

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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APRIL 30, 1973



FIFTEEN CENTS

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LABOR MUST FORCE NIXON OUT

What we think

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Furthermore, while the policies of compromise necessary for the preservation of capitalism after World War Two required the Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of Europe as a source of investment for American business and a bulwark against the Soviet Union, the defense of American capitalism in this period requires the Kissinger Plan for the destruction of every vestige of European capitalism's political and economic independence.

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Noting that the US "has global interests and responsibilities" as opposed to the "regional interests" of Europe, Kissinger said that a problem of the Marshall Plan was that it "assumed, perhaps too uncritically, that our common interests would be assured by our long history of cooperation."

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GE Plans To Bust Unions See Page 4

Italy Tense After Fascist Bombing

BY JOHN SPENCER

Two youths, both members of the fascist movement Avanguardia Nazionale (National Vanguard), have been arrested in Milan in connection with the murder of a policeman on April 12.

The policeman was blown up by a hand-grenade thrown from a crowd of fascists who were defying a ban on demonstrations and attempting to stage a rally in the center of Milan.

Avanguardia Nazionale is one of the most extreme fascist organizations, closely linked to the Italian Social Movement, the parent fascist body which has 56 MPs. Members of Avanguardia Nazionale have been trained in Greece and at special para-military camps in the Italian alps.

The murder has created a situation of extreme tension in Italy, with clashes in parliament and warnings from veteran reformists about the imminence of civil war.

The funeral of the fascists' victim was attended by some 100,000 people, with the Stalinists prominent among them. The CP deputies denounced the fascists in parliament as assassins and there were fist fights between the two sides of the chamber.

Pietro Nenni, the Socialist Party leader, warned of a re-

surgence of squadristo, the organized bands of thugs which brought Mussolini to power in the years after World War One.

"Enough of conventional lies," said this man who has told far more than his share in the past, "the power vacuum we talk about so often is not a menacing rask any more but a reality which has us in its grip."

There is every sign that the Andreotti government will fall very shortly. It narrowly survived a confidence vote last week but was outvoted on aspects of policy for the 11th time.

There is talk of a new attempt to form a center-left coalition of

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Young Black workers at Rich's Department Store in Atlanta on strike against wages of \$2.00 an hour. Workers have won the support of white workers as the labor movement in the South seeks unionization.

CP: End Renault Strike

BY

A CORRESPONDENT

Failing in strenuous efforts over the past few weeks to stifle the tremendous strike movement among Renault workers, the Stalinist lead-

ership of France's largest trade union federation (the CGT) has called upon the capitalist Pompidou regime to intervene.

A union delegation last week

paid a visit to Georges Gorse, Minister of Labor in the new Messmer cabinet, to plead the Stalinists' case for government intervention to force a return to work.

SPREAD

About 30,000 workers are now out at three Renault plants, and the Stalinists fear the strike wave will spread and spill into other sections of industry where unrest has been growing among the ranks.

The betrayal of the CGT leadership comes at a point when the bosses and the Pompidou government are determined to smash the movement of workers. Sympathy strikes at two Renault plants were met by lockouts, and a sit-in strike at a Peugeot factory was broken up by a squad of armed thugs.

Nationalists Divert Fight At Caribbean Conference

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

NEW YORK—The "Puerto Rico and Caribbean" conference held at Queens College on April 14 and 15 brought to a new height the compromising character of Stalinism and the political bankruptcy of middle class nationalism. Attended by many forces from Jamaica, Santo Domingo, Haiti and other British West Indians, who came together on the basis of regional struggle, it offered an impressive appearance.

The more than 500 workers and youth who came looking for a political alternative to the crisis ridden capitalist system were served with an array of anti-Marxist, anti-working class positions which were never exposed as such by any tendency present at the conference. Gordon K. Lewis, a well-known

sociologist, opened the Saturday session by saying that:

"Karl Marx never considered the race question. It is simplistic to analyze the struggles of the colonial countries in terms of the theory of the class struggle. It is more complex than that, it is a racial one."

The Jamaican representative, Sylvia Winter Carew, who made a fraudulent intervention in defense of the theory of the class

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Japanese Dockers Reject Pay Offer

BY FRED MUELLER

The trade war developing between the US, Western Europe and Japan is beginning to have a big impact. The two huge revaluations of the yen forced upon the Japanese capitalists in the last 15 months are taking their toll.

The March balance of payments figures showed a \$1.09 billion deficit for Japan, the first deficit in three years and by far the largest ever.

The Japanese capitalist class is now confronted in the crisis with a tremendous wage offensive by workers. At the center of this is the fight of the Japanese dockers. As of April 19 the negotiators for the National Council of Port and Harbor Workers had failed to reach agreement with the employers.

