

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER EIGHT 283

FEBRUARY 26, 1973

103

FIFTEEN CENTS



United Auto Worker Rudy Sulenta addresses the Emergency Conference of Trade Unionists in St. Louis.

In Defense Of Striking Teachers--

# Philadelphia Labor Calls General Strike

See Page 4

## St. Louis Conference Founds Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

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ago by the Continuations Committee.

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Bringing the greetings of the Workers League to the delegates, National Secretary Tim Wohlforth declared: "As George Meany meets with Nixon in Miami, we meet in

St. Louis to construct a leadership in the working class that will throw out the Nixons."

He said that the development of a Marxist leadership takes on the greatest urgency in the light of the latest devaluation of the dollar, which has brought the world capitalist system to the brink of collapse.

"All workers confront a common situation," stated Wohlforth. "It is no longer a question of reform and negotiation. The very rights of the trade unions are threatened and they can't be defended in the old trade union militant way. We must begin to construct in the labor movement a leadership that will fight all the way for an

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"Nixon goes to Miami today to win the approval of the trade union bureaucracy for this trade war which will mean not only attacks on foreign workers but also less jobs for American workers and the danger of world war—because there is no such thing as a trade war that isn't followed by a shooting war."

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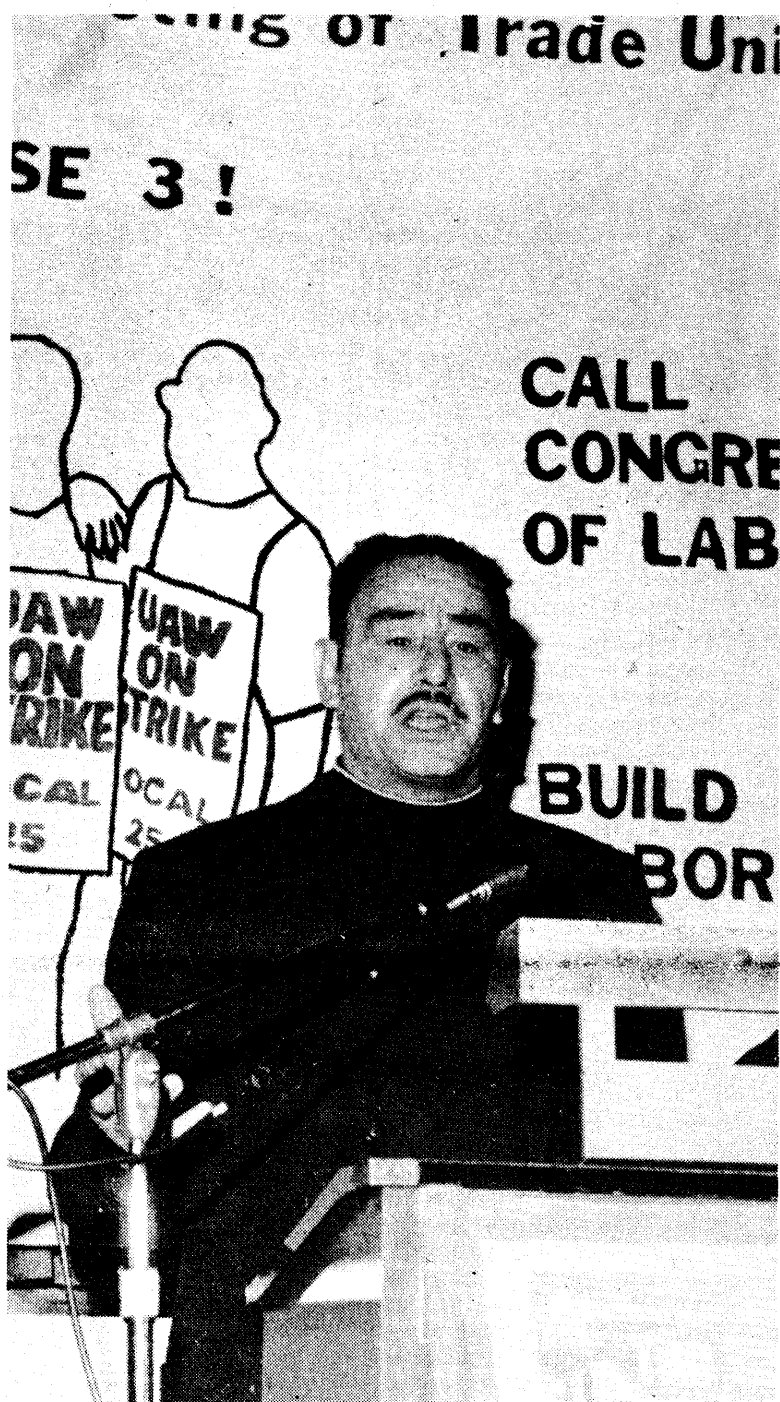
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# Labor Pageant Builds Campaign Against Tories

BY MELODY FARROW

The trade war launched by Nixon against Europe now means that the Tory government in Britain will open new attacks to slash workers' living standards, create massive unemployment and seek to remove every gain the working class has made over the last 200 years.

Prime Minister Heath and the Tories are taking steps towards dictatorship, threatening all democratic rights and preparing for massive repressions against the working class. The defense of these rights and gains now requires the unity of the working class in a general strike to force the Tory government out.

It is this struggle which is at the center of the campaign launched by the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists to build the Pageant of Labor, the "Road to Workers Power." This campaign will culminate in a massive rally to be held at Empire Pool, Wembley, in London, March 11. A record attendance of 10,000 is expected.

## STRUGGLES

Hundreds of workers are being involved in reenacting their own history, the struggle for democratic rights, for unions, and for a Labour Party, and linking their past with their present struggles.

The pageant is being built around the theme **Defend Democratic Rights** and will bring to life, in a series of theatrical sketches and songs the bitter struggles of the British workers in the past to win their basic rights.

The fight for the rally and main pageant in London has already received tremendous support and participation from youth, housewives and trade unionists in the local areas. The pageant is being built by sending teams of professional actors into South Wales, the Northeast and London areas to give preliminary rehearsals, directly involving the workers in the areas as players, and establishing pageant committees to carry out the campaign.

In South Wales, the pageant shows how the Taff Vale judgement of 1901, which fined unions such as the railroad union for taking strike action, forced the unions to build the Labour Party.

## THEME

In London, the theme is the struggle of Karl Marx during the period that he spent in exile there and his fight for the First International.

In the town of Jarrow, in the Northeast, miners, steelworkers, shipyard workers and the unemployed joined in the reading of scripts about the struggle to organize the first miners union in 1831 whose leader was brutally hung. The Middletown play recalls the Peterloo massacre of 1819 which led to a general strike and armed

insurrection.

Trade union branches have made donations and are planning to send delegations to Wembley Pool. Support has been won from the Jarrows Trades Council and Labour Party.

The success of these pageants lies in their direct connection with the struggles workers face today against the Tories. Through understanding and recreating their past struggles in which all their basic rights were won, they are preparing for the biggest confrontation in their history.

When Heath announced Phase Two of his anti-labor offensive, he effectively declared these rights abolished. Strikes to defend living standards are now a crime punishable by fines and jail sentences.

## Histadrut Calls For Israeli Withdrawal

BY  
A REPORTER

Itzhak Ben-Aharon, head of Israel's labor federation, Histadrut, last week called for the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab countries. The ruling Labor Party, of which Ben-Aharon is a leader, immediately issued a statement disassociating itself from his proposal.

Histadrut has in the past supported Israel's war against the Arab people. Ben-Aharon's statement reveals the tremendous pressure building up in the Israeli working class against the Zionist government which has opened vicious attacks on the standard of living of both Israeli and Arab workers.

The crisis of capitalism internationally, and especially within the United States, is making it increasingly difficult for Israel to finance its war against the Arab masses and to attract investment to its industry.

Recently, the government announced the biggest defense budget ever, and the millions of dollars poured in by the US has fed the soaring inflation. In order to prosecute the war and maintain itself as a base of imperialism to hold back the Arab revolution, the Zionists must press the Israeli workers for more "sacrifices."

## STRIKES

A series of strikes in the airports, docks and postal service last year forced the government



The audience participates in the finale in one of the Socialist Labour League's cabarets.

## Sadat 'War' Budget Masks Peace Talks With Israel

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

President Anwar Sadat of Egypt has announced stringent austerity measures and will present the National Assembly with a war budget for "battle with Israel."

Sadat declared it would be necessary to eliminate certain industrial and agricultural projects to free funds for this battle, government salaries would be frozen, taxes raised and consumer imports reduced.

In presenting the measures, Premier Aziz Sidiky said: "The present explosive situation makes it imperative for us to start the immediate mobiliza-

tion of our entire economy to finance the growing needs of the armed forces..."

These measures are aimed not for war against the Zionist regime of Israel but against the Arab workers and youth at home. The call for mobilization and austerity is a preparation for tightening Sadat's rule in expectation of a peace deal in the Middle East that will be fiercely resisted by the Egyptian workers and students.

At the same time, these measures will place the burden of the economic crisis, which hits particularly hard in underdeveloped countries like Egypt, on the already impoverished workers and poor peasants. The cutbacks in industry are certain to create more unemployment.

Sadat's brutal attacks on students in Cairo last week exposes all his demagoguery about war plans. On February 11, police using tear gas led a baton charge to disperse 3000 students who were blocking Al-Giza square. The next day fighting and stone throwing erupted when police tried to break up another march into the center of Cairo.

Students chanted slogans calling for political freedom and democracy. They are demanding an end to political suppression and press censorship, the release of 200 students arrested in January and the translation of Sadat's threats against Israel into action.

## PURGE

The same week Sadat began a purge within the Arab Socialist Union, the only political party allowed to exist, against professionals and intellectuals. He accused them of "inciting" the students and claimed that "Marxists" were planning a nationwide rebellion next month.

While Sadat seeks to strangle all opposition, he and the other Arab rulers have been conducting feverish diplomatic maneuvers to make a deal with Israel over the Palestinian lands seized by Israel.

Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev said, shortly after the settlement in Vietnam, that the Middle East would be the next area where he hoped to achieve "peace." This will be a major

point of discussion at the upcoming meeting between Brezhnev and Nixon in Washington.

What Brezhnev means by peace is a pledge to imperialism that the US's Zionist puppets in Israel will be maintained as a base of counterrevolution against the Arab people. It means that Israel will retain hold of the lands it robbed in order for the Stalinists to practice "peaceful co-existence" with Nixon.

The student demonstrations are only the beginning of the massive workers struggles against the Sadat government which will occur in the coming year. Sadat, Nixon and the Stalinists may plot all they want but imposing it on the Arab people will be a different matter.

## 'Save Money, Eat Cheese'

BY A REPORTER

With the height of arrogance, Arthur Burns, head of the Federal Reserve Board, said that American workers should pay for rising food costs by not eating meat once a week.

"The American public would be just as well off from a nutritional standpoint if they spend less on meat and more on cheese...I think it would be a good idea if we had a meatless day once a week."

Taking his lines from Marie Antoinette who told the French masses, "Let them eat cake," Burns' remarks followed Nixon's recommendation the other day that it would be "patriotic to eat fish."

## VOLUNTARY

As Burns was suggesting his "voluntary meatless day," the Department of Agriculture announced a record increase in January in food costs from two to three percent. This is the highest increase in 20 to 25 years. This is just the beginning as the devaluation of the dollar and Phase Three send prices skyrocketing. At the same time as prices are allowed to soar, workers wages are being held to 5.5 percent.



# Unionists Form Labor Party Alliance

(Continued From Page 1)

Wohlforth went on to say that the devaluation will mean that the rate of inflation will be at least five to 10 percent higher than the current rate of 12 percent at which it has been running over the past few months.

"But Nixon has said that wages can't be raised more than 5.5 percent," Wohlforth declared. "This is why it is no longer a question of negotiation. The government is saying: 'Go ahead and bargain but we'll write your contract and you can't bargain with us.'"

Concluding his report on perspectives, Wohlforth said that every worker was threatened with runaway inflation, unemployment, speedup, budget cuts and attacks on his democratic rights and that the fight over all these issues—particularly the crucial question of wages—involved a political struggle that must be led by Marxists.



Cleo Willis

Conference that he had been laid off and lost his seniority following an illness. "I think the management was very rude. It was wrong that I didn't receive unemployment benefits and it was wrong that the union leadership didn't do anything. I believe that we must fight to remove Woodcock from the presidency of the UAW."

Many trade unionists condemned the brutal speedups that are being brought into the plants around the country.

"We were pushed until we brought production up until it matched what we were producing in the boom before layoffs," declared a steelworker from San Bernardino. "This is being encouraged by Nixon. We're no longer just up against the company. We're up against the government. There cannot be any complacency. We can't fight individually. We have to stand united."



Jim Lawrence

"Therefore we must fight any tendency that suggests there is a reform way out. We must warn particularly of the Communist Party which opposes any strike action to destroy Phase Three and which lines up with the bureaucracy against the building of a labor party that will defeat Nixon."

More than 50 trade unionists participated in the two and one half hour discussion that followed comrade Wohlforth's report, describing work conditions and calling for a labor party.

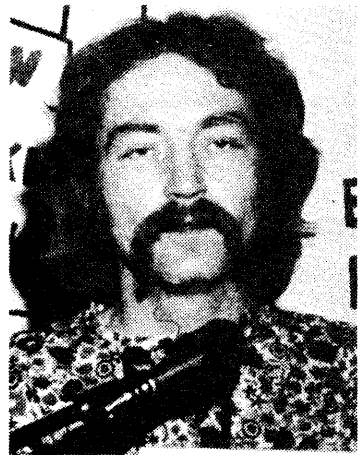
Jim Lawrence, a member of UAW Local 696 in Dayton, stated that: "No one is immune from Nixon's attacks." Having attended last October's National Labor Party Conference in Chicago, "I left convinced that a labor party was the only answer for workers. But we had trouble getting a caucus started in our plant until we discovered that there was a Stalinist in our midst. We removed him and since that time we have begun to make progress."

**RUDE**

Oscar Thomas of UAW Local 25 in St. Louis told the



Dick Holody



Tom Stubbs

Tom Stubbs, a steelworker from the Kaiser plant in Fontana denounced Abel's productivity talks with management, stating that: "Productivity does two things: it makes a man old very quickly and it makes a man lose his job."

He added that Abel's productivity deals show how "the trade union bureaucracy is solidarizing itself with Nixon."

A great deal of the discussion centered on the need to take up a fight against the attacks on jobs. Dick Holody, a member of SSEU Local 371, explained that a freeze on hiring and attrition had cost thousands of jobs and a tremendous increase in the work load.

"There is no way of negotiating in this crisis," he said. "We have to take up a fight for our jobs, for our existence."

A longshoreman, Ed Jones, from Port Newark said that it was necessary to build a caucus in the ILA that will fight the attempt by the shippers to use containerization to destroy the



Workers League National Secretary Tim Wohlforth presenting a perspectives report at the opening session.

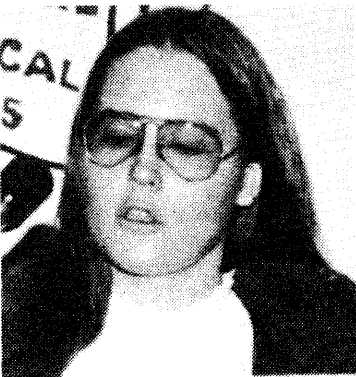
jobs on the docks.

The job conditions facing all sections of the working class were described by Irvin Talbert, a member of ILA Local 19 in Chicago: "Where I work it is filthy, there are rats, and terrible facilities. Recently, a worker was killed and he lay on the ground for 45 minutes. We had to wilcat to force the shippers to agree to get a permanent ambulance."

Cleo Willis, a postal worker, asked how it was possible to have a leadership in the unions that would not sell out like the bureaucracy does now. "I joined a union for protection, but what protection is there?"

She said that the leaders in her local only want to get elected and then refuse to listen to the rank and file. "What I would like to see is to get someone in here to do something."

Throughout the discussion, workers raised the need to turn to Marxism in order to build the leadership that will fight Nixon all the way.



Kathleen Fuller

"At first I didn't understand the Bulletin," said a Teamster from Berkeley, "but now I do and I'm happy to be here. For so many years I have been looking for an organization like this, and now I'm going to fight for it."

Joe Garcia, a Teamster from Portland, admitted that he "never used to be interested in Marxism, but I'm getting awfully interested now because we have to change. It has begun to show

me why we have to fight for a labor party in this country."

Kathleen Fuller, a member of the American Federation of Teachers in Portland, spoke on the decay in education and the attacks on the teachers unions. She pointed out the critical importance of the Young Socialists.

She said it was through the lobby at the AFT convention in Minneapolis last fall, organized by the YS which demanded a fight for a labor party, that enabled the teachers to get support for this fight from the delegates within the convention.

She said: "The youth were teaching the teachers for a change. The Young Socialists will play a critical role in the struggles of the working class today."

Rudy Sulenta of UAW Local 216, who works in the GMAD plant in Southgate, said that he had been telling younger workers that they must take time to study Marxist theory.

Youth and tenants made important contributions to the discussion, posing the need for the trade union movement to lead the struggle of all sections of the working class.

A difficulty that was expressed in the Conference was the tendency of trade union speakers to describe conditions as they exist now and not see that these current conditions were determined by developments before the devaluation. Therefore, it was necessary to fight in the Conference for the understanding that the latest outbreak of the economic crisis will quickly sharpen relations between the capitalists and the working class.

**WAGES**

Also, there was a tendency not to realize the central importance of the fight over wages in 1973, particularly in the light of the breakdown of all controls on inflation.

There was also a fight over the statement of one speaker who expressed both panic and no confidence in the strength of the working class by declaring that Nixon will call off national elec-

tions if the labor party is established.

"The American working class will not be a push over," Wohlforth stated in his summary of the discussion. "There are no grounds for panic. Nixon faces a labor movement that his class



Joe Garcia

has refused to face head-on for 25 years."

Clarifying the remarks of a number of speakers who called for the establishment of "Marxist" caucuses in the trade unions, Wohlforth declared that: "We do not fight for 'Marxist' caucuses but for caucuses open to all workers which we fight to lead as Marxists. We must fight to build that leadership out of the struggle."

The afternoon session was devoted to different workshops where specific action programs were hammered out in meetings that lasted nearly three hours.

