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VOLUME NINE NUMBER NINE 284

MARCH 5, 1973

430 103

FIFTEEN CENTS

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BY DAVID NORTH

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North Vietnam listed the main violations of the agreement by Nixon and General Thieu:

1. Since the cease-fire was signed in January, Thieu has launched offensive operations to recapture liberated areas.

 No NLF prisoners have been released to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

3. The US and Saigon administration have staged countless provocations against representatives of North Vietnam, the PRG and NLF now stationed in South Vietnam. The most serious attack took place on February 25 when the US and Thieu hired thugs to mob the DRV delegation in Hue and Da Nang.

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Bulletin Expansion Drive

\$50,000 Goal For Twice-Weekly

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This Fund Drive takes on a new urgency in the light of the world financial crisis and the inflationary explosion in this country. Every effort must now be made to make it possible to publish the Bulletin twice-weekly this Fall. This means we must now receive \$3500 per week. This requires a great effort in each branch of the Workers League and Young Socialists, as well as from all our supporters, to send in contributions particularly at this critical beginning period of the drive.

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

A general strike is on the agenda in England as millions of trade unionists are in open conflict against the Tory Government.

On every day of the week leading up to the special congress of the TUC (England's AFL-CIO) on March 5, major sections of the working class will take strike action against the Tory Phase Two pay law which makes every worker who demands a decent wage a criminal according to the government's new statutes.

Not since the General Strike of 1926 has any government aroused such hatred among British workers. Among those trade unionists who are already on strike or who are about to go out are the gas workers, hospital workers, auto workers, railroad workers, boiler workers and the civil servants.

The confrontation has been made unavoidable by the fact that the crisis of British capitalism makes it impossible for the Tories to grant any concessions.

At stake is not only the issue of wages—upon which the government has fixed legal controls—but all the historic rights won by, the working class in the 200 year old history of English trade unionism.

DANGERS

Grave dangers face the working class for it enters into these battles led by a Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy that has deliberately sought to disarm the ranks at the very moment when the Tories are arming themselves.

Workers Press, daily newspaper of the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League, exposed last Friday the machinery of terror that the government has secretly as-

(Continued On Page 18)

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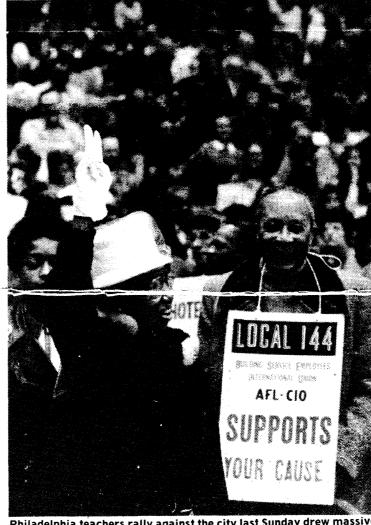
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(Continued On Page 18)

Devaluation **Ups Meat Prices 8-10%**

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

In the one week following Nixon's devaluation of the dollar, wholesale food prices have soared. Beef and chicken rose a whopping 10 percent, pork bellies, the source of bacon, and hogs rose 8.5 and 4.4 percent respectively.

These increases are yet to price freeze. be reflected in the supermarkets and come on top of the already unprecedented increases in food prices as the standard of living of workers and their families is being slashed by inflation.

These increases follow on the heels of the Labor Department's announcement last week of an increase of 2.3 percent in grocery prices, the biggest rise for one month that has ever been recorded since they began gathering such statistics in 1952.

On a yearly basis, this rise would mean over a 25 percent increase in food prices. Since 1963 food prices have risen over 40 percent. The average cost of groceries rose 7.6 percent from January 1972 to January 1973 in the period of the so-called wage-

ROSE

Last month all categories of basic food items rose including meats, poultry, eggs, fresh fruit, vegetables and milk. Since Nixon began Phase Three and gave the companies the green light to increase prices, hamburger has gone up from 69 cents a pound to 78 cents a pound.

Center cut pork chops have jumped from \$1.08 a pound to \$1.40 a pound, 10 pounds of potatoes have gone from 98 cents to \$1.93. Milk rose from 59 cents for one-half a gallon to 74 cents and eggs from 51 cents a dozen to 74 cents. Chicken, which many families have begun to substitute for beef, rose 12 percent.

DEVALUATION It is clear from the reports of

(Continued On Page 18)

The Real Terrorists In The Middle East

BY MELODY FARROW

As the funeral procession for the 100 men, women and children killed in the Libyan jet shot down by Israel passed through Cairo last week, mourners and students took up the cry "War" and "Punish Israel!"

At the end of the procession, hundreds of youth poured into the main street, blocking traffic chanting "We want war against Israel, we want arms, Sadat.'

In Libya crowds broke windows in the US embassy and marched in the cities of Tripoli and Benghazi, One Libyan newspaper denounced the premeditated collective genocide" of the Arab people and warned that it was a lesson to those who talked of a "just peace."

The rocket attack on a civilian airplane was no accident. The order to shoot it down was made directly by a member of the Israeli High Command and exposes the Zionist war for what it really is—a brutal war of aggression and mass murder against the Arab peoples, financed and supported by the United States.

The murder of over 100 innocent passengers shows who the real terrorists are in the Middle East. Just the night before the plane crashed, Israeli commandos invaded two Arab refugee camps in Lebanon, killing men, women and children.

The attack on the Libyan plane is an open provocation by the Zionists to begin another phase of the campaign against the Arab revolution.

The discovery of the flight recorder from the plane has confirmed that the Israeli government deliberately lied about what happened.

Defense Minister Moshe Dayan first stated that the Libyan plane had administrated the warnings to land and that warning shots were fired. He justified the shooting by saying the Sinai was a "highly sensitive" military

The Israeli government even claimed that the co-pilot, who was in deep shock in the hospital, told them under interrogation that he had understood the Israeli warnings and had decided to get

But the transcript of the plane's flight recorder has proven that up until they crashed the pilots thought they were still in Egyptian territory and were being followed by Soviet built Egyptian MIG planes.

Just before the crash, the captain could be heard shouting: 'We are now shot. We are now shot by your fighter twice.'

A French steward who survived said there were no warning shots and that the fighter planes had fired rockets directly into the cabin of the plane.

Despite this, Dayan continued to insist that the pilot and Cairo air control should share the blame. The arrogance of the Zionist regime was further expressed by sending the bodies back to Egypt in hastily built wooden crates that barely held together.

(Continued On Page 18)



British gas workers join the growing strike movement against the Tory government Phase Two wage laws.

Gold Price Soars To New Heights

BY DAVID NORTH

The most frantic gold rush in modern history—which last week drove the price of the precious metal up to \$95 per ounce—is a warning to the working class that the latest dollar devaluation is a direct prelude to the complete collapse of the world economic system.

As all confidence in the value of the dollar—and therefore every other form of paper currency—is being rapidly undermined, the stage is set for the disintegration of international trade, spectacular bank failures, sudden bankruptcies, and massive unemploy-

All the attempts of the Nixon Administration to maintain an air of complacency in the aftermath of the devaluation were shattered by the frenzied speculation on the gold markets which reached a temporary climax Thursday as more than \$100 million dollars were exchanged for

Since the devaluation, the price of gold has risen more than \$20. At this point, it stands \$41 above the official price of \$42.22 per ounce fixed two weeks ago by Nixon.

The continued deterioration of the dollar has now led to the outbreak of a deep political crisis within the government itself, as the major banking interests-represented by Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns-are openly critical of Nixon's refusal to formulate a clear economic policy to deal with the crisis.

The split within the ruling circles became public last week when Burns told a Congressional Committee: "I can't emphasize too strongly that as far as I am concerned, this is the last devaluation. That ought to be our national policy.'

DISASTER

Nixon has taken the position that endless devaluations are an easy way to deal with the balance of payments deficit, but the

effects of the last devaluation have convinced the banks that such an attitude will lead to dis-

It is not surprising that the banks are demanding that Nixon

(Continued On Page 18)

Famine Sweeps India

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

A severe famine is spreading across India despite the assurances of the Indira Ghandi government that there is only ''scarcity.'

Many poor peasants have already died of hunger and malnutrition and some Indian newspapers state that as many as 20 million people are starving.

The famine, the worst in 10 years, has been building up since last summer when the monsoon rains, vital to the farmers' crops, failed again. In many areas of the country, there has been no rain for the past three years, and in some areas in seven or eight years.

EXODUS

The crisis is rapidly creating a mass exodus from the worst drought areas such as Rajastan, Gujerat and the Deccan plateau. Peasants, whose numbers may reach one million, are pouring into the suburbs of Bombay seeking work in the fac-

Hundreds have settled right on the railroad platforms. Others have nothing to live in but palm leaf huts outside the plants.

The government's method of dealing with the famine is inherited directly from the British colonialists who ruled India in the nineteenth century.

To prevent riots, the government has created what it calls

"public works," which in reality is forced labor at breaking stones for two and one-half rupees a day.

The report also pointed out the lack of investment and said that prices, which rose 7.8 percent over the previous year, continued to deteriorate. The only pathetic solution the report ofquired little rain.

In India, agriculture, without irrigation and farming methods. has not changed since the days of colonial exploitation. These are the conditions left by the capitalist nations who made huge profits out of India for decades by keeping the masses in misery and poverty.

The situation is now far worse since the decision of the US government to halt aid to underdeveloped countries like India. To solve its economic crisis, the US must now create conditions for massive famines and throw the colonial masses back to the dark ages.

The separatist uprising in the state of Andhra-Pradesh is an indication of the massive upheavals that are now ready to explode throughout India.

Philadelphia Union Heads -- Car General Strike MAYOR

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 28—On the eve of the general strike called to defend the striking teachers, the leaders of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers yesterday announced a tentative contract agreement in the eight week old

Almost immediately following this announcement, the Philadelphia United Labor Council met and called off the general strike. This was done despite opposition within the Council. Max Rothstein, president of the Barbers Union, left the meeting early saying the Council should have gone ahead with the general strike.

Teachers were supposed to vote today on the contract but the union leadership showed up two hours late after working to piece some agreement together. Chief negotiator for the union, Ryan, was booed when he began reading the settlement. The meeting was closed after debate began and the vote was scheduled for tomorrow.

The teachers must reject this rotten settlement and stay out until all demands are met, the union officers are released from jail and the charges dropped against the arrested teachers. The ranks must demand that Philadelphia labor carry through with the general strike to win their demands.

The settlement is a complete sellout of every demand of this strike. The size of the contract package, \$68.6 million over four years, represents very little more than what the School Board offered over a month ago.

PITIFUL

It is reported that the contract calls for a pay raise of 4 percent which is below even the pitiful 5.5 percent guidelines set by Nixon. In addition the teachers are being asked by their leadership to accept a four year contract.

The other provisions, such as 45 minutes of preparation time for elementary school teachers, will not go into effect until September 1974 and a reduction of maximum class size from 35 to 33 will not go into effect until 1975.

Nothing has been said about the six month to four year jail sentences which two union leaders are now serving, the charges against over 300 teachers facing criminal contempt trials and the fines on the union now totalling \$300,000.

NIXON

This is what the labor leaders are prepared to accept for peace with Rizzo and Nixon. The contract in reality was written by William Usery, Nixon's top labor

Reprisals Hit SSEU

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

NEW YORK-In an attempt to exact reprisals from the Social Service Employees Union Local 371 following its recent struggle against the city over the reorganization blueprint, the city of New York has brought disciplinary charges against nearly 100 supervisors and caseworkers at Nevins Social Service Center.

These attacks are the direct result of the Cohen leadership's sellout agreement on the blueprint rammed through a membership meeting two weeks ago. This agreement not only secured nothing on the substantive issues but failed to include amnesty for Nevins.

The Nevins workers, in accord with union policy, had walked off the work floor two weeks before when state auditors from Welfare Inspector General Berlinger's office had tried to sit in and observe interviews being conducted between workers and

At informal hearings that came this week, the Nevins ranks refused to show up on an individual basis. Instead, they turned out in large numbers with activists from other centers, preventing the hearings from taking place. The city has subsequently held the workers in default and is threatening savage fines of two and one-half to five days' pay.

In this situation, the Cohen leadership is retreating from its earlier committment to back Nevins workers. It is demanding they submit to arbitration under which penalties are certain

The SSEU-371 Committee for A New Leadership is demanding arbitration be rejected and that Cohen must be forced to prepare a massive mobilization of the entire membership to prevent any further hearings the city might attempt or the exacting of fines.

This situation, together with the blueprint sellout, now sharply poses the necessity to build a new leadership in the SSEU.

The Committee for A New Leadership, which led the campaign to reject Cohen's acceptance of the city's reorganization plans in last week's referendum, is now running a slate of 13 candidates in the upcoming caseworker chapter election against Cohen's Active Chaper slate.

The Coalition group, porters of Progressive Labor and the Communist Party, emerge in this election as the main prop to the Cohen leadership. In order to protect their relationship with various forces running on the Cohen slate, the Coalition has refused to enter any slate of its own in the election.

They refuse to come out for support to the CNL.

To provide themselves with a left cover, they are now telling their supporters to split their tickets between the Cohen slate and the CNL. The clear implication, however, is for their supporters to vote for the leading figures on the Cohen slate.

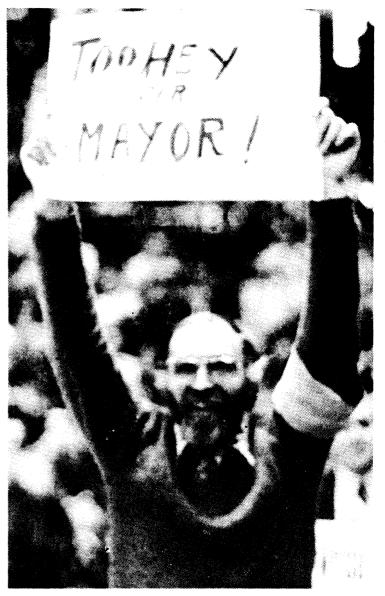
The CNL is calling upon all SSEU members to support it in soundly defeating the entire Cohen slate. The program the CNL is running on is printed in this issue of the Bulletin.

The leadership of the PFT, together with the AFL-CIO, are trying to force this settlement through at a time when it was clear that the mobilization of the labor movement in general strike action would create the conditions for the victory of the teachers.

It is clear that the general strike was called off because the labor leadership feared the movement that would be unleashed with this action and the collision with the government.

More than 3500 teachers packed McConigle Gymnasium on February 25 in an enthusiastic show of support for the general strike called for Wednesday to defend the seven week old strike against the unionbusting tactics of Mayor Frank Rizzo.

Undaunted by the jailing of their leaders and nearly 1000 union members over the past two weeks, the teachers cheered each (Continued On Page 18)



Thunderous applause at Phila, teachers rally when teacher showed his endorsement of AFL-CIO Council Pres. Toohey for Mayor.

Board Hears Farinas Case March 8

BY NANCY FIELDS

NEW YORK-The US Board of Parole has just revealed that they will review Juan Farinas' request for parole on Thursday March 8, instead of March 15. Therefore, the campaign to win Juan's parole becomes extremely urgent because there is only one week left to mobilize support for the case.

During the past week, dozens of new unions have joined the fight to free Juan. Emerson Street, a member of the San Jose Newspaper Guild Local 98 and the Santa Clara Central Labor Council, wrote:

"This communication, therefore, is to reiterate a former request made by me that Juan

Farinas be granted parole.' "The war is over. The cause celebre. To keep this youth in continued confinement can only, in my opinion, be cruel and unusual punishment.'

Cleophas Williams, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10, along with a large delegation of rank and file members signed petitions demanding Juan's release. Members of the ILWU Local 34 also sent in petitions.

Hundreds of workers throughout the Midwest filled petitions this week, particularly

from the Minneapolis St. Paul area. There workers from the Teamsters, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the International Association of Machinists and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 6-418 came forward in support of Juan.

In addition, dozens of petitions continue to pour in from the Drug and Hospital Workers Local 1199 and the Social Service Employees Union 371.

The jailing of the Philadelphia teachers reveals the government's desperate attempt to smash the movement of the working class as it comes into battle to defend its basic rights. The Nixon government threw Juan Farinas in jail for the same reason: that is, for fighting in the

BY DAVE WHITE

Offer To UE Men Is No Increase

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Sargents and Company, a major producer of agricultural hardware, has made its first new contract offer to the 800 members of United Electrical Workers Local 243.

Their offer is to extend the present contract, which expires February 28, to 1975 with no wage increases at all. This follows by only one month the mailing of a four page typewritten letter to each worker by Company President Stanley R. Cullen.

In his letter, Cullen says: "The measuring stick of how well we did (last year) is called profit. It is strikingly evident as a result of our review of 1972 performance that our productivity improvement is little and the cost of getting it was greater than we had hoped."

After singling out inflation as the company's "central problem," he lists the causes of inflation: "It includes bad work,

careless work, absenteeism, illness, holidays." And finally the letter concludes: "I am not suggesting that you give up your

Not only is the letter full of lies about the causes of inflation but from the contract offer, as far as the company is concerned, workers do not have the right to decent wages, to get sick, to take holidays, or to decent working conditions.