The union is demanding an average monthly wage increase of \$75, except for \$94 in the ports of Kobe and Osaka. The best management offer of \$49.24 has been rejected out of hand and the unions have made plain their intention to go ahead with a 72 hour strike of 80,000 workers at 88 ports, starting April 26.

The negotiations have been complicated by the agreement of the Japanese shippers in March to a union demand that workers would no longer be obligated to work after 9:30 p.m. or on Sun-

days. This removal of compulsory night work would drastically increase the costs for foreign shippers in turn around time.

There have been protests to the Transport Ministry and the government in Tokyo is now thought to be intervening in the negotiations to reverse this concession. The foreign shippers have threatened to impose a surcharge on all freight which enters and leaves Japanese ports.

One of the leading spokesmen of the foreign shippers, demanding that their Japanese counterparts make no concessions to the dockers, is Helen Delich Bentley, the head of the Federal Maritime Commission. Bentley is saying to the Japanese shippers what her boss Nixon is saying to all the US capitalist rivals, as Washington seeks to put the burden of the crisis onto Europe and Japan and the international working class. The US capitalists have no choice but to provoke huge class battles in the major capitalist countries.

Bulletin Expansion Drive

With just one week to go to reach the two-thirds mark of \$33,000 on our Spring Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive, we are very far away. Only \$2,237.03 came in this past week, giving us a total of \$27,792.09.

After having met the one-third mark on time and the one-half mark on time we are in serious danger of not making the two thirds mark. This will place us in a difficult period for the last month of the drive. Every effort must be made to reverse this situation to bring in at least \$5000 this next week.

We have just completed printing the second issue of the Young Socialist on our new press. Work will begin next week on binding a series of new pamphlets to add to our Marxist arsenal. This issue of the Bulletin will be the fourth to come off our new press. This vital work must not be interrupted because of a slowness in fund drive contributions.

Every supporter of the Bulletin must decide that this week is THE WEEK to make an extra effort and contribute to our preparations for the future against Nixon and his class.

The Workers League and Young Socialists invite you to a series of classes:

20 Years Of The International Committee

April 29: Vietnam: The SWP's Decade of Betrayal.
May 6: Spartacist: Radicalism vs. International Marxism.
May 13: The Defense of Dialectics: The Split with the OCI.
May 20: The International Committee Today.

Open to all individuals and political tendencies who will observe democratic procedure at the meetings.

Admission: \$1 for each class 50 cents high school students and unemployed
Lecturer: Tim Wohlforth
135 West 14 St. 7th Floor
call 924-0852 for info.



Watergate Reaches Labor White House Must Force Nixon Out

BY BRUCE McKAY

Nixon can no longer escape responsibility for the break-in at the Democratic Party's Watergate headquarters. According to the latest disclosures in the capitalist press, edited transcripts of phone conversations intercepted by wiretaps installed by Nixon's campaign committee were sent directly to the White House.

The Nixon government is now fighting for its political life. It faces not only a tremendous political crisis created by the continuing Watergate scandal but an international economic crisis which is out of control.

The trade union movement must use this crisis to launch a political offensive which can defeat Nixon's attacks on the working class. This means taking up the call for Congress of Labor to prepare strike action against Phase Three and construct a labor party to throw out all the gangsters of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Nixon's official White House Attorney, two of his closest aides and his former attorney general and law partner are now among those facing possible indictments for their role in the planning and execution of the Watergate spy mission.

The disclosures of the past few weeks come after a long and determined effort by Nixon to sweep the whole dirty mess under the rug, and they expose the weakness and corruption of the capitalist government in crisis.

During last year's election campaign, Nixon and every one of those now under investigation by the federal grand jury disclaimed any knowledge of the bugging of Democratic headquarters. In August, Nixon said the investigation conducted by White House Counsel John Dean III, who now faces a possible jail term, "indicates that no one in the White House staff, no one in this Administration, presently

employed, was involved in this very bizarre incident."

But on April 17, Nixon was forced to drastically alter his public posture in a fight for his political life. The continuing disclosures and damaging testimony of some of the original defendants threatened to create a grave political crisis and possibly topple the Nixon regime. "There have been major developments," Nixon said in his April 17 statement.

