, brought a storm of protest from the Irish workers.

Throughout the week following MacStiofain's imprisonment, thousands marched and demonstrated against Lynch's repression. A three day strike by broadcast journalists was followed by a 24 hour shutdown of Dublin and Cork newspapers.

stated earlier that "the law is unfair, unjust, and obnoxious because it would turn our legal system upside down" now proclaimed his support of the bill because Fine Gael had decided to "put nation before party." The law passed parliament 70-23, with many opposition members abstaining.

The bombings gave the opposition politicians the opportunity they had been searching for to line up behind the moves to dictatorship. In fact, no one knows who placed the bombs and the affair bears all the earmarks of a

capitalists face. This is shown not only in the hallowed parliamentary democracies of Britain and Ireland, but in America as well.

The only way out in the fight against Heath and Lynch is to rouse the organized power of the working class against the Tories in England and Ireland. The action of the Cork workers and the Irish journalists shows the way forward. Rory O'Brady, leader of the Provisional Sinn Fein, told the *Workers Press* after MacStiofain's conviction:

"The new repressive legisla-

already poverty-stricken, is driven into the mud to satisfy British capital's increasingly desperate drive for profit.

Heath will reveal his plans in a White Paper scheduled to be published in the next few months. On this basis, he hopes to get Ulster out of the way in order to concentrate on his plans for dictatorship and civil war against the English working class.

#### CRISIS

This new turn has intensified the crisis which is wracking all the organizations who are attempting to lead the Irish working class. The reformist traitors who lead the Irish Labor Party abandoned their sham opposition to the Lynch laws and heartily approved the jailing of MacStiofain, even though one of their spokesmen, Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, pointed out it could be used against union militants. Their fellow reformists in the North Ireland Social Democratic and Labor Party, Gerry Fitt and Paddy Devlin, sat down for talks with Heath's deputy in Northern Ireland on the very day the repression laws were passed in the South—talks on the subject of "security."

The crisis extends particularly into both wings of the IRA and the civil rights campaign that grew out of the movement of Catholic workers in Ulster against discrimination three or four years ago. Both the Official IRA and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, heavily influenced by the Communist Party, are attempting to somehow revive the civil rights campaign and protest movements of several years ago.

What none of these people dare to face up to is that the trend toward international recession as well as Common Market entry make any real improvement of the conditions of Catholic and Protestant workers impossible. In fact, massive cuts are on the agenda in the near future.

#### LIMITS

The Provisionals have run up against the limits of their campaign of bourgeois nationalism and terrorism. Both Officials and Provos find themselves increasingly cut off from their base in the Catholic population as these workers decide that the tactics of both IRA wings are futile and hope for possible concessions by Heath and Whitelaw.

While the Provos have been able to keep up the military fight—last week even launching rocket attacks against the British troops—the enormous army repression and the increasing political isolation is taking its toll. IRA forces have been seriously reduced and there has been increasing debate and disension over a future strategy.

Already, the CP and the trade union bureaucracy is intervening in the absence of any alternative to make peace between the working class and imperialism.

But the attacks on the IRA and the move toward dictatorship in the South are but parts of a master plan by the Tory imperialists, headed by Heath, to confront and drive back the working class of both England and Ireland.

The only way to answer such a strategy is to unite the working class of both countries against the main Tory enemy. Revolutionary parties must be constructed in both countries to lead the fight to throw out the Tories. The fight of the Socialist Labour League for these politics is the way the sinister moves of Heath and Lynch will be answered.

# Green Tories Turn To Dictatorship



Sean MacStiofain

In Cork, a strike against MacStiofain's jailing by longshoremen was joined by workers at Ford, a Coca Cola bottling plant, and vocational school students.

MacStiofain embarked upon a "fast unto death" against his imprisonment. He was moved from Dublin to the Curragh military hospital. All roads to the area were blocked off by the Army.

#### OPPOSITION

With the massive opposition to the Lynch laws aroused inside the working class, the opposition Fine Gael, Labor Party and independent members came into opposition to the bill. Since Lynch's Fianna Fail party is a minority in the parliament, it became clear the bill would be defeated. Lynch would have to resign and the issues would be brought before the country in a general election.

At this point, with Lynch faced with parliamentary defeat, the new drive to Bonapartism and the abolition of democracy was put in motion. While Parliament was winding up its debate of the bill last Friday night, three explosions ripped downtown Dublin, near the headquarters of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. Two people were killed and 126 injured in the blasts.

Immediately the opposition dropped its sham fight against Lynch's move to dictatorship and swung into line behind the repression. Patrick Cooney, spokesman of Fine Gael, who had

Reichstag Fire frame-up.

Above all, the planting of bombs, just when the bill was going down to defeat, could only hurt the IRA. The IRA had every reason to be against such an unprecedented bomb attack. But ultra-right Ulster Protestant organizations, and the British and Irish governments had every reason to be in favor of such an attack.

The Irish and British capitalists are moving hand in hand against their own working classes. Behind the sudden moves to Bonapartism and dictatorship is the realization by Heath and Lynch that they have little time left to prepare for massive battles with the working class.

Entry into the Common Market in the new year means workers' standard of living will be drastically cut. The IRA must be eliminated so that the working class can be tackled head on. In these circumstances, parliamentary democracy will be thrown overboard.

It is no accident that just before Lynch's current moves in Ireland, the British Trotskyist daily *Workers Press* exposed the plans of Heath himself to turn Parliament into a ceremonial body, with power concentrated in an executive of top Tories, big businessmen, and the upper echelons of the civil service and the military.

The turn to Bonapartist methods of rule is international, reflecting the insoluble crisis the

tion is very serious indeed. It will not only be used against us, but against all radical groups. I would ask British workers to see that what we are doing here is for the struggles of ordinary people everywhere. We would welcome anything they can do to use their strength to bring pressure on their own government."