In the final plenary session, the delegates greeted editor Lucy St. John's report on the plans for the publication of the twice-weekly Bulletin with tremendous enthusiasm. Following the presentation of Three Years of the Workers Press, a film produced by the British Socialist Labour League on the first daily Trotskyist newspaper, the delegates contributed \$1498.70 to the Bulletin fund drive within 20 minutes. During the Conference, \$250 in Marxist literature was sold.



# Call General Strike To Free Philly Teachers

BY FRANK ELLIOTT

**PHILADELPHIA**—The United Labor Committee, representing the AFL-CIO Philadelphia Council, the Teamsters, United Auto Workers and the United Electrical Workers has called for a one day general strike on Wednesday, February 28 to defend the striking teachers union.

Every city worker must demand that this strike threat be lived up to and further, that this one day stoppage be extended until all arrests, fines and jailings are ended and all teachers demands are met.

Seven hundred and ninety striking teachers have been arrested in three days of mass arrests in the seven week old strike. The president and the chief negotiator of the union, sentenced to six months to four years in jail, and jailed two weeks ago, are still behind bars.

All doubts as to the absolute determination of Mayor Rizzo and the School Board to break the teachers union was dispelled in a speech given by Rizzo following the first two days of the arrests. He called the strike "an attempt at blackmail by a power-hungry few," and said he would refuse to give in to any of their demands.

On the following school day, 373 teachers were arrested and will be tried next Monday. They face the same sentences as the jailed leaders for violating a court back-to-work order.

These attacks have steeled the determination of thousands of

teachers. After each day of arrests, picket lines strengthened and grew in number.

Strike coordinator James Garcerina issued the following instructions to the union members:

"Keep the pickets as tight as possible to keep the scabs out. We want to keep the scabs out and we're willing to get arrested to do it. We are going to maintain our pickets despite the arrests."

A mass picket of several hundred pickets has forced the resignation of William Ross as president of the School Board. Ross is also a vice-president of the joint board of the ILGWU and was forced to resign from the Philadelphia AFL-CIO Council recently under the threat of censure.

## SUPPORT

On Tuesday of last week, a mass picket line was organized by the United Labor Committee outside the Board of Education, virtually shutting down the operation. Fifteen hundred pickets from dozens of unions

participated.

George Meany, just returned from his meeting with Nixon in Florida, has prevailed upon Nixon to send his chief labor negotiator, William Usury, to intervene in the situation. It is clear that Meany fears the general strike action.

The Young Socialists are organizing a lobby of Philadelphia labor and youth at the AFL-CIO headquarters to demand that the Council call an immediate general strike and build a labor party to take forward this struggle.



Mass rally at the Board of Education in Philadelphia of teachers and trade unionists supporting teachers strike against the city

## SSEU Agreement Accepts Job Cut

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

**NEW YORK**—Bringing to bear the greatest campaign of arm twisting and open misrepresentation while at the same time whipping up a tremendous strike scare, the SSEU-371 leadership managed last Friday to railroad through acceptance of its phony "blueprint" for reorganization. A membership referendum voted 3211 to 1423 to accept the agreement.

Sensing that this rotten agreement would be overwhelmingly rejected by the rank and file of the union if they had the slightest

chance to either read or discuss the plan, the leadership forced its referendum on the ranks 24 hours after they received copies of it. The

leaflet given out by the leadership was only a vague outline of the agreement reached in order to create confusion among the ranks.

The referendum, in which the leadership met big opposition from the ranks, followed the mandate given by the massive membership meeting on January 30. This meeting voted down the Cohen leadership and demanded that there be no movement of social service staff and no cooperation by the union with the massive reorganization schemes of the City until a city-wide blueprint detailing all the City's planned changes with respect to workload, manning, job content and funding have been negotiated with the union and voted on by the ranks in such a referendum.

## MOCKERY

The so-called "blueprint" which the Cohen leadership has accepted makes a mockery of this motion. Under the terms of this agreement, no protection whatsoever is given to the membership from Nixon's proposed multi-million dollar cuts in social service funds.

One thousand two hundred seventy-five workers slotted into the division of services are being pushed into a program for which there is no guarantee of funding after June, 1974.

Sixteen hundred workers slotted into the Department of

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## The Truth About The Dollar Devaluation

BY DAVID NORTH

The great political dangers facing the working class today requires the development of a leadership in the trade unions and among the youth that understands the nature of the economic crisis.

It is precisely this crisis, which reached a new stage last week with the devaluation of the dollar, that is forcing Nixon to press ahead with his plans to destroy the rights and living conditions of the working class.

During the past week, hundreds of workers have discussed the economic crisis with Bulletin salesmen and have raised extremely important questions. What follows below is an attempt to deal with some of the questions that have come up.

1) Will the devaluation of the dollar help solve the crisis?

Far from solving the crisis, Nixon's decision to devalue sets the stage for the rapid disintegration of the world monetary system. This action does nothing to solve the fundamental problem confronting the capitalist world—which is that there exist billions of paper dollars in the world that are totally worthless because, since August 15, 1971, the US has refused to exchange them for gold.

In spite of the devaluation, foreign banks are still unable to

exchange their massive holdings of paper dollars for gold even at the new price, \$42.22 per ounce.

Nixon is actually attempting to push the full weight of this crisis, which is centered in the United States, upon Europe and Japan. He is using the weakness of the dollar as a club against those countries. They were forced to revalue in order to stop the flood of worthless dollars into their central banks.

By devaluing the dollar and forcing other currencies to float upwards, Nixon is carrying out a policy of trade war. He is determined to drive Japan and Germany, in particular, out of world trade by making their exports too expensive. Over the past week, the currency fluctuations have made Japan's exports to this country about 20 percent more expensive.

2) What does "floating" mean?

From the time the Bretton Woods agreement was established in 1944 until it collapsed on August 15, 1971 the dollar was the world trade currency. Because it was backed by gold, all other currencies determined their value through a definite exchange rate with the dollar. But when Nixon cut the dollar off from gold, he created a situation in which it became impossible to determine what any currency is actually worth.

On December 18, 1971, the capitalists made a new arrangement—known as the Smithsonian Accords—where currencies were given a new exchange rate with the dollar. However, this arrangement

began to break down within six months when the British government unilaterally allowed the pound to "float"—that is, find a new value on the money markets outside the rate agreed upon in December.

Since that action, the Smithsonian Accords were doomed. As the dollar was devalued, the currencies of England, Japan, and Switzerland were floating. This demonstrates that there is no agreement among the capitalists upon the value of any currency.

While the heavy purchase of marks and yen last week reflected the attempt by the big speculators—who are the heads of the major corporations holding millions of dollars abroad—to find a technically strong currency, the underlying movement now coming to the surface is a total lack of faith in all paper currency: mark, yen or dollar. This is why the price of gold is fast approaching \$75 per ounce. Two weeks ago, it stood at \$65.

Under these conditions, a total breakdown of world trade is on the agenda. It is impossible for capitalists to exchange their commodities if they have no idea what the currency of the country purchasing the goods will be worth upon payment.

3) Why is gold so important?

Gold is a measure of value produced by human labor. It embodies a certain amount of labor required in its production. Gold is exchanged in different quantities for commodities whose value is based on the amount of

labor expended upon their production.

But gold is no longer exchanged directly for a certain commodity. Instead, the value of any commodity—let us say, an automobile—is expressed in dollars. The paper dollar in itself has little value. It requires no more labor to print a \$10,000 bill than a \$1 bill. But you can purchase an automobile which required a lot of human labor to build for paper dollars because those dollars are supposedly backed by gold. In this sense, the dollar is like all forms of credit, not very different than a personal check. As everyone knows, your personal check will be accepted as long as it is known that there is a checking account with cash in it that can back up the paper you're writing on. But if your creditor finds out that there is nothing in the bank and your checks start bouncing, then you are both bankrupt and in big trouble.

This sums up the situation of the dollar. For a long time, it has been accepted as the equivalent of gold, but now there is no gold behind it. Nixon's confession of bankruptcy came on August 15, 1971, when he declared that the dollars now abroad would not be exchanged for gold.

The wild inflation of the dollar since 1944 created a situation which exploded last August, forcing Nixon to take drastic action. There existed many more dollars in the world than the real value of commodities produced by labor. This was expressed by the fact that Fort Knox held only \$10

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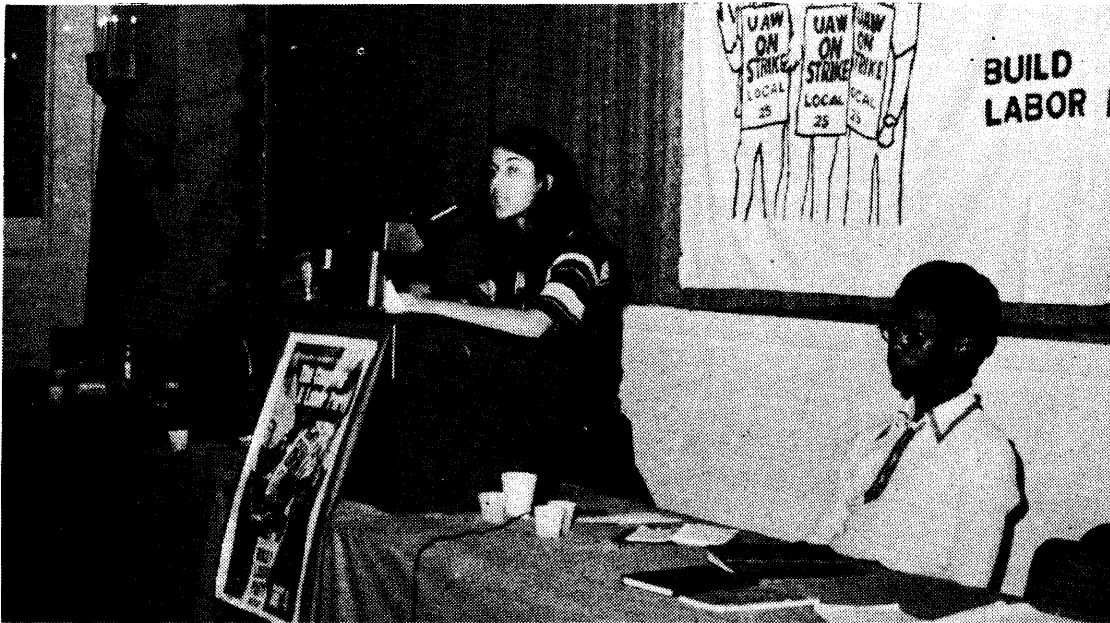




# Young Socialist®

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## YS To Launch Monthly Paper



Kiki Mendez, Young Socialists Treasurer, speaking at the YS Steering Committee meeting in St. Louis.

### BY A YOUNG SOCIALIST REPORTING TEAM

ST. LOUIS—Over one hundred youth met with the National Steering Committee of the Young Socialists and voted unanimous approval to lead the campaign against the budget cuts and launch the *Young Socialist* as an independent monthly paper this April.

This meeting was held in conjunction with the Continuations Committee for a Labor Party Now.

Abby Rodriguez, editor of the *Young Socialist*, opened the meeting with a report on the new situation which youth are now facing and the changes required of its leadership. He stated: "This meeting is one of the most important ever held by the Young Socialists because it takes place at a time when the most severe attacks are being brought down upon the youth.

"The 10 percent devaluation of the dollar along with Nixon's budget cuts now slash basic rights and programs which the working class has won for its youth. The elimination of hospitals, schools, housing and the stepping up of unemployment are directed by Nixon at the weakest sections of the working class.

"In this context, we must recognize the difference between the December 18, 1971 launching of the Young Socialists and now. At that conference, we stated that the future of the youth was at stake. Today, we say that our present survival is on the line—that it is no longer a question of finding a job when we get out of school, but finding a way to stay in school and live decently."

"Our disagreement with the Stalinists and revisionists centers around this: we say there cannot be capitalism without budget cuts and unemployment. They seek to preserve capitalism but eliminate these attacks. It cannot be done and only leads youth into deadend protests with liberal politicians."

This poses to all youth the need to immediately take forward the program of the Young Socialists against the budget cuts, and in

the spring to bring in more sharply our campaign against unemployment.

Special meetings in the high schools and colleges are to be called right away to unite the teachers, staff and students in the call for strike action against the budget cuts. This action, in turn, must be politically directed at the labor movement to not only strike against Nixon, but construct a labor party as the political alternative to defend the rights of workers and youth.

The report ended with the necessity of launching the *Young Socialist* this April as a monthly paper so that it can lead the struggles of youth all across the country against each and every new situation it faces. This paper will now be central to building YS branches and politically preparing for our National Conference, May 26 and 27.

When the floor was opened to discussion, many YS members spoke on the work in their areas to build for the Conference. New youth came forward with questions, disagreements and contributions to the discussion. It is only through this struggle that the revolutionary youth movement can develop as it takes on its independent responsibilities to confront the problems which youth face, and build a fighting leadership.

David Ost, a student at Stony Brook University, spoke on the situation there: "Last week, a student fell into an open manhole on campus and was scalded to death. The reformists all seek to divert the anger of the youth into protesting for better safety conditions."

Eamonn Gillespie, a YS member who attends Brooklyn College spoke on the inability of the YSA to defend the youth:

"First, Nixon took over their antiwar movement with the program of the Young Socialists Supreme Court aborted their women's liberation movement by legalizing abortions. Now the YSA is trying to latch onto the fight of the Young Socialists against the budget cuts and divert it back to the liberals."

### NEW SITUATION

There was a tendency which emerged in the early part of the discussion to turn back to commenting upon all the problems of the past, rather than confront the new situation which youth face with Nixon's budget cuts and the dollar devaluation. This tendency seeks to cling to old, radical propaganda by removing the very contradiction and life of the Young Socialists, which must now be built as a mass movement to defend the youth.

It was some new youth at the meeting who began to confront this idealist and conservative position. Julio Munoz from the Bronx, New York stated that: "Some people approach this fight as just a question of ideas. What about these problems. We have to do something about them."

At this point, many youth addressed themselves to the YS program to fight the budget cuts, bringing in the urgency of actually leading these struggles everywhere that youth are under attack. Kiki Mendez, spoke on the struggle of the YS at Jefferson High School in N.Y. She stated that: "Eighteen teachers have been laid off and sports facilities cut. The youth want to fight back and the Young Socialists are leading that fight. Each YS branch must bring the program of the Young Socialists into the very life of their work by taking up this campaign against

## The Traditions Of The Young Socialist

The National Steering Committee has called for Young Socialists branches to put every effort toward the publishing of its own independent paper in April.

The decision comes at a time when the attacks on the youth are the sharpest and when a youth paper is needed to turn the youth toward the trade unions in a political fight against the government.

It is the only alternative for the defense of the basic rights of every youth, and is in contrast to the policies accepted by the Young Socialist Alliance at their Twelfth Annual Convention last November.

It was at that convention that the YSA stripped itself of its thinnest cover of opposition to Nixon—the antiwar movement—thereby aiding in the illusion that the war was over, just a few days before Nixon's saturation bombings.

The convention was marked by a pessimistic outlook and a lack of perspective. This unpreparedness was a denial of the economic crisis.

The Young Socialists has based its perspective on the understanding of the deepening economic crisis opened up by Nixon's decision on August 15, 1971 to break up the relationship between gold and the dollar.

This assessment has been proven correct by the monetary crisis which ripped up the capitalist system during the last two months and caused the second devaluation of the dollar in 14 months.

This situation is what has pushed the ruling class into attacking all aspects of life of the working class.

The decision of the revisionists to publish a Young Socialist newspaper did not flow from the need to lead the struggles of youth but rather it was a pragmatic organizational attempt to ride on the success which our Young Socialist pages had achieved.

This is made clear in the pages of their newspaper, where every issue published is completely distant from the life and problems which every youth faces. It lacks the revolutionary strategy needed to defend the youth.

Instead it pushes a liberal, reformist line of protest as a defense of basic rights. This reactionary line seeks to keep the struggle of youth separate from the fight of the working class and its trade unions against Nixon.

The present publication of the YSA has nothing to do with the original Young Socialist published between 1957 and 1964 by the founders of the YSA.

Its first issue stated the absolute need for the independent political mobilization of the working class through a labor party.

It led the struggle against racism and fought to give leadership to the youth wherever it was needed.

This was the type of paper published by the YSA before its turn towards revisionism.

It is in the tradition of the original Young Socialist that we will resume its publication.

The Young Socialist will be the main weapon for organizing new branches by leading the fight to defend the right to jobs and education for the youth.

We call on every youth to participate in the publication and sales of the Young Socialist and go on to the building of the National Conference on May 26 and 27 in New York.

the budget cuts and unemployment."

The last part of the meeting centered around the launching of the *Young Socialist* as an independent monthly paper. Abby Rodriguez said that this was the only way to go forward with the building of a mass revolutionary youth movement. "This paper has to be a fighting paper which breaks from all the propaganda and actually leads the struggles of youth. It must address itself to every aspect of the youth's lives—sports, entertainment, unemployment, education—everything which was developed in the program of the Young Socialists."

There was some opposition, at first, toward bringing the YS pages of the *Bulletin* into a life of their own because it was said that would mean "separating ourselves from the working class." Many youth took up a determined fight to launch the *Young Socialist* by exposing what this resistance meant politically.