On Thursday, February 15, Local 243 held a union meeting-on company time-and completely rejected the contract offer and voted strike authorization. When asked about the no wage increase offer, one worker

"It's one hell of a wage cut over two years." Another worker said: "How can you live. It's more like slavery." A young worker said about strike action: "I don't think anybody wants to see a strike, but if it comes down to it-that's it.

interests of the working class CRITICAL

The mass rally last week in Philadelphia of the entire labor movement in support of the striking teachers shows the determination of the working class to fight against the government's attacks. With only one week left in the campaign to free Juan, it is critical that this strength be mobilized to demand that Juan be granted parole.

The Defense Committee urges all rank and file trade unionists to send telegrams and letters immediately to the US Board of Parole, 101 Indiana Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20537, demanding Juan's release.

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



Determined strikers, members of United Steel Workers Local 7770 in Meridan, Conn. out against International Silver Corporation. Management has not granted a pay increase in 13 years.

New Haven Teachers Vote For Strike Action

BY ED REILLY

NEW HAVEN—Following three weeks of well planned "sick-outs," New Haven teachers voted overwhelmingly on February 15, 700 to 20, to give negotiators the authority to call a strike.

However, the leadership, under Ronald O'Brien, is trying every way possible to avoid strike action by continuing negotiations in a situation where teachers have worked without a contract since September. Negotiations are scheduled to reopen this week, following one week of vacation.

In the official secret ballot vote held February 16, 98 percent of the 1336 teachers voted 791 to 464 to strike, despite the attempt to split up votes by offering four choices on the ballot. Because the strike vote represents slightly less than the two-thirds needed to receive strike fund support from the state federation, the leadership is dangerously postponing any action.

The opposition Action Com-

mittee, influenced by the Communist Party and led by Matt Borenstein, has refused to demand strike action. The Teachers for Democracy caucus has called for more negotiations.

The Board of Education is offering no increases for the present year and has recently raised their second year offer from 2.9 percent to 3.5 percent. There must be immediate strike action with support of city and state

1199 Leaders To Plead For 7.5% In Washington

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Hospital workers are fast discovering how little the words of their leaders mean when it comes to defending the gains of the union in a battle against the government.

A few weeks ago Local 1199 President Leon Davis spoke of taking whatever action was necessary, including strike action, to win the contract which had been agreed to last summer. The members of 1199 responded overwhelmingly to the call for a one hour strike early in February.

Now the union leaders say all they were seeking in this action was the cooperation of hospital management in urging the Pay Board to reverse its cutback of 1199's increase from 7.5 percent to 5.5 percent.

At recent union chapter meetings, the leadership has made it clear that all they can do is wait for an appointment from Nixon's Pay Board in order to plead the union case.

If the Pay Board refuses to reverse itself, the ruling will be taken to the courts. The union leaders have expressed the hope that all these legal maneuvers will take less than the eight months the workers have already waited.

There is no indication when or how the second year contract increase of 7.5 percent, due next July, will be submitted to Nixon and how long that process will take.

At the same time, the Davis leadership is very consciously encouraging demoralization. At one union meeting Vice President Dave White explained that since the Pay Board does not give a damn about the people or the hospitals in New York City, it would

be impossible to strike.

If hospital workers struck, he maintained, they would be out for years and the union would be destroyed. After saying once again that the union might "build up" towards a strike, White let the cat out of the bag: "The union might very well wind up having to accept the 5.5 percent," he explained.

REFUSAL

This lame excuse for the refusal of the Davis leadership to fight Phase Three is being blown to bits by the Philadelphia general strike, where all sections of the working class have rallied around the city's teachers.

The Stalinists of the Communist Party are completely behind the leadership of 1199 when it crawls before Nixon. They have not uttered a single word in criticism of Davis' capitulation.

In a recent issue of the Daily World, Labor Editor George Morris reports on the Pay Board action against 1199. He apologizes for the inaction of the union leaders, praising the big gains made by the union in the past in order to excuse the destruction of those gains today.

STRIKE ACTION

There must be an end to this useless wasting of time by the Davis leadership. The cuts in the pay of hospital workers will not be restored by negotiation and legal action through the courts.

Local 1199 must begin strike

action to fight the cut and call on the support of the entire labor movement in general strike action to smash Phase Three

movement in general strike action to smash Phase Three.

Villiamsburg Steel Pushes Pay Cuts

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BROOKLYN, N.Y.—The three year contract covering the workers at the Williamsburg Steel Company here is due to expire this coming August. Already the company is moving to transfer or lay off as many workers as possible among those earning four dollars an hour or more in the less skilled classifications.

In these jobs, such as spot welder, workers are being threatened with layoffs if they refuse to accept pay cuts. The company plans in this way to cut costs, weed out troublemakers, and intimidate the ranks in preparation for the expiration of the contract.

One Williamsburg worker told the Bulletin that one of his friends was brought in by the boss and told that work was slow and that he had to be laid off. He was then told that a transfer to another department was possible if he took a 35 cent an hour cut in

For this worker, this amounted to an eight percent cut. Furthermore, he had to sign a statement saying he had accepted the cut

volunatrily.

Layoffs started in the paint shop about three months ago. Groups of older workers were offered the choice of a 21 cent an hour cut or a layoff.

Those workers being transferred often need a new period of training. The handling of lighter steel after years of different work has already led to accidents. In some cases the layoffs have been followed, a few weeks later, by the hiring of new workers at lower rates.

DISGUST

The men at Williamsburg Steel are organized in Local 2947 of the Brotherhood of Carpenters. Disgust with the union leadership is universal. Local 2947 President Charlie Clayton was a worker at Williamsburg Steel himself and a rank and file opposition candidate six years ago.

Clayton has gone along completely with the attacks of the bosses.

The way forward for the Williamsburg Steel ranks is a fight within the union around the upcoming contract and for full union protection against the attacks they are facing right now.

A Williamsburg worker told

Meriden Silver
WWW Strikers Demand
'Human Dignity'

BY ALAN BERENSON

MERIDEN, Conn.—"The main demand of this strike is the demand for human dignity," said by one of the 2500 workers on strike against the International Silver Corporation, a subsidiary of Insilco Corporation.

Insilco has five plants in the Meriden Wallingford area. The workers who produce silverware are organized in Local 7770 of the United Steelworkers of America.

The 2500 workers went on strike Sunday night February 18 after rejecting the company's latest offer. The main questions involved in this strike are those of union recognition, wages speedup, layoffs, and the use of scab labor.

The workers at Insilco have received three six cent raises in the last 18 years. The last raise was won in 1960—13 years ago. At Eyelet, one of the plants, women workers receive \$1.65 an hour, which is below the minimum wage levels.

HUMILIATE

Last year the company replaced the regular piece-work wage system with a new one which it called "a fair days pay for a fair days work." A striker described it as "designed especially and solely to humiliate and rob the workers." The new system required that each worker produce a certain amount to receive his wages. The result of this system was that workers experienced a 25 percent pay cut.

The plants themselves were described by workers to Bulletin reporters as "concentration camps and sweat shops." In an interview with the Bulletin, one

worker said:

"There is a lot of tension and pressure in the plant. You can't go to the ladies room without permission or without getting someone to relieve you. One girl got suspended for three days for going to the bathroom.

"The speed of the machines has been increased. Now you are forced to kill yourself producing more for the same pay.

"Then the company employs scab labor which it pays more than union workers. I think that they are using the temporary help to break our fight for the union. We have a right to have a union. We have a right to decent pay and pensions and working conditions."

LAID OFF

The company has also laid off hundreds in the last year and a half. Since the strike began the company has threatened to close down plants entirely if their offer was not accepted.

Workers have been arrested at the picket sites for exercising their right to talk to those driving into the plants. More than once cops have provoked violence at the picketing sites.

The union must demand a contract with a full 20 percent increase and cost of living escalator clause; an end to the company's fair wage hoax; equal pay for women workers; no speedups and layoffs and an end to the use of any non-union labor.

the Bulletin that some of the contract demands at the top of the list for many workers include a big wage increase, full cost of living escalator clause, guarantees of job security and no pay cuts, as well as an end to harassment by foremen and an end to dangerous safety conditions.

The fight of the Williamsburg workers is a fight against Nixon's Phase Three. Every demand for wages and decent conditions is a political demand today and requires the fight for a Congress of Labor to mobilize the entire labor movement against Nixon and construct a labor party. The ranks at Williamsburg must build a caucus in Local 2947 around this fight to prepare for the upcoming contract struggle.

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What Is the YSA Afraid Of?

The revisionist Young Socialist Alliance has turned down a challenge by the Young Socialists at Brooklyn College to a public debate to make it clear to all students exactly where both organizations stand in the fight against the attacks launched by the capitalists through Nixon.

Their refusal is not surprising. It has become more evident during the course of struggle against Nixon's attacks that the YSA can say nothing on the fundamental questions facing the Trotskyist movement and the fight to defend the rights of the youth.

The challenge was made to clear up the lies and distortions which the YSA has spread throughout the campus on the political positions of the Young Socialists. They have stated that we called Malcolm X a fascist.

This is a lie and we dare them to prove otherwise. They claim that our success in recruiting minority youth stems from the fact that we conceal our opposition to nationalism. This is ridiculous. We have published numerous pamphlets, articles, and series stating that we are for the unity of the working class and that nationalism is reactionary.

Our successes in winning over minority youth is because we see the attack on these youth as part of the attack on the working class and fight to construct a revolutionary leadership among the youth and the working class on that basis.

These slanders, borrowed from the text books of the Spartacist League, show the reactionary role which all these centrist groupings will play, while building nothing themselves.

Knowing perfectly well where we stand, the revisionists have resorted to slanders to hold back the development of students at B.C. in order to strangle the fight against the government.

They, in turn, have yet to produce a program that can defend the right to a decent education. Instead their reformist stand to "pressure the government with mass protest" has hardened, while the economic crisis so vividly exposed by the devaluation of the dollar shows the need for a socialist revolution by the working class.

It is here that the differences lay between the kind of movement the YSA has built and the movement the Young Socialists is building. It is the question of reform or revolution.

By basing themselves on the Pabloite theory of neocapitalism, the revisionists have taken the position that capitalism has entered a new stage and resolved the contradictions which produces its crises.

This is why they tell students that the threat to basic rights can be defeated without the working class challenging the government for power.

The Young Socialists throughout the country continue to be the only movement fighting against the budget cuts in the only way possible—a political fight against the government. We have set up ad hoc committees to defend education and bring fresh layers of youth to revolutionary politics.

Our main campaign has been to turn youth toward the real power of the working class: the trade unions. By demanding that the unions defend all sections of the working class by calling a Congress of Labor to build a labor party, we are pitting the working class against the government for power.

Our positions are clear. Because we are confident, we are willing to have them tested within the working class. Should the YSA decide to accept the challenge, it remains open. But the delay exposes the course in which the YSA is going.

Bklyn College Opens Student Election Fight

BY A YS REPORTER

BROOKLYN-The Brooklyn College Young Socialists are actively campaigning feo seven seats in the Assembly of the Student Government.

Last Friday, they successfully completed petitioning in order to be placed on the ballot. Adele Flateau and Theresa Delgado are on the upper slate and Nancy Bonita, Edward Gillespie, Joe Bennett, Glen Walthour and Earl Johnson are on the lower slate.

With the elimination of all federal funding for schools, working class youth now face the prospect of no education along with the prospect of no job. It is under these conditions that students must be united around a political program which can defend their rights.

CAMPAIGNING

The Young Socialists are campaigning around the following demands

•No cuts in facilities, sports or activities.

•No layoffs of teachers or staff.

•No cutbacks in SEEK, Open Admissions or Financial Aid. More funds for them

 Joint strike action of teachers and students.

•The PSC (teachers union) must call for support of the entire labor movement through a general strike.

•The PSC must call for a Congress of Labor to build a labor party, to defend youth politically against the attacks of the Democrats and Republicans.

THIRD WORLD FEDERATION

The present Student Government, headed by Paul Massas of the Third World Federation, is dominated by the Jewish Defense League. Because of the fight which it waged against this racist, right-wing Zionist group, the YS was not funded any money last semester.

In fact, the JDL and its front groups voted themselves close to \$87,000 of the \$250,000 budget. Student services such as Day Care and tutoring were slapped in the face with meager hand-

The leadership of the Third World Federation can offer no



cil headquarters to demand general strike action to defend teachers.

alternative to the JDL and have no perspective for fighting the budget cuts. By trying to shackle the youth with nationalist propaganda, the TWF opens the door to Nixon's attacks and forces like the JDL.

The Young Socialist Alliance has not only capitulated to the nationalists, but is carrying out a vicious slander campaign against the Workers League-Young Socialists concerning our position on nationalism.

We have challenged the YSA to a public debate-which they turned down-to pose the central political questions now facing the youth and answer all these lies.

Those who pose reformism and protest politics mislead the youth into begging liberal politicians—the same Democrats and Republicans who support Nixon's budget cuts. To defend even the most basic democratic rights requires a political fight against the government.

The youth must be mobilized independently to demand that the labor movement defend the right to a free higher education.

We urge all youth to join the Young Socialists.

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

NEW YORK—The central theme of the first issue of the Young Socialist, to be published on April 1, will be the fight against the budget cuts and the defense of the right of every youth to a decent education.

This stems from the decisions made by the National Steering Committee meeting in St. Louis to launch its own independent 12 page monthly as part of the building of the National Conference May 26-27 in New York.

The St. Louis meeting focused on the urgency of the situation and the need to lead the struggles of the youth with the program of the Young Socialists.

The opening issue will begin a discussion on the program which will be presented to the National Conference

Along with the current national news, a full page will deal with international developments. Each

issue will carry special feature material.

FEATURE

The April issue will contain a feature on the housing problems facing students, the British Young Socialists pageant "Road to Workers Power," and an historical series entitled "Heroes of the Russian

There will be a culture page containing reviews of music, films, television, theaters and books. Sports and recreational activity of the YS branches will also be included. These sections become more important as every aspect of life comes into conflict with the needs of the capitalist system.

Another section has been designated for letters to the editor, editorials, and listing of YS meetings. The layout will have a variety of color, large pictures and soon will carry full color photos.

Because of the serious situation facing every youth the Young Socialist will begin with a 10,000 circulation. It will sell for 15 cents a copy.

This paper will be the center of the work of the branches and will fight to turn youth towards the trade unions, demanding that they defend all sections of the working class with a political fight

against the government. We call on every youth to participate in the development and sales of the Young Socialist, understanding that this paper will lead the fight to defend our basic rights.

Join the Young Socialists!

I would like information on YS activities in my area -I want to join the **Young Socialists**

Name. Address City Phone

Send to: Young Socialists, 135 West 14th Street, NYC 10011

St. Paul Youth Fight To **Save Center**

BY A YS MEMBER

ST. PAUL-Determined to fight Nixon's budget cuts, over 150 youth and tenants from the McDonough housing project attended a meeting tonight to keep the area's community center open.

This is the last issue in which the Young Socialist will be printed in the Bulletin. Beginning with the first week in April the Young Socialist will be published as a 12 page monthly paper.

We urge all members of the YS to send in articles and suggestions for the first issue and to order bundles to give the Young Socialist the widest circulation in the high schools, campuses, factories and communities.

Nixon's elimination of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) means that the McDonough center, serving almost 2400 people, and three similar community centers in St. Paul will close by April 30.

These centers have provided 580 summer jobs for youth, sports and recreational activities, summer camps, adult education classes, the sale of food stamps and many other needed services. One youth told the Bulletin: "If this center closes we will have no place to go and nothing to do except get into trouble.

The chairman of the McDonough Resident Council turned the meeting over to a series of Democratic politicians, including St. Paul Mayor Larry Cohen. One after another, they demagogically denounced Nixon's budget cuts, only to turn around and explain that the city is too bankrupt and can do nothing to save the center.

A YS member received enthusiastic applause when he stated, "We are sick and tired of hearing apologies. We do not need apologies, we need to keep this center

When another YS member urged those present to adopt a resolution calling on the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly to convene a Congress of Labor to prepare a political fight against Nixon through the formation of a labor party, the chairman ruled her out of order, stating, "We don't want this to get political."

Politicians on the platform then arrogantly told the residents they must "reach out to 'middle America.'

Attempting to sidetrack residents into convincing liberals to pressure the government into restoring the funds, the Ramsey County Welfare Commissioner invited residents to the next hearing of his Board, which he admitted is already \$250,000 in the red.

But as one mother made clear: "We need to place top priority on summer jobs for our teenagers. They need the money and they want to work.'

Young Socialist



Young Socialists and Workers League supporters discussing the defense of Juan Farinas with longshoremen at a table set up at the ILWU paywindow in San Francisco.

Stanford YS Fights Cuts

BY JOHN ERVIN

PALO ALTO—The Young Socialists are conducting a campaign against the budget cuts which are destroying nearly every facet of education at Stanford University here.