Dick Walsh, chairman of the National Union of Journalists, Dublin branch, which struck against the repression laws, pointed out the issues sharply in *Workers Press*:

"The colonels in Greece would have done what Jack Lynch is doing if they had legislated themselves into power instead of seizing it. There is no question that the government is moving towards dictatorship and the amendments to the Offenses Against the State Act will carry it a good deal further."

He added that the government was preparing for a wave of rebellion in Ireland in the next few months. "Extra-parliamentary activity is bound to grow because of drastically growing unemployment, with nothing being done to stop it and the very serious problem of rising prices."

Pushed on by the economic crisis, British imperialism and its Irish puppets like Lynch are preparing a new turn in their approach to Ulster. The division of Ireland will be maintained, while the Catholic population will be granted some paper "rights" that will become meaningless as the entire Ulster population,



# Norwood GMAD Men Get Hours & Jobs Cut After 6 Month Strike

BY RITA FIRENZE

NORWOOD—For the past two months, since their return to work at the General Motors Assembly Division plant here, UAW Local 674 workers have been getting the "treatment" from General Motors, as well as from their own leadership.

Thanks to this sellout leadership, nothing was gained by the 174 day strike. Hundreds of outstanding work standards grievances still remain unsettled, line speedup is worse than ever, and at least 500 employees have never returned to work since the end of the strike.

"They're still stealing jobs through GMAD," Richard Minton, president of Local 674 said, referring to the 430 men not called back after the strike. "Add those 430 layoffs to the 30 who quit and the 60 or so who retired and weren't replaced, and we've got 3500 men doing what 4000 did before the strike."

## PUNISHMENT

As an obvious punishment for the six month strike, the men are being given extremely short work weeks and told by company officials that the short shifts are because of "bad quality work." Minton expressed the worker's view of this situation:

"You're just back after a six month strike, during which you drew \$40 a week strike benefits. Now you're working 15 to 20 hours a week, and Christmas is just around the corner."

Damon Powers, recently transferred to the Chevrolet Division, said he took home a pay check of \$16.10 last week. "The trim department is the worst off, but everybody's getting hurt about the same," he said.

John Quinn of the trim department said the foremen tell him the men are getting shorter hours

# Bus Drivers Strike Duluth Transit Co.

BY AN INDUSTRIAL  
REPORTER

DULUTH, Dec. 1—Over 100 bus drivers, members of Teamsters Local 346, struck today against Duluth-Superior Transit one hour after their contract expired as negotiations broke down.

At stake is whether the drivers and mechanics are even going to get the wage and benefit increases allowed under Pay Board guidelines. Following the lead of Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, the only remaining labor member of the Pay Board, the local leadership is not going for anything beyond these guidelines.

Company negotiators are offering far less than these guidelines allow. They have been encouraged by recent moves by the Pay Board to lower its own standards, to move towards a situation in which wages are completely frozen, while prices and rents skyrocket.

What this means is that even the most minor strike action by small numbers of workers is becoming a political strike, as they come into a head-on conflict with the government.

because of "poor quality work. They cut the manpower and keep up the speed," Quinn said. "Some can keep it up, some can't."

## FIVE HOURS

Gilbert Proffit, with 23 years of seniority, got cut back to five hours a day when some of the men in his department complained of uneven cutbacks. "I never know how much time I'll get when I go in," he said.

Although their contract

guarantees supplemental unemployment benefits of four hours per day minimum, the company has suspended these payments, using the excuse of "missed work," that is, not keeping up the line speed.

What is required is that the UAW "crack down" on GM by calling a nationwide strike against GMAD. Rank and file caucuses must be organized to take this fight into every UAW local and launch a campaign to bring the fight into the UAW special convention in March.

# Cook County Hospital Declares 1,000 Fired

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO, Dec. 2—Last week, it was announced that 1000 hospital workers at Chicago's Cook County Hospital are to be fired in December. Yesterday, those who were to be made jobless received notification from their supervisors.

The firings are to become effective on December 15. A representative from the state employment service has said that 401 job openings "could be" made available to these workers on Monday.

Hospital executive director, Dr. James Haughton, has stated that the fall in patient load has necessitated the expulsion of the 200 licensed practical nurses and 800 employees from seven departments at the hospital.

He claims that the 1825 bed hospital has a daily average of 1200 patients and that he cannot justify the spending of eight million to ten million dollars a year that would be paid in salaries to employees "who are not needed."

## INTENT

Haughton's real intent is to cripple the ability of the facility to operate at all. Haughton has just received a \$6000 salary increase, bringing his pay to a meager \$66,000 a year!

The entire hospital staff has shown its determination to defend their gains and the functioning of the public hospital. Doctors at the hospital have decided to meet Monday to protest to the hospital's governing commission the firing of the licensed practical nurses. They have stated that the loss of the nurses would seriously impair the day-to-day operations of the hospital.

Last month, nurses struck the hospital and won a small wage increase, a two year contract, and an improved grievance procedure.

## CONDITIONS

Conditions at Cook County Hospital are rapidly deteriorating. In addition, cutbacks in welfare, medical coverage and a "fast release" program have deliberately denied medical care to the bulk

of those who have been its patients.

The hospital administration is making the situation at the hospital impossible for those left with a job, and is dumping 1000 workers out on the street.

## LABOR PARTY

This raises sharply the necessity for a fight to build a labor party to fight the attacks that Nixon has launched to cut funds in both social and welfare programs. Nixon's moves to create massive unemployment must be countered by a labor government pledged to socialist policies.

AFSCME and other public employees' unions in Illinois must take up the defense of hospital employees by issuing a call for a Congress of Labor now.