To view the struggles of the Young Socialists as struggles

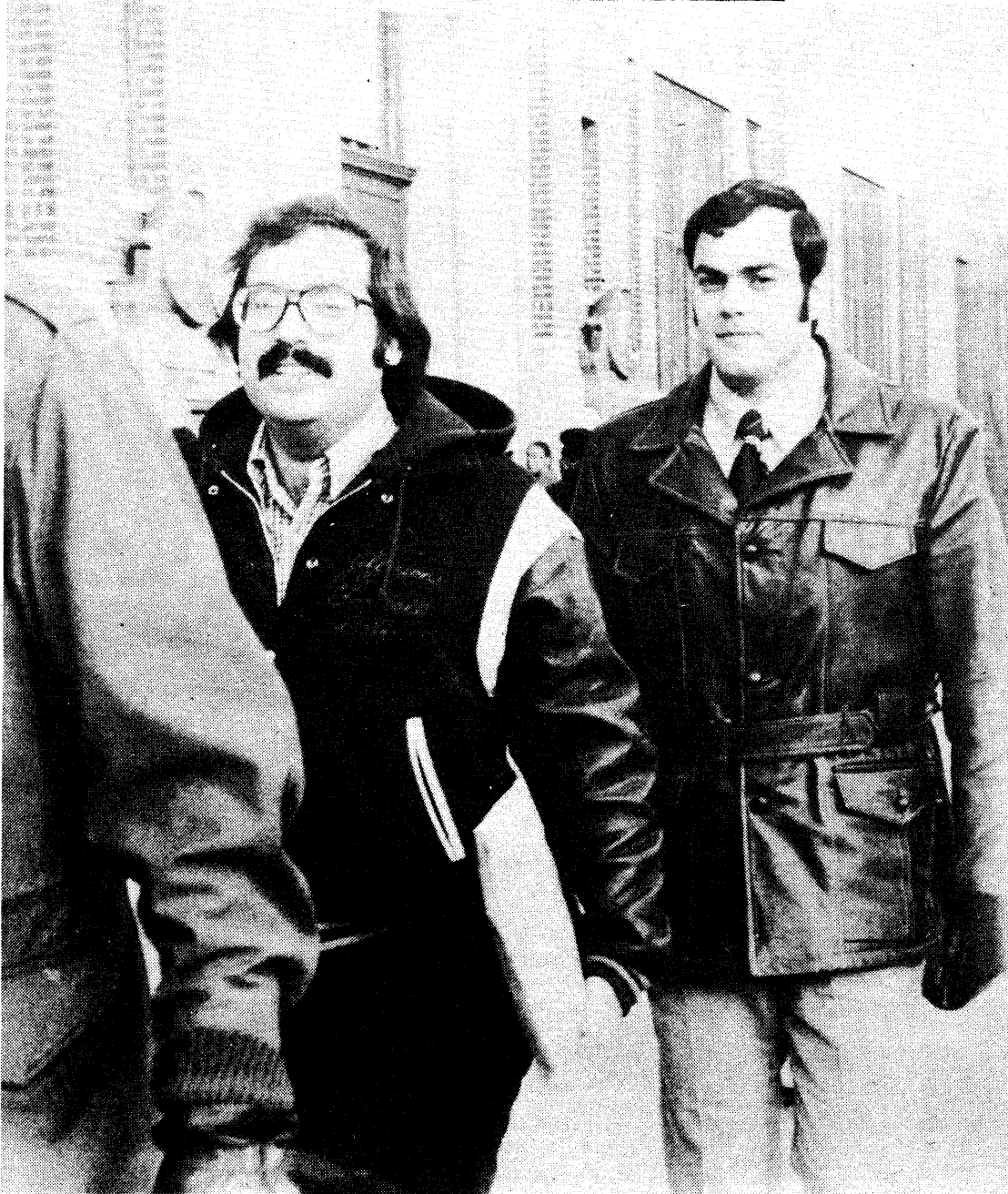
which have to be "next to" the struggles of workers comes from a formal, mechanical method of thinking. It is only through actually leading youth in a fight against the government that we can turn youth toward the trade unions to defend us.

This means that our fight at every point must be aimed at politically mobilizing the labor movement, but only we can mobilize the youth. The trade unions cannot do it. We must do it by committing ourselves to the mass construction of the YS with its own paper that must inevitably come up against problems in order to develop.

The question of an independent youth paper is actually the question of an independent youth movement and its relationship to the revolutionary party. It was no accident that this discussion brought out the task of building the *Young Socialist* as a mass youth movement in opposition to radical, circle tendencies. Unanimous approval was won through this battle to launch the *Young Socialist* in April.



# Young Socialist



Jefferson High School picket line of students and teachers against firing of 18 teachers.

## Bklyn College YS Opens Campaign Against Cutbacks

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

**BROOKLYN COLLEGE**—On Wednesday, February 14, the Brooklyn College Young Socialists launched its campaign against the budget cuts with the first special meeting of the semester. An Ad Hoc Committee was formed to carry this fight through among all teachers, staff and students.

Adele Flateau, National Steering Committee member opened the meeting:

"The murder of students is the extent to which capitalism must go in order to preserve its profits. Since education is now a burden upon the economic system in this period of crisis, Nixon seeks to throw it off his back, and youth onto the streets."

Under these conditions, every fight for reforms today now takes on a revolutionary character precisely because these reforms cannot be met without threatening the power of the capitalists.

Grants, student loans and programs like SEEK have already been frozen or slashed. Every excuse is being used by the administration to block youth from registering this semester.

propose we have an open-ended steering committee."

Once again the Young Socialist Alliance is trying to latch on to the movement of the youth, posing bankrupt policies of mere protest. They tried to keep this fight on a minimum level of protest politics, opening the door for the liberal politicians who are responsible for the attacks. They have no perspective to fight the budget cuts or to build a revolutionary movement.

There was a sharp discussion around questions of strategy and what program will mobilize both professors and staff and students in defense of their rights.

In this period of the most vicious and relentless attacks from Nixon, the fight which must be conducted against the budget cuts must be a fight to win.

This fight requires the mobilization of the entire labor movement in defense of the students' education and against every other policy put forward by this government against workers and youth.

We will be calling for the support of students, staff, counselors and professors in our fight.

We call for a fight against those responsible for the attacks: the Democrats and Republicans. We demand that the professors and staff call a Congress of Labor to defend workers and youth against Nixon's attacks.

This strategy was passed at the meeting with overwhelming support. An Ad Hoc Committee was set up which will continue to build this fight. It will begin with a mass general meeting, calling on every student and teacher organization to join in this fight.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

While education is being taken away, unemployment continues to rise. A clear example of the dwindling jobs is in the Financial Aid office, where jobs offered to Brooklyn College students have sharply decreased. Every day their bulletin board is surrounded with youth in desperate need of employment. Very few jobs are available.

It is in this political situation where the really dangerous character of the Young Socialist Alliance comes forward.

At the YS special meeting a YSA member said: "We're not here to argue ideology. We have to reach the broadest mass of people possible, no matter what their politics are. Therefore, I

## Jefferson Pickets Hit UFT Layoffs

BY

A YS REPORTER

**BROOKLYN, Feb. 14**—Students and teachers picketed for a half hour before school opened in protest against the cuts in education which have forced the firing of 18 teachers at Jefferson High School here.

The demonstration called by the members of the Consultative Council which is comprised of student representatives, teachers, the administration and the Leadership Class drew substantial support from the school.

The layoff of the 18 teachers is a direct attack on the right to a decent education for working class youth and challenges the United Federation of Teachers to defend the rights of the ranks.

The school, which is located at 400 Pennsylvania Avenue in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, has continued to suffer from the problem of overcrowding. One of the organizers of the demonstration, when asked why the demonstration had been called, stated: "We are out here because children can't learn under these conditions. There are 50 to 60 kids in a classroom. That's why we are out here."

As students walked the picket line they spoke to the *Young Socialist* and almost all felt that more action had to be taken

against the cuts.

Students who attend the Jefferson Annex were not asked to participate in the demonstration because the administration felt that things might get out of hand. The annex has been the scene of constant rebellions because of the prison like conditions there. Originally it was built to relieve the overcrowding in the main building. However students have complained of being locked in the gates and of not having the facilities for gym classes. Even the principal admitted at one Parents-Teachers Association meeting that large numbers of students and parents have asked for transfers from the Annex.

The *Young Socialist* has continued to warn that Nixon would move sharply against the rights of the working class and youth.

For this reason protest politics and appeals to the government can only lead to defeat. Those who persist in keeping the fight on the lowest level and creating the illusion among students and teachers that the government can be pressured into giving concessions play a reactionary role.

The *Young Socialist* is calling on every student, teacher and organization to call for a General Assembly meeting to plan out action against this attack.

At this meeting the YS will propose the following demands:

- No budget cuts. No layoffs.
- The reinstatement of the 18 teachers.
- No cuts in any program. More funds for these programs.
- For joint strike action of

students and teachers.

•For the UFT to call for support of the entire labor movement through a general strike.

•For the UFT to call for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

Only this strategy can defend students and teachers. In order to take this fight forward the construction of a revolutionary leadership is critical. Reformism and protest politics are dangerous in the light of Nixon's attacks. Only a political fight can defend these basic rights. All students are urged to join the Young Socialists.

## Chicano Youth Walk Out Of Schools

BY JUDITH HALE

**SAN BERNARDINO, Cal.**—Over 1000 youth walked out of more than 12 high schools and junior high schools demanding more Chicano teachers, secretaries and studies.

Behind this movement is the serious condition which the public school system finds itself in, especially since Nixon's decision to axe education in the next federal budget.

High school students who live on the west side are bussed to school because on the west side there is only a junior high school. There are a few elementary schools which the city tried to have torn down last year, but a bitter fight was waged to save them.

Youth in San Bernardino face a bleak future. Many youth are

failing or dropping out of school because the overcrowded conditions make learning impossible. There is approximately one counselor for every 500 students in the schools.

Presently there is no job placement program for most students. A Neighborhood Youth Corps program is available for a few youth whose parents qualify, but the jobs are available for no more than two hours a day and pay minimum wage.

### LOW WAGES

One youth told the *Young Socialist*: "There are hardly any jobs around, and they're almost impossible to get. You might get a job at a hamburger stand for \$1.65 an hour. In the summer, there are jobs with the Parks and Recreation Department for \$1.31 an hour or they have what they call 'weed abatement' jobs for

\$1.75 an hour if you can get them."

Another youth from Pacific High School said:

"Gangs are not as bad now as last year, but drugs continue to be a problem especially with heroin. When I worked at a park this summer, people were using it with little kids all around."

The Chicano nationalists are seeking to separate the attacks facing Chicano youth from the attacks being waged against the entire working class. This is a capitulation to capitalism and the divisions which it creates through racism.

The task is to unite students and teachers on a class basis in a political fight against the government's attacks. The demands must be for more teachers, schools, and bi-lingual programs for students.



## Where We Stand

# Program Of The Young Socialists



Young workers and students launched the East Coast Young Socialists in NY on December 18, 1971, above. The YS rallied 500 youth against unemployment, right, last March. Right, YS fought to unite Black and white youth against racism at Canarsie High School.



This is the seventh part of a series on perspectives proposed for discussion at the YS National Founding Conference in May. We encourage everyone to send their opinions and suggestions to the Young Socialist.

Young people throughout the United States are faced with no jobs, the destruction of education and deplorable living conditions.

Capitalism is in the deepest crisis in its history. Nixon's decision on August 15, 1971 to remove the gold backing from the dollar is a declaration by the capitalist class internationally that it is preparing to unleash the most vicious attacks on the working class.

The removal of the gold backing from the dollar means that billions of dollars throughout the world are simply worth the paper they are printed on. Gold represented the value behind the dollar so that by removing the gold backing from the dollar, the capitalists actually took the value away from it.

The reason behind this move is that the artificial inflation created after World War Two has now come to a head. There are many, many more times paper dollars floating around than there is actual gold to back them up.

It is clear that for this system to continue, it must restore the value to the dollar. In order for the capitalists to do this, they must attack the source of value itself: the working class.

### VALUE

The working class creates value through its labor. In order for value to be restored to the dollar, the workers must work more in less time. That is why the capitalists must destroy all the gains and rights won in the past period and drive the working class into poverty.

This move by the capitalists marked a turning point between classes. All the old class relations have been ripped apart, making a collision unavoidable between workers and youth and the government.

Nixon's new budget for education will destroy all the gains in education made by the working class. This government has made it clear that they do not need or want millions of educated youth. Colleges and universities, running millions of dollars in deficits, are closing up, denying youth the right to a higher education. Meanwhile, conditions and facilities in the high schools and elementary schools continue to deteriorate.

As young people are forced to leave school, they confront the rapidly increasing unemployment among youth. Youth are forced to work under the worst conditions with the lowest pay and with no job security. These conditions are created

by the capitalists in order to make the greatest amount of profits.

### SURVIVAL

These attacks launched on the youth mean that the very survival of youth is at stake. These attacks stem from the capitalist system itself which, in order to continue, must take away everything youth have today.

The slashes in education, the lack of jobs, the rotten living conditions and the cost required to live is just a taste of what Nixon and the capitalist class is planning to launch on all workers and youth.

In every country in the world, the working class is under attack. Capitalism's only interest is in profits, not lives. That is why youth and workers all over the world are taking forward a struggle against these attacks launched by their government.

Historically, the working class has fought to defend itself. Today the American working class, the most powerful in the world, comes forward to fight Nixon with tremendous strength in order to defend their basic rights.

### ALTERNATIVE

The survival of youth today is bound up in the struggle to construct a political alternative to both the Democrats and Republicans.

Simple protest and mere reforms will not stop Nixon's attacks. Nixon will not give any concessions because the needs of this system force him to take the measures he has taken.

There cannot be an end to the brutal attacks launched on the workers and youth unless capitalism is destroyed. It is only through the working class taking power that Nixon and his measures can be defeated.

The youth play a critical role in changing the way older workers think. Youth cannot build a socialist society by themselves, but their fight for socialism is the struggle to develop a Marxist leadership within the working class.

A revolutionary strategy must be hammered out to turn the youth towards the trade unions and bring an understanding of the crisis into the working class. Only in this way can mankind go forward.

This is the task posed to the Young Socialists. We know that the working class and youth will fight Nixon, but we must build a Marxist leadership to take forward a conscious struggle that will bring the working class to power.

We call on all youth to take up this struggle around this program and to build the revolutionary youth movement.

## Young Socialist Meeting



Film showing: British Right-to-Work March



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

**Fight unemployment!**  
 • No cuts in job programs!  
 • Jobs for all! 30 hrs. work for 40 hrs. pay!

**Call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party!**

Speaker: Abby Rodriguez  
 Editor of Young Socialist

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

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



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Meany And Nixon Unite On Phase Three

The meeting at Bal Harbour is a warning to every worker that the present leadership of the trade union movement is determined to strangle any struggle against the Nixon government. At a time when the working class must be mobilized in defense of its organizations, living conditions and basic rights, not one member of the Executive Council—including those so-called "progressives" who endorsed McGovern last fall—raised even the vaguest opposition to Phase Three.

The role which the bureaucracy plans to play in the coming months was revealed most clearly when the AFL-CIO acted to head off a threatened general strike in Philadelphia by appealing to Richard Nixon to act as mediator in the city's teacher strike—even though his favorite mayor, Frank Rizzo, is the man who is throwing the teachers into jail by the hundreds.

Nixon went to Bal Harbour because his government and the class it represents is in deep crisis and realizes that it cannot survive unless the trade union bureaucracy carries out a betrayal of historic dimensions.

Bal Harbour proves that the decisive task before the working class is the construction of a new leadership that will rally and unite the working class in struggle against Nixon.

The founding of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party last Sunday is a giant step forward in the fight against Phase Three and the bureaucracy's deliberate policy of betrayal. We call on all trade unionists to join TUALP and take forward the fight in their locals for a Congress of Labor that will prepare general strike action to defeat Phase Three and construct a labor party pledged to socialist programs.

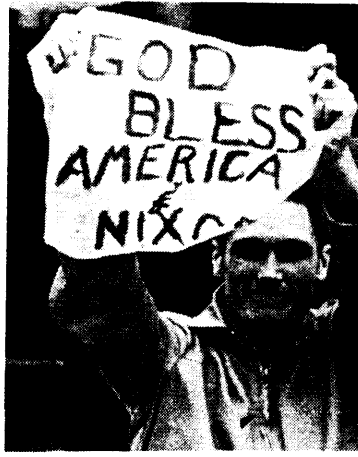
Nixon's appearance at the AFL-CIO Executive Council last Sunday made it clear that the trade union bureaucracy led by George Meany is up to its neck in collaboration with the government's Phase Three attack on the working class.

This is the only interpretation that can be given to the hero's welcome accorded to Nixon by the 35 members of the Executive Council and 35 other trade union leaders.

With two standing ovations for Nixon as he entered and left the meeting in Bal Harbour, these bureaucrat-traitors all but pledged their support for Phase Three's 5.5 percent guidelines, massive budget cuts, attacks on jobs and speedups.

Even after Nixon told the Council point-blank that food prices would rise sharply during the foreseeable future, Meany publicly stated that: "We had a very pleasant meeting with the President of the United States."

Most criminal of all was the AFL-CIO's enthusiastic reception for Nixon's trade war proposals which will mean brutal attacks on foreign workers, the destruction of millions of jobs in the US, and the preparation for a new shooting war which the working class would have to fight. Admitting that he found the outlines of Nixon's upcoming trade bill "attractive," Meany stated that if "any nation closes the door on us—on our products—then we should turn around and close the door on them; just as simple as that."



## Out Of Step

Breaking with the carefully staged release of the POWs, the only enlisted man to be released so far stepped off the plane on Sunday at Clark Air Force Base, saluted the welcoming officers and moved swiftly to the crowd. There he raised his arm in a clenched fist salute. Before he could speak he was whisked away by the military which later said he was suffering from "fatigue."

This came after all the carefully rehearsed speeches from career officers who have been released all saying "God Bless America, God Bless the Commander-in-Chief..." The POWs are being debriefed and surrounded with the tightest security. They are prohibited from speaking to the press except under the control of the military.

## Woodcock And The Communist Party

Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, whose contract expires in September of this year, told the Columbia School of Business Administration on Tuesday that he saw a "peaceful year" for labor. He claimed that the UAW got what it wanted in 1968 and he was hopeful they could get it this year. Woodcock's remarks followed by a day the meeting in Bal Harbour of the AFL-CIO Council which gave Nixon a standing ovation and pledged labor "peace."

On the eve of the greatest battles now before the American labor movement, the labor bureaucracy from the Meany to the so-called "progressives" such as Woodcock are seeking to head off a confrontation with the government. But the bureaucrats are not the only forces in the labor movement who are trying their best to disarm the ranks. They are being openly aided by the American Communist Party.

The CP has refused to take up Woodcock or to pose any strategy for the UAW in its upcoming contract and collision with Nixon's wage controls. Writing in his column last Thursday in the Daily World, George Morris claims that Woodcock is "developing an open opposition to Phase Three notwithstanding the Meany group's promise to cooperate with Nixon."

Meanwhile Woodcock has made it clear that as far as he is concerned, the UAW cannot go any further than the 5.5 percent guidelines Nixon has established. He reiterated his intention to bypass the wages issue at the recent production workers conference in Atlanta. There he stated that top priority will be given to "health and safety matters."

According to Morris that section of the bureaucracy which supported McGovern can be counted upon to fight Meany's collaboration with Nixon.