The center of the fight in defense of education will be to turn the students toward the labor movement with the de-

Minnesota U. TAs Lose Jobs

BY A UNIV. OF MINN. YS MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS—Almost one-third of the Teaching Assistants employed at the University of Minnesota will be laid off at the end of this school year as a result of budget cuts.

The announcement of the layoffs comes in the midst of a hiring freeze at the university. University officials trumpeted the announcement as a "thaw" in the hiring freeze. Since TA's can only be hired for a year at a time, the administration cynically maintains it is thawing the freeze by releasing 70 percent of last year's funds to hire TA's for the fall 1973 term.

The layoffs threaten hundreds of TA's who can only continue their education by securing teaching assignments and by taking out student loans, which Nixon has ended. Undergraduate students will face larger classes and less personal instruction along with increased tuition hikes.

The announcement of the layoffs was met by anger from students, TA's and faculty. One TA, who depends on his \$5000 salary to support his wife and two children, told the Young Socialist: "The wealth of the University is in people—teachers and students. People should be the last to be cut off. University teachers and staff will have to be unionized and take militant action to defend their jobs sooner or later, but some of the fight has to come from the students."

mand for a political fight against the government.

Even before Nixon announced the cuts, it was known that tuition will jump by \$285 next year. Inflation has increased the costs of books, tuition, room and board, while funds which had previously compensated for the increases have dried up.

Now plans are made to phase out the work-study program. The immediate effect of this single cut is to deny the right to higher education to most working class and minority students.

The \$622 million funding for the new Basic Opportunity Grant, proposed by Nixon to take the place of the Supplementary Opportunity Grants, hardly approaches the most conservative estimate of the \$1.2 billion need-

REPLACED

The National Direct Student Loan (NDSL) program will be replaced with another program with 4.5 percent higher interest rates. Students are being forced to incur tremendous debts or leave school.

According to Director of Financial Aid Robert Huff: "The biggest impact on student aid will be on our loan program based on NDSL. Without the federal funds for next year, the loan program will be operating with only half of its needs supplied."

Graduate study will become all but impossible for many when only 350 graduate fellowships will be awarded next year compared to 1225 four years ago. Because many programs will be eliminated, education will deteriorate qualitatively.

Certain to be phased out are training grants to the medical school, federal aid to area studies and language training, and institutional grants. East Asian Studies and Latin American Studies will be out.

DEMANDS

In this situation, students must have a program of action to defend the basic right to education against the budget cuts. At the next meeting of the YS, the following perspectives and demands will be discussed:

•No cuts in the work-study program and grants program. •No hikes in loan interest rates, tuition, room and board. Free higher education for all.

·Keep area studies and language training open.

•For joint strike action of students, professors and staff.

•For the professors to call on the Santa Clara County labor movement for support through a general strike. For the teachers unions to call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

These perspectives will be taken forward in the mass emergency meeting called by the Young Socialists for March 6. Every student is urged to fight for this campaign immediately.

Lowest **Paid Jobs** In Boston

BY MARTY JONAS

BOSTON-Some of the most exploited youth in the Boston area work at the Boston Gardens during the hockey and basketball games selling popcorn.

Mike is 16 years old and goes to Southern High in Somerville. His mother is a waitress and the family is on welfare. Several nights a week he and his cousin work at Boston Gardens selling popcorn to the big crowds during

ONE-HALF CENT

"They gave us a one-half cent raise recently," he told us. "Now we make three and one-half cents a box. You'd have to sell 300 boxes to make \$10 for a night, but no one ever does. The most you end up selling is 100 boxes, and it takes three hours to sell that.'

Mike said that he has to come in at 6 p.m. and spend an hour and a half packing boxes and sweeping up and they do not even pay them for that.

FREE ADMISSION

"They use the fact that a lot of youth will do anything to see the Bruins or the Celtics play to exploit them. They run the whole thing and they know that there are lots of kids who want to see the games for free. They charge 35 cents a box for the popcorn and they give us only three and onehalf cents. For me, it's a lot of work for nothing.

He said that one night a Bruins star gave a hockey stick to his cousin. The boss broke the stick in two-just to show him who is boss.

Mike said that he is already beginning to feel the effects of Nixon's vicious cuts in the budget. Last year he got a job through Neighborhood Youth Corps working with the Department of Public Works for the summer.

He got \$69 every two weeks and it really helped out. This year, there will not be any summer job because Nixon axed the NYC.

No Funds For Penn State

BY JIM COLBY

STATE COLLEGE, Pa.—Nixon's proposed budget for fiscal 1974 was a move toward the direct elimination of the right to an education. National Student Loans were cut from \$306 million for fiscal 1973 to \$29 million for fiscal 1974.

The Basic Educational Op- Oswald announced that tuition portunities Grants (EOG) were scrapped and the workstudy program substantially reduced. Nixon eliminated federal assistence to libraries, campus construction and for the various training and fellowship programs. Already at Penn State, many research projects have been drastically cut or are scheduled to be phased out.

The State government has announced there will be no new funds for Penn State, which is the largest university in Pennsylvania and one of the 10 largest in the country,

Already, tuition for Penn State students from in-state has increased this year by \$75, along with costs for room and board. At a session of the Faculty Senate, Penn State President John

for the coming year would have to be raised an additional \$45 for in-state students and \$100 for students from out of state.

It was made clear that further increases in tuition would be forthcoming. The immediate situation is such that, since the legislature refused to appropriate money for financial assistance to needy students, many working class youth will be forced out of school.

The Penn State Young Socialists are mapping out a broad fight against the budget cuts as part of the fight for free higher education. It is no accident that all the various left political tendencies on campus have no plans or perspectives to fight and the YS is the only organization holding regular, open meetings to fight this at-

Young Socialist

Foreign Students **Face Tuition Crisis**

A YS REPORTER

SAN JOSE-Over 60 foreign students at California State University here were denied admission to the Spring semester because they were unable to pay for the increased tuition costs of \$600 per semester.

These students will now face the threat of immediate deportation under present immigration law. Since 1970, the tuition fees for foreign students attending California State Colleges have increased from \$600 per year to \$1000.

Many of the foreign students, who were able to pay the increased tuition fees by the deadline of February 16, were forced to seek emergency loans or sell everything of value they owned to a bank to raise the money.

An attempt by the college administration to divide the students was made by offering scholarships to the leaders of the foreign student unions.

STUDENT COUNCIL

The student council at California State has refused to mount any campaign to fight against this vicious attack. This council has refused to support a petition campaign by the Young Socialists demanding that the labor movement be mobilized to de-



Brownsville Young Socialist dance raised over \$100 for the Bulletin fund drive last Saturday.

fend the foreign students and the right of all youth to a higher education.

The various foreign student organizations have launched a campaign to raise funds for the increased tuition. But this campaign has been seen completely outside of any attempt to bring forward the students and the teachers union around a fight to defend the right to an education.

This attack on the foreign students' right to an education is the first part of a move by the State College Board of Trustees to introduce a massive tuition increase for all students.

This is the conclusion 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

In the light of the political situation, the construction of a revolutionary youth movement is critical. The defense of youth rests upon the building of a mass revolutionary movement which understands the political requirements of this period.

As the capitalist system seeks to sustain itself off the sweat of the youth, the necessity of revolutionary movements is clear.

•In Ireland, troops of the Tory government shoot down youth and place them in concentration camps.

•In Ceylon, the bodies of youth float down the rivers simply because they protested the government.

•Youth demonstrating against the inhuman conditions and budget slashes at Southern University are shot and killed in the United States.

This points to the viciousness of the government and the measures it will take to preserve this system.

The tasks posed before youth and its leadership are huge. The Young Socialists will be at the center of the fight to build a labor party which will confront the policies of the government and take up the questions that youth face.

Members of the Young Socialists will be instrumental in changing the way older workers think and in bringing forward youth to revolutionary politics.

The building of the Young Socialists is the most important task before every youth. The responsibilities are enormous and historic. It will be the energy and fight of the Young Socialists which will bring forward a revolutionary leadership within the working class.

This fight can only be taken with an understanding of Marxism. The fight of the Young Socialists must be rooted in the struggle of the working class.

The Young Socialists is in solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International and will fight to build the Workers League as the revolutionary movement in the United States. The Young Socialists will be in the forefront of the launching of the twice-weekly Bulletin, which will cover the major struggles of workers and will be the instrument to lead them in their fight.

Our fight will be part of the building of an international youth movement against the betrayals of Stalinism and the bankruptcy of revisionism. We will fight every tendency in the workers movement that seeks to hold workers back from tak-

Part of the fight to launch the Young Socialists as a mass revolutionary youth movement is with the Young Socialist newspaper.

The Young Socialist has been the main weapon in organizing layers of youth against the policies of this government.

It has led the fight against unemployment, low wages, cuts in education and the inhuman living conditions.

It will also continue the fight against all those tendencies which seek to lead workers and youth back into the capitalist parties with protests and reforms.

It is around this paper that we will constuct the Young Socialists movement This paper represents the hatred youth all over the country have toward Nixon and his government. It is the voice of youth



Abby Rodruguez presneting motion for YS paper at St. Louis Conference.

while at the same time it is the organizer and leader of youth.

The construction of the Young Socialists is part of the building of this paper.

We call on all students, young workers and unemployed youth to take up this struggle. We are confident of the success of this movement. Youth must

come forward to meet this challenge which will take all of mankind forward through the transformation of a decadent society into a socialist society.

•Build the Young Socialists!

•Build the only revolutionary youth paper in the United States!

•Forward to the twice-weekly Bulletin!

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.

Call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party! Speaker: Abby Rodriquez

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

CHICAGO, Saturday, March 3:

Labor Book Center, 1325 South Wabash, Room 305, 8 pm ST. LOUIS, Monday, March 5:

Washington University, Graham Chapel, 11 am. DeSoto Community Center, 130 N. 20th St., 7:30.

MADISON, Monday, March 6:

University of Wisconsin, Memorial Union, Old Madison Rm., 7:30 pm.

DETROIT, Friday, March 9

Wayne State University, University Center Building, Room 277, 4:30 pm.

Admission, 50 cents.

DAYTON, Saturday, March 10:

University of Dayton, Kennedy Union Room 331, 2 pm.

MINNEAPOLIS, Wednesday, March 7:

University of Minnesota, Nickerson Hall, Minn. 3:30 pm. NORTHFIELD, Thursday, March 8:

St. Olaf College, 3:30 pm. Phyllis Wheatley Community Center, 919 Fremont Avenue N. 8 pm.

Brooklyn Meeting: University Lounge, 4th Floor SUBO, Brooklyn College Sat. March 17 7:30PM

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Strikebreakers For Nixon

Less than one week after it was revealed that food prices are skyrocketing at the rate of 35 percent per year, George Meany and the rest of the labor bureaucracy have openly endorsed the continued application of state control over wages.

In approving what amounts to a corporate state setup where the trade unions are stripped of their right to bargain freely for the wages of their members, the AFL-CIO leadership has joined with big business and the government in a criminal conspiracy against millions of workers.

There can be no other interpretation of the joint "Labor-Management" statement of the advisory panel of the Cost of Living Council. One section of the statement reads:

"The members of this Labor-Management Advisory Committee are prepared to use their good offices to create a climate favorable to the settlement of collective bargaining negotiations in major cases in 1973 within the framework of stabilization policies in cooperation with appropriate governmental officials.

"The settlement of negotiations over major agreements in 1973 without extended work stoppages or inventory dislocations can make a contribution to orderly economic expansion and stability this year."

In other words, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy has given its pledge to the government that it will serve as strikebreakers in the interest of defending the profits of the crisis stricken capitalist class.

But there is still more to this statement. Meany leaves no room for doubt that he supports the 5.5 percent guideline or whatever lower figure Nixon will propose.

"Considering the economy as a whole, responsible wage behavior requires containing stabilization in the average rate of wage and benefit increases (total compensation per man hour) in 1973 compared to 1972 so as to be consistent with the goal set by the President of getting the rate of inflation down to 2.5 percent or less by the end of the year."

Furthermore, the statement goes on to insist that greater effort be applied in speeding up the working class in the interest of productivity.

That George Meany can place his signature on this statement—which deliberately throws away historic rights won by American labor in over a century of struggle—proves that the union bureaucracy is on the side of Richard Nixon. It agrees that the wages and living conditions of the working class must be slashed while prices go out of control.

Behind Meany's collaboration with the Nixon Administration is his fear of the enormous power of the working class. The abandonment of any fight against Phase Three comes at a time when the government is being thrown into crisis by the growing offensive of the working class—shown in the Philadelphia workers call for a general strike—and the continued disintegration of the dollar.

The decisive task of building a leadership in the working class that will expose and defeat Meany's policies of betrayal of the wages fight—which will be the heart of the 1973 contract battles—has been taken up by the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party. TUALP's programs for struggle in different sections of the labor movement are published in this and the following issue of the **Bulletin**.

It is through the building of caucuses in the trade unions around these programs that TUALP is determined to turn the 1973 contract battles into a massive campaign of labor to smash Phase Three and construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies.



Stalinists Quietly Dump TUAD

Whatever happened to the Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy? Since their second national conference held in July 1972, and particularly since Nixon's re-election and his opening of war against the labor movement, this organization which is supported by the Communist Party has been conspicuously silent.

Now after months and months of silence, George Morris, labor editor of the Communist Party's Daily World, writes in his column (February 27) that great "opportunities" exist for the TUAD: "It is the only movement that coordinates the activities of many rank and file groups in the country. With renewed vigor, the TUAD can rise to the occasion and become the mass movement it aims to be."

According to Morris: "The TUAD has the job of exposing these phony remedies (of the bureaucracy) that really amount to treachery." However, neither Morris nor the TUAD will say what their alternative "remedies" are or what program of action they propose to defeat Nixon's attacks.

At the TUAD's last conference in July the leadership proposed that their main center of activity would be a campaign to support McGovern. The leadership fought throughout the conference against the resolution put forward by trade unionists, supported by the Workers League, for the calling of a Congress of Labor to build a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans. The leadership at every point stated that a labor party could not be created, that it had failed in the past and that labor had to maintain its ties with the "progressive forces" in the Democratic Party.



George McGovern

This, of course, was the position of the Communist Party which during the election fought tooth and nail against the building of a labor party and supported uncritically that section of the trade union bureaucracy that threw its support behind McGovern.

Against this criminal policy whose aim was to disarm the working class in the face of preparations by Nixon for massive attacks on the unions, the Workers League in October called a Conference For A Labor Party Now, which discussed a program to answer Nixon's attacks and to take the fight for a labor party broadly into the labor movement.

Following the election and Nixon's immediate announcement of an end to the "era of permissiveness" and the launching of attacks on all the gains of the unions, the TUAD put forward no program of action against these attacks.

The crisis of the TUAD and its

policies are in fact the crisis of the Communist Party whose politics have dominated it.

The leadership of the CP, which pushed lesser evil politics throughout the election campaign, is trying to blame trade union members of the CP for the liquidation of the CP's campaign into the Democratic Party.

In the pamphlet "A Lame Duck In Turbulent Waters," Gus Hall says that trade unionists interpreted the CP's "united front" policy "to mean it is all right for them to unite with reformists and in the process become reformists themselves. Others thought it meant that they should join the Reform Democrats and become Reform Democrats themselves."

Reform Democrats themselves."
In describing the "problem" that came up in the campaign, Hall says: 'Let us take a shop. Let us consider a comrade who is generally known or considered a Communist by his other shopmates. He takes the initiative to organize a Committee for Mc-Govern, speaks and passes out Mc-Govern literature. What is the reaction of workers, of shopmates to such a comrade? Most likely they would not say much, but they would think about it and draw some conclusions. They would conclude that either the Communists are not running seriously, that they don't want votes or that the comrade is not honest, either with the workers or with the Party.

This is a cynical attack to cover who was really responsible for these policies—Hall and the leadership of the CP. Hall himself in the course of the campaign bragged that the CP was the biggest vote getter for McGovern. This is not to mention the daily articles in the Daily World reiterating this position. At the TUAD conference in July, not a single word was uttered by CP members and leaders in the unions about the Hall campaign.

It is no accident that the liquidation of the TUAD comes at a time when the CP is pushing support for labor leaders like Leonard Woodcock and when the CP, despite Morris' lengthy columns on Phase Three, has refused to pose any perspective for fighting Phase Three except for vague demands for unity and the building of an "anti-monopoly coalition."

This is because the Communist Party along with its mentors in the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union are trying desperately to prevent the mobilization of the working class against Nixon. This is why they ignore the wages question at a time when inflation is slashing workers' living standards. At the same time, they continue their support for "progressive forces" in the Democratic Party and protests for reform, when both parties have made clear their intentions to destroy the rights of the

Morris says in his article: "The workers in many unions are more receptive than ever for action that will express their dissatisfaction and anger over the sellout approach of their leaders." What is this "action" the TUAD will propose? How is it going to "expose" the trade union leaders? Where does it stand on the fight for a labor party? These are the questions that are posed before the members of the TUAD.