# Madison Teachers Defend Due Process Protection

BY LARRY SOMMERS

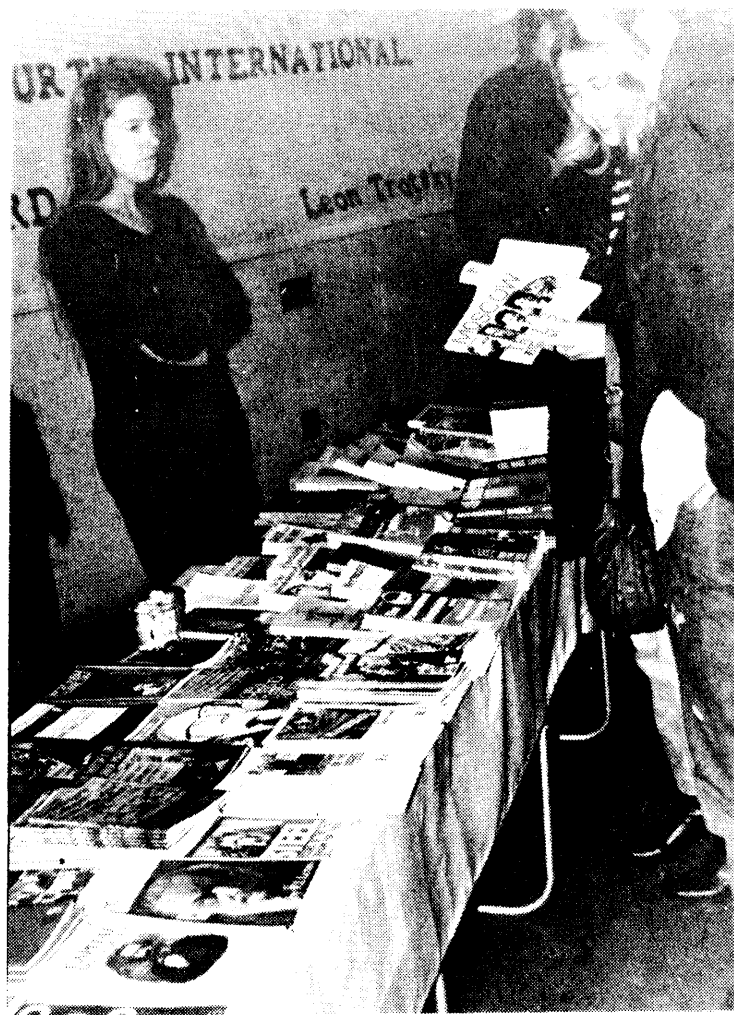
MADISON, Wis.—Contract negotiations between Madison Teachers Incorporated and the Board of Education stalled this week after a 12 hour session.

The negotiations for the 1973 master contract for 1750 teachers have been in progress since September and the present contract expires on December 31.

## TALKS

This week talks broke down over a key section of the union's demands covering the arbitration of non-renewals and dismissals of teachers, both regular and probationary. The Board of Education is attempting to wipe out job protection and has brought in two new consultants to do the job in negotiations. The union is refusing to give up this hard won protection.

According to MTI President George Schaefer: "We negotiated due process for teachers not renewed six years



Literature table at the Minneapolis meeting on the Fourth International Today.

# Mother On Welfare Jailed

BY

MARTIN WOODARD

MADISON—With the reelection of Richard Nixon, the axe has begun to chop at the social programs established in the boom period and at the living conditions of workers.

Recently, in Madison, Judy Banks, part-time cook and mother of four, was convicted of welfare "fraud" and sentenced to 30 days in Dane County Jail, with two years probation. Her "crime" was the failure to report to the Department of Social Services an additional \$30 a month, which she received over the last six years from the father of her eldest child.

Banks must pay the state \$2185, the total amount she received and did not report. She must also pay \$90 "just for the privilege of

staying in jail," as she put it. She was sentenced under the Huber Law, which allows her to work five days a week, with a few hours a week to visit her children. Huber Law prisoners must pay three dollars a day to stay in jail.

Nixon and the government screams "fraud" and "cheat" when those on welfare attempt to support their families. While the corporations write off expenses as "losses" and pay few taxes compared to profits, welfare recipients are jailed for trying to add to their income, or are told to work for lower than minimum wages.

This attack is not isolated, but part of Nixon's plan to impoverish those who are employed part-time and who refuse to let inflation endanger the material needs of their families.

demands.

Schaefer called this an "extremely dangerous tactic," but said the union would do everything possible to avoid a strike.

The Board of Education, in a period when funds have been cut drastically, now makes moves to have the power to hire and fire at will and thus increase work loads. This situation follows a threatened tenure removal at the University, and a strike by teachers in nearby De Forest this fall over similar conditions.

## TACTIC

The board's negotiators declared an impasse after their continuous attempts to reword proposals and thwart a settlement. Schaefer maintained that the board's negotiators deliberately declared an impasse as a delaying tactic to take talks past the December 31 expiration date, and thus pressure teachers into an acceptance of the board's

## STRIKE

The union must prepare now for strike action to defend its demands because the Board of Education is not prepared to compromise its position. The MTI must also begin to mobilize support from the rest of the trade union movement, and fight for affiliation with the national teachers' union of the AFL-CIO.

# News



Jean Brust addresses Minneapolis meeting on the tasks of the Fourth International today.

## 100 Workers And Youth At Minneapolis Meeting

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 2—One hundred people attended a meeting on the Fourth International Today here as part of a series of meetings held across the country. Workers and youth present came from Chicago, Madison, St. Louis, as well as Northfield and the twin cities area of Minnesota.