However, these labor leaders were as "inclined" as Meany's group to give Nixon support on his Phase Three policies at Bal Harbour. The political position taken by this section of the labor bureaucracy as well as that taken by the CP in the elections was to try to prevent a break from the Democratic Party and the formation of a labor party which is now urgently needed to defend the unions

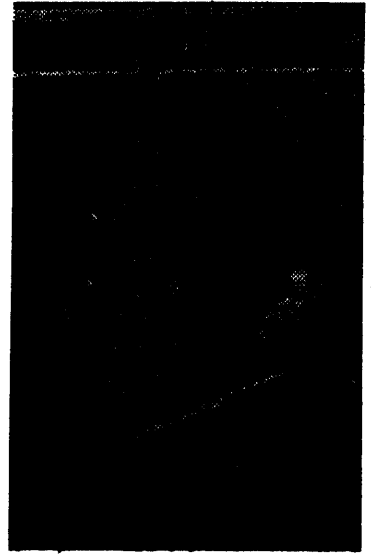
## Editor's Notebook

### Pillar Of The Community

The man who Lyndon Johnson put in charge of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders in 1967, Otto Kerner, has been convicted of some "civil disorder" in his own backyard. A jury found Kerner, former governor of Illinois, guilty of conspiracy, accepting a bribe, income tax evasion, mail fraud and perjury.

Kerner, whom other capitalist politicians have described as a "man of impeccable personal honesty and integrity," was appointed to a federal judgeship by Johnson and resigned as governor after an "honorable" career. During his "honorable career" as governor, Kerner and his friend Theodore Isaacs, who was Director of State Revenue, bought stock in a horseracing association owned by a Mrs. Lindeneheimer, known as the "queen of Illinois racing."

They bought the stock in 1966 at its 1962 value and almost immediately sold it. They then purchased additional stock from another operation of Mrs. Lindeneheimer for below their market value, again selling them immediately. Kerner and Isaacs netted a lucrative profit of



Otto Kerner

\$285,842 and in return helped the "queen" pass legislation she wanted. This was later all falsified for the Internal Revenue Service.

Kerner obviously did not let any laws get in the way of his pursuits in "high social circles."

With the conviction of one of their most "respectables," the capitalist press and politicians in Chicago are now screaming for a crackdown on juries in fear of what might be revealed about the not so "respectables."



## What we think

against Nixon. Above all these bureaucrats based themselves on a defense of the system that is now ripping at the gains of the unions and the living standards of all workers.

While the CP covers for Woodcock, it is trying to ride the back of the opposition which developed at the production workers conference against Woodcock's refusal to fight speedup in the plants. In a special feature article on auto entitled "Rank and File Must Mobilize," the Stalinists state their perspective for auto:

"What is most important is the involvement of the rank-and-file in struggle against speedup. There should be meetings and councils and conferences at all levels of the unions. Speed up should be the main issue in the coming contract negotiations. With a full mobilization of a united rank-and-file of auto workers, gains can be won that will have tremendous effect on the auto industry, the auto union and the entire labor movement."

The Stalinists in the whole past period were virtually silent about the fight against productivity and GMAD. They supported Woodcock's mini-strike strategy whose purpose was to dissipate the struggle against GMAD. Now as the whole confrontation with the auto bosses and Nixon is posed over this contract, and particularly over the question of wages, the CP talks about the fight against speedup in general. This is to cover Woodcock's acceptance of the 5.5 percent guidelines and Phase Three.

The question of productivity cannot be separated from the wages question. It is precisely on the question of wages that Nixon and his Cost of Living Council have usurped the right to write the contracts of the unions.

The CP's avoidance of the wages question and the vague talk about "involvement of the rank and file in struggle against speedup" fits into Woodcock's approach to the up-

coming contract fight. Woodcock has agreed to discuss issues of speedup and safety and even suggests that there might be strikes in some locals but is trying to avoid a confrontation over the contract. This is because a fight on all the basic issues facing auto workers—wages, speedup, job security and pensions—now must bring the UAW into the forefront of labor's fight against the Nixon government. This requires not just "militant action" as the CP would have it but preparations for a nationwide strike and a political fight against Nixon through the building of a labor party.

This means now the building of a leadership in the UAW around a program that meets the needs of the ranks and prepares the union for the political fight ahead. It means a fight against Woodcock and the Stalinists who stand behind him. This is what the centrists in the United National Caucus refuse to do. The UNC has formed an unprincipled bloc with the Stalinists. This bloc is led by the supporters of the International Socialists. At the recent conference of the UNC the IS raised a resolution for a labor party. But at the same time it collaborates with the Stalinists in the UAW and refuses to expose their policies and their opposition to the construction of a labor party.

The fight against Woodcock and preparations for the upcoming contract was a central part of the Conference of the Continuations Committee held this weekend and will be a central part of the work of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party. At the meeting a national caucus of the UAW was formed. The program of the caucus will be printed in full in the next issue of the Bulletin. We urge all auto workers to join the caucus and take up the fight to build an alternative leadership in the UAW.





# ENGLAND:

## DRAFT RESOLUTION: PERSPECTIVES FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SLL INTO A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

### PART ONE

Two thousand two hundred delegates at the All Trades Unions Alliance Conference in Birmingham on October 22 last year voted unanimously to proceed with the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party. Today Workers Press publishes the draft political perspectives and programme for the party, submitted by the Central Committee of the SLL. In every area the Socialist Labour League will proceed to organize meetings and conferences to discuss, amend and improve this resolution, and our columns are open for the same discussion. All amendments will be discussed and voted on at a special national conference to plan the founding of the party in May of this year. We urgently ask all our readers to study and distribute this resolution on the widest possible basis. Every day makes more pressing the task of building the alternative revolutionary leadership.

**Resolution on Perspectives for the Transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a Revolutionary Party.**

### INTRODUCTION

1973 is a year of historic decision for the British working class.

January has seen the Tory government legislate a three-year state dictatorship over wages. Already they have paved the way with their In-

dustrial Relations Act.

The so-called 'Phase II' and 'Phase III' are the inevitable consequence of entry into the European Common Market. These dictatorial measures, carried through with rough contempt for the electorate or for parliamentary debate, prove beyond doubt that the Common Market is an alliance of British and West European big banks and monopolies to oppress and exploit the working class.

Far from 'controlling inflation' the Tories are out to use it as the big stick; to frighten and stampede the middle class,

and to weaken and divide the working class.

Already Labour Party leaders have said that they will not hinder the implementation of the new measures, and have advised the working class to obey the new laws. They are willing assistants in the steps to the police state.

Trade union leaders have collaborated at every step, and are even now looking for ways of resuming their collaboration with the Heath government.

The working class urgently needs a programme to defend all its basic democratic rights, to unite the whole working class into action to remove the Tory government. For this it is essential that a new leadership be built in the working-class movement.

Just as the employing class and the Tories cannot any longer rule in the old way, with compromise, reform, and the 'swing of the electoral pendulum', so the working class cannot go on with the old leadership and the old betrayals.

The three-year state control of wages is no temporary measure. If the Tories are permit-

ted to go through with this, it is intended as permanent destruction of all basic democratic rights. Every Labour and trade union leader who acts in any way to prevent the working class from using all its strength to defeat the government now is as historically guilty as were the leaders who betrayed the German workers to Hitler.

Every single basic right of the working class, won in centuries of struggle, is in immediate and extreme danger.

The British capitalist class, gripped by insoluble world economic crisis, and mortally afraid of the organized strength of the undefeated working class of today, has resolved to destroy these rights.

Already, after less than three years of this government, millions of working men and women are realizing that their whole existence is threatened. State control of wages, rocketing price and rent increases, loss of democratic rights and legislation to destroy the trade unions—all these attacks are designed to destroy the working class as a class which fights to defend itself and change the social system.

**All Trades Unions Alliance Conference in Birmingham, 1972. The vote was unanimous, to proceed with transformation of the SLL into a revolutionary party.**

The Tory government aims to reduce every worker to the level of an isolated citizen obeying the authority of the state and the employer.

It is not just a matter of changes over three years of one government, which can be reversed simply by replacing that government at the end of its term. Nor is it even only a matter of the Tories destroying the gains in living standards made by the organized working-class movement since World War II. What is happening is that the whole pattern of social and political relations between the classes in Britain is now forced to change.

Within the framework of Britain being the first and strongest capitalist country (since the 17th century), it has been possible for the British working class to force definite economic concessions and basic democratic rights and to make the ruling class extend to it





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the method of compromise which was first developed between the old, landed aristocracy and the capitalists themselves.

Every one of these rights had to be won by bitter struggle against people who claimed the allegiance of the working class but preached that such concessions and rights could be won and maintained without a fight.

Today, British capitalism, like world capitalism, is at the end of all 'compromise' solutions to the class struggle. The ruling class senses that it cannot impose new solutions. Having relied until now on the reformist leaders of the working class to sell compromises — to restrict the organized strength of the class purely to the role of 'pressure' for small reforms—they must now put an end to reforms and take back what has been won by the working class in the past. They therefore prepare energetically to defeat the working class in struggle.

The British working class, facing the very real threat of losing everything it has gained through its trade unions and its political struggle, must now find the men and women, the theory, the discipline and the fighting capacity, to resist this attack, this attempt to turn back the clock of history. That means that a new party must be built, a party that can defeat and replace the bankrupt Labour and Stalinist leaders and unite the working class around a programme to defeat the Tory attack.

Defence of basic democratic rights, led by such a revolutionary party, will be turned

into attack, attack on the Tory government, the common enemy.

Such a task can certainly be accomplished. The working class, throughout the period of this Tory government, has shown its ability to fight back. Despite the cowardly retreats of the trade union leaders, millions of workers have entered the battle not only against their employers but against the government, from postmen and local council workers, to miners, car workers, shipyard workers, builders and dockers.

These betrayals of leadership culminated in the collaboration of the TUC General Council in talks with the Heath Cabinet on 'control of inflation' on the eve of Common Market entry. Such betrayal means that the old ways of fighting have come to a contradiction which must be resolved.

The trade unions preserve the strength of the working class. But the reformist, class-collaborationist politics and leadership of these unions has now become one of the wheels in the capitalist machine being constructed to destroy that same strength!

The gains of all past struggles are at stake, and new ways of struggle must be found. This is not something merely invented by Marxists, it is the inescapable lesson of history as it works out, to this very moment. Either a change to revolutionary policies, programme and organization, or else the working class will be smashed.

The forces for a new revolutionary party with this task

definitely exist, as the struggles of the working class have shown since 1970. But these forces are going into action separately, one after the other, instead of as a concerted body. They are scattered and divided because of the policies and tactics of the trade union leaders.

This is the situation which must be overcome, a situation which gets more intolerable every day. Unless every socialist and class-conscious worker takes up his responsibility for the construction of a revolutionary Marxist party, then the situation can only deteriorate rapidly.

The crisis faced by capitalism is worse than 1929-1933, which led to fascism in Germany and World War II. Just as Hitler set out to destroy the working class's traditional organizations, so the Tories today set out to destroy 'collective bargaining' as the method for regulating class relations in the day-to-day struggle. This is what is meant by the 'end of reformism and the need for a revolutionary party.'

What is vitally necessary is the unity of the working class to defeat the main enemy, the common enemy, the Tory government. Millions of workers' families are saddled with rent increases and impossible increases in food prices. Millions of trade unionists are suddenly and brutally told that to press their justified wage demands will be to break the law.

Unemployed workers are reduced to the poverty line. Youth and students face a future of economic decline, unemployment, education cuts

and cuts in real wages. The rights of every one of these sections to resist have been legislated away. A socialist programme to unite all these sections is the need of the hour. The building of the alternative revolutionary party, with such a programme, far from conflicting with the unity of the working-class movement, is the only way to assure that unity. The great obstacle to unity is the present reformist leadership.

## THE TORY GOVERNMENT'S ATTACK

The Tory government has taken Britain into the European Common Market. Behind the propaganda about a 'great adventure' and a 'better tomorrow' lies the stark reality: the Common Market is a financial, industrial and political alliance of big business and capitalist governments against the common people of every country in the Market. Its true nature was revealed by the statement by Thomson, one of the two 'European Commissioners' appointed by the Heath government. On the day before entry, he said: 'What dictators failed to achieve by military force, we are achieving by democratic means.'

In the first place, it is a lie that 'democratic means' were used. The government deliberately broke its pledge to consult the electorate before entry

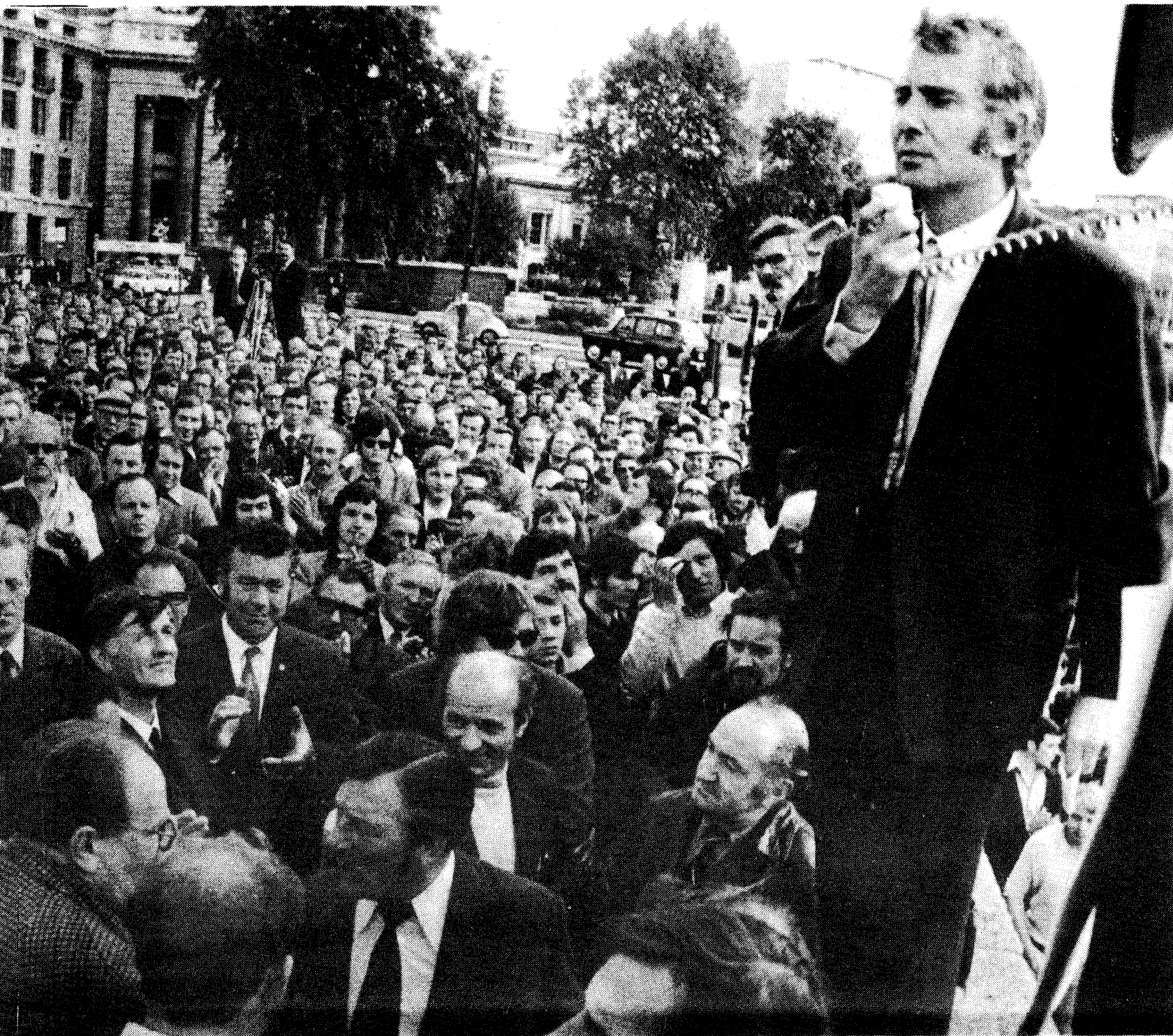
became definite. It acted without a mandate and in effect deprived the people of the right to vote, a vote won in centuries of struggle, particularly by the working class before the Reform Act of 1832 and the extension of the franchise in 1870, and for the women's vote in the early part of this century.

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Today the contradiction is even more acute. Heath and the European capitalists are attempting to build a power bloc, a dictatorship, to confront the economic giants America and Japan. Within this bloc, they are working to protect the power and profits of big business, the same bankers and industrialists who financed Hitler, and destroy the interests and rights of the workers throughout Europe.

They will not flinch from the same measures as Hitler took, just as the US imperialists did not shrink from bombing to death in Vietnam more people than were killed in the same way in the whole of World War II. That is the real meaning of the Common Market and the Tory government. It is the real meaning of the be-





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The essence of the Tory programme is to destroy trade unions as we know them, destroy the standard of living built up over generations, destroy the democratic rights of individual citizens as well as trade unions — in short, to destroy all basic rights.

They do this in the name of 'fair play', and pose as the defenders of the people's rights against the so-called 'monopoly' of the organized working class in the factories, mines and building sites.

The real driving force behind them is not their sense of 'fairness' but the economic crisis which forces them to take measures to secure their privileged class interests whatever the consequences. When they say they attack the 'monopoly' of the trade unions over labour supply and costs, they are really defending their own monopoly of all the wealth, their own monopoly which enables them to condemn millions to unemployment.

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ganda idea of the independent citizen-consumer, standing up for fair play against monopoly, does not exist. Tory ideas of 'rights' are based on property ownership, which has always been confined to the privileged minority. The 19th century myth is being used to stand in the way of the only forces that can challenge monopoly capitalism: the organized working class and the socialist revolution.

## THE ATTACK ON BASIC RIGHTS

Britain of the 1960s and 1970s has been plundered by profiteers of every sort. Never have such massive business mergers taken place. Chemicals, electronic products, building materials, food, catering, electronics, cars—each of these is now controlled by a mere handful of big companies.

The millions paid as taxes by workers and middle-class people have been used by Tory and Labour governments to swell ever bigger the profits of these monopolies. With these funds they have rationalized and speeded up industry and cut down the labour force, all with the direct help of the trade union leaders, in the name of 'productivity'. The reward for the ordinary workers has been mass unemployment and unprecedented

cost-of-living increases.

The state machine and government are being made over into the kind of dictatorship which is suited to these monopolies and their control over labour.