Morris writes his column on "TUAD's opportunities" right after the conference called by the Con-

tinuations Committee of the Conference For A Labor Party Now, which established the Trade Union Alliance For A Labor Party and mapped out a strategy in the unions to defeat Phase Three. It should be clear that the Stalinists fear above all else the development of a revolutionary, Trotskyist leadership which is now being built in the unions.



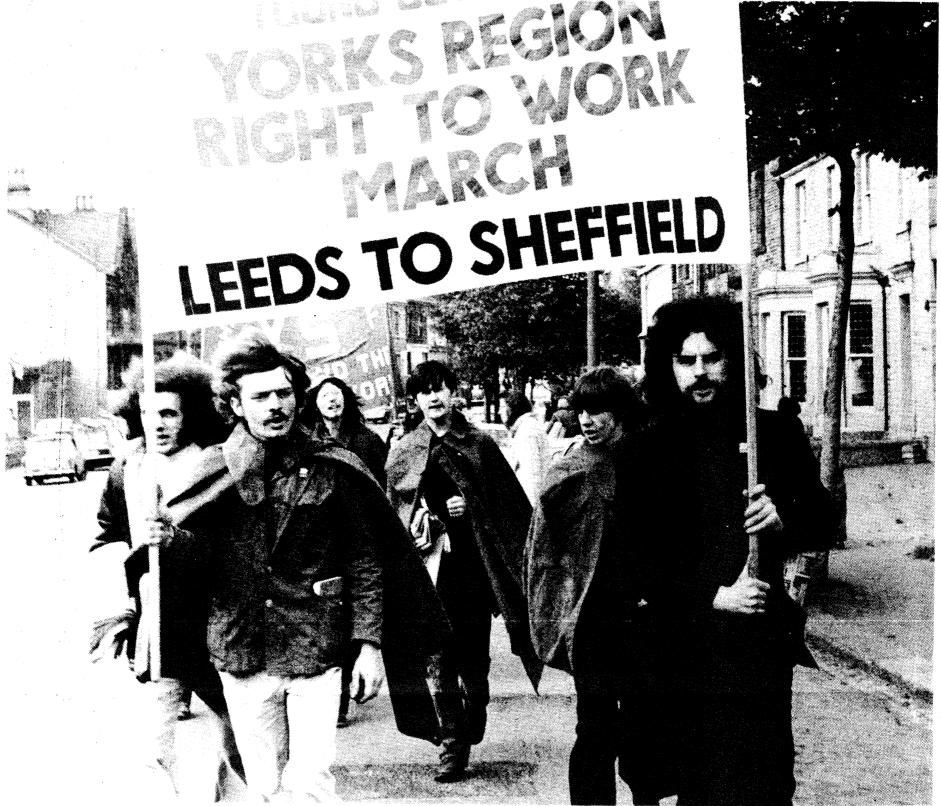
Building the Bulletin

Spring Sub Drive Aims For 12,000

This week we launch our Spring Bulletin Circulation Drive for 12,000 new or renewed subscriptions. The Drive runs from March 1 to June 1 and its aim, together with stepped up single copy sales, is to raise the paid circulation of the Bulletin to 25,000.

Because of strong preparatory work in many areas, we already have 2564 subs in. Last week we received 498 subs. Leading all the branches is Palo Alto with 153 subs. Next comes East New York with 145, Hartford with 135, Chelsea with 129, Upper West Side with 125 and Los Angeles with 124

We need 2500 subs by April 1, the one-third mark, in order to keep on schedule. This means now that the drive is open we must get in at least 620 per week. In April, we will be launching four special trailblazing teams, each of which will sell at least 500 subs in a two week period. These teams will cover the Pacific Northwest, Ohio, New England and the South.



ENGLAND

DRAFT RESOLUTION:

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SLL INTO A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

PART TWO

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND THE WORKING CLASS

Unity of the working-class movement on a programme to defend the democratic rights which are under attack can be transformed into the mass movement which forces the Tory government to resign. But this means starting from the causes behind the attack on democratic rights.

These basic rights are under attack because this is the only

way the capitalist class can hope to survive the acute world economic crisis, characterized by trade war and galloping inflation. Only a programme of socialist measures to put an end to the basic economic crisis can put an end to the attack on democratic rights.

Those who say that sheer militancy, or a limited protest or 'pressure' campaign, can defeat measures like the Industrial Relations Act (the Communist Party, International Socialists, International Marxist Group) have been proved wrong in practice. But a fundamental error is involved, not just a mistaken tactic.

These tendencies cultivate the illusion that present-day capitalism and Toryism can continue to exist without the Industrial Relations Act and

all the other attacks. In fact, they mislead the working class into the idea that the capitalist economy will still accept reformist solutions. They have become the most efficient defenders of bankrupt reformism.

The struggle for Marxist theory and practice against all these tendencies has been and will remain central to the building of the revolutionary party.

Stalinism, particularly, diverts the working class by campaigning for what it calls unity of the democratic forces, whether working class or not, to defend democracy. The CPs of France and Italy are preparing to enter coalitions with capitalist governments on this programme, a repetition of the 'Popular Fronts' of the 1935-1939 period. It is now part of the 'peaceful road to socialism' theory.

In Britain, just as everywhere else, this treacherous

policy is belied by the reality. All the basic rights under Tory attack were won in struggle by the working class, and they can only be defended by the independent struggle of the working class. The popular struggle for democratic rights in the period of the bourgeois revolution met with repression from the new capitalist ruling class in England and in Ireland as soon as the monarchy was defeated, and the struggle was effectively taken up again only with the rise of the working class. Any democratic forces in the lower middle class had henceforth to turn in a socialist, working-class direction.

Capitalist democracy no longer serves capitalism's purposes. It is no longer a question of 'preserving' democracy by means of alliances under the banner of bourgeois democracy. Members of the middle class themselves suffer as badly as do the workers from

inflation, war, destruction of rights, the power of the trusts and banks, and the decay of culture. They will respond not to calls to defend bourgeois parliamentary democracy, but to the strength and determination of an independent working-class struggle against the monopolies and the state.

This is the second part of the draft resolution on perspectives by the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, for transfor-

This step is of decisive importance for the international working class as Nixon's trade war and attacks on US workers now pose revolutionary tasks

ming the SLL into a revolutionary party.

before the working class.

Nothing is more calculated to drive the middle class into the arms of reaction than the cowardice and treachery of the TUC and Labour leaders. They put forward not a single consistent or anti-capitalist policy. They arouse anger and contempt by their hypocritical protests against particular issues, which everybody knows rests on their fundamental support of Tory policy, both domestic and foreign.

The Labour leadership has never in fact opposed EEC entry. Only the desertion to the Tory lobby of Jenkins and the right wing ensured pas-



sage of the necessary Bill. Wilson refused to discipline the traitors because he is going exactly the same way. The Labour leadership refuses to mobilize any struggle against the Housing Finance Act and, with a few honourable exceptions, the local parties have capitulated on rent increases.

In Ireland, Wilson has gone out of his way to support Heath and Whitelaw, and Callaghan actually performed the duties of emissary of the Tory government in Belfast. The trade union leaders follow suit. Not one of them has fought for solidarity with the Irish workers against imperialism.

Having prevented the working class from stopping the Industrial Relations Act, the TUC leaders entered talks with the Tory enemy on wage and price control, and return to the conference table even now, when permanent state control is being enacted.

They are there for everybody

process of laying the founda-tions for dictatorship. These reformist leaders have always sought to keep their own posi-tion in the movement by accepting the 'special' position of British capitalism and its of British capitalism and its fight must break out of the ability to find a compromise reformist, nationalist straitway out of struggle because jacket and recognise the main

ne tirst major struggle of the SLL in the 1960s was to win the Young Socialists of the Labour Party over to revolutionary politics. This struggle for Marxism enabled the YS, page 9, to mobilize trade union support from all over England and Scotland for the Right to Work March last winter. Here, the Young Socialists take the campaign to kick the Tories out to unemployed youth.

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This is the historic significance of the need to focus every working-class struggle on the fight to make the Tory government resign, and in the course of this build the alter-

WHAT IS THE **SOCIALIST** LABOUR LEAGUE?

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In the years of Tory rule before Labour was elected in 1964, SLL members and supporters in the Young Socialists (then in the Labour Party) won the great majority of that organization nationally to our policy. Above all, we fought against the heavy unemployment of 1962-1963 and warned that the Labour government would betray the working class if a struggle for socialist policies was not successfully carried out.

When, in 1964, for the third successive year, our policies and candidates for the YS National Committee won the majority, the Labour right wing proceeded to mass expulsions. The YS majority then defended itself by holding its conference independently. It has continued to organize, campaign and educate ever since, to build up the biggest and most effective political youth movement in Britain

We warned, throughout the term of the Wilson government, that its reactionary policies and refusal to carry out socialist measures would pave the way for the return of the Tories. This government failed in any way to prepare the working class for the economic crisis and the Tory

The present SLL grew out of the whole struggle on basic policies and defence of basic rights like the right to work. We warned that 'In Place of Strife' was opening the door for Tory dictatorship, and we took the first initiative in the fight against Labour's policy and anti-union legislation.

The day after the Tory government was elected in 1970. the Workers Press declared that the working class must be mobilized to force the government to resign. This would mean learning the political lessons of the Labour government and fighting for socialist policies. We campaigned from the very beginning for the TUC to call a General Strike to defeat the Industrial Relations Act and force the Tory government to resign.

We fought for solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution, and for withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland. Through the ATUA, we conducted the struggle against productivity deals and Measured-Day Work — schemes which amount to everyday class collaboration, and against the anti-union laws. It was in the fight for these policies that the present forces of the SLL and YS were trained, clashing all the time, as they did, with the reformists, Stalinists and revisionists.

The Charter of Basic Rights, passed by the ATUA national conference of 1970, formed the basic programme for unity of all those in struggle against the Tory government. In particular, the Young Socialists rallied support in every industrial area in Britain through

their Right-to-Work marches of February-March Teams of youth marched from as far away as Glasgow and Liverpool to London, culminating in the anti-Tory rally of 8,500 people in the Empire Pool, Wembley, on March 12,

On every single major issue confronting the working class the SLL, YS and ATUA have struggled to bring before the class, in propaganda and in action, the policies needed to defeat the main enemy, the Tories. In 1964 the decision was taken to found a daily paper, in the knowledge that the capitalist crisis was maturing and that we must prepare to take our responsibilities.

This was achieved, after tremendous sacrifice and struggle by members and supporters, in September 1969. The paper has since gone from strength to strength. Here was one of the first and decisive requirements for the formation of a revolutionary party; not just to have a daily paper, which is indispensable, but to demonstrate the ability to decide that definite things are necessary and then to tenaciously win in the workers' movement the means to achieve these

things.
The SLL is the British_section of the International Committee of the Fourth Inter-national, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. From its origins the Trotskyist movement has led the struggle on Marxist foundations against Stalinist bureaucracy. When Stalin and the bureaucracy in 1923-1924, imposed the programme of 'socialism in one country', they began the pro-cess of breaking up the Third (Communist) International of Lenin and Trotsky. Henceforth the Communist Parties of the world were subordinated to the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy. From this followed the role of the British Communist Party in covering up for the betrayal by the TUC General Council of the 1926 General Strike and the surrender to Chiang Kai-shek resulting in defeat of the Chinese Revolution.

It was the same Stalinist bureaucracy which led the German working class into the defeat by Hitler in 1933 and the Spanish workers to defeat by Franco.

Trotsky and the Left Opposition fought to defend the gains of the October Revolution and the future of the international working class against the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy. It was on these principles, those of the early years of the Communist International, that the Fourth International was founded in 1938.

TROTSKYISM

The SLL fights for these same principles. We reject the revisionist ideas of the International Socialism group, which denounces the USSR as another 'state capitalist' country and refuses to defend the gains of the Russian and Chinese revolutions against imperialism.

We reject also the betrayal of Marxism by the IMG, part of the international tendency (Pabloism), which has abandoned Trotsky's struggle for revolutionary parties independent of Stalinism and reformism. Both groups, like the Stalinists, have rejected Lenin's and Trotsky's analysis of modern capitalism as a period

whose contradictions necessitate the revolutionary struggle for working-class power.

The politics of these revisionist groups is centrism: they seek a position in between revolutionary Marxism and bankrupt reformism. If they use Marxist phraseology it is only to remain in this position and divert the working class from its real tasks. They follow in the line of the Independent Labour Party.

Like the ILP, they oppose the independent struggle of the Fourth International against bureaucracy, and always end up tied to the coat-tails of the Stalinists. The working class itself goes

through a process of conflict in moving from reformist illusions to revolutionary Marxism. For the ruling class it is essential that the working class is stopped or diverted along this road; and this is the role of the centrists and revisionists. At critical points, where the reformists are too discredited to hold back the working class, these centrists do their dirty work.

For this reason a constant struggle against the ideas and the practice of centrism is essential to the building of the revolutionary party. Our struggle is to unite in one party and to train in Marxism the most determined workers, youth and revolutionary intellectuals; in order to do this we must fight ceaselessly against the revisionists, whose role is to find every way of placing a question mark over the revolutionary role of the working class and the Marxist party.

As the working class moves leftward in struggle, these groups constitute a dangerous obstacle in the developement of revolutionary consciousness, an obstacle which must and can be removed only on the basis of the theoretical capital

of the Trotskyist movement. For us, the struggle for Marxist theory, for the revolutionary party and against bureaucracy, has always been conducted by means of turning to the main question confronting the working class in struggle. For the British working class to break from its reformist traditions is the great historical question facing this class. But it cannot come about simply through propaganda.

The SLL and its Trotskyist predecessors have always fought, as did Lenin and Trotsky, on the programme of electing a Labour government, with a struggle in the mass movement for socialist policies and alternative leadership, in order to expose the reformist leaders and break the working class from them.

The fight today to turn every struggle to the bringing down of the Tory government and election of a Labour government with socialist policies is this same fight. But the essence of this policy is the fight for an alternative leadership. What faces the British working class is not a swing of the electoral pendulum or a series of reforms, but workingclass power and socialist expropriation of the monopolies. For this, a revolutionary party must be built which wins the support of the working class in

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who joined the League in this successful struggle, the League then turned into the trade unions at the same time beginning the fight to establish its daily paper, the Workers Press.

The gains made in this struggle have brought our movement to a new stage, in which all the basic resources have been built to go forward from the League to the Party. This is because the building of the League and the Workers Press has gone forward step by step with the growing crisis of capitalism and the resistance of the working class.

In this historic situation the transformation of the League into the revolutionary party is a necessity. The first requirement for the working class is such a party, concentrating above all on the Marxist training of the decisive vanguard of workers and youth. On this firm foundation we shall eventually go forward to yet another stage, the mass party.

But the League in its present form remains inadequate to the great tasks confronting it. It must be expanded in size with hundreds of new members, and it must be transformed into a real party, which the class can see as a real alternative, able to provide the leadership required on all questions.

To transform the SLL into a party means to unite at a higher level the record of struggle, the revolutionary experiences, the theoretical conquest and the leadership forged in the past. These gains are manifested in the tenacity, the decisiveness and the insistence on principle which more and more workers see in the Socialist Labour League.

These are the qualities, based fundamentally on the struggle for Marxist theory, now most necessary to the British working class. The grip of social democracy and Stalinism will be broken only by a party trained in dialectical materialism and the whole Marxist outlook.

The fight for theory and for principled politics, conducted against the opportunism and traditional theoretical backwardness of the British labour movement, can, under the present crisis conditions, lead to a great development for Marxism

WHY A LABOUR GOVERNMENT

The Socialist Labour League, transformed into a revolu-tionary party, will undertake a specific political task: to unite the working class behind a socialist programme to throw out the Tory government and replace it with a Labour government; to lead the struggle to expose and replace the Labour leaders who serve capitalism; to take the mass anti-Tory movement through the struggle for socialist policies under a Labour government; in this fight, to win many thousands to Marxism and throw out the reformist leaders of the trade union and labour movement.

Such a revolutionary party will work in the factories, the trade unions, youth movement, tenants' movement, among the unemployed, among students—wherever there is struggle against the Tory government—in order to present the real socialist alternative to these forces

Members of the party will be the most active and leading fighters in every struggle on wages, on jobs, on rents, on the social services and on democratic rights. But in these struggles they will be fighting first and foremost to build the political movement to throw out the Tories, at the centre of which is the assembling and training of the forces of the revolutionary party itself.

No one else will carry out these tasks. The more the working class fights, the more the reformist and Stalinist leaders run to the Tory enemy. All the time the crisis matures and there is no solution for the working class except the working-class conquest state power and immediate socialist measures to break up capitalist ownership and power. The working class can capitalist ownership be united on such a programme of measures to defend basic rights and to go forward to the throwing out of the Tories and the election of a Labour government on socialist policies.