The first speaker, Michael Ross, related the experience of the working class at the General Motors Assembly Divisions around the country to the struggle for Marxism. He showed that the differences between Stalinism and revisionism on the one hand and Trotskyism on the other are not just a matter of different ideas, but were actual forces in the material world, which meant life or death to thousands of workers and youth.

Jean Brust centered her talk on the fundamental nature of the crisis of capitalism today and its meaning: that Trotskyism must become the program for millions of workers internationally. This is the only way for the working class to defend the trade unions and all their hard won gains. The conditions are now prepared for the solution of the crisis and the real history of Trotskyism is beginning.

After the showing of two films, *Three Years of the Workers Press* and *The Right to Work March*, a lively discussion was held on the revolutionary perspectives for the working class and youth.

A magnificent collection of \$500 was raised for the *Bulletin*.

## UAW Mini-Strike On Again

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—Officials of United Auto Workers Local 25 are planning a continuation on December 15 of the mini-strike started at the General Motors Assembly Division plant in this city.

Nine thousand workers are involved in the Chevrolet-Fisher Body and Corvette Division, which have all been incorporated into the GMAD system. This will be the second longest strike at this plant since the Woodcock strategy against GMAD was implemented.

Originally the strike was set for October 27, but was called off when local officials claimed that an agreement had been reached with the management. The terms of this agreement have never been released, but the UAW Local 25 membership meeting agreed to accept the local at its word.

Since that time, 1000 of the 1400 men originally laid off at the introduction of GMAD have been recalled and the majority of the work overload Paragraph 78 grievances settled. However, as the men returned to their original departments, they reported that they are faced with speedup and work overload.

The original layoffs were mainly from the Fisher Body Division. Some workers in the Chevrolet Division were moved in to replace them. Now with the recalls, these workers have been shifted back into the Chevrolet Division and it is these workers who are bearing the brunt of these present speedups.

Union officials are still avoiding any discussion with the rank and file over Woodcock's mini-strike strategy and the purpose of this second mini-strike at the plant. Some claim that it is in support of the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) payments still owing, as well as in sympathy with other GMAD plants still fighting for some settlement.

The mini-strike policies are becoming extremely unpopular with the ranks. One worker said: "It's possible that either the men won't go out for two days or they won't come back. It is two days' less pay for us and nothing for the union to pay. If we are going to go out for something, we have to

## Cleveland Guild Charges Nixon To Blame For Cop Attack

A BULLETIN EXCLUSIVE

CLEVELAND, Dec. 4—"There is no doubt that labor needs a whole new system because we are still mired in the reactionary roots of politicians who think unions are too strong," declared Jack F. Weir, executive secretary of Newspaper Guild Local 1, whose members were attacked by mounted police while on strike against the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* last October 21.

In an interview with the *Bulletin*, Weir stated that: "A labor party would be beneficial to the labor movement," and admitted that the Democrats on the City Council will not condemn the actions of Republican Mayor Ralph Perk and the police because of pressure from the publishers.

"The Democrats certainly falter when the publishers, upon whom they depend, apply some muscle," he said.

Weir's statements to the *Bulletin* referred to the brutal attack on a peaceful picket line in the late afternoon of the first day of the strike by the Guild.

Several strikers narrowly escaped death as they were pressed against the pane glass doors of the *Plain Dealer's* main entrance.

"Without any provocation," declared Weir, "the police captain ordered the mounties to charge, shouting 'Break them up.'"

Weir said that he held Mayor Perk responsible for the use of horses, but added: "This attack has to do with the Nixon administration and the encouragement his officials derive from his

head-knocking theory. Nixon's talk about the 'work-ethic' is part of the whole goddamn thing."

What occurred six weeks ago in Cleveland is not an isolated incident but is matched by developments throughout the printing trade.

A strike by Guild members in Wilmington was defeated as police, using mace, smashed a picket line in order to allow the *Wilmington News and Journal* to continue publishing.

In Fall River, Massachusetts, organizers of the Guild were severely beaten, maced, and jailed during the course of a strike.

In the face of these vicious attacks, which recall the union-busting tactics of the 1930s, the employers and police are encouraged by the division within the printing unions arising from bitter jurisdictional disputes.

It was the decision of the leadership of the Cleveland local of the International Typographical Union to order 75 printers to cross the Guild picket line that provided the *Plain Dealer* with an excuse to call the police.

Although the printers refused to break the line when they reached the *Plain Dealer* building, the cops justified the attack by claiming defense of the "right to work."

In Wilmington, printers belonging to the International Typographers Union went to work after the picket line was broken by the attack.

Every section of Cleveland labor has come under the sharpest attacks as Perk attempts to implement in this city what Nixon has planned for the entire country. The defense of workers in Cleveland and throughout the country requires the calling of a Congress of Labor to plan emergency action against the assault on the working class and the building of a labor party.

stay out until we win."

The task facing auto workers in St. Louis now is to fight to turn the December 15 strike towards a national shutdown of GMAD. The Committee for New Leadership in UAW Local 25 will campaign for this perspective in preparation for the December 15 strike.

## 41 Workers Fired At Coring

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—Last week, the Master Division of Coring Company divided the 62 suspended workers, members of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 699, into various categories.

Forty one workers have been fired including four out of the five on the shop committee. This includes the president, chief steward, and two committeemen, and three of the committee-elect.

Sixteen workers are supposedly to be called by January 2, and

six workers on February 5. But the company is calling these workers a few every day, offering them an immediate return to work if they sign a paper agreeing not to file a grievance for back pay. They have the gall to cloak this offer as "a good will gesture so that these workers can get a week or two pay before the holiday."

Meanwhile, the harassment inside the plant by the foremen continues at a fever pitch. Last week, two workers, Paul Williams and Cecil Cooper, were suspended for drinking coffee while waiting for a job assignment from their foreman.