The Cabinet is manned, more and more, by men like Peter Walker and Anthony Barber, products of the great finance capital bonanza of the 1960s. Reginald Maudling, dropped because of the Poulson scandal, ranked as top thinker and representative of this political and business élite, and rightly so. For the protection of the profits of these men and the class they serve, state control of 'prices and increases' has been decreed, again in the name of fairness and equality of sacrifice.

Once again this is a fraud. Wages are actually cut by state decree, and even negotiations for future increases are banned. The government intends permanent state control of wages. This means the destruction of basic rights to a decent standard of living and of the right of the working class to defend itself against the effects of capitalist profiteering, exploitation and unemployment.

The Tories, not content with the wide powers they already possess for states of emergency and rule by Privy Council, are attacking the whole system of democratic rights.

More and more, changes are made in the mechanism of state control without any reference to parliament, let alone the electorate. Small teams of permanent civil servants, Cabinet Ministers and

top lawyers, consulting businessmen (and even TUC leaders in order to decide their tactics) decide and determine major issues like the Industrial Relations Act and the new state control of wages.

The truth is that the Tory government has already legislated the people's basic democratic rights out of existence. At the first great clash between the government and the working class the workers will realize with a shock that its treasured rights no longer exist!

**The right to strike and to organize in unions:** The Industrial Relations Act is used to levy a £55,000 fine on the engineering union, because unions are deprived of their basic right to unite and to implement their own rules—the right of the membership to exclude those who actively oppose trade union principles.

**The House of Lords judgement** after the release of the five dockers from Pentonville jail in June 1972 is a return of the 1901 Taff Vale judgement, which made trade unions as such legally and financially responsible in the courts for all the actions by their members. The aim of this Act is to destroy independent trade unions completely.

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The housing shortage and high cost of accommodation could be resolved in a very short time. Already all the funds and resources for an emergency house-building programme are concentrated in the hands of a few building societies, insurance companies, banks and building firms.

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must be tackled more urgently. If a census were taken of all unoccupied houses belonging to the wealthy, and of estates and vacant office properties, the homeless would soon be found somewhere to live, at rents they could afford.

This applies to every need of the working class: the solutions are at hand, but the existing privileges of the rich, taken for granted for so long, stand in the way! These are the obstacles which a socialist government should remove. They would have the backing of the working class to enforce these solutions. Only the refusal of Labour governments in the past to attack these privileges has kept the capitalists' power intact.

**The right to vote:** Even this right is infringed by the entry into the EEC without the 'consultation with the electorate' pledged by Heath. The most vicious clauses in the Industrial Relations Act went through without parliamentary debate. Phase Two of Heath's 'freeze' was implemented by Order in Council with no opportunity for parliamentary debate or even question. Not only that. In the implementation of the Housing Finance Act against Labour Councils, the Tory government appoints Commissioners and has the power to dismiss and disqualify the elected representatives of the people.

**The right to freedom of expression:** The Tories are preparing to attack this basic democratic right. The NIRC President, Sir John Donaldson, has already warned the Press against commenting on cases coming before his Court. The suppression of programmes on TV, and the campaigning of the right wing on 'moral purity' and 'offences against public taste' are attacks on these basic rights.

All these attacks on basic rights and changes in the form of government reveal one thing. The Tory government represents a decadent ruling class setting its face stubbornly against the necessary historical change to socialism. To do this it is prepared to roll back all the gains made by the workers in the past. It therefore resorts to 'Bonapartist' dictatorial forms of rule. This is what Heath meant at the first Tory conference after coming into office. 'We will change the course of history of the nation.'

And how will they do it? Heath went on, at the United Nations the next month, to predict that the 1970s would be a period of 'civil wars'. Anyone who doubts his words should look across the Irish Sea. There forces for 'civil war' in Britain are being drilled and turned out on bloody exercises.

In Britain, it was recently revealed that a special Army Corps, 60,000 strong, is being built to deal with security. Preparations are well advanced to abolish trial by jury in many cases, and the rights of accused have already been slashed.

Such a Bonapartist regime can come about and survive, given two conditions: the rottenness and weakness of the existing ruling class; and the unpreparedness of the working class.

It is the job of every socialist to immediately change this second condition, to disrupt the enemy's preparations, and initiate the process of unifying the working class for the struggle for its own power. This means: transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party; take up the leadership of the fight to throw the Tory government out; replace it with a Labour government pledged to a socialist programme.

Between the Tories' inten-



British Young Socialists posed that the trade unions take up the fight against unemployment in the Right to Work March.

tions and their achievement stands the greatest problem of all: the working class. Legislation and a few speeches cannot destroy its strength. They prepare the ground, along with the betrayals of the trade union, Labour and Stalinist leadership.

What the Tories need is to defeat a decisive section of the workers' movement in a head-on collision. The strength of the workers' resistance, as in the miners' strike, has several times compelled them to tuck and turn in their preparation. This has caused strife in the Tory ranks, because they still have no solution for the crisis. De Gaulle had a mass base in the peasantry and small shopkeepers of France. The Tories desperately need such a base, but do not have one.

The greatest crime now would be to allow the Tories all the time they need to complete EEC entry, prepare the necessary laws, cultivate middle-class opinion, scared by inflation, against the trade unions, increase unemployment, and then isolate a section of strikers—all with the intention of a scare election on 'law and order' and the return of a more right-wing government.

Under such conditions, right-wing and fascist forces would mobilize for the next stage of the attack on the working class.

This is what would happen

Every militant struggle which checks the class enemy forces him to prepare fresh attacks. But if the militant struggle remains isolated from the political fight against the government, and fails to challenge the reformist trade union leadership, then it leaves the working class divided against the next stage of Tory attack and preparation of dictatorship.

There must be formed, now, an organization of revolutionaries, trained in Marxist theory, who know how to fight for leadership in every struggle against the government (wages, rents, etc.) always with the aim of uniting the whole class for the fight to make the government resign and preparing for working-class power.

The opportunity exists more than ever before. One essential characteristic of the class struggle in the last two years has been that all sections of workers have been brought in to struggle against government policies. Civil servants, teachers, college servants, canteen workers, hospital workers, and many others only just being unionized have followed the engineers, miners, dockers and railwaymen into the fight.

The mobilization of the whole strength of the working-class movement to force the Tories to resign would leave the government completely isolated in a very short time. Instead, the TUC leaders have constantly gone back and crawled on their bellies for talks with the Tory government.

The entry on to the scene of all these sections of the working class means all the problems of the class come up for solution. It means also that the ruling class will utilize all the weapons at its disposal to suppress the movement.

The use of 22,000 troops, thousands of armed paramilitary forces, and new laws for imprisonment without trial in Ireland, indicates what is in preparation. The old reformism of the British labour movement is completely and hopelessly inadequate for such a situation. In defending the gains of the movement, its mass organizations, the trade unions, the working class will need a revolutionary party above all else.

Taff Vale in 1901 came at the beginning of modern imperialism, the 'epoch of wars and revolutions', before the formation of the Bolshevik Party, before World War I and before the first successful working-class revolution.

It led the trade union leaders, many of them very conservative, to form an independent working-class, parliamentary party, the Labour Party. But now, 70 years after, with the October Revolution, fascism, two world wars and six Labour governments in between, and capitalism back to a crisis more severe even than 1929, the attack on the unions cannot be repelled by reformism. Indeed, the Labour government of Wilson prepared the anti-union laws, and the TUC collaborates with the government!

This time the unions can be defended only by transforming them into organizations of revolutionary struggle against capitalism, for there is no return to the old 'free' trade unions.

Such a transformation can only be carried out by a revolutionary party based on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

The strength of the working class in economic struggles is not manifested only in the day-to-day success in resisting the employers' attacks or winning wage increases. This same strength, for example, provokes division and crisis within

the Tory ranks, and this leads to intensification of their reactionary preparations.

To understand and counter such developments, of which there are many in a period of crisis such as this, requires a party which starts from a scientific view of all the relations between classes and states, and not only from the immediate impressions of 'victory' or 'setback'. This is why the SLL has fought so bitterly against all those reformists, Stalinists, and revisionists who have held the workers back from struggle to bring down the Tory government.

Instead the revisionists peddle the idea that the economic struggle will 'spontaneously' bring the workers to the point of revolutionary struggle and leadership, and the reformists and Stalinists dismiss political, revolutionary struggles as 'Utopian'. These ideas help the ruling class to keep the working class divided and politically backward, while the ruling class itself prepares the next blow. The struggle of the SLL and the All Trades Unions Alliance against such ideas and practice has been the central theme of our political preparation to transform the League into a revolutionary party. In the experience of the last two and a half years of struggle many workers have been able to learn this lesson in practice and come forward to build the SLL, the ATUA and the Workers Press.

What is actually involved is to answer the basic question, one way or the other: **Do the conditions exist in Britain for the successful working-class struggle for power?**

In order to answer this question we must first of all understand that the capitalists' attack on basic rights comes from their weakness, from their crisis. The crisis makes it impossible to rule any longer in the old ways. To dispense with these old ways means to make their rule extremely precarious, because they are forced to pull away the supports that have always kept them in political power. They are trying to create a new and arbitrary body of law which does not rest solidly on precedent and historically-established and accepted rights and procedures.

They need to transform the large professional and middle class which has 'believed' in the favour English freedom and 'compromise' (which was in fact the product of colonial oppression on the one hand and bitter struggle of the working class on the other) into unquestioning authoritarian state officials acting against the working class. They need, above all, to defeat the working class in battle in order to render them subservient to a life without rights.

To make all these changes, on the basis of an economic system which is not a developing one but one in decline and decay, is a task which exposes them to great dangers.

The dangers take a very concrete form. Through the struggle to defend basic rights, the working class can mobilize to throw out the Tory government, which the capitalist class needs in order to carry out its aims. The conditions for exposing the bankrupt Labour leadership, by fighting for socialist politics from a Labour government, would exist. Now that the fighting capacity of the working class, in all its sections, has been demonstrated in the last two and a half years, we are in a situation where we must create the one remaining factor for victory, the building of the alternative, revolutionary party.

**CONTINUED NEXT WEEK**

## THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The working class has shown from the dustmen's and postmen's strikes, through the dockers', miners' and building workers' struggles, that they will not stand aside while the Tories proceed. Militancy by one section after another has checked the Tory offensive at each stage. But herein lies the greatest danger!

# Film Dianne Isaacs

## Bertolucci Makes His Choice

**LAST TANGO IN PARIS.** A United Artists release. Produced by Alberto Grimaldi. Directed by Bernardo Bertolucci. Starring Marlon Brando, Maria Schneider and Jean-Pierre Leaud.

Bernardo Bertolucci's *Last Tango in Paris* opened this month in the United States in an East Side theater requiring reservations at \$5 a seat.

*Tango* has been proclaimed as "comparable to *May 29, 1913*—the night 'Le Sacre du Printemps' was first performed—in music history." *Tango* was banned in Italy for its "obscene content," has broken box office records in Paris and promises to do the same here.

The film's middle-aged American protagonist Paul (Brando) is down and out in Paris after the suicide of his French wife. His decay is the theme of *Tango*.

In what is a parody of those "love in the afternoon" scenarios, Paul and his lover Jeanne (Maria Schneider) meet for the first time in an apartment for rent and make violent love. The doom and emptiness of their relationship begin with Paul's insistence in the first minutes of the film that the girl know nothing about him—even his name.

In what is probably the best performance of his career, Brando is bitter, morose, moody and vulgar. His improvisations with Schneider are fresh and a relief to the moribund character of the film. Brando, however, is a co-thinker of Bertolucci as to the subject matter of *Tango*; that is, both star and director are completely enmeshed in the meaningless, shallow lives they portray on the screen.

During the entire filming of *Tango*, Brando and Bertolucci were at work "relating" to each other off stage, exchanging experiences with their psychoanalysts, discussing sex and the meaning of life. Apparently producing *Tango* took very little script for Brando's monologues, but one hell of a good group therapy session. Brando has come a long way since his method acting days. *Tango* is in this sense merely a completely "personal" film—Brando and Bertolucci could care less about anything but "relating themselves" to the format of the film. At least we can credit Maria Schneider with some honesty. "This business is all blackmail," she says in an interview, "There are no stars now. They're all dead."

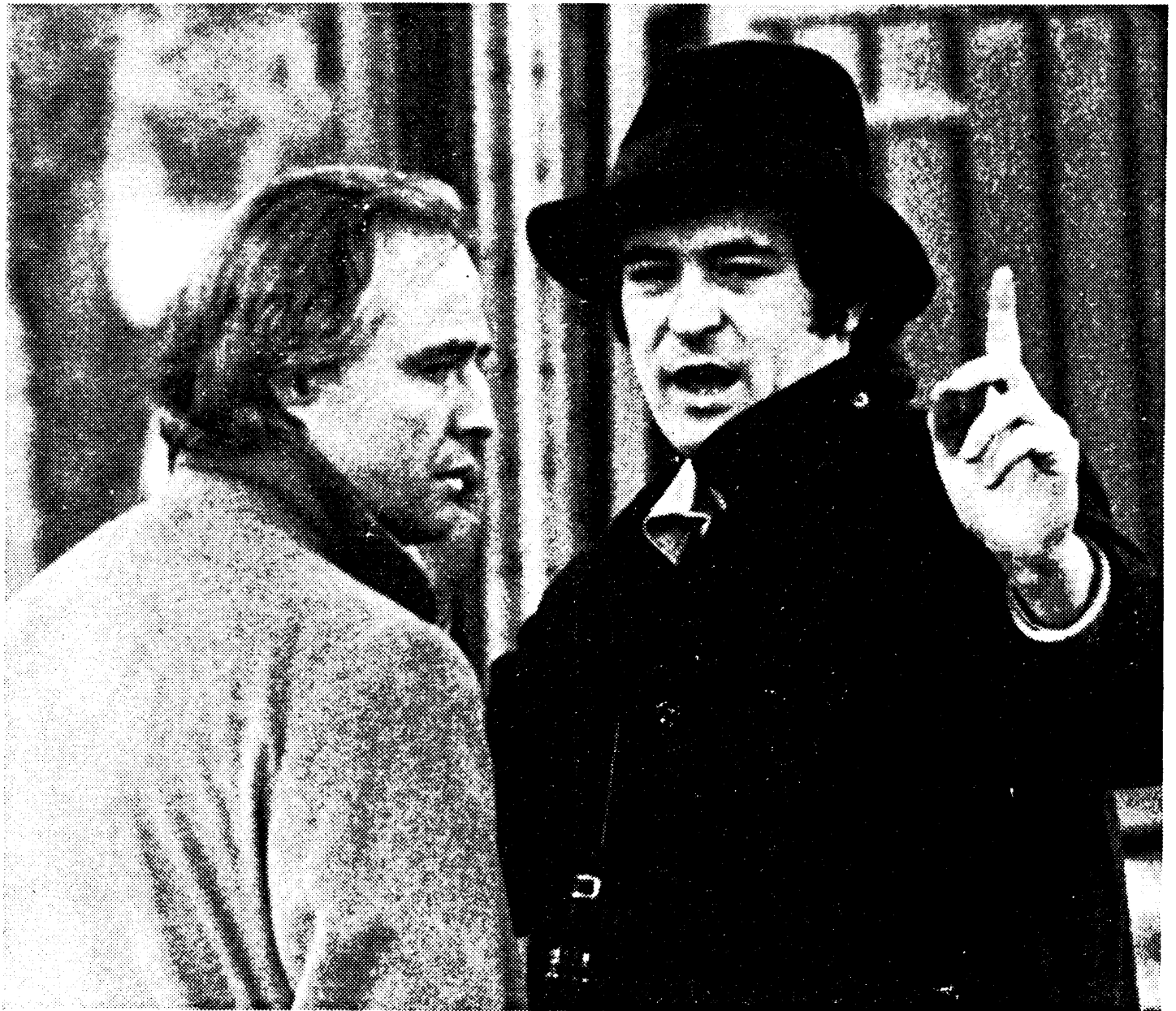
And so it is with *Tango*. It is not so much that the stars are dead, but that they are caged in by their own evolution. Brando is caught in his own contradictions: in *Tango* he expressed the gamut of his emotions, something he never touched in previous films. Yet he finds himself saying to Bertolucci, "we will never do something like that again. That's the last time I use up my energies."

### DOSTOEVSKY

Bertolucci himself is completely ecstatic over the content of the film and explains himself as a kind of Dostoevskyan film maker revealing his instincts toward sin and expiation through the cinema verite. He includes in *Tango* a scene of Brando showing his dead wife's mother the sleazy hotel they used to manage, filled with junkies, prostitutes and his wife's ex-lovers. His mother-in-law's only request through all this is that her daughter have a decent Catholic funeral. Brando explodes and slaps her, afterwards breaks down sobbing in guilt over his wife's corpse.

Bertolucci states of his work:

"All my previous films in a sense were in the past. The erotic act is what is most present in today's life. I also wanted to make a film about possessiveness—which brings with it the destruction of the object one loves. You possess something com-



pletely only in the moment you kill it."

This is indeed the content of *Tango*. Paul takes Jeanne as his lover to destroy her and torture her; to take out his past on her through his own sadism. Jeanne is not simply a victim, however, as Paul develops a desperate need for her in what becomes a sick symbiotic relationship.

Jeanne throughout maintains her engagement to a film maker (Jean-Pierre Leaud) who wants to do a cinema verite of her life (an obvious parody of Bertolucci himself, as if implying that the whole film is an absurd joke). She returns to him to live in her childhood through his film of her past, something which Paul tries to eradicate.

The sex in *Tango*—which includes sadism and masturbation—is the only nexus between Paul and Jeanne. Their apartment becomes a womb where they speak of nothing about the content of their lives, but deal only with the immediate. Outside the apartment is foreign and hostile to Paul, perhaps bearing great similarity to Brando's existence in Hollywood. Brando has made some of the sharpest statements against the degeneration of film as an art form: his performance in *Tango* is really saying, "I know all that, and here I am anyway."

Despite himself Paul (and Brando) opens up to Jeanne in the apartment with rambling monologues about his childhood in the Midwest. After such honesty, he immediately uses Jeanne for some violent sex act.

*Tango* contains magnificent camera shots, all thought out and given lavish attention by Bertolucci. In the technique itself, there are mocking elements of romance: golden afternoon sunlight pouring into the apartment, frosted windows, long graceful zooms, etc. But all this really comes to reflect Bertolucci's cynicism for his own film toward his art.

### PASOLINI

Bertolucci began his film career under the brilliant director Pier Pasolini, and as an apprentice learned much of his masterful technique and sense of composition.