The working class must completely reject the IMG and IS, who oppose the fight to elect a Labour government on socialist policies. They advance the ultra-left and adventurist argument that the Labour Party is already sufficiently discredited in the working class, thus substituting themselves for the class. At the same time, they refuse to fight to mobilize politically the working class against the Tory government, on the grounds that the consciousness of the workers is confined to the level of economic struggles.

The SLL calls for the throwing out of the Tories and election of a Labour government in order to provide the real conditions in which millions of workers can see the Labour leaders and break from them in struggle. A Labour government brought in as the result of a mass movement strong enough to bring down the Tories would provide just such conditions. A Labour administration which went out in 1970 having failed to bring in 'In Place of Strife' would be thrust to the top of a movement demanding immediate repeal of the Industrial Relations Act and all anti-working class legislation!

This demand for the election of a Labour government on socialist policies, is the indispensable step in preparing the working class for state power, because it means above all the break from reformism.

PROGRAMME TO UNITE THE WORKING CLASS

1) A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act, Housing Finance Act, Immigration Acts, Fair Trading Act and all wage control. After the repeal of all Tory anti-working class measures, there must be legislation to implement the Charter of Basic Rights, along the following lines.

2) The right to work! Capitalism demands mass unemployment. The right to a job must be guaranteed. This can only be done by breaking the grip of capitalist ownership on the economy. Employed and unemployed must unite to insist on a Labour government nationalizing the main industries and banks, under workers' control and without compen-

The struggle must begin now. No closures, no sackings, must be the policy of the trade unions. Occupation of fac-

tories threatened with closure, as part of the fight to bring down the Tories.

3) The democratic right to strike and to organize in trade unions. Only the organized working class can lead mankind out of the historical crisis. Every right and every gain won by the working class, every democratic right in Britain, has been won because of the organized strength of the unions and the strike weapon.

A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act. This fight must begin now by forcing the TUC to break off all relations the government and mobilize the working class to destroy state control of wages. 4) The right to defend rights won in the past and change the system. All the changes in legal procedures made by the Tory government must be repealed. All secret police and MI5 organizations must be disbanded and fully exposed. The secrets of the Tory administration in this sphere must be published. All rights to assembly, free speech and the Press must be guaranteed.

5) The right to a higher standard of living. It is not the living standards of trade unionists, but the profit system, which causes the crisis. The first step must be to expropriate all the great fortunes of the rich, close down the Stock Exchange, place a state control over all movements of capital in and out of the country.

Nationalization of the basic industries and of all large companies, banks, building and insurance societies will provide the resources for a unified plan to improve the living standards of the whole people. Workers' control of these, as well as the present nationalized industries, will run them in the interests of the workers and consumers.

Again, the fight must begin now. State control of wages must be answered by the most widespread fight for wage increases to meet price rises and improve standards. This means a fight to remove the Tory government and change the union leadership.

6) The right to health and welfare benefits. Every Tory government cut in welfare benefits, in the health service and in all public spending must be revoked. On the basis of nationalization, a crash programme of expansion of services to the unemployed, the low-paid, the sick and the aged must be undertaken as an absolute priority. The working class and the Labour government must take immediate and absolute responsibility for these victims of the capitalist system.

7) The right to decent housing. Decent housing is not a luxury; it is a necessity. People have the basic right to decent accommodation at rents they can afford. Nationalization of the handful of building monopolies and building societies will provide the basis for a massive programme of new house building. The disgraceful problem of the homeless in the cities must be immediately solved by census and taking-over of all unoccupied property.

8) The international responsibilities of the working class. The working class is interna-

Irotskys

Sketches of the leading members of the

Second International including: Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Plekhanov and

Karl Kautsky. Never available before in

tional. We fight for the unrestricted right of any worker of any nationality to move freely through the world.

Withdraw the troops from Ireland. Unite the Irish and British working class to throw out the Lynch and Heath governments.

Unite in the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, the only alternative to the Common Market plans for dictatorship.

Withdraw all British troops from abroad and disband the present standing army.

Sign treaties with all excolonial countries for programmes of equal trade and mutual assistance.

Break from NATO and all imperialist alliances.

For the carrying out of such policies the SLL fights for the setting up of Councils of Action to lead the struggle against the Tory government in every area. These Councils unite trade unionists, tenants, unemployed, all political parties and tendencies of the working class (Labour Party, Communist Party, SLL, IS, IMG, etc.) to fight against the main enemy, the Tory government.

The SLL calls upon every socialist and class-conscious worker to consider this programme and manifesto very carefully, and to decide now to take up their inescapable responsibilities. The building of the revolutionary party is the burning question now, not in some remote future. The SLL is determined to carry through its transformation into a revolutionary party.

Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League February 1, 1973.



The Spanish Revolution \$3.95

Invaluable collection of articles, many never published before in English, records Trotsky's struggle to construct a Marxist leadership in Spain during the period from the fall of the monarchy to the defeat of the working class by Franco. Of critical importance to revolutionaries today are Trotsky's articles on the tasks posed to Marxists during the growth of the mass movement of workers in the pre-revolutionary period before 1936, the role of Soviets, syndicalism, and Stalinism. Includes correspondence with the centrist Andre Nin.



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V. Barat **Theater**

WOYZECK. An unfinished drama by Georg Buechner. Performed in St. Paul, Minnesota.

The drama Woyzeck by the nineteenth century German revolutionary playwright Georg Buechner profoundly illuminates the suffering, confusion and despair of the working class in pre-industrial Germany.

Buechner, whose genius was already brilliantly manifest at the time of his tragic death in 1837 at the age of 23, draws in this work an authentic portrait of the early proletarian before the liberating theories of Marx and Engels laid the scientific basis for his transformation from the helpless object of a cruel ruling class into the mature, dynamic and confident agent of his own destiny.

A passionate and active opponent of the monarchy and the nobility, Buechner with equal vehemence hated the bourgeoisie, liberal and conservative alike, of his own country.

For already in the first third of the nineteenth century the belated entrance of the German middle class onto the political scene—far behind their counterparts in England and France—revealed those ruthless, cowardly and smug traits which today characterize the entire world bourgeoisie.

Buechner was born near Darmstadt in the state of Hessen. Later he attended various universities, studied philosophy and natural sciences, and obtained his doctorate in medicine.

His younger brother Ludwig became very well known in Germany as a militant popularizer of science in direct opposition to the ecclesiastical and reactionary governmental authorities. Although a delegate from Germany to the Second Congress of the First International in 1867, Ludwig was never able to develop his materialism beyond the limits that had already been reached by Feuerbach. Marx and Engels repeatedly criticized him for his theoretical weaknesses, but to no avail.

REVOLUTIONARY

It was Buechner's authorship of a revolutionary manifesto and his practical activities in organizing and leading uprisings of the peasant and urban poor in 1834 that lead the authorities to issue a warrent for his arrest.

To avoid prison, even possible execution, Buechner was forced to seek political asylum in Switzerland. Less than three years later he succumbed in Zurich to a typhoid epidemic.

Because both his scientific and political activities absorbed all his energies, Buechner had precious little time for any kind of literary apprenticeship.

His total works, aside from a modest volume of published letters and some translations from the French of Victor Hugo, are contained in a slender German paperback of 180 pages. Yet a single short story and his three plays reveal a prodigious talent. His keen theatrical sense, the depth of his characterizations, and his bold and fresh use of language recall Shakespeare.

Yet, ironically, though he is the single German dramatist of his time whose plays have not merely survived but are immensely popular today, they were never performed during his lifetime nor any time during the nineteenth century. It was not until 1910 that he was discovered for the theater.

His influence on modern German playwrights is attested to by Brecht himself, who insisted that his own dramatic innovations, theories and the robust quality of his language owe most to Buechner.

Despite philosophic shortcomings, necessarily rooted in the pre-Marxist era, his plays, because they are the product of a completely honest, dedicated and profoundly observant artist, are not only exciting drama but even politically rewarding.

Dialectical materialists are well able to grasp the source of Buechner's (and his epoch's) political and theoretical limitations. These were only in 1846—nine years after the playwright's death—definitively burst asunder. Marx' German Ideology was to settle accounts with bourgeois idealism and mechanical materialism for all time.

A recent performance in St. Paul of Woyzeck, in the original language, demonstrates with compelling freshness the dramatic skill and revolutionary vitality of its author.

The condition of the impoverished artisan, Woyzeck, was made the more vivid by the understanding sympathy for him and the excellent acting of a West German repertory ensemble, Die Bruecke, comprising 20 professionals currently on world tour.

The almost rigorous simplicity of their stage design further aided in riveting attention not only on Woyzeck's perceptiveness and later despondency, but also on the forces responsible for his living hell.

Buechner's untimely death prevented him from putting the finishing touches on the play. The 26 episodic scenes, while lacking normal transitions, are not so fragmentary as to create any sense of disjointedness.

Rather an unexpected dimension and a singular impact on the audience are provided by the somewhat loose form of the play. Indeed this "episodic" technique is so effective that it was quite deliberately adopted by a good number of Germany's leading expressionist dramatists of the twentieth century.

But for most of them it was a mere technique, a form without Buechner's substance. The youthful revolutionary had the ability to objectify his social outrage through the satire and caricature of the ruling class. While such devices were tools for the merciless exposure of the class enemy, they were never grotesque and never exceeded the bounds of artistic and realistic credibility.

MURDER

The plot of Woyzeck is based on an actual event, the murder in 1821 by a desperately poor and hopelessly jealous unemployed barber and former soldier of his mistress in the city of Leipzig. The real Woyzeck, after a gruelling three years of court trials and appeals, was publicly beheaded in that city's market place in 1824.

Since the main issue surrounding the case and the basis for the repeated appeals revolved around Woyzeck's sanity (he suffered from supernatural visions), the matter remained in dispute long after his execution. Ten years later the case was reopened. This time the victim was posthumously exonerated.

Familar with the clinical aspects of the case from his own medical reading, Buechner freely adapted many of these elements, including the victim's name, to his play.

The plot is quite uncomplicated. Buechner's Woyzeck is on the surface a seemingly simple, almost meek municipal soldier whose military trade is that of barber. Impoverished by near starvation wages, he is unable to marry his sweetheart and legitimize their child.

Because his offspring lacks the church's blessings, the poor man is subjected to the outraged taunts of the middle class moralists.

Out of his genuine love and sense of responsibility for his family, the barber contrives to supplement his meager earnings by allowing a sadistic pseudophysician to perform cruel and weird experiments on his body.

In the midst of these mental and physical sufferings he discovers his mis-

No Way Out Of Living Hell



Georg Buechner

tress carrying on with one of his superior officers. The huge, swaggering brute of a drum major was someone no ordinary soldier dared trifle with.

REAL LIFE

Buechner, in fact, drew this officer from real life. The drum majors were the particular scourge of the population in Hessen. For these dissolute, arrogant giants (chosen in the first place by the military because of their size) could carry on their oppression with virtual impunity.

Having endured poverty, physical abuse, and the poisoned arrows of bourgeois moral hypocrisy—much of them for the sake of the woman and child he loves—Woyzeck's final spark of self-confidence is extinguished by her betrayal.

Having nowhere to turn for help and lacking any objective explanation for his fate, he becomes prey to his own subjective brooding. This intensifies to the point of nihilistic desperation and he stabs his sweetheart to death.

In one sense, to be sure, the play can be regarded as the product of a pessimist. Buechner's Woyzeck, still too politically immature to perceive the solution to his basic problem in a revolutionary way, goes beserk and commits murder.

It reflects, of course, the limits of Buechner's and his period's grasp of reality. The German workers had not yet appeared on the scene as a revolutionary class.

The first proletarian uprising on German soil, the revolt of the Silesian weavers in 1844, a decisive impetus for Marx' and Engels' own thinking, occurred seven years after Buechner's death.

Nonetheless in this as in his other works, Buechner does not leave unanswered the real source of working class misery, even in his own epoch. It lies clearly in the social and not the psychological, moral or demonic sphere.

Nor did Buechner view the plight of the working class as the result of man's "innate irrationality," as did so many who came after Marx—when they had no excuse for such ignorance.

The dramatist Strindberg was one of these. In his later period of productivity he was to deny Marx' scientific theories and mislead a host of influential playwrights into the poisonous swamp of skepticism and mysticism.

Below are just a few passages from Woyzeck to show how unerringly

Buechner zeroed in on class society as the cause of his hero's problems.

Early in the play Woyzeck's captain, a spokesman for the narrow religious hypocrisy of the middle class, has just taken the barber to task for fathering an illegitimate child.

WOYZECK: Us poor folk, Captain. No money, Sir, no money! If you don't have any...well. But you see, we're still flesh and blood, Sir. Our sort have it pretty miserable in this world and very likely will find it that way in the next one too. I reckon if we ever made it to heaven, they'd probably make us do the thunder-

CAPTAIN: Woyzeck, you simply lack virtue...You're not a virtuous person. Flesh and blood, eh? I insist on virtue...

WOYZECK: Yes Sir, Captain, except common folk just can't afford virtue. We've nothing but our nature. But, if I was a gentleman, Sir, and had a nice hat, a watch, and an English frock coat, and could speak with a distinguished voice, I think I could then be virtuous. There must be something very nice about your virtue. But, Sir, I'm just a poor critter.

In these and other passages in the play Buechner not only pillories pompous idealism, but he also demonstrates (and the barber too has an inkling of) the class role sermons about abstract morality play: they defend the privileges of the ruling class while at the same time justifying the oppression of the workers.

From his earliest youth to his death, Buechner never betrayed the revolutionary struggle nor abandoned his hatred of the monarchist and capitalist oppressors.

In one of his last letters home from exile in Zurich, he wrote:

"The entire revolutionary movement has been taken over by the liberals...But the class of uneducated and poor are going to devour them. The relationship between the poor and the rich constitutes the single revolutionary element in the world. Hunger will become the goddess of freedom."

Though Georg Buechner never lived to see the German workers attain class consciousness, he nonetheless—aside from his great artistic merits—represents an honorable and vital link between the utopian socialists at the start of the nineteenth century and the scientific and theoretical conquests begun a decade after his death by Marx and Engels.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

ST. LOUIS—Detailed programs for the of smaller unions. decisive 1973 contract struggles and the fight against Phase Three to be taken up in all sections of the labor movement were hammered out in workshops held during the afternoon session of the Emergency **Conference of the Continuations Committee** on February 18.

Delegates saw the construction of caucuses around these programs as one of the most significant accomplishments of the Conference.

Especially important was the workshop of members of the United Auto Workers, which expanded and ratified the "Program for the Auto Struggle" (published in the Bulletin of February 12), as the basis for a national caucus that will fight for leadership in the fall contract battle against Leonard Woodcock's policies of betrayal.

The Conference adopted programs for such critical industries as steel, longshore and teamsters, as well as for hundreds of thousands of federal and

state employees, hospital workers, teachers, and a number

"It will be in the struggle to build these caucuses that a new leadership will emerge in the trade unions that will rally the working class against the government, constantly fighting for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and the establishment of a labor party," declared Fred Mazelis, secretary of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

With strong delegations from the General Motors Assembly Division plants in Dayton, St. Louis, Southgate and Fremont, the auto workshop strengthened the draft program particularly in the area of grievances by demanding the right of the ranks to recall committ_emen.

The discussion stressed the importance of the fight for the 20 percent wage increase with a cost of living escalator, as Wood-

cock bows before the 5.5 percent Phase Three guideline. The auto workers also emphasized the importance of nationwide strike action against General Motors, which the UAW bureaucracy is determined to avoid.

Attention was also focused on the role of centrists in the UAW, especially the United National Caucus leadership, who, under the guise of keeping "politics" out of the union, really seek to tie the ranks to the Democratic Par-

Another political tendency that was exposed in the workshop was the Revolutionary Union, a Stalinist organization that has bitterly opposed the struggle of the Workers League for a labor party. In a recent issue of their paper, the RU denounced the Bulletin for having called for a general strike in defense of the trade unions.

In the workshop on longshore, the major issue raised was the defense of the Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI) which has been under the sharpest attack by the shippers for the past two years. It was seen that only a strategy which unites the International Longshoremen's Association and the International Longshoremen's and Warehouseman's Union simultaneously in struggle against the shippers and the government can be successful.

The workshop accepted a proposal from Ed Jones, longshoreman from Port Newark, to demand the reopening of the "flexible" contract negotiated last year by ILA President Gleason on the same date that the West Coast contract expires: July 1.

In consultation with Teamster delegates, the longshoremen laid plans for a fight by all transportation workers against any attempt by the Nixon Administration to pass laws barring strikes in that industry.

WAGES

While all the workshops raised the question of wages, there was not a full understanding of the explosive character that this issue will take on as inflation forces prices up in the area of 15 percent due to the devaluation. Instead, there was a tendency to separate the struggle to defend jobs from the fight for a decent standard of living.

In the teachers workshop, where this difficulty was expressed, a major step forward was taken forward in the development of a program for a nationwide struggle by the American Federation of Teachers against the threatened layoffs and budget cuts.

Another problem that arose was the tendency to avoid dealing with the specific problems in

Decisions Of The

Programs



Trade unionists from the ILWU, ILA and Teamsters planned a campaign against the Nixon Administration's attempt to bar strikes in their industry in the transportation workshop.