# HOLD EMERGENCY MEETING TO ANSWER NIXON . . .



A delegate at Oct. 22 Chicago Conference For A Labor Party Now trade union meeting that established Continuations Committee.

(Continued From Page 1)

the heads of the rank and file trade unionists as well as the unemployed, the students and the youth, in every factory, place of work, school and community in the country.

Against the capitulation to Nixon of these leaders and their Stalinist apologists who fought tooth and nail against the demand for a labor party, openly campaigning for McGovern during the elections, the St. Louis meeting will take forward the fight for defense of the working class based on socialist policies in every major union.

Nixon is preparing now for civil war against the unions during the next year when the unions representing 4.5 million workers, including truck drivers, electrical workers, auto workers and petro-chemical workers, will demand new contracts.

In defense of the mammoth corporations, who are preparing to demand that the workers give

up all the gains of the past 35 years. Nixon prepares for naked dictatorship and the mobilization of strikebreaking forces to beat the working people into line for the sake of the profits of the millionaires. This is the meaning of his statement that "we will have some new plays, although we will consider this not to be a game but very serious public business."

This is not idle talk. The new plays have already begun: the Pay Board launched a new round of attacks on workers' wages. New York printing workers and newspaper employees had their third year increase slashed from 11 to 8 percent while the Board prepares to chop down the second year increase for Washington Post employees, after having already slashed the first year gain from 13.5 percent in September. Lumber workers' increases have been cut down from 7 to 5.5 percent while a federal court upheld last year's reduction of A&P meatcutters from 15 to 7 percent.

A leading "public" member of the Pay Board, Neil Jacoby, has openly stated that a four percent limit should be placed on wage increases. Another Board member, John Sheehan, goes even further, proposing a flat three percent ceiling on wages and a "crusade" for productivity (speedup) under a plan which would award wage increases only as "bonuses related solely to improved productivity derived from the effort of the work force."

Meanwhile, the major corporations are allowed price increases and inflation is pushed, taking an ever bigger chunk out of the worker's pay check. A case in point is the 4.6 percent rise in food prices alone in the city of San Diego during the first nine months of 1972, compared with a 2.4 percent rise for the same period in 1971.

\*PROFITS for the biggest corporations registered a record increase of 15.9 percent for the third quarter based on the highest rise in productivity in 25 years. While profits of corporations like Kennecott Copper rose by 203 percent and Chrysler by 414.5 percent, workers' real spendable income declined.

\*ANTI-STRIKE legislation is being prepared in an attempt to keep the working class from fighting back. Recently John D. Erlichman, chief domestic advisor to the President, told the Washington Star-News that the Administration again will push for passage of legislation to curtail strikes in the transportation industry.

\*SCABS AND POLICE are increasingly being mobilized by the corporations and the government in an attempt to break strikes. The University of Missouri enlists students as scabs in an effort to break the strike at the Columbia and Kansas City, Missouri, campuses of the Services Employees International Union, following the recent macing of pickets on strike against the Wilmington (Delaware)

News and Journal, and the assault by Cleveland mounted police who charged and clubbed down Newspaper Guild pickets on strike against the Cleveland Plain Dealer on October 1.

\*UNEMPLOYMENT is sharply on the rise, as entire plants are shut down. Workers are forced onto a four day week (at four days' pay) in basic industries such as steel, with workers being laid off in all the basic industries as jobs are combined and workers on the job are sped up to the limit of their endurance. Since January of last year, 100,000 workers in the state of Michigan alone have exhausted their 26 weeks of unemployment benefits and 60,000 have gone to Welfare Centers to receive a \$1.50 perday pittance for each family member.

\*SPEEDUP is taken to new lengths in the auto industry with the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) under Joseph Godfrey leading the way, followed closely by Ford, Chrysler and American Motors. As more and more GMAD workers demand a nationwide strike, UAW President Leonard Woodcock moves to halt even the limited local strikes that have been held at GMAD plants, allowing General Motors to prepare its war to break the union in the next contract.

\*SAFETY conditions are ignored by management throughout industry as Committeemen and Shop Stewards are increasingly harassed if they take up a fight in defense of the workers. Fatalities from industrial accidents are on the rise. The Chicago "South Works" of U.S. Steel is only one example. Grievance man Clarence Brzykcy reports: "We all regret the loss of our Brother Chester Gasior, group leader in S.P. Maintenance through a fatality in the BOP Shop."

The St. Louis meeting will discuss and map out a fight for a program of action by the labor movement to meet the attacks by

Nixon and the corporations and to bring this program of action into the campaign for the calling of a Congress of Labor to form a labor party.

At the center of this program must be a fight for:

\*A nationwide general strike by the AFL-CIO, Teamsters and UAW to abolish the Pay Board and scrap the entire wage control program;

\*The organization by the unions of a national defense guard to protect picket lines and union organizers and personnel from the assault of police and anti-union thugs;

\*The mobilization of labor in defense of youth, students and minority peoples against the brutal attacks of the courts and police such as in the shootings of the students in Baton Rouge;

\*The 30 hour week at 40 hours pay and full cost of living escalator in all 1973 contracts;

\*The fight for formation of national caucuses to fight for leadership in major unions including the ILA, Steelworkers and UAW. Preparation for a fight at the March Special Convention of the UAW to win a decent contract against the Big Three in 1973;

\*Full support by the labor movement for a massive program of low cost public housing, the building of new schools and free higher education for all, in opposition to Nixon's program of deterioration of housing and massive cutbacks in education;

\*The development of the Bulletin into a mass circulation 24 page weekly, reaching into every major factory in the United States and preparation for its transformation into a daily workers paper.