Bertolucci and Brando, above. Schneider and Brando in vacant apartment, below.



But Bertolucci has fairly consistently directed all his talents to the most shallow, personal sort of films that avoid what is objective in the lives of his characters. And here we can say that he has really only gone in the direction of most modern Italian directors, who have phenomenal technical and artistic talents and cannot seem to find appropriate subject matter. Fellini comes to mind as the sharpest example.

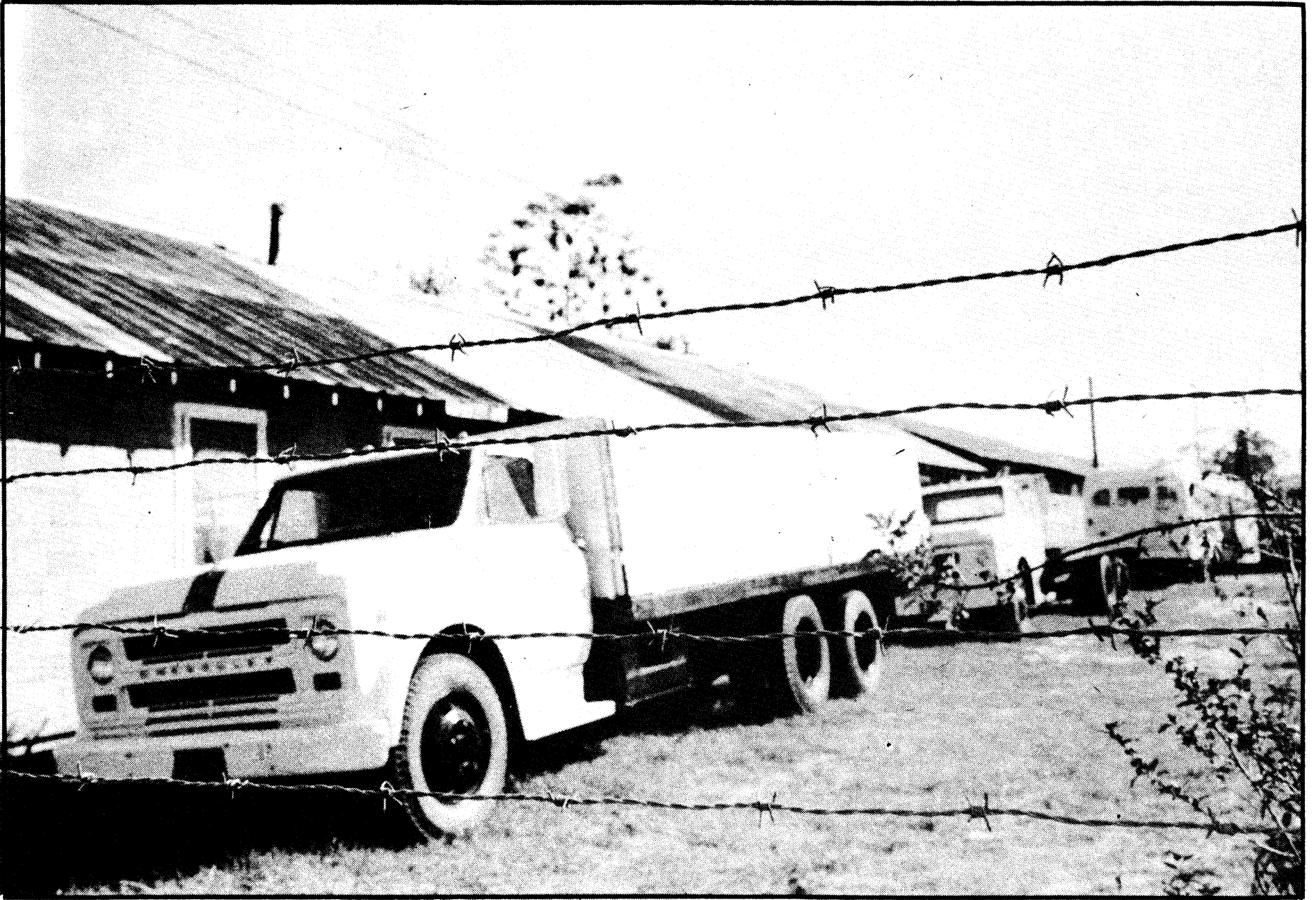
This does not close the matter, for *Tango*'s cynicism and complete "personalness" are a part of Bertolucci's politics—those of the Italian Communist Party. *Tango* from this side is a conscious political statement.

As early as 1965 Bertolucci made clear

his position in *Before the Revolution*, a study of a young man from the middle class torn between his membership in the Communist Party and his career. The young man chooses the latter, and thus Bertolucci draws his own class lines. The logic of all this is *Tango*. In an interview with the *New York Times*, he frankly states: "You cannot make political films in a commercial situation. The more revolutionary the film, the less the public would accept it." And yet Bertolucci remains around the Italian Communist Party; he is in fact only an expression of their cynicism toward the working class in Italy.

We cannot imagine what Bertolucci's next production will be.





# NIXON'S

BY BRUCE MCKAY

**AVON PARK, Fla.—Conditions in the working class districts of Southern towns like Avon Park expose the real meaning of Nixon's cuts in federal housing programs.**

One worker here put it quite accurately: "Nixon is just taking everything away: housing, schools, hospitals, jobs—just about everything we have left. Nixon talks and talks about peace, but, hell, he's trying to start a war over here."

The housing conditions shown in these photographs are not at all unusual. In fact, they are typical of the situation workers—Blacks and poor whites—face throughout the South.

The only really decent housing for Black workers here is a project financed through the Federal Housing Administration "235" program. With the end to subsidies for low income housing, millions of workers have been denied any hope for decent housing.

#### FROWN

In Florida alone, over six million dollars in loans for housing rehabilitation appropriated by Congress have been frozen by Nixon, and this is only one small

program. Many of the homes here are literally falling apart, and houses which have partially collapsed dot the bleak landscape waiting for someone desperate enough to move in.

"You have to have some place to stay," one worker told the *Bulletin*. "They'll patch things right up, put some doors and windows on and move right in."

Most of the homes have no heat, many have no hot water and some have no plumbing at all. Many of the workers here live in old house trailers, because the housing shortage is so critical. The trailers are in only slightly better conditions than the wooden shacks.

Nixon's cuts in housing are part of his drive to completely destroy the standard of living won by American workers in years of struggle. As he leaves workers with no jobs, low wages, decaying housing and schools, inflation and inhuman working conditions, Nixon tells them to "ask what you can do for yourself."

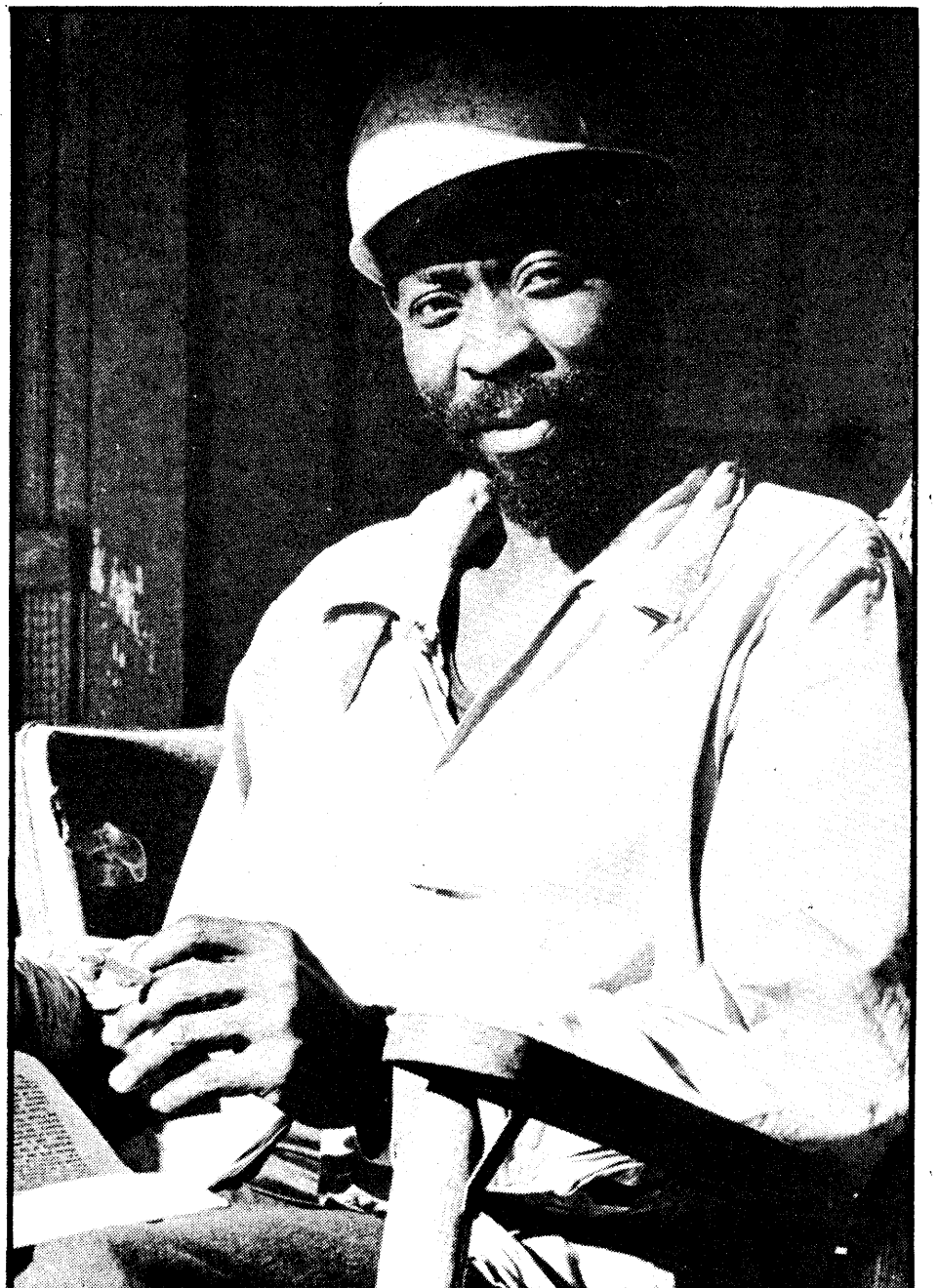
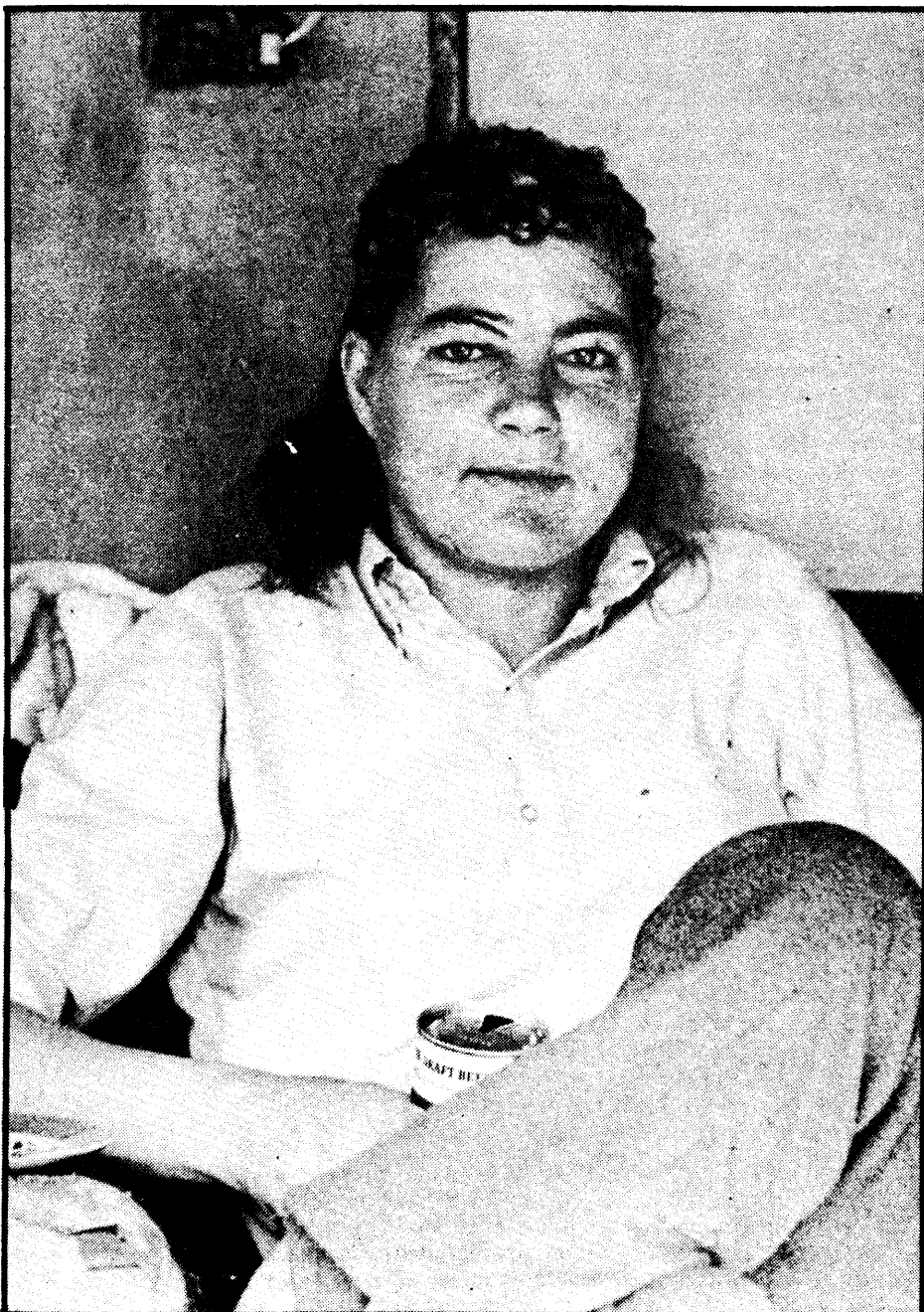
These conditions underscore the urgency for a fight to convene a Congress of Labor which will construct a labor party to defend the working class against these vicious attacks on the basis of a socialist program.





# WAR ON HOUSING

This labor camp in Avon Park, far left, is surrounded by barbed wire to keep workers in and union organizers out. Farmworker Willie Hart, below right, lives in a small wooden shack with his wife and 10 children and pays \$16.50 per week for rent. Below left, Betty McJimsey, also a farmworker, lives in one of the house trailers. Above: "They'll patch things right up, put some doors and windows on and move right in."





# TOWARDS A TROTSKYIST DAILY IN THE U.S. The Struggle For Marxism

BY DAVID NORTH

Great blows hit the Fourth International. A GPU agent murdered Trotsky in 1940. With the aid of the Communist Party, Roosevelt made his final preparations for entering World War Two by framing the leaders of the SWP and throwing them, including Cannon, into jail. In Europe, the best battle-hardened cadres of the Fourth International were murdered by the Nazis.

But while these enormous objective difficulties explain why it was impossible for the SWP to produce a daily paper during the war years, they do not explain why the SWP actually abandoned its perspective for such a paper.

The roots of this abandonment must be found in Cannon's refusal to conduct the struggle against pragmatism that Trotsky had repeatedly demanded. Cannon himself became dominated by the pragmatic method and this meant a turn away from internationalism. In the activity of the SWP, this expressed itself in dropping the fight for the construction of a new youth movement and a daily paper.

By 1944, Cannon no longer held the position that the SWP fight for the daily. Writing from Sandstone on December 21, 1944, he expressed the following opinion:

"What kind of paper will best serve the needs of the new party in the next period which lies immediately before us? We used to think, or rather take for granted, that as we broke out of the narrow propaganda circle and began to get a hearing from the workers, we should aim at changing the weekly into a daily. That was the motivation for the launching of the twice-a-week experiment and the later proposal, put on the shelf by the outbreak of the internal struggle of 1939, to proceed to a three-a-week issue..."

"With our present resources and manpower, and those which can reasonably be counted on in the next period of expansion, a daily paper would devour such huge sums as to starve the other departments of our work and defeat our plans for a symmetrical development of the movement. The task of distributing a daily would consume so much of the energies of our limited forces as to sacrifice volume of circulation for frequency of issue."

Cannon concluded that "a big national weekly is ideally suited" for the explosive movement of the working class that was developing within the United States.

### POSITIONS

Cannon had come a far cry from the positions he held in 1933 and 1938: that the objective world crisis, not the venerable and symmetrical institutions of the Party, was the decisive factor in determining the development of the press. His talk of the "symmetrical" development of the SWP uncovered the most undialectical method of thinking. Cannon did not understand the revolutionary party as a unity of opposites, developing through contradiction.

Actually, Cannon's organizational ideas amounted to accepting the old SWP as it was. The task, as he saw it, was to make the old SWP bigger. Although the objective developments—which were now very promising with the upsurge in the masses—required that the old SWP be qualitatively changed through the building of a youth movement and the fight for the daily paper, Cannon simply decided that the old SWP was not up to the tasks.

By this time, Cannon was functioning as a radical American pragmatist. Ignoring



international perspectives, he wrote the "American Theses" which outlined the rapid development of the socialist revolution in the United States. No account at all was taken of the stabilization of the European economy, through the inflation of the dollar which was agreed upon at Bretton Woods, and the criminal betrayals of Stalinism after the collapse of Hitler's Germany.

Cannon thought a revolution would take place in the United States on purely national terms, indifferent to the development of the international crisis. The hollowness of this perspective was exposed by the SWP's strategy to meet the coming American revolution. On the one hand, Cannon talked about the imminence of revolution and on the other hand, he denied the need for a daily paper to lead the working class in such a period.

However, this nationalist outlook was the expression of his attitude toward the Fourth International after the war. By every measure, the SWP had the main responsibility for the leadership of the Fourth International. Not only did it have the strongest section, but the SWP had enjoyed the richest experience of collaboration with Trotsky.

### "OPEN LETTER"

But Cannon refused to take on this responsibility. He dropped the matter in the lap of Michel Pablo, and busied himself with the activities of the SWP. Not until Pablo attempted to break up the SWP as part of his strategy to liquidate the world Trotskyist movement into Stalinism did Cannon issue the "Open Letter."