Printed below are the programs hammered out at the St. Louis Conference workshops on transportation, government and hospital workers.

Next week, the Bulletin will publish the programs developed in the basic industry workshops: auto, steel, construction, telephone electrical and workers.

Transportation Workshop

Longshore

The biggest lie being spread by ILA President Teddy Gleason is that longshoremen have a real contract. Under the so-called "flexible" contract agreed to by Gleason last year, the shippers have been able to attack all the gains won by longshoremen over the last 20 years.

Determined to use containerization to destroy the jobs of thousands of dockers, the shippers have been trying to push longshoremen off the Guaranteed Annual Income by revising work rules, violating seniority and through vicious penalties.

At the same time, the government's Phase Two Pay Board cut the wage increase originally won

by the ILA.

Therefore, we call on the ILA to reopen the contract to struggle for the following demands alongside the ILWU, whose present contract expires July 1:

1. No "flexible" contract-right to strike over all contract violations.

2. A 20 percent wage increase in the first year with an equity clause for all minor ports. A 100 percent cost of living escalator clause covering each year of the contract, and the retroactive payment of all wage increase cuts made by the Pay Board.

3. No compulsory overtime. Double time after 3:00 p.m. Triple time on weekends.

4. Container money must be paid quarterly.

5. Guaranteed Annual Income must be defended:

•Full 40 hour guarantee for all longshoremen with no restrictions for 30 hour week.

•All longshoremen eligible for GAI payments after two weeks.

•Abolish Prior Day Ordering. No assignment out of area, and job assignment according to seniority. No debitting.

·No reduction in gang size-back to 21 men.

6. Unlimited sick leave with full pay.

7. Twenty and out at \$650 per month with 100 percent cost of living escalator. Years must be counted cumulatively.

8. Full benefits and hospital coverage for all longshoremen and their families.

9. Four weeks vacation after one year, six weeks after five years, eight weeks after ten years.

10. Young workers must be given full training at union pay.

The fight to win this contract is a political fight. As the latest cut by the Cost of Living Council of

the 30 cent raise owed to West Coast longshoremen shows the government stands behind the shippers in their attempts to destroy the dockers unions.

Nixon cuts longshoremen's wages in the interests of the shippers, he is preparing to pass anti-strike legislation in the transportation industry to prevent the ILA and ILWU from fighting to win a decent contract.

This open attack on longshoremen can only be beaten back through a political struggle of the entire working class against this government. Therefore, we demand that the ILA and ILWU call for a Congress of Labor that will mobilize American workers in general strike action against Phase Three; and construct a labor party-pledged to the nationalization of the docks under workers control-that will defend longshoremen against attacks on their jobs, living standards, and democratic rights.

Teamsters

1. A one dollar per hour increase in the first year of new contract, on the basis of standard set during the last master contract. (\$5.90 an hour). With a full 100 percent cost of living escalator. This contract will be reopened by workers after first year for new wage increase demands.

2. Parity with over-the-road drivers for all warehousemen, short-haul and "around the town" drivers.

3. The reopening of all local contracts in 1973 in alignment with the master contract fight.

4. The merger of the ILA-ILWU with the Teamsters, on the basis of a fight for mutual defense of all jobs.

5. No combinations of jobs for drivers and loaders-separate job duties with no speedup.

6. A 30 hour week for 40 hours pay for every Teamster driver and other workers.

7. Twenty years and out for retirement with double the retirement pay established in the last master contract.

8. The resignation of Mr. Fitzsimmons from the Cost of Living Council.

9. General strike action must be fought for to smash Phase Three and all anti-union and antistrike legislation.

10. Teamsters must lead the fight with other transportation workers for a Congress of Labor and the construction of a labor

Taxi

Delegates from New York Taxi Drivers Local 3036 worked on the formulation for the contract fight that opens up in June. The building of a caucus, the Drivers and Mechanics for a Decent Contract, was proposed around the following main demands:

1. Sixty percent commission for all drivers.

2. Seven percent retroactive pay back to 1971 for all 42 percenters.

3. A cost of living escalator on the bonus.

4. Full benefits for part-timers. 5. One hundred and sixty dollars minimum per week for inside men.

The drivers also worked out proposals relating to pensions and work conditions, and called on Local 3036 President Van Arsdale to prepare strike action to meet these demands.

Government Workshop

SSEU 371

From the Committee For A New Leadership of Social Service Employees Union Local 371 of AFSCME. Proposals for a fight in the coming period call for:

1. Reintroducing the policy of no movement without a blueprint detailing all changes in working conditions, workload, job content, staffing patterns. After the immediate changes that were agreed to in the referendum, the union must demand such a blueprint against any further changes. The funding of all proposed job slots must be guaranteed, whether or not there be a federal or state take-over of the agency. Furthermore, no agreement will be signed without all provisional workers in the union being certified.

2. The SSEU leadership to raise the demand within District Council 37 that there be a general strike of the entire District Council unless all monies owed to every DC 37 member that have been withheld by Phase Two and Phase Three be immediately restored.

3. The SSWU to press forward the fight for a Congress of Labor and a labor party. That the SSEU officially endorse such a policy and fight to have it adopted by the District Council and by all higher bodies in the labor movement on which it sits.

AFSCME 1549

Proposals from the Clerical Workers Local 1549 in New York, AFSCME called for the launching of a caucus to be known as the Committee for a different unions and seeing the labor party emerging simply out of slogans and propaganda. This was expressed in the hospital workers workshop, where one delegate resisted the understanding that the slogan "Throw Out Leon Davis" could not stand independent of a strategy in Local 1199 to fight the attacks on the ranks and in that way construct an alternative leadership.

Similarly, in the federal and state employees workshop, there was a tendency to see strike action by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees locals as impossible without a national strike called by the AFSCME leadership.

DIFFICULTIES

But in confronting these difficulties, both the government and hospital workshops developed specific programs of action around which caucuses can be built. Delegates from the American Federation of Government Employees were able to prepare a strategy to fight against layoffs and attempts to decentralize the staff.

The delegation from the Social Service Employees Local 371 in New York was the largest at the Conference, and its workshop laid plans for deepening the fight for the Committee for New Leadership against the collaboration of the right-wing SSEU leadership with Mayor Lindsay.

Specific action proposals were adopted to prevent the adoption of blueprints for the reorganization of the SSEU workforce without full disclosure of the details to the union membership. The SSEU leadership has been supporting reorganization deals which would mean the loss of thousands of jobs.

With the development of a caucus in Local 1549, the workshop adopted a program to unite clerks and caseworkers against the city's attacks.

In workshops representing electrical workers and teamsters, programs were drawn up for the coming contract battles.

It was especially in the workshops that it became clear that last week's meeting in St. Louis marked an enormous advance beyond what could be achieved at the National Conference for a Labor Party Now held last October.

While the Chicago Labor Party Conference established the basic principles of the struggle for a Marxist leadership in the trade unions, the St. Louis meeting actually developed concrete strategies for the building of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party and the mobilization of millions of workers in political struggle against the Nixon



New Leadership in 1549 around the following demands:

1. The local will not cooperate with any new programs or projects until all details of change in job function, workload, working conditions, staffing patterns, are negotiated and voted on by the membership in an on-location referendum. Such an agreement must insure the job security of every member of the local. All funding must be clearly spelled out and guaranteed. A guarantee must be obtained that no members' job or rights will be touched by a federal or state take-over of the agency. No agreement can be signed until the city rescinds its new punitive time and leave procedures. Support for the demands of SSEU-371 and joint action of the Welfare chapter of 1549 with SSEU-371 in the fight for a blueprint and against the time and leave rules.

2. The union must demand within the District Council that Gotbaum call a DC 37-wide strike for all back pay lost under Phase Two and Phase Three.

3. That the union officially endorse and raise within the District Council the demand for a Congress of Labor and a labor party.

AFGE

Proposals from the American Federation of Government Employees in Washington, D.C. centered around the threat of decentralization of government workers by the federal government, which would result in layoffs, downgrading of jobs, salaries, and loss of promotional opportunities, etc.

The Health, Education and Welfare Rank and File Caucus must adopt the following demands:

1. No movement into reor-

ganization without an absolute guarantee that no one will be laid off, or anyone's job downgraded in any way.

in support of this strike.

3. The original wage demands must be held to.

5. The local officially endorse and raise within AFGE and all higher bodies of the labor movement the demand for a Congress

Teachers

1. A \$10,000-\$20,000 salary on a five step basis. Minimum salary of \$6800 for paraprofessionals. Paraprofessionals must get semester raises according to credit hours.

2. No layoffs of any school personnel. Local strikes against layoffs. Prepare national strike action in support of striking teachers. Call for an emergency conference of the American Federation of Teachers and National Educational Association to plan a fight against Nixon's budget cuts. Prepare for a merger of the two organizations and fight for them to call a Congress of Labor.

3. Cost of living escalator clause in contracts.

4. Class size of 20, and 20 teaching hours per week. Doubling the number of teachers, and hiring of paraprofessionals to assist teachers. Hiring of aides to perform non-teaching duties. Strictly enforced job categories.

2. The local must prepare for strike action if the government does not agree to these demands and must be prepared to mobilize other sections of labor as well as the AFGE International

4. The local must call for a regional strike of all government workers until all back money taken by Phase Two and Phase Three is restored.

of Labor and a labor party.

Postal Workers

Discussion centered around the formation of a caucus in the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union to lead a fight around the following demands for the upcoming contract:

1. Forty percent per year for two years. A cost of living escalator.

2. Union-management control over implementation of Zip Mail Transit Machine, the Letter Sorting Machine and all other machines. No layoffs.

3. End the freeze on hiring. 4. Thirty hours work for forty

hours pay. 5. End SUB classification. Full promotional opportunities and restoration of all seniority rights.

6. Twenty and out. 70 percent of top pay excluding social security benefits.

The Postal Workers will be holding further meetings to discuss the formation of a caucus





Teachers workshop, top, made a big development with a nationwide program to fight threatened layons and budget cuts. Hospital workers, below, took forward a campaign in Local 1199 to build an alternative leadership to Leon Davis and for strike action against Phase Three.

2. There must be a united fight

on the part of students and

AFSCME and other campus un-

ions to shut down the school in

the event of layoffs and budget

cuts. Such a strike must mo-

bilize support from AFSCME

3. The local must fight for

general strike action against

4. The local endorse and raise

within all higher bodies of

AFSCME and the AFL-CIO the

demand for a Congress of Labor

There was a discussion of

Local 1072 at the University of

Maryland (AFSCME) and Local

1668 (AFSCME) at West

Michigan University at Kala-

mazoo. It was agreed to esta-

blish a caucus at both places.

locals within the District.

Phase Three cuts.

and a labor party.

5. The right to strike, and a policy of no contract, no work.

6. One category for all teachers. No separate scale for substitutes. Uniform contract for all teachers. For the right of all school employees, specifically substitutes and paraprofessionals, to join the union with full voting rights.

AFSCME 1164

Proposals from Minnesota Local 1164 AFSCME:

1. The Caucus for a Decent Contract demands that the union launch a full scale campaign to recruit University of Minnesota workers into the local. The local must prepare for strike action to win its original wage demands and the abolishment of LEAP, which is a state-instituted time-

study program. 2. Support for Leon Davis' call for a meeting of bosnital and all other unions which will remain under mandatory wage controls under Phase Three and that the demand for an AFL-CIO general strike against Phase Three and a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party be raised at such a meeting. In addition, the local officially endorses the call for a Congress of Labor and a labor party and will raise the demand within Council 6 and AFSCME.

AFSCME 1650

Proposals from Local 1650, AFSCME, at the University of California in San Francisco agreed to establish a caucus which would fight around the demands that:

1. The union must launch a recruiting drive of campus workers and prepare to strike in order to win their first contract. and the contract demands.

Hospital Workshop

1. For strike action by Local 1199 against Phase Three. Smash all compulsory controls. Capitulation to pay cuts will only pave the way for greater attacks. By July, hospital workers in New York will have waited two years without a penny increase.

2. Mobilize labor support against Phase Three. Neither hospital workers nor any other section of labor can win this fight on its own. Millions of workers would enthusiastically support strike action initiated by 1199. Do not allow the union leaders to avoid action against Nixon. For general strike action against the controls. 1199 must lead this

3. Stop the attacks on working conditions. End all job cuts and job freezes. Fill all vacancies. Full classification and job des-No speedun tivity deals. Union control of safety conditions.

4. Organize the unorganized hospital workers. Fight for the closed shop. Workers cannot live on \$70 a week. Fight for big wage increases, a 35 hour week, improved vacations and pensions, and other fringe benefits.

5. Full union democracy, regular membership meetings, democratic election of stewards and officers. Full rights for workers to speak and distribute literature at the job without harassment.

6. Free medical care for all Strike action against any closings or layoffs. Expanded medical care, new hospitals and a system of socialized medicine. In order to achieve this and to beat back all the attacks facing hospital workers, we must fight for a Congress of Labor and the construction of a labor party.

All Divisions Of Midwest News Rumors **Chicago Transit Ready For Strike**

BY WILL LONG

CHICAGO, Feb. 25—Chicago Transit Authority workers in Division 308 and 241 of the Amalgamated Transit Union voted Wednesday night by an overwhelming margin to strike. The vote was 5379 to

At Antioch

BY DOROTHY WRIGHT

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio-Antioch University workers returned to work here after receiving a commitment by university authorities to place the 23 laid off workers in other jobs in the institution and in the community. They also agreed that the remaining food service workers would still be covered by the terms of the United Electrical Workers contract.

However, the cutbacks remain in force, the Antioch Inn remains closed, and ARA, the food contracting company, has been allowed to come in in a supervisory position. There are no guarantees against further subcontracting.

The part-time student workers, according to a member of the UE's bargaining committee, received a guarantee of 300 hours a week work. Before the closing of the Inn, they had been averaging 600 hours.

In spite of the cutbacks, which had been a major issue in the strike, Local 767 of the UE and the Part-Time Employees Union voted unanimously to accept the agreement.

MILITANCY

During the month long strike, a tremendous militancy had been displayed by the workers. They were supported by the students in closing the administration building and by groups of students and professors who demonstrated for the demands of the workers.

Teamsters refused to cross the picket lines. However, the university, aided by the Health Department, forced the workers to agree to clean the dormitories during the last week of the strike.

At the same time, the universiagainst both unions to force nor- service cuts, no cancellation of mal operations of the university.

CITY _

Settlement 1980. But although the vote indicates the desire of the men to go out, the leadership has refused to set a strike date and has only stated that the vote "authorizes" a strike.

> McFadden, president of Division 241, and Beatty, head of Division 308, have collaborated closely with the CTA in heading off any confrontation. At last week's meetings transit workers poured into union halls to take a strike vote only to be told that they were going to vote on whether to vote. Now, the vote has been taken but the leadership refuses to budge.

NO CONTRACT

The leadership says that the strike has been called to win 14.5 cents an hour due from last year's contract. The CTA workers see it differently. One bus driver explained to the Bulletin:

"They're talking about 14.5 cents, when we're working without a contract. Fourteen and one-half cents, that's nothing. That's from last year. It belongs

UNIFIED ACTION

With all the 19 unions that represent CTA workers ready to strike, the union leadership has at every point held back any unified action. The ranks must now demand immediate strike action and support from the Chicago Federation of Labor, including general strike action to defend the transit workers. The CFL must call a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party.

This strategy must be taken into the March 6 meeting of the CFL. A caucus must be built in the ATU against the leadership around these demands and a fight in the contract struggle for retroactive payment of the 14.5 cents; a 75 cent increase; 100 percent cost of living escalator; ty threatened an injunction 20 years and out; no layoffs, no runs.



Member of Teamsters Local 729 on strike against city of East S.t. Louis for 25 cent an hour pay increase. He said: "They don't want to give the working man nothing. They eat a different cut of meat."

Auto Dealers Told To Expect Strike

BY ED SMITH

The outgoing president of the National Association of Automobile Dealers, Charles J. Whittey, told the dealers' association members to prepare for a national auto strike this year. Addressing the dealers' convention in New Orleans, he said:

'We would urge all our members to prepare now for a strike. Hoping a strike will not happen is a poor preparation for

Whittey appealed to Congress to intervene to break any movement for a United Auto Workers strike this fall. "A strike in the automobile industry this year will have devastating effects on the economy and must be avoid-

"Like all businessmen we would hope the Congress will look into ways to put an end to strikes which affect so many innocent parties so adversely.'

Whittey is himself no "innocent party." As head of the auto dealers' association, he represents the interests of the bosses in auto who are not only seriously preparing for an auto strike, but looking to the power of the government to actively break it.

At the same time, Chrysler Corporation Chairman Lynn Townsend and President John A. Riccardo revealed that Chrysler intends to raise prices on its cars before the 1973 model year ends in September.

In a meeting with security analysts in New York, the Chrysler executives stated that the company still faced a cost-price squeeze despite 1972's record \$9.75 billion sales.