We urge every trade unionist who wants to participate in this fight for the calling of a Congress of Labor to make plans to attend this vital meeting of the National Conference For A Labor Party Now Continuations Committee and participate in the fight to defeat the plans of Nixon.

## B'KLYN DOCKS . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

something ought to be done to save the jobs but that "Scotto doesn't give a damn."

The growing sentiment among rank and file ILA members in the Port of New York for a new leadership against the Gleason-Scotto bureaucracy was also reflected in the 25 percent vote for the candidates of the Unity Slate, a rank and file opposition which ran against Gleason for the presidency of Checkers Local 1.

Partly because the leadership deliberately set the vote for a

Saturday afternoon, one third of the checkers did not vote. Speaking of the fight ahead in the ILA, one candidate from the Unity Slate told the Bulletin:

"The vote represents a real victory. Now we must begin the fight."

Gleason, the man who reportedly owns a controlling interest in the Sealand Corporation, has a vested interest in containerization.

The fight in the ILA against Gleason and Nixon must proceed now to the organization of an op-

position caucus around the following program to:

\*Demand the immediate calling of a Congress of Labor to establish a labor party;

\*Renegotiate the present contract to eliminate PDO and the new work rules and to incorporate the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay;

\*Nationalize under workers control all docks, piers and shipping lines;

\*Demand that the ILA refuse to allow the loss of one single job through the closing of piers.

## VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

This position is in total contrast to the nine point draft agreement reached in October. The US refused to sign this deal at the time, claiming there were "points of detail" to be cleared up. It is clear that this was simply a ploy to continue the talks past the election before presenting demands which are totally unacceptable to the North Vietnamese.

Despite all the talk of imminent settlement, it is becoming clear that Nixon's "peace" is a complete fraud behind which he is preparing a new strategy for the domination of Southeast Asia.

While the talks go on, the US continues to try to bomb the North into submission. The South Vietnamese Army has received more arms and equipment since the talks began than in any prior period.

These arms, together with Nixon's statements that troops will be maintained in Thailand and other areas surrounding Vietnam, are intended to be used to continue the struggle against the revolutionary forces.

It is in this situation that the Stalinist bureaucracies are doing everything possible to break the back of the revolution. The Soviet leadership has used the bombing of North Vietnam to pressure the North into a settlement and to give Nixon precious time to prepare a new war in Vietnam and against the

They have cynically used the so-called peace talks to aid Nixon in his re-election. They are using Vietnam as a pawn in the worldwide deal with imperialism. Now they will attempt to crush all opposition to this settlement, just as they did in the Spanish revolution.

These moves are completely supported by the American Communist Party that has opened its campaign to "pressure" Nixon to sign this settlement. In this situation, the Socialist Workers Party has completely capitulated to the Stalinists.

The SWP-YSA, faced with the disintegration of the middle class anti-war movement are now closing down the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee on the basis that the war is over and that the ceasefire has been essentially concluded. In other words, the SWP-YSA are now fully prepared to accept the betrayal of the Stalinists at a time when opposition is growing among the revolutionary forces in Vietnam.

The Workers League says that the struggles of the American working class against Nixon can now strengthen the fight of the Vietnamese workers and peasants for victory. This is the fight we will take forward to call a Congress of Labor to organize immediate action against Nixon's attacks and to build a labor party.



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# Bulletin



Striking members of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) in Southern California stopped production of TV show "All In The Family" when lead players refused to cross the picket line. A court injunction ordered members of artists' and players' union (AFTRA) to cross the lines.

## West Coast News

# Militants At Fremont GMAD Plant Form Caucus

BY BARRY GREY

FREMONT—Militant workers at the General Motors Assembly Division Fremont plant have formed a caucus in opposition to the local Herrera leadership in response to the ruthless speedup GM is introducing.

At the last local meeting, the Brotherhood Caucus mobilized a large number of supporters to insure a quorum. The local leadership, which is completely tied to Woodcock, has sought in every way to prevent a membership meeting since the 1970 strike.

According to one Fremont worker, Herrera actually paid a stooge five dollars at the last meeting to call a quorum count before the required number of workers had arrived.

The formation of the Brotherhood Caucus reflects the enormous anger of the ranks and their determination to build a new leadership in the UAW. The Caucus distributed a leaflet at the plant last week putting forward their program.

The leaflet was confined to attacks on Herrera for siding with GM against the ranks. It failed to take up the policy of the International or go beyond local issues. This narrow syndicalist approach is very dangerous at a point when preparation for national strike action is necessary.

The movement for a Congress of Labor to prepare for a national strike against the Pay Board and the formation of a labor party took a giant step forward last week with an overwhelming vote at the Southgate GM plant for such a move.

This is the only way forward. The Brotherhood Caucus must turn towards this strategy preparing for a Fremont strike and building for a quorum at the next meeting to pass a similar resolution.

## Fontana Steel Workers Nominate Abel Opponent

BY A LOCAL 2869 MEMBER

FONTANA—Southern California locals of the United Steelworkers AFL-CIO are overwhelmingly challenging I.W. Abel, International President, in the initial balloting for nominations for the top offices of the union.

The most significant vote came at the last union meeting of the 7500 member Kaiser Steel Local 2869 in Fontana, where William Litch, chairman of Rank and File Team (RAFT) from Youngstown, Ohio, defeated Abel by a vote of 103 to 60.

Litch is running on a platform of destroying the productivity clauses and productivity committees that Abel agreed to in the last contract. He is attacking Abel for trading a 50 cent raise for thousands of steelworkers' jobs across the country.

### VOLCANO

This growing opposition is based on the first wave of attacks on working conditions and job security resulting from the 1971 contract. When the productivity committees get into full swing in the next few months, Abel will be sitting on top of a volcano.