While the "Open Letter" must be credited with having saved the Fourth International, Cannon simply saw this intervention against Pablo as being an as-

sertion of orthodox Trotskyism. He refused to struggle for a development of Marxism through the construction of the Fourth International in a theoretical battle against revisionism.

Cannon first took up the struggle for a daily paper to meet the requirements for building a revolutionary leadership. He finally dropped the fight for a daily paper after the construction of the Fourth International was no longer the touchstone of his politics.

Never again was the SWP to lay plans for a daily paper. Today, 10 years after its break with Trotskyism, there is no perspective for publishing the Militant more than once a week. This is justified with references to Cannon's prison letters, which, as we pointed out, expressed his turn away from internationalism.

### INTERNATIONALISM

Internationalism is a scientific term. It means the construction of a revolutionary leadership of the working class in each country based upon an assessment of the international character of capitalism and its crisis. It is only upon this theoretical foundation that it is possible to develop a strategy for the world socialist revolution; that is, the conquest of state power by the working class in each country.

The SWP proceeds upon an opposite method. It does not understand that the United States—because of the uneven and combined development of world capitalism—is the heart of the international crisis, and that it is in this country that the most revolutionary upheavals are being prepared. It therefore cannot see that it is critical to the future of the international working class that a Marxist leadership be built in the United States. So the SWP proceeds complacently with a weekly

Militant which comments—incorrectly, of course—on developments which occurred two weeks earlier, making no attempt to lead the labor movement against Nixon.

### DAILY

Today, the Workers League devotes all its energies toward the development of the daily Trotskyist newspaper. In the present period, where changes of great significance in the class struggle must be grasped not only within months and weeks but in days and even hours, it is necessary that American workers have their revolutionary paper every day.

The Bulletin will be the first revolutionary daily paper in the United States. Already, great enthusiasm has been generated by our decision to begin publishing on a twice-weekly basis this coming fall. The Bulletin will deepen its support in the working class through the struggle for the mobilization of the trade unions in a battle against Phase Three, demanding the calling of a Congress of Labor that will prepare general strike action and build a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

It is through the struggle for a daily paper that revolutionary forces can be developed out of the powerful movement of workers and youth against the government. Unlike Cannon, we do not foresee a "symmetrical" development of the American section (which is in sympathy with the Fourth International, though formally barred from membership by the Voorhis Act) of the Fourth International—with so much time allotted to developing the daily and so much time for the building of the Party. We stand with Lenin on this question. The fight for the Bulletin is at the heart of the building of a revolutionary leadership.

CONCLUDED



# NCR Workers Reject UAW Backed Pay Cut

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON, Feb. 18—Faced with the fear of more layoffs in production, Cecil Hampton, United Auto Workers International Representative, and Local 1616 leaders attempted to sell the National Cash Register workers into breaking their contract and accepting cuts in pay for a super-seniority agreement for workers with 10 years seniority or more.

The workers rejected the agreement by a vote of 1459 to 1310 and expressed anger over the secrecy surrounding the agreement.

Complicated details were not revealed to the membership until the special meeting at which the

vote was taken.

The rejected agreement would have cut the pay in the standard hourly speedup plan and eliminated the pay guarantee for learning time on a new job.

National Cash Register last week announced its plans to permanently lay off 1800 white collar workers. NCR has already destroyed 2000 production workers' jobs. The New York Times gave this action and NCR President Anderson top billing. They devoted a full page to NCR's job destruction speedup program. The Times stated:

"Since becoming president, Anderson...has reduced employment by 5000 workers to about 90,000 worldwide."

The Times revealed that Anderson has promised NCR stockholders to triple their earnings by 1975. Anderson's weapon against the workers is the new electronic cash register.

When asked by a Bulletin reporter about the massive job cutting and Anderson's write up in the Times, Cecil Hampton said that NCR claimed it had an earnings problem and that NCR stock had not been doing well.

When asked about the need for the UAW to fight for a 30 hour week for 40 hours pay, he merely stated demands would be for-

mulated in March or April.

Job destruction continues at a fast clip in Dayton. Two hundred fifty workers at Chrysler Airtemps have lost their jobs. President Wesley Wells of the International Union of Electrical Workers Local 755 states: "The jobs of the workers employed here have been lost completely."

A McCalls' worker revealed to the Bulletin that the workers are expecting any day a 10 percent layoff. McCalls prints national magazines.

The heads of the big locals here are ducking the fight for jobs and are coattailing the bosses' demands for productivity. They have joined in the "Buy Dayton" campaign with radio spot commercials and "Buy Dayton" buttons.

The Maoist paper, the Day for Workers' Voice, has gotten on the bureaucrats' bandwagon by pointing out that their paper is printed in Dayton while the Bulletin is printed in New York!

The "Buy Dayton" campaign only underlines the bankruptcy of labor leaders who refuse to fight for the political independence of the working class and to build a labor party. The Stalinists unite with the bureaucrats against the fight for a national strike and a labor party.

## St. Paul AFT Agrees To 5.5% Raise

BY MIKE ROTHSTEIN

ST. PAUL—Teachers of Local 28 here have been saddled with completely inadequate salaries and robbed of job security. The AFT leadership agreed with the School Board's cry of financial bankruptcy and urged the membership to accept a contract providing a 5.5 percent increase for this year and a 4.2 percent raise for 1973-1974.

In addition no provisions have been made to hold the class size down, while the Board steps up severe overcrowding.

At the start of negotiations last fall, the Board refused to pay any increase at all the second year, and the union asked for more than 5.5 percent for the first year. Teachers worked six months without a contract and were then told that 5.5 percent was all the government was allowing.

The 4.2 percent for 1973-1974 was called a "victory" because the Board offered 0 percent in October. The devaluation of the dollar guarantees a 15 to 20 percent rate of inflation this year. As a result the teachers face having less money before the ink is dry on the contract.

### LAYOFFS

With no provisions for holding class sizes at present levels, the School Board has a green light to begin layoffs. Assistant Superintendent Minclier said that he hoped he would not "have to dump anyone out" but added "you never know." Thirty four teaching positions were eliminated in 1972 and 150 are slated to go in the coming year.

This sellout has been the sole responsibility of the Local 28 bureaucrats. Teachers, enraged with government attacks on the AFT, are ready to go out with their brothers in Philadelphia, St. Louis and Chicago. One art teacher from Highland Park told the Bulletin that their salaries "are being held hostage."

The compliance of the AFT Council with Nixon's voluntary controls must be ended! A national joint conference of the NEA and AFT must be convened. Only nationwide strike action can smash Phase Three.

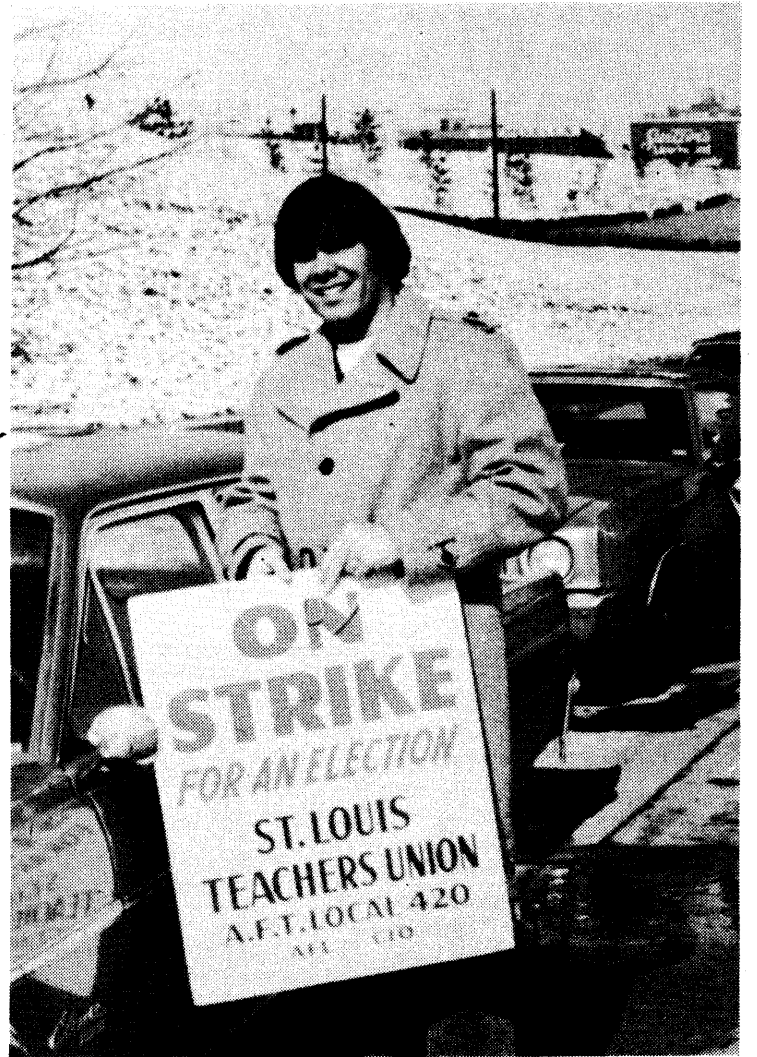
## Chicago Mechanics Vote Strike

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

CHICAGO—Members of the IAM which represents machinists and mechanics working for the Chicago Transit Authority voted last Tuesday to strike the CTA. They were joined on Friday by members of the IBEW who also voted to strike. The drivers will take a strike vote later this week.

There are 19 unions involved in the struggle with the CTA. Their contracts all expired last November. The CTA has threatened to lay off over 1200 workers and slash transit service. The IAM and IBEW have taken the lead now in the fight against the CTA. The only way to answer the CTA's plans to cut jobs and wages is with strike action by all the unions and support from the rest of the Chicago labor movement.

# Midwest News



Motorcade of St. Louis teachers during their strike.

## Big No Vote On St. Louis Pact

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS, Feb. 20—School resumed today after the teachers, members of the St. Louis Teachers Union Local 420 and the St. Louis Teachers Association ended their 28 day strike. At two separate meetings, both groups accepted the School Board's offer of an immediate \$200 increase and a \$600 increase across the board next fall.

## Minnesota Day Care Centers Cut

BY A REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—New federal regulations covering Title 4A funds will cut hundreds of day care centers in Minnesota. In Minneapolis alone, six hundred teachers' jobs are threatened and 10,000 children will be deprived of service.

In the past under Title 4A private organizations like United Fund put in one quarter of the funds required while the Department of Health, Education and Welfare kicked in the remaining three-quarters. The state refused to contribute any tax money.

New rules prohibit funds from private sources and leave every center in Minnesota high and dry. By April 1 the closings will begin unless the Minnesota Federation of Teachers closes every school in the state and initiates strike action throughout the labor movement. Public education from pre-school to graduate study is being systematically stripped away. The unions must defend the right to an education.

The teachers will also receive hospitalization insurance. The Board agreed to pay the teachers for extra duty, limit the size of the classes and give no disciplinary action or penalties to striking teachers.

Members of the union voted 847 to 397 in favor of the proposal. The members of the SLTA voted nine to one. The School Board has said it did not have the money, in spite of an impartial audit which revealed that it had almost \$5 million extra. The School Board offered the proposal after the St. Louis Board of Aldermen granted an emergency appropriation of \$1 million to pay the teachers immediately.

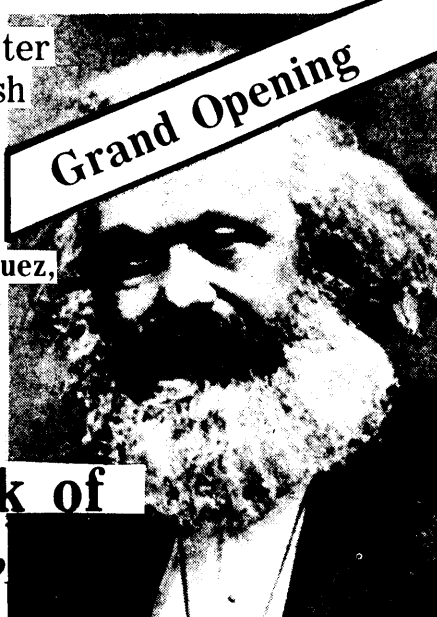
### OPPOSITION

The strong opposition to the settlement came from Teachers Union members who wanted to stay out on strike for an immediate \$1000 increase. It was in fact the vice president of the union, Zachery Amos, who led this opposition, denouncing the settlement as a sell out. Many teachers expressed these same sentiments at the meeting where the vote was taken.

Despite the settlement, contempt of court hearings are to be heard tomorrow for the teachers union.

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## INFLATION . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

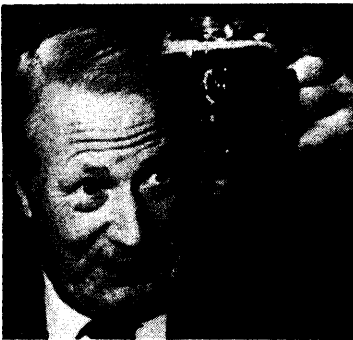
billion in gold while more than 80 billion in paper dollars were held outside the United States. To deal with this situation, he simply refused to buy those dollars back for gold.

But those billions of paper dollars still exist, acting like an enormous debt that must be repaid. It is only through the destruction of this debt through an unparalleled depression and war against the working class—which creates value for the capitalists—that Nixon and the ruling class in every part of the world can hope to solve this crisis. Nixon plans to put value back into the dollar by defeating the class which produces value.

4) Why did Nixon let inflation get so bad? Was the Vietnam War responsible for this?

Inflation is the result of political decisions made by the capitalist class, not the result of mistakes. The crisis of value that is tearing capitalism apart is rooted in the decisions made in the closing days of World War II by the leading imperialists.

## ENGLAND . . .



Edward Heath

(Continued From Page 2)

The Industrial Relations Act established last year attacks the right to trade union organization, the right to a closed shop, the right of unions to picket and to exclude scabs.

Heath's "Fair Housing Act" will double rents for working class families, unemployment has soared to 800,000, while inflation skyrockets.

This month the gas workers

Realizing that the defeat of fascism in Europe posed the threat of a socialist revolution carried out by the armed workers of France, Italy, Germany and the rest of Europe, the capitalists decided to compromise rather than meet total defeat. But this required the re-stabilization of European capitalism, possible only by pouring billions of dollars into Europe to restore its national currencies and rebuild its industries.

This could be accomplished by inflating the dollar in order to meet the task of preventing the world socialist revolution. At the same time, the expansion of the American economy could take place only through the furious pumping of dollars into the economy. The motives within the US were the same as those internationally. Every president, from Roosevelt right up to Nixon, has been terrified by the prospects of another depression that would lead to a head-on collision with American workers.

Nixon has no alternative but to prepare for battle inter-

nationally and within the US because the inflation has gone beyond its limits. All the reforms granted in the period of compromise must now be taken away. This is the meaning of Nixon's new budget and Phase Three.

Vietnam is not the cause of the inflation. This theory is peddled by falsifiers of Marxist theory who refuse to recognize that capitalism is in its death agony and that the working class must be mobilized politically to take power. Vietnam represented the attempt by American imperialism to meet the deepening crisis in the 1960s by defeating the revolutionary movement of Indochinese workers and peasants. Nixon must now bring the battle into this country as well.

5) If there is a trade war, won't that mean more jobs in this country even if it hurts workers in Europe and Japan?

In order to conduct a trade war, Nixon must break the back of the American working class. Because of the international

pageant will show that today the only way to defend democratic rights is by removing the Tory government. It represents the beginning of a campaign for unity of all the working class struggles against the government and the building of a revolutionary leadership.

### FIGHT

All sections of trade unionists have shown their willingness to fight the Tory government but the trade union leaders have refused to act and have isolated each struggle against the pay law. Not once have the trade union and Labour Party bureaucrats fought to mobilize and unite the entire working class in a general strike that could force Heath out of office.

The Socialist Labour League

became the first section of workers to defy the new pay laws and go on strike. After weeks of unofficial action, they have forced the leadership of the General and Municipal Union to call a nationwide stoppage. Hospital workers have balloted overwhelmingly for a strike to win their increase and Ford workers are demanding much more than the government's limit.

If the past struggles of British workers brought the Labour Party to power, whose leaders today are in complete agreement with the Tories, then today, at a time when the crisis in the capitalist system is far deeper, only a revolutionary struggle can defend these rights.

The "Road to Workers Power" campaign is part of the preparation of the SLL to transform itself into a revolutionary party, to build local Councils of Action to lead the fight to throw Heath out and return a Labour government, pledged to socialist policies, to power.

Development Agency as a result of cuts in the Office of Economic Opportunity.

On top of this all substantive questions relating to workload and manning the 40 Human Resources district field offices are thrown over to future negotiations. This undermines the whole point of the blueprint struggle which was to resolve all questions in a single agreement rather than on a piecemeal basis.

While the Cohen leadership has managed to force acceptance of this blueprint, a tremendous movement has begun among the

ranks which will not be stopped by this agreement.

While the Cohen leadership was able to swing the Delegates Assembly two nights before the referendum by a vote of 120 to 40, a much more militant stance was taken by the rank and file. Huge "no" votes of six, seven and eight to one were recorded in Kingsbridge, Melrose, Nevins and Fulton. In the vast majority of centers where there was a heavy "no" vote, this vote comes after a campaign by the Committee for New Leadership, whose initiative was from the very beginning the basis for the whole blueprint struggle.

This fraudulent agreement of the Cohen leadership will be quickly exposed to the membership as the City proceeds with its attacks. This is why the decisive question now in the SSEU is the construction of the Committee for a New Leadership to mount an opposition to this sellout. The CNL will fight for:

- The reopening of the no movement policy until a real blueprint is negotiated.
- Strike action of District Council 37 against the Pay Board.
- A campaign for a Congress of Labor for the purpose of preparing a national strategy against Nixon, centering on the fight to build a labor party now.

character of capitalism, trade war must have a devastating impact upon the American economy. By destroying whole sections of Japanese and European industry, Nixon is actually attacking important sources of investment upon which American capitalism depends. Trade war will mean the layoffs of millions of workers.

At the same time, American bosses will mercilessly speed up the ranks in the plants to increase productivity to make goods produced in this country more competitive.

Above all, trade war requires that Nixon discipline American workers for the coming shooting war. There is no such thing as a trade war that does not lead to world war.

Therefore, it is not a question of hurting foreign workers for the "good" of American workers. This is what the trade union bureaucrats like Meany, Abel, and Woodcock say in order to justify their support for Nixon's Phase Three attacks on the labor movement. The crisis means that workers in every part of the world come under attack as the capitalists in each of their countries seek to defend their profits.