President Riccardo stated the squeeze resulted from the fact that increased productivity and efficiency were offset by the ravages of inflation in materials, wages, and other outlays.

Spread Of **GM Cuts**

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS-Auto workers on the passenger line at the General Motors Assembly Division plant here face the threat of massive cutbacks in the very near future.

Rumors from management suggest that the number of cars per hour will be decreased from 57 to 47. This would mean a layoff for workers with up to three and one-half years seniority and include all those transferred from the ammunition plant.

General Motors ran an ammunition plant here until the government contract was allowed to lapse in 1969. Of the 3000 workers employed at this plant only 1000 were reemployed at the auto plant.

Although workers at both plants belonged to the same union, United Auto Workers Local 25, the union leadership allowed GM to strip the ammunition plant workers of their seniority.

The developments at the St. Louis passenger car line will be the prelude for all workers in the industry. While the truck line and the Corvette assembly line have been working overtime to allow GM to prepare for the contact negotiations by stockpiling, the passenger line has only been working 36 to 38 hours a week.

The Impala, Bel Air and Biscayne models produced in here have not been selling well, and as soon as the management estimates that they have enough in stock to last through the contract negotiation period, they will cut back production.

This will also allow the auto bosses to go into the upcoming contract negotiations from a position of strength, with laid off workers and a large stockpile of

Dayton Bakery Agreement Leaves Workers Underpaid

A REPORTER

DAYTON, Ohio-Workers at Blue Bird Baking Company, members of Local 374 of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers, returned to work after settling on a new contract that gives them better working conditions. They received a limitation of 10 hours per day and the right not to be switched from job to job within the plant.

During the strike, picketers told of the harassment by the manager. Workers have been made to work from 12 to 14 hours a day and have been switched from one job to another without regard to job classifications or seniority.

Other workers agreed the main reason for the strike was the harassment. "With a manager like that, you need good working conditions," one worker said. He told how his job had been phased out and he was put on a worse job with less pay.

The union accepted the 5.5 percent guideline on raises, settling for 38 cents an hour over two years. The bakery workers are grossly underpaid. Wages range from \$2.60 to \$3.50 an hour before

the increase with most of the workers receiving around \$3.00.

The company did not want to grant a modest \$10 a week (from \$60 to \$70) in sick benefits, telling the union that "an increase would encourage absenteeism." One worker said:

"They just don't want to pay us-they know we can't live on \$70 a week. We know we need money-you just barely eat and pay your rent and that's all. I haven't bought any new furniture or a new car in the eight years I've worked here.'

Although forced overtime was an issue in the strike, one worker pointed out: "They've cut down to five days and our overtime now. But everything is going up--groceries are going up.'

Bulletii weekly organ of the workers league	1
NAME	-
STREET	

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Nixon Halt To **Price Support Dooms Farmers**

BY PERRY IVERSON

LE SUEUR, Minn.-During the past week, the Nixon Administration laid bare its plans to drive the small family farmer off the land. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz announced the termination of government support to the price of certain agricultural commodities, especially grains, and of the federal program of paying farmers to keep their land idle.

For years the income of many farmers was subsidized by the government. When the price of farm commodities fell on the open market, the Commodity Credit Corporation supported the prices at a certain percentage of parity by buying the commodity and storing it to sell later.

To compete with the large corporate farms, most small farmers have been forced to modernize and expand by borrowing tens of thousands of dollars in the hope that price supports would continue. In addition, Nixon has entirely eliminated all rural housing, electrification, and conservation programs.

CONDITIONS

With the elimination of these programs, the conditions facing small farmers and their families will be like those of the depression, when masses of farmers were driven off the land by the banks.

Secretary Butz stated: "The best antidote for inflation is to have adequate total production and high individual productivity. Our goal is to expand markets for American farm products so that farmers can get their income in the marketplace and grow as free of government domination as possible.'

SURVIVE

In 1973, over 40 million additional acres will be harvested. In order to survive, the small farmer must get bigger. He must apply to the banks and financiers for credit and they ultimately take control of the land.

An older farmer stated: "Raising chickens is out unless by the tens of thousands. When we were young, we had a few hens and could buy groceries and clothe the kids with the money from the eggs. It's going to get rough."

A farmer from Scott County south of the Twin Cities told the Bulletin: "I think the day has come when the farmer is fed up with raising more for less money and is going to get out. But where do you go? It's not greener on the other side.

"Nixon and Butz are saying raise more, raise more. There are only 24 hours in the day. I'm trying to stick to 160 acres. If I can't operate at 160, I'll never make a go at 320. Bigger guys are falling by the wayside too.'

CORPORATIONS

Another Southern Minnesota farmer explained: "The corporations want to get control of the land. As far as industry goes, only a handful control that. If they have control of food and fibre, they control the people. The way it's going, the only way to survive is to plant more and more acres and that costs more. Now they're cutting price supports to make sure you cut your

"A young farmer down the

road, about 35 years old, took over his grandfather's farm. He had to put in new buildings, new machinery, plant more acres. Finally, the finance people were giving him a wage and telling him when to take a vacation. In 1971, hog prices were poor and he got a job at the canning company. They say corporation farming will never come, but this is how they'll do it. When I owe the banker \$20,000, he's got cheap labor at eight percent interest."

"I'm operating four farms. There should still be families on the other three," revealed a farmer with a large family. Twenty milies away, an older beef and hog raiser stated, "You go up and down the roads and it's all old folks. No young folks could start farming now. The average farmer is in his 50s. I agree with the idea of a labor party.

While family farmers are driven into bankruptcy, the prices working people pay for food will continue to soar out of

BY KEN WESTON

ROSCOMMON, Mich.

-On Saturday Gover-

nor Milliken rushed 70

state police to back up

local police here where

building tradesmen and

their families had





A farmer and his two children in front of a corn crib displaying National Farmers' Organization sign. Nixon's end to subsidies means thousands of small farmers like these will be forced to give up their livelihood.

Teamsters Out Three Days

BY CAROL MARKS

EAST ST. LOUIS—Members of Teamsters Local 729, Local 971 and Local 313 of Machinist Union District 9 shut down garbage and other sanitation work here for three days last week. The dispute centered around the question of wages.

The previous contract under which the Teamsters were receiving \$4.64 an hour expired December 31, 1972. The union demanded a 25 cent

an hour increase, that is,

about 5.1 per cent. The city of East St. Louis, claiming lack of funds, had offered 3.4 per-

Workers Mass Picket Scab Construction

a nonunion construction Police arrested six men and

travelled from all over

Michigan to mass picket

two state troopers were reported injured in scuffles at the site. Thirty-five miles

away in Kalsaka, Michigan, union families staged a mass march of 300 in protest of a nonunion site under construction for Shell Oil Company. Pickets carried signs that read "The Hell with Shell!" Three cars were reported overturned in Kalsaka and a 24 hour guard was set up by state police around the Shell Oil site.

On Sunday after an emergency meeting with state police, Shell Oil officials who flew in from Texas, and officials from the viciously anti-union Associated Builders and Contractors, Milliken denounced what he termed "guerrilla warfare" at nonunion sites and said that the state has "no business interfering in peaceful union protests against nonunion projects, but it is the state's business to prevent violence that threatens lives and roperty.''

William Marshall, president of the state AFL-CIO, and Stan Arnold, secretary-treasurer of the Michigan Building Trades Council have told Milliken that they "do not tolerate such violence and will cooperate in helping to stop it."

In the past year, the efforts of the Associated Builders and Contractors to set up more scab sites have been met with union protests. Secrecy shrouds the six men arrested at the Roscommon

Bruce Miller, attorney for the six men, refuses to say whether his clients are union men or where they are from. The Roscommon County prosecutor has also refused to say what the six men were charged with or when they would be arraigned.

The men were extremely angry over the pay hike offer made by the city, because in February it was revealed that large pay increases, in some cases up to 30 percent, had been given by City Commissioners to their secretaries and other employees working directly for them. One picket, referring to the revealed corruption in the city government, told the Bulletin, "They eat a different cut of meat than we do."

The strike led by the Teamsters Local 729 closed down all operations in sanitation because 115 employees in the department who are not members of the union observed the picket lines. The strike did not spread to the policemen and firemen, although pickets were set up in front of the East St. Louis police station.

DETERMINATION

In the face of the determination of the workers, the city agreed to a 27 cent an hour increase this year and a 20 cent increase in 1974. This was accepted by the city employees who returned to work on Friday.

Mayor Williams, the first Black mayor, attempted to break the strike. One administrator, a former leader of the East St. Louis United Front, even threatened the strikers with a

The crisis in city funds has led to a similar situation in St. Louis, across the river. T 310 St. Louis city employee who are members of Local t of the Water Workers Union l strike if the Board of Alderman adopts a city plan giving civil service employees a 4.5 percent wage increase.

Local President Charles Shaw has pointed out that because of increased Social Security and pension deductions, most members are taking home \$10 less in every paycheck than they were last year. "Members must have adequate wages to cope with the rising cost of living, notably increased food prices, he said.

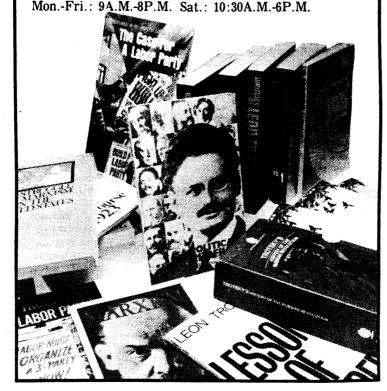
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VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

lated the Laotian cease-fire with continuing B-52 raids.

6. The American imperialists have pressed ahead with the brutal war against the workers and peasants of Cambodia.

Hanoi declared:

"If the violation of the Paris agreement on Vietnam continues, peace cannot be preserved in a lasting manner in South Vietnam."

At this time, there is no peace in Vietnam, nor has there been any peace since the cease-fire was signed on January 27. According to statements by the joint military commission, the civil war rages with its greatest intensity since the Tet offensive.

Nixon must now intervene with greater ferocity than ever before because the Saigon regime—in spite of its policies of mass murder and repression—has been unable to defeat its opposition or find a stable social base even in the areas under its control.

That this new intervention may lead to an attempted invasion of North Vietnam by the Saigon army, with US air support, under the pretext of freeing the POW's, is suggested by the statements of Admiral Thomas Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

In testimony released Monday, the House Appropriations Defense Subcommittee reported that Moorer stated that the Joint Chiefs "always thought an invasion of North Vietnam would be desirable move from the strictly military viewpoint."

That the Paris cease-fire of 1973 has broken down within four weeks whereas the Geneva Accords of 1954 formally remained in effect several years reflects the enormity of the crisis facing

(Continued From Page 3)

time the general strike was men-

tioned, shouting the slogan: "No

Teachers from all over the

country either drove or flew into

the city to participate in the ral-

ly. When the large delegation of

New York teachers entered the

hall, they were greeted with a

Rank and file trade unionists

from all sections of Philadelphia

labor joined with the teachers to

demonstrate their complete

solidarity with the call for the

first general strike in a major

The type of treatment meted

out to the teachers, which has in-

furiated every trade unionist in

this city, was described to the

Bulletin: "A teacher in my

school was arrested on the picket

line and taken down to the station

where she was stripped, told to

squat and cough so the cops could

American city since the 1940s.

PHILLY . . .

contract, no work.'

standing ovation.

the imperialists and their Stalinist agents.

This bankrupt agreement which deprived the NLF of the fruits of their military victories and exposed its cadres to grave dangers was imposed upon Hanoi by the Stalinist bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and China.

The counterrevolutionary character of the peaceful co-existence policies pursued by the Kremlin finds its clearest expression in a letter sent two weeks ago by Leonid Brezhnev to Richard Nixon.

Although it is impossible that he was unaware of the American violations of the cease-fire that Hanoi has now publicly exposed, Brezhnev wrote:

"On behalf of my colleagues and myself I wish to express our profound satisfaction in connection with the signing that took place in Paris of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam.

"There is no doubt that consistent realization of the agreement on the peaceful solution of the Vietnam problem, while eliminating one of the most dangerous hotbeds of international tension, will in many ways facilitate the improving of the world situation."

This letter is clear evidence that the Stalinists are the most trustworthy collaborators of the imperialists against the revolutionary working class.

Only the Fourth International opposed and exposed this reactionary deal and the Workers League will continue its fight to defend the Vietnamese revolution by struggling for the political mobilization of the American working class against the Nixon government.

check whether she was concealing drugs in her rectum. Can you imagine this happening to a teacher!"

GREATEST

"I think the general strike is the greatest thing that has ever happened in America," declared one teacher. "I never thought I'd live to see the day Toohey would call for a general strike, or—as he puts it—a 'day of conscience.' I didn't think he had one."

Another teacher told the Bulletin: "I'll tell you how I feel about the general strike: I love it! I had stopped hoping for something like this 20 years ago, but labor is united again."

POLITICAL

While the leadership attempted to avoid the political questions raised by the fact that Philadelphia labor is now in open battle against Mayor Rizzo and the Democratic Party, the growing support among workers for a break with the two parties of Nixon and Rizzo was sharply expressed at the rally.

When Toohey completed his speech, thunderous applause welcomed a placard held up before the podium that read: Toohey For Mayor. This recalls the movement for a labor party in the late 1940s, when United Auto Workers leader Richard Frankensteen ran for Mayor of Detroit under the pressure of trade unionists revolted by the

Democrats.

At another point in the rally, AFSCME President Jerry Wurf, the leader of the pro-McGovern section of the trade union bureaucracy, was hissed when he said: "This is the only trade union movement in the world that truly accepts the established

sembled over the past weeks. These reports make it crystal clear that the Tories are preparing a Northern Ireland situa-

(Continued From Page 1)

BRITAIN

clear that the Tories are preparing a Northern Ireland situation in England itself. Without any parliamentary dis-

cussion, Workers Press reports, "Police forces throughout Britain have set up special 'shootto-kill' units. These death squads are armed with the latest automatic weapons, wear plain clothes, travel in civilian vehicles and come directly under the authority Branch."

The strengthening of the internal security forces of the capitalist state is part of a conspiracy against the working class which includes a two stage plan to attack the workers' movement.

The Tories are planning raids on the houses of militants throughout England for the purpose of intimidation. This is to be followed by the arrest of known working class leaders under conditions of emergency law. At the same time, there will be an attempt to shut down the newspapers of the workers' movement.

DICTATORSHIP

Under these conditions of threatened dictatorship, the SLL has demanded that all political tendencies in the labor movement pledge to unite in defense of the democratic rights of the working class.

The political alternatives are now sharply posed to the English working class: either bring down the Tories and replace them with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies or be destroyed by a naked dictatorship.

Since the Tories were elected

system ''
Shouts of "Change the system'
rang through the hall.

Wurf continued: "But although we accept the system, we are still treated with repressions and attacks."

Listening to the speeches, a teacher said: "If someone would call for a labor party now, everyone would shout 'hooray."

Albert Shanker, president of the New York United Federation of Teachers, received a long ovation when he asserted that the fight in Philadelphia is of central importance to every trade unionist in the country.

"The question here," he said, "is whether there is going to be collective begging or collective bargaining in the United States."

However, Shanker, who has done nothing to stop the threatened layoffs of thousands of teachers in New York or to defeat Nixon's Phase Three guidelines, did not offer to mobilize the UFT in strike action to support the Philadelphia teachers.

Nor did David Seldon, president of the AFT, who chaired the rally, propose any national action to stop the vicious attacks on teachers that are occurring in every part of the country.

The working class of Philadelphia must now demand that the State AFL-CIO take the lead in breaking all political ties with the Democrats and call for a National Congress of Labor to prepare general strike action against Phase Three—whose policies Rizzo is carrying out—and building a labor party pledged to socialist policies that will defend the rights and living conditions of all workers.

in June of 1970, the Labourites and trade union bureaucracy have desperately attempted to avoid a confrontation with the government. Time and again they visited Heath for secret talks to head off one strike or another.

But now this conflict is unavoidable because Heath has made it clear that capitalism cannot last in England unless it assumes new forms of rule. However, the bureaucratic leadership of the working class is determined to betray the ranks.

The special congress of the TUC has the responsibility of organizing a general strike that will create the political conditions for the resignation of the Tories and the calling of new elections.

The Socialist Labour League, the only political tendency that has fought for a general strike ever since the day after the last election, has called on all workers to lobby the special congress "to demand that the movement close its ranks to bring about the defeat of the common enemy, the Tory government."

Forcing the Tories to resign would not complete the tasks before the working class. The mobilization of all sections of the trade union movement in a massive electoral campaign to return the Labour Party to power pledged to socialist policies will be instrumental for the building of a revolutionary leadership

around a revolutionary program that can take the English working class to power. Last October, more than 2200

Last October, more than 2200 trade unionists unanimously supported a resolution that called for the transformation of the SLL into the revolutionary party of the working class. The campaign for this historic leap will be climaxed on March 11 when the SLL will stage before 10,000 trade unionists a pageant of labor history entitled "Road to Workers Power."