### LAYOFFS

At the Kaiser Mill in Fontana there were 197 layoffs in October. It is rumored that the plans to rebuild the A and B banks are going to be scrapped, which would lead to many more layoffs.

An article in the *People's World*, West Coast paper of the Communist Party, reports on this opposition enthusiastically, hoping to channel it into their opposition to Abel's neutrality position in the recent presidential elections. The CP covered for Abel in 1971 when he agreed to

the productivity committees in the contract.

The tremendous potential for overturning the 1971 contract can be seen in this massive opposition, especially in the vote from the 1200 member Local 1845 at Bethlehem Steel where Abel received only one vote.

## Housing Authority Demands Wage Cuts

BY KIM HARVEY

SAN FRANCISCO—The San Francisco Housing Authority has released a 227-page "Comprehensive Consolidated Management Review" made by the Department of Housing and Urban Development over a year ago concerning all aspects of operation of the SFHA.

According to the report, the SFHA, responsible for 8000 units in the city, is fast approaching bankruptcy almost entirely because of its maintenance costs.

The report centers around the SFHA's practice of paying construction craft wages to carpenters, plumbers, electricians, etc. Since 1938, the local authority has paid rates comparable to those craft rates paid by the city and county of San Francisco, while in private and in some public building management operations, workers are paid 25 percent less.

But, according to HUD, this must end. The report recommends that: "Discussions must be initiated...to develop a program to reduce maintenance labor costs, including freezing wage rates and benefits for all craft maintenance work until such time as there is comparability with both private and public employment."

### REPORT

The report further recommends that pension benefits be cut or cancelled, and that programs be set up for tenants to become caretakers, laborers, craftsmen, or "maintenance mechanics."

The maintenance mechanic would be trained in various areas

formerly under the jurisdiction of craftsmen alone, and further, craftsmen would begin to do more general maintenance under the category of "mechanic." Other programs include voluntary work programs for tenants and charges for damages formerly paid by the authority.

The SFHA knows that the unions are not going to accept HUD's mandates peacefully, as it is now faced with taking on all of the building trades and dissolving individual crafts. As Public Programs Director Martin Eber puts it:

### SHOWDOWN

"Eventually it will come to a showdown...The craft unions have always had control in these areas (though personally I would like to see that end), and if there's a strike, that would be it. The garbage collectors wouldn't cross the lines, and those places would just come apart...It's easy for those people to sit in their posh offices and tell us off the tops of their heads to do this and do that, but when it comes down to it, it's just plain impractical."

The government must now move to do away with the Davis-Bacon Act, which provides that prevailing rates for construction craft wages be paid for all federal construction and maintenance.

One member of Laborers Local

261 told the *Bulletin*: "First they have to break conditions down. Nixon wants to do away with housing altogether. I've put 25 years—half my life—in with the Authority. I'll be damned if someone takes my job away. I can't work on a jackhammer anymore, and a lot of the guys over fifty will lose their homes if they're laid off."

"That report says we get \$15,000 a year. I'm lucky to get \$11,000, and with four kids to put through college. Four years ago, Nixon was hinting at this, but now that the election is over, there's nothing stopping him. The building trades is the weak link in the chain, but if they try to break it and then others, well, it's gonna be like 1934."

Last summer, after a 67 day strike, craft maintenance workers at the University of California in Berkeley were forced to accept maintenance classification in return for an amnesty agreement.

Nixon's end to "permissiveness" means the opening of a huge offensive against the labor movement and a drive for open shop conditions in construction.

It is clear that the SFHA must do everything possible to break up the building trades, and to pit tenants against tradesmen in the fight for better living conditions.

## Hospitals Use Food System To Slash Kitchen Jobs

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND—The Alameda County Hospital Association has launched a vicious drive against the jobs and working conditions of members of Hospital Workers Union Local 250.

The Association, which represents the largest hospitals in the county, has brought in Mannings Restaurants and cafeterias to completely reorganize hospital food services. Mannings' new system consists of the introduction of already prepared foods which can be distributed from a central kitchen to all hospitals in the association, coupled with drastic speedup of the employees that remain.

### UNION

The system has already been introduced into Children's Hospital in Oakland, resulting in layoffs and increased work loads. To date union representatives have treated Children's Hospital as an isolated case to be dealt with by negotiations with the hospital.

These attempts to cool opposi-

tion to Mannings' rationalization plans cover over the real plan of the Hospital Association to introduce this system into all its hospitals. Now, Mannings has been introduced into Peralta Hospital, the most prestigious hospital in the East Bay.

### LAYOFFS

No layoffs have resulted as yet, but the new food service manager has stated that he wants to cut cooks from the present eight down to two. Already, all older employees are being shifted to the worst jobs, such as pot scrubbing, in order to force them to quit from impossible working conditions.

Last Friday, the union leadership announced an unexpected pay increase beginning in January and Local 250 members at Peralta expect this to be the signal for layoffs.



# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

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BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—The United Auto Workers Local 216 showed the way forward for all labor at the last membership meeting attended by over 75 workers from the General Motors Assembly Division plant in Southgate. The following resolution submitted by Rudy Sulenta was passed overwhelmingly:

“Whereas, with the election of Nixon, the labor movement in the

United States now faces a crisis. Nixon and the big corporations that he represents are preparing to smash the unions and to destroy everything that stands in the way of profits.

“Whereas, unless the American trade unions take immediate steps to prepare for the battle that lies ahead, all the gains the American workers have made over the last 100 years will be wiped away.

“Whereas, we denounce those labor leaders as traitors to the American workers who are telling us to prepare for the 1976 elections. Nixon is preparing for war on the unions come January 1, 1973. We cannot and will not stand idly by while Nixon destroys our unions and reduces American workers to slavery. Nixon must be answered and he must be answered now.