The task before the working class is to unite internationally under a revolutionary leadership, to defeat the capitalists in their countries.

6) How will devaluation effect us immediately? Is it true that only tourists in foreign countries will be hurt?

Nixon and the newspapers are spreading the lie that devaluation means nothing to American workers. In fact, inflation on a scale unmatched in recent history will hit workers in 1973. Not only will all imports be much more expensive, but all goods produced in the United States that are purchased abroad—like food, clothing, etc.—will cost much more. Any domestic product that is produced with foreign parts will cost more.

Furthermore, the devaluation means that the savings of every working class and middle class family has simply been chopped by 10 percent.

The enormous rise in the price

of food reported for February occurred before devaluation. Nixon's action last Monday night must lead to a complete breakdown of any controls on price inflation.

7) What will Nixon try to do now?

There is no peaceful solution to this crisis. Nixon's program calls for trade war internationally and the destruction of the working class as an organized power in this country.

During the past week, Nixon has declared that he will punish European and Japanese rivals with vicious trade war legislation. He is deliberately demanding that the foreign capitalists prepare for battle against the workers in their countries through the building of fascist movements.

In the US, Nixon is determined to beat back all the social gains won by workers over the last 40 years, use Phase Three to destroy the right to win a decent wage, and pass laws against the unions. Nixon has boasted that he has a "stick in my closet" and he has already begun using it against workers and youth. Mayor Frank Rizzo is using that stick by jailing teachers in Philadelphia.

8) What has to be done to stop Nixon?

Nixon is able to carry out his attacks only because the trade union bureaucracy refuses to mobilize the full strength of the labor movement in a political struggle against him. There is not one leader of the AFL-CIO, UAW or Teamsters that has not praised Phase Three or quietly said that it must be accepted.

The struggle for wages, jobs and against speedups is a political fight that requires the construction of a labor party pledged to socialism that will defend workers against every policy put forward by Nixon.

The attacks by the Government must be answered now. We demand that the AFL-CIO and the other major unions convene a national Congress of Labor to prepare general strike action to destroy Phase Three and to construct a labor party that will defeat Nixon and establish a workers government.

## SSEU . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

Services face even more immediate threats to their jobs under the threatened plans for federal and state takeover. The leadership is pushing the illusion that the two duplicate service departments are to be maintained, when it is the clear intention of the federal government to supply money for only one.

### WIPEOUT

In addition, the agreement provides almost immediately for the virtual wipeout of hundreds of jobs in the Community

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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## West Coast News

# Aerospace Firm Fires Unionists In Economy Drive

BY DENNIS BROWN

LONG BEACH, Cal.—Sixty-seven cafeteria workers, some with 24 years seniority, are picketing McDonnell Douglas's Long Beach plant.

These 67 workers have all been laid off. One of the pickets, a 59 year old worker said:

"I have only six years to go until retirement. I've worked here 23 years. I never thought that they could do this but here I am. They could do this to everybody in the plant."

### LAI D OFF

The company laid off these workers because they claimed that there was a lack of work. They then spent three-quarters of a million dollars to remodel the dining facilities and contracted the cafeteria service to an outside firm. This firm hired culinary workers at about two dollars an hour less than the former workers were paid.

Long Beach Local 148 of the United Auto Workers is the largest aerospace local in the country. The local is unusual in that the contract covers all production workers in the plant, including cafeteria workers.

### LOSING

McDonnell Douglas has been losing multi-million dollar contracts over the past few months. A large contract with Japan Airlines for dozens of DC 10's is

one of the latest losses. Under these conditions, to keep profits up, they will have to cut every possible corner.

In a meeting last month, the company offered to keep the present staff if they accepted a pay cut of \$1.10 an hour. When this was turned down by the union because it was a violation of the contract, the layoffs were instituted. The average pay for the laid off staff was \$4.35. The new staff gets \$2.30.

### SIZE

This attack comes at the same time as 200 production workers are being laid off each week. Over the last few years the size of the local has been cut from 36,500 in 1968 to 14,500 now. The rumor is that by next January, the membership will be down to below 6000.

The union has organized protest picketing to get the production workers and white collar staff to boycott the new cafeteria service. The pickets say the boycott has been 75 percent effective. There is support among production workers for shutting the entire plant down to defend the local's contract and to defend the hundreds of jobs which are disappearing each week.

## Cutbacks Doom Meager Improvements In Decaying Hunters Point

(Continued From Page 20)  
moving them into still more temporary housing in Hunters Point.

### GANGS

The struggle of the youth against the terrible conditions they faced was diverted into gang fighting between the newcomers from the Fillmore and the established residents. One battle involved more than 200 youth.

In 1961 a war broke out between three gangs. The city picked out 12 youth whose families were to be evicted from the projects "for the safety of the occupants." Three hundred Hunters Point residents turned out at the community center to force the housing director to rescind this order.

Out of this struggle came the first community leadership, the Cyprus Attacks Club, led by a group of older women known as the Big Five. They organized scores of committees to put pressure on the city and the big downtown companies, to ask for new services like a hospital and better child care, to be run under community control. But to the 9000 on the hill who still had no place to live, Supervisor William C. Blake said: "People who can't afford to live in San Francisco, let them go. Let them live in Oakland. Maybe they'll be happier."

On a hot September day in 1966, Matthew Johnson, a young resident of the hill, slammed a car into the curb, leaped out, and made a run for it across a vacant lot. Police, claiming the car was

stolen, shot him dead.

Residents of Hunters Point demanded that Mayor Shelley appear to answer for this vicious attack. He was booed and jeered and driven off the stage, and people poured into the street.

The riot, or the "so-called riot" as it is known because so little damage was done, was immediately suppressed by an enormous military display.

Out of the rebellion came the Young Men for Action, made up of youth who understood that the basic question in Hunters Point was jobs. This new leadership glorified the area's history of complete isolation from the rest of the city, and tried to establish a special relationship with the money men and big politicians downtown.

In 1967, Alioto ran for mayor, and put money into Young Men for Action, promising a big package of reforms. In return they put over his campaign on the hill. YMA leader Adam Rogers was made assistant director of EOC, the main city anti-poverty agency at a salary of \$14,000.

Rogers claimed to be fighting for jobs, but the only jobs were in the poverty programs for people who were willing to be agents for Alioto.

### PANTHER PARTY

At the same time the Black Panther Party was trying to penetrate the hill. They were unable to break down the sense of isolation and hostility to the outside which had led the youth to see their fight as hopeless and to



## Ban Hawaii Teachers Union

BY AN AFT MEMBER

HAWAII—The teachers union has been made illegal in Hawaii. The Hawaii Educational Association (HEA) has negotiated an "exclusivity clause" with the School Board, which bars AFT organizers from communicating with teachers on school property. Teachers are even forbidden to discuss the AFT among themselves in the school lounge.

The HEA narrowly won an

election in 1971 over the AFT, establishing them as bargaining agents for three years. Now the HEA leadership is collaborating with the School Board in trying to destroy the threat of the AFT which still has 1300 dues paying members in Hawaii.

Hawaii Federation of Teachers Executive Secretary Jim Crane told the Bulletin: "Teachers have been told throughout the state that if they talk to us they will be suspended for insubordination. The Supervisor issued a proclamation that any union organizer who came on campus was to be arrested."

Crane himself was arrested when he attempted to meet with

teachers on the island of Kauai on their lunch period.

The purpose of this witch-hunt is to smash the growing dissatisfaction of rank and file teachers with what Crane calls "the weakest teachers contract in the US." The contract states that pay raises and preparation periods are left to management to carry out "when feasible."

The HEA leadership has been forced to issue several strike calls but has backed out every time. A strike is now scheduled for March 28. AFT members must take the lead in forcing strike action and demand a united teachers union affiliated with the rest of the labor movement against the splitting tactics of the HEA.

depend on the poverty brokers. Because the Panthers based themselves on nationalism and community control the same as Rogers, they could not show the youth the way to the force that could destroy the powers downtown—the organized San Francisco working class. The Panthers were run out of the hill for Alioto by his new and well paid allies like Rogers.

For the past five years the poverty programs have penetrated deeply into Hunters Point. No big changes have been made in the community, but enough money has escaped the sticky fingers of the bureaucrats and trickled down to keep up peoples' hopes. Nixon's new budget will tear apart all these illusions.

The entire Model Cities and EOC programs will be scrapped. The services provided by these agencies will be stopped even before June 30, so that the money can be diverted to keeping the bureaucrats on the payroll a little longer. Already all educational programs out of Model Cities are on hold. Model Cities officials told the Bulletin they could not name any other programs soon to go, since, as one put it: "We don't want to create any foment in the neighborhoods. You know, people get their hopes up. We just don't want any publicity."

About a third of the housing on the hill has been redeveloped. The budget cuts mean that the only work to be done in the future will be the repaving of torn-up streets. No new housing will be

built, and all the barracks will be kept filled with people.

The NYC program employing 4310 youth in the city last summer is gone. The Emergency Employment Assistance program which provided 1300 jobs for older workers will die too. These will be the most bitter blows to Hunters Point.

One student from Wilson High said: "I got my job last summer from NYC. If that's all gone, I don't know what I'll do. I don't have a chance." Another said:

"I guess Nixon feels he's got his money so why do we need any. It's cold. I guess I'll go to summer school because there won't be any jobs, but my friends are so tired of school they'll go looking. Nixon's getting what he wants. It doesn't do any good just to protest. You don't have to face him with the problems, he already knows the problems. He just doesn't care. You have to get him out."

The bureaucrats are still holding out the hope that some programs will be restored under Community Development through revenue sharing, due to begin July 1, 1974 and they are trying to hang on to their jobs until then.

But Alioto and Nixon have discarded the poverty programs. Alioto has already announced that revenue sharing money will not be used to replace scrapped federal programs. Last Thursday the first layoffs came, with 56 out of the 360 working in the Community Action Program of EOC fired on the spot.

The decks are being cleared for dictatorial attacks on Hunters Point. Alioto is moving openly to beef up the police force to prepare for the civil war which will follow the breakdown of five years of compromise. But he does this out of desperation, not out of strength, because his enemy is the whole San Francisco working class, not just Hunters Point.

The San Francisco labor movement has a rich history of revolutionary struggle, climaxing in 1934 when the ILWU fought the same National Guard the youth faced in 1966 and paralyzed the city by leading a general strike of 125,000 workers.

### NIXON

Last month Nixon's Cost of Living Council rejected a 30 cent raise for the longshoremen. Nixon cannot compromise any longer with the unions any more than he can with the youth. Just as he is throwing Hunters Point back to the conditions before the riots, he must try to throw the labor movement back to the Depression.

It is now that the isolation of Hunters Point from the rest of the San Francisco working class can be consciously overcome by the construction of the Young Socialists as the mass revolutionary youth movement, which can lead the fight for jobs and against the budget cuts by building a new leadership in the unions to fight for political power.

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

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## Editorial

### Reagan Blames Youth For Education Crisis

The California press has launched a hysterical campaign of lies and slander against high school youth.

In the last few weeks, the Oakland Tribune, the Berkeley Daily Gazette, and the San Francisco Chronicle have all taken up the cry of "violence in the schools."

They claim there exists a "festering problem of violence" in the public schools caused by a hard core group which attacks teachers and other students for racial reasons.

The Berkeley Gazette in particular has spoken of "mass expulsions" as the only solution. The Gazette has whipped up a frenzy in the Berkeley middle class over several incidents of assault at Berkeley High School.

The top capitalist politicians have joined in this campaign. Taking a lead from Reagan's State of the State address which urged that "vicious youth" be put away for good, Secretary of State Edmund G. Brown Jr., the Democratic frontrunner to succeed Reagan, chimed in last week with a demand for action against "young toughs."

The purpose of this carefully orchestrated campaign is to put the blame for the destruction of California's school system on the youth, who will suffer from it rather than on Reagan and his Democratic allies in the state legislature.

The right to a decent, free public education, won by the working class in 100 years of bitter struggle, will be fiercely defended by youth who can see that their whole future is at stake. It is to crush this resistance that the witch-hunt against youth is being launched.

It will be the task of the Young Socialists to expose the vicious slanders now being poured out by the press and to rally the whole working class in defense of this basic right.

## ICC Rail Merger Hint Opens Attack On Jobs

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—A high Interstate Commerce Commission official last week proposed merger of all railroads west of the Mississippi into four super roads.

Administrative law judge (hearing examiner) Nathan Klitenic made the recommendation in his report approving the merger of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad into the Southern Pacific.

Klitenic made Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) approval of the merger contingent on the agreement of Southern Pacific and other lines seeking smaller pieces of the Rock Island to take over a dozen regional rail carriers in the great plains.

Pieces of these carriers would be added on to Southern Pacific, Union Pacific, Santa Fe, and Burlington Northern railroads to give each line a Pacific to Mississippi network.

"The overwhelming demands of the public interest require that the inefficiencies and inadequacies of the Midwestern carriers connecting operations and services give way to permit the Union Pacific, Southern Pacific, and Santa Fe railroads to each extend their lines so as to make direct connections with Eastern and Southern District railroads," Klitenic said.

This unprecedented intervention by the ICC will encourage a

whirlwind of rationalization and reorganization in rail transport, leading to thousands of jobs being slashed.

Three years ago, the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, and the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy lines were merged to form the Burlington Northern, the largest railroad in the country in terms of track mileage. Thousands of jobs were lost. In 1971 alone the line cut 1500 employees off the payroll while moving the same amount of cargo as in 1970.

### RULES

A firemen's union official said: "In the form of merger, they do away with rules to cut jobs. Fifteen years ago Southern Pacific had 400 firemen. Now they have 2600. Not because they're moving less freight, but because cars are bigger; they run more cars on the same train, they make longer runs."

The ICC will serve as an organizing committee for a speedup and productivity drive on every railroad. The big industrial corporations like Ford which gave Congress orders to smash the Penn Central strike want a streamlined rail system to cut their costs for the trade war with Japan and Europe.

The response from the labor movement must be the formation of a labor party pledged to nationalization of the railroads under the control of the workers.



At McDonnell Douglas plant workers rallied to protest the firing of cafeteria workers.

## SIU Fined \$6500 For Refusing Overtime

BY TED BAKER

CROCKETT, Calif.—For refusing to work overtime, 10 workers at the C&H sugar plant here and their union have been fined a total of \$8000.

There are 1400 employed at the plant, with the 1000 production workers organized as Sugar Workers Union Local 1 by the Seafarers International Union (SIU). Workers have a 10 day week and then get four days off.

On January 19, C&H ordered the soft sugar boilers (brown sugar) to work through their off days. All the regular men at that station and all their relief men refused.

C&H took the men and the union to Federal District Court, basing themselves on an injunction obtained last March when workers in another part of the plant refused overtime. This injunction banned all work stoppages and strikes in the Crockett refinery.

In his decision, Judge Richard Schweikert fined the men for "conspiring in contempt of court."

One union member summed up the impact of this decision: "By way of that, you and I talking here is a conspiracy. Anytime you have more than one person discussing their plans, that's a conspiracy. If you follow it out, as far as the court's concerned the union must be one great big conspiracy. If the judge is right then unions are illegal."

Judge Schweikert ordered the union to pay \$6500 in lawyers fees and damages to C&H. Each worker involved was fined \$150. The union will be required to pay \$2500 a day plus \$100 a day per man for any future refusals to work.

The sugar company is determined to put the workers completely under its control, to work them as long and as hard as the management pleases.

Leaders of Local 1 have no intention of fighting the fines or the injunction. One official stated

there are no plans to do anything until the contract expires next year. Removal of the clause which gives the company the right to force overtime is not at the moment a high priority, he said. If the clause remains in the new contract, the injunction will continue in effect.

One union member said: "In the plant there's a lot of scuttlebutt about the fines, but nobody really knows what's going on. The union has put up just one notice about it, and that just said

what we already knew. Hell, we didn't even know about the overtime clause until we got the injunction last year. The guys in the plant are willing to act, but no one is sure what to do. I know one thing though, no one is going to work eleven or twelve days in a row without time off."

Strike action must be taken at the C&H plant to wipe out forced overtime and defend all victimized union men. This must be backed up by the full power of the East Bay labor movement.

## Cutbacks Doom Hunters Point

BY KIM HARVEY

SAN FRANCISCO—The people of Hunters Point have been for 30 years the most oppressed section of the San Francisco working class. Together with the neighboring Bayview district, the community numbers 60,000, mostly Black, with more than 15 percent unemployed. Among the youth more than 60 percent cannot find jobs.

In the giant housing projects overlooking the bay, the government has consciously created the worst living conditions in order to destroy a whole generation.

In 1942 the shipyard on Hunters Point became a vital focus for rebuilding the US Navy for World War Two. The government threw together low cost public housing units on the hill overlooking the shipyard to house defense workers. By the end of 1943 more than \$10 million had been spent on this "tem-

porary" housing.

Most of the new workers were Blacks from the South. Their 2000 children had no schools. As far as the government was concerned, these workers were just tools to be discarded when their usefulness was over. The end of the war plunged Hunters Point into a state of permanent depression.

By 1948 there were more than 6000 families living in Hunters Point, and many of the older houses were already in need of repair. In 1953, the city decided to "renovate" the Fillmore district, the other major ghetto. The problem of what to do with the people living there was solved by

(Continued On Page 19)



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BY KIM HARVEY

SAN FRANCISCO—The people of Hunters Point have been for 30 years the most oppressed section of the San Francisco working class. Together with the neighboring Bayview district, the community numbers 60,000, mostly Black, with more than 15 percent unemployed. Among the youth more than 60 percent cannot find jobs.

In the giant housing projects overlooking the bay, the government has consciously created the worst living conditions in order to destroy a whole generation.

In 1942 the shipyard on Hunters Point became a vital focus for rebuilding the US Navy for World War Two. The government threw together low cost public housing units on the hill overlooking the shipyard to house defense workers. By the end of 1943 more than \$10 million had been spent on this "tem-

porary" housing.

Most of the new workers were Blacks from the South. Their 2000 children had no schools. As far as the government was concerned, these workers were just tools to be discarded when their usefulness was over. The end of the war plunged Hunters Point into a state of permanent depression.

By 1948 there were more than 6000 families living in Hunters Point, and many of the older houses were already in need of repair. In 1953, the city decided to "renovate" the Fillmore district, the other major ghetto. The problem of what to do with the people living there was solved by

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