From all over England, workers, their families, and youth are participating in this pageant as actors or through contributions in order to make it possible that the lessons of past struggles can be brought forward in collision with developments now to meet the battles that are opening up.

GENERAL STRIKE

All class conscious American workers must turn their attention to developments in England. The crisis which has now precipitated a general strike situation is rooted in the world economic crisis that is centered in the United States itself. Therefore, our own general strike is not far off and the rapid development of the political crisis here will open the American labor movement to the same dangers and revolutionary tasks facing the British working class today.

ECONOMY . . .

(Continued From Page 2) make up his mind to attack inflation by pushing credit rates higher, tightening the money supply, and preparing for an immediate showdown with the working class.

The Federal Reserve and the banks understand that the international monetary crisis has opened up the prospect of a failure of the banking system. Reports now indicate that the reserves of the major banks were practically wiped out in the midst of the attack on the dollar.

PAPER

In order to get rid of the huge gluts of unwanted paper dollars, foreign central banks have been purchasing US government securities on a massive scale, thus draining the funds available for the banking system. Only a massive intervention in behalf of the banks by the Federal Reserve, on a scale unprecedented since the 1920s, has allowed the banks to meet the credit obligations required for the conduct of business.

PRICES . . .

(Continued From Page 2)
the leap in prices this week that
this is just the beginning. Devaluation now means an increased market abroad for US
agricultural products cutting the
supply and raising the prices
domestically.

The greatest indictment of Nixon and Congress' claims that the controls are aimed against both wages and prices is included in the Labor Department's own statistics. While prices skyrocketed last month, lining the pockets of the big corporations, workers' real wages fell by 1.1 percent.

Nixon arrogantly said on a number of occasions last week: "Unfortunately, we will probably see increases in food prices for some months to come."

What the Nixon Administration, backed by the Demo-

Monday's announcement that all major banks would raise their prime lending rate to six and one-fourth percent, only two weeks after Nixon had pressured the banks to rescind that same increase, shows the depth of the disagreement within the ruling class about how it must now proceed.

Behind Nixon's reluctance to tighten the money supply is the fact that this policy will lead to the prompt collapse of whole sections of industry desperate for credit

However, it is clear that the realities of the economic crisis are forcing Nixon to follow the lead of the banks in the field of credit and money supply, while at the same time pursuing a policy of vicious trade war and brutal attacks on the living standards of American workers.

The crisis within the government is not some idle debate about abstract issues of the economy. All disagreements over policy now express the fear of all sections of the ruling class as it faces an undefeated working class.

crats, is saying is that while pay is to be kept down by the law of the land, prices, particularly food prices, are allowed to rise.

This has become quite clear as Nixon, and his Cost of Living Council, announced this week that wage controls will be kept at 5.5 percent.

If food prices rise just at the rate of last month, and actually they will be higher, a 5.5 percent annual increase would be wiped out in two months.

Millions of workers are now entering into contract struggles in the next months. At the center of this fight will be wages and protection against the rising cost of living. This struggle now must bring the unions into a political confrontation with Nixon and the government.

(Continued From Page 2) Sadat and the Soviet govern-

ment have shown an obscene haste to drop the incident so as not to damage their peace talks with Nixon, the man who supplied the Phantom jets that shot the plane down. Sadat's representative, Hafez Ismail, is currently meeting with Nixon in Washington. Following the first meeting, Ismail praised the establishment of "more relaxed tensions" with the US.

The "peace plans" can only be carried out by the massacre of Arab liberation fighters and of workers and peasants in the Arab countries. This is what is being prepared by the Israeli government backed by the US.

Butcher Jobs Cut, Meat Prices Soar

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—The meat cutters union was ordered by Los Angeles Superior Court to stop leafletting Lucky Stores, Inc., the big supermarket chain. The union is protesting the use of "automated butchers"; each machine replaces 15 market butchers.

Local 551, representing over 3600 meat cutters, says the machines are not only unfair because they eliminate jobs, but are dangerous, and the meat products they turn out are deceptively labeled as fresh when they are really frozen. The union is also protesting the chain's refusal to pass on any savings from this cost-cutting device to the consumer.

According to the meat cutters, the "automated butcher" runs at an "ungodly speed." It can cut three pork loins at a time, and 150 an hour compared to a maximum of 50 an hour with the conventional equipment now in use in most facilities.

Lucky Stores is the only retail operation using the machines so far. A butcher employed at Lucky's says:

GARBAGE

"They work a man so hard and so fast that all he can produce is garbage. They don't take time to teach the apprentices anything anymore, and by the time they have become journeymen they can't do the work. There has been an actual decline in the number of apprentices because of increased productivity."

The union fears that the

machine could be developed to cut all meat. These fears are well founded. According to a food industry official, "The truth of the matter is that the retail butcher is on his way out, and the union is desperately trying to find ways of saving jobs that are no longer needed.

"Right now we are starting off with these relatively few pork cutting machines, but it won't be long before we have beef cutting machines, too, and there won't be any need for the butcher in the market."

Even without the use of "automated butchers," productivity has increased enormously. According to government statistics, packing house workers produced 64.2 pounds of red meat per hour in 1956, and in 1972 it jumped to 120 pounds an hour. This is an 87 percent increase. For the same time period, labor costs went up only from 3.3 cents per pound to 3.6, giving lie to the claim that rising wages are responsible for the 20 percent rise in retail meat prices last year.

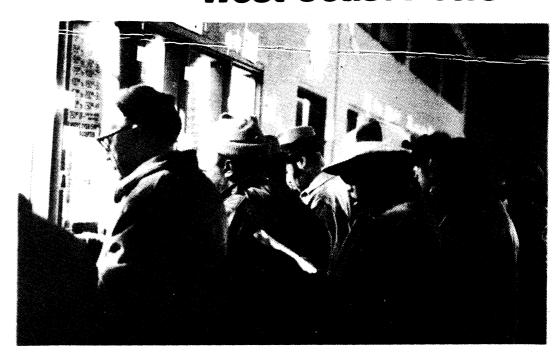
In spite of this, workers in the food industry are under mandatory controls of Phase Three to limit wage increases to 5.5 percent, as Nixon allows food prices to skyrocket.

PROGRESS

The firm has charged the union with stopping progress, but as a Local 551 member said, "We're not opposed to progress, but we are opposed to people on an unemployment roll and not able to earn a living. What future is there for a butcher thrown out of work after 15-25 years in the industry? He's too old for a new career."

The threat of the "automated butchers" must now be answered with the building of a labor party to fight for a shorter work week.

West Coast News



San Francisco longshoremen line up for pay. Many are getting only three days work a week.

Labor Council Debates Labor Party Resolution

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—A very important debate took place Monday night at the San Francisco Labor Council over a resolution submitted by the National Association of Broadcasters, Engineers and Technicians (NABET) Local 532 calling for the Labor Council to fight for general strike action against Phase Three and use its resources to build a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party.

The resolution was endorsed by NABET Local 532 and by delegates from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1650, lithographers, printing specialties, and by Jim Green, president of Local 51 NABET. The Labor Council leadership felt compelled to allow discussion on the resolution

LABOR PARTY

Rob Nelson, from NABET 532, said: "Faith in the Democratic Party is misplaced," and urged the formation of a labor party to counter Phase Three and the

budget cuts.

Graphic Arts International Union Local 280 delegate Jim Buchwald said: "This resolution is a matter of self-preservation. We've too long elected those who fail us." He urged the Council to "organize throughout the country and unite for the building of a labor party."

SUPPORT

Delegate Frank Disio of Printing Specialities Local 362, denounced Truman as "never a friend of labor." He denounced Senator Cranston for running to Nixon to break the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union strike and concluded by saying that labor must have its own party.

Steve Zeltzer of AFSCME Local 1650 stressed the political attacks on labor that were forcing such developments as the general strike call in Philauelphia and the responsibility of the labor movement to fight back politically. There was considerable support among delegates for the speakers, and a motion to cut off debate was defeated.

LEADERSHIP

The Labor Council leadership had taken care to pack the meeting and at no time dared to even speak to the question, insisting instead that such a resolution was unconstitutional. It passed a motion to file it and urged supporters to take it to the national AFL-CIO.

While the labor bureaucracy refused to seriously discuss the question of a labor party, a delegate of Local 400 of the city workers called for support for a mass work stoppage on March 5 against the city pay offer of 2.5 percent, making it very clear that these political questions would not be put off for long, as much as the local leadership would like to avoid a confrontation.

KAISER . . .

(Continued From Page 20) and I don't think that's right. We keep the furnaces burning without blowing up and I think we ought to get more money.

"We went on strike for wages a couple of years ago and stayed out 42 days, but the union leadership, Popavero and Abel, just supported the company. You'd even swear our plant grievance men are company

"After the strike, the company made us pay \$14 a week for seven weeks for what they called 'hospital insurance.' That's a lot of money from 8000 employees.

"All Kaiser thinks about is money and profit. They closed down the specialty shop and the continuous weld pipe mill for a while. I heard that the basic oxygen smelting process is going to take over the open hearth because they put out more and better steel and their furnaces are lasting longer.

"The company doesn't care about the men. They say don't hurt the machine, hurt yourself. They can always get another laborer, but a machine costs money.

"The working man is in a fight against the company and the government. Nixon's stopping everything that has been given to the working man. We can't even afford to eat.

"The working class is fighting every day but the only way we're going to start a labor party is to unite. I like the program of 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. That way you could hire back a lot of the layoffs.

"The government jailed Bill Farr in suppression of his rights, but I'm going to speak my piece. Everybody has got to speak. That's the way we're going to start a labor party. We need unity. We need the youth too "Iney haven't got anything and the society isn't going to let them have anything either."

No Lead In ILWU Elections

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10 is completing a re-run election for local officers. None of the candidates has in any way addressed himself to the real issues facing longshoremen.

While the Cost of Living Council has denied longshoremen a 30 cent increase, "A" men are getting as little as three days of work a week and not a penny has been paid out in guarantee money. This has led to a very dangerous situation.

Over 1000 longshoremen have signed petitions demanding an investigation into Local 10's finances by the ILWU International, alleging financial irregularities by the local leadership.

While the rank and file have every right to full disclosure of the local's finances there is no question that the organizers of the petition drive are using this campaign to divert the enormous discontent of the membership away from any serious struggle.

With trade war developing between the US and Japan, dockers face the closing of whole ports and the destruction of thousands of jobs. Government control over wages and court action against ILWU claims to container jurisdiction expose the union to the danger that with the contract expiration on June 31, the ILWU will be told that there is nothing serious to negotiate.

A caucus must be built to provide a leadership for this fight. This means a program to prepare a strike for July 1 to win

FREMONT . . .

(Continued From Page 20) political fight by the UAW to smash Nixon's Phase Three and rally the labor movement to form its own party.

That is why both attempted to prevent Bulletin supporters from distributing a leaflet to the ranks outside the meeting which put forward the contract demands of the national auto caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

The leaflet called upon the

full repayment of all slashed wages, an immediate dollar an hour increase in wages, with a 100 percent escalator, full payment of all guarantee money, a 40 hour guarantee to all dockers with no strings and a guarantee of no job losses from attrition or layoffs.

This requires a political fight against Phase Three with the power of the ILWU mobilized to rally the labor movement to its support in a strike while leading the way to call for a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party.

membership to adopt this program at the meeting and mandate Local 1364's delegates to the precontract convention to fight to account the program of the prog

fight to carry it nationally.

The program of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party for the auto struggle will be taken forward through the construction of a Committee for a Decent Contract in Local 1364 which will see to it that it is implemented.

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Auto worker at Fremont GMAD speaks to Bulletin before mass meeting where 400 workers demanded allout fight for wages and nationwide strike action against speedup.

Fremont Auto Ranks **Demand Wage Fight**

BY BARRY GREY

FREMONT—For the second month in a row there was a mass turnout at the membership meeting of United Auto Workers Local 1364 of the General Motors Assembly Division here.

Amid the confusion consciously brought into the meeting by both the Herrera leadership and the Brotherhood Caucus, a motion was 20 percent wage increase for put forward and passed over- each year of the contract and to

whelmingly by over 400 make a 30 hour week at 40 hours members reaffirming the resolutions passed at the last meeting.

These resolutions called for Woodcock to immediately get off Nixon's Cost of Living Council and call a national strike against speedup, for the labor movement to smash Nixon's Phase Three wage guidelines, to reject completely any government interference, and to mandate the delegates to the upcoming precontract convention to fight for a

Kaiser Steel Ranks Say "Brother Chairman, many of us are new to union meetings and do **Unite For Labor Party**

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

FONTANA—The masonry department of Kaiser Steel employs over 250 workers. Eighty percent of them are young workers, many holding the position of laborer.

John Griffin, United Steelworkers of America Local 2869, is one of these young workers. He is married and has two young children. After four years at Kaiser, he is a class nine gunner in masonry.

John says of Kaiser, "I'm sure going to voice my opinion, I don't care who knows. I know Kaiser is my bread and butter, but I'm not going to let any place make an old man out of me.

"Masonry is one of the most

important departments at Kaiser. You see, we keep the furnaces in shape and running and every department has a furnace so we're always busy. We don't have too many layoffs because we need every man we can get.

"We work on what you call 'hot jobs.' Those are jobs that have a fast deadline. We work straight through, no lunch breaks or anything; we steady rotate to give a guy a chance to eat something. We have beat so many contracts in our departments; on a proposed three week contract, we can beat it by maybe four days.

"We don't get any incentive pay like other departments. Kaiser has incentive which means a worker in other departments gets \$20 to \$30 a week depending on how much he produces but in our department we get what is called 'fruits' which is a straight \$50 a month

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The motion demanded that these resolutions be sent to all 18 GMAD locals as well as the Sub

pay a key demand.

Council directing delegates in all these locals to carry out this While General Motors has im-

posed increased speedup, political firings, and stepped up discipline in the plant, virtual civil war has raged between the Herrera leadership and the prothérhôod caucus.

One young woman worker expressed the feelings of many 1364 members when she said: 'Brother Chairman, many of us not know all the rules and procedures. Evidently there are many secret meetings going on and we who worked late last night did not come here to hear a lot of arguments or to see who is the cleverest or smartest leader. Conditions in the plant are bad and we want to hear more about preparing for the upcoming contract fight."

REACTIONARY

The Brotherhood leadership, which includes more and more bureaucrats and ex-bureaucrats who are jumping on the bandwagon, is attempting to divert the legitimate anger of the ranks against the local leadership in a reactionary way. One leading member of the Brotherhood threatened to appeal to Nixon's courts to seize the financial secretary's books under the disclosure provisions of the unionbusting Landrum-Griffin law.

The leadership of both factions are opposed to a real fight against Woodcock, especially a fight for a 20 percent wage increase, which will require a

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Food Price Explosion Requires Wage Drive

Food prices soared this month to a new record high of 2.3 percent, the greatest single one month jump in 22 years. In the Bay Area prices skyrocketed 4.1 percent, the highest in the country. At the same time, the Department of Labor announced this week that workers' earnings dropped 1.1 percent because of an increase in Social Security taxes.

A Los Angeles County worker leaving the supermarket told the Bulletin: "Working people are not going to take these high food prices; we're not going to go hungry."

Nixon is deliberately using inflation as a weapon to drive back the living standards of millions of workers and their families. From October to January, the food index jumped by 12.7 percent at an annual rate. This is much higher than the 5.3 rate for the three months before October.

Market prices for meat, poultry and fish are up over 15.6 percent from a year ago. A young aeospace worker said: "The meat prices are especially high. I don't think it matters who is president. It's big business that is benefiting from this.'

A housewife commented: "Why should I have to use a lot of vegetables to spread the meat out?"

Top government officials clearly spelled out that they have no intention of halting the skyrocketing food prices. Nixon's economic advisor, Ezra Soloman, and agriculture Secretary Earl Butz warned shoppers to expect further increases in subsequent months.

The whopping food prices that housewives face now are the result of conditions existing before the dollar devaluation. The latest outbreak of the conomic crisis will now force food prices to unheard of heights.

An older shopper who lived through the Depression explained: "This time it will be different. The average working man and woman will not cope with this much longer. We have some rights, like having decent food—which means the right to win the wages to buy it."

But it is precisely this right that Nixon is determined to take away with his virtual dictatorship over wages. The labor bureaucracy is deepening its collaboration with this

The L.A. Citizen, paper of the AFL-CIO, hails a three year ILGWU contract for 20 percent as a victory, reports the oil workers strike as though wages were no issue at all and simply records without comment business reports that inflation for 1973 may hit 3.5 percent.

They do this at a time when an unprecedented wage offensive is required to maintain the living standards of the working class. The very existence of the unions requires the right to negotiate wages under these conditions.

Every trade unionist must fight in his union for a policy of smashing the guidelines and establishing a 100 percent escalator in every contract.

This drives home the urgency of building the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party which is committed to developing the leadership in the unions to smash Phase Three with a general strike and to defeat the government through the calling of a Congress of Labor to establish a labor party.



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