“Therefore, be it resolved that we call on leaders of the



Rudy Sulenta of Southgate UAW Local 216, which enthusiastically passed a motion for a Congress of Labor and a Labor Party.

American trade unions; the AFL-CIO, Teamsters, UAW and Independents, to immediately convene a Congress of Labor to formulate policy and program in order to prepare to answer Nixon's anti-union program.

“This Congress of Labor must prepare general strike action against the Pay Board and to continue until it is dismantled. This Congress of Labor must begin right now the organization of a labor party using all the resources of the unions for the next election.

“Be it further resolved that the UAW has had the issue of a labor party on its agenda since 1937. Many labor leaders, in-

cluding UAW E. nil Mazey, have publicly called for a labor party for American workers. The issue of a labor party can no longer be postponed. Each day we delay gives Nixon time to prepare his assault on American workers.

“Be it finally resolved, that you Brother Woodcock and the entire International executive board of UAW use the prestige of your office to call for a Congress of Labor immediately in order to save the American workers from the same fate that befell the workers of Germany in the 1930s.”

Adopted at the November 17, 1972 Membership Meeting

### EDITORIAL

#### Free Ruchell Magee

The trial of Ruchell Magee is now taking place under conditions of unparalleled terror and repression.

Spectators are separated from the court by a bulletproof glass partition and wire mesh running to the ceiling. Proceedings are monitored continually on closed circuit TV by security officers.

Ten officers in jump suits carrying mace, clubs, guns and radios guard the hallways while police with machine guns guard the back of the courtroom. Every spectator is searched, photographed and personally escorted to his seat.

This display of force is an expression of the absolute determination of the state to obtain a conviction against Magee.

Magee, whose knowledge of the law has enabled him to hold up proceedings, dismiss judges and expose the courts since the 1970 Marin incidents, has been demanding the right to defend himself.

Magee insists that he will base his defense on the right of a slave to rebel. What this means is that he claims that any action taken to defend himself against capitalist “justice” is absolutely justified.

The state is all too well aware of the enormous support for Magee, particularly among the youth, and is determined to prevent any revolutionary defense from being carried out in its courts. The judge has consistently denied Magee the right to defend himself. Instead, he has imposed a liberal lawyer on the defendant against his wishes.

While each day the defendant is dragged from the courtroom for daring to protest this legal lynch party, the atmosphere of intimidation and hysteria is built up by the judge's insistence that the jury be sequestered throughout the trial.

The Workers League has many principled disagreements with Ruchell Magee. He is a nationalist and sees his case as a matter of racism rather than in the context of the attacks being prepared for the working class.

This outlook has forced him to confine his defense largely to legal maneuvers. He has been unable to expose the criminal policy of the Communist Party in severing the Angela Davis defense from his own and leaving him in isolation.

At the same time, Magee has conducted an absolutely courageous struggle. He is totally committed to exposing the capitalist courts. His fight for the right to defend himself and his insistence that his act of rebellion was completely justified deserves the support of every worker and youth.

This trial is the sharpest warning yet of the enormous campaign of repression being readied for the labor movement and youth as the government prepares to end “permissiveness.”

The fight to free Ruchell Magee is the fight for the independence of the unions and for the defense of the youth against the destruction of their future.

A campaign must be taken up by the labor movement to rally support to this heroic fighter.

## ILWU Local 13 Opposes Bridges

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—An explosive situation on the waterfront is now breaking out just months before the new contract fight next year and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union President Harry Bridges' re-election fight in April.

The base of the opposition is coming from the 3000 member Local 13 in Los Angeles, where work on the docks has slowed down drastically as the Pacific Maritime Association deepens its drive toward the complete containerization of the Los Angeles port.

Although recently rescinded under pressure from Bridges, the executive board of Local 13 refused to pay the per capita tax (\$1.75 per member) to the International. This action reportedly centered over a dispute with Bridges over a broken promise.

Bridges failed to keep a commitment made at the 1970 Caucus Delegates meeting that the remaining Terminal Warehousemen (TW) of Local 13 would be registered to Class B registration.

Although this was never done, it was reaffirmed many times that the A and B men would step aside for the TW's. Now, with the tremendous slowdown on the docks, the B men have refused to step aside and 75 TW's have been

laid off.

Unemployment is now being used as a weapon to divide the union because the Bridges' leadership refused to fight for job security in the last contract. The situation has reached the point where many longshoremen are spending seven days at the hiring hall to get only three days of work.

There is clearly big opposition in Local 13—from the top leadership on down—to Bridges' call for a merger with the Teamsters. Many feel that a merger with the International Longshoremen's Association would be more beneficial and are fearful that a merger with the Teamsters would take away jobs.

Teddy Gleason, ILA President, recently stated that he favored a merger with the ILWU to face their common adversaries, both at the collective bargaining table and in the legislative halls. Recently the American Association of Port Authorities announced that it will mount a major campaign for antistrike legislation in the longshore industry.

A Local 13 member told the

Bulletin:

“During the last strike, we should have merged with the ILA. If you ask me now, I think we should merge not only with the ILA but the Teamsters too. Then we'd have some strength to fight against the whole government.”

This is the way forward. With both the ILWU and Teamster contracts up next year the strength of the ILWU, ILA, and Teamsters must be forged together to prepare for the sharpest struggles with the government.

There is no doubt that Bridges will face an opposition candidate in the April elections. As another Local 13 member said: “Many are seeing that the so-called socialist (Bridges) is not a socialist at all. That's why we didn't win an annual guarantee.”

It is more urgent than ever that an opposition to Bridges be built on a real socialist policy committed to convening a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party that will nationalize all transportation and guarantee jobs through a shorter week and an annual guarantee.



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