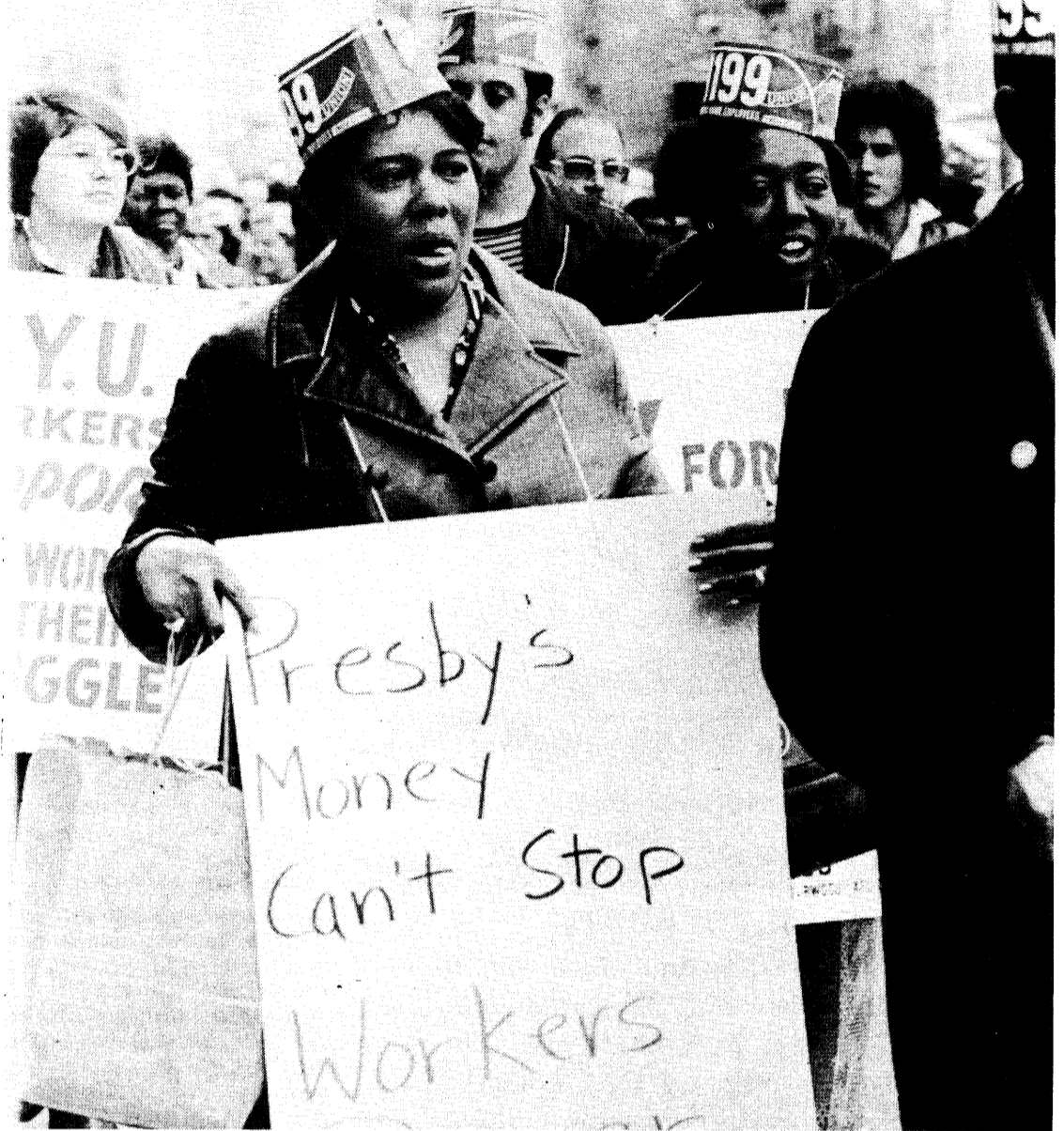
These "major developments" were the implication of Nixon's inner circle of advisers in the whole espionage campaign against the Democrats and increasing pressure from important sections of the capitalist class and Republican Party to take action to end the scandal.

Among those now caught in the net of public disclosures and the Grand Jury investigation are Dean, White House Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman, presidential adviser on domestic affairs John D. Ehrlichman and former Attorney General John Mitchell, who resigned as chairman of Nixon's re-election campaign after the arrest of the Watergate burglars.

After previously denying any knowledge of the Watergate bugging operation prior to the arrests, Mitchell now admits that he sat in at three meetings in February 1972 during which the plan was discussed—confirming earlier testimony by convicted defendant James McCord.

Mitchell, however, claims he rejected the proposal, at the same time admitting the purpose of the meetings was to plan an extensive "intelligence

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Huge demonstration at Columbia Presbyterian Hospital where workers demanded union recognition.

Fish, Poultry Prices Rise At 72% Clip

BY A REPORTER

The latest government statistics on the cost of living confirm what every worker already knows: prices continued their mad upward rush during March.

The government's figures for March reveal that the so-called Consumer Price Index rose at an annual rate of 9.6 percent. Statistics for the first three months of this year combined show an annual rate of inflation of 8.8 percent, double that of 1972.

The actual purchasing power of production workers' wages are now falling at a yearly rate of 12 percent, according to the government's figures.

Meats, poultry, and fish scored record-breaking retail price increases, according to the official figures, rising six percent in one month—a yearly rate of 72 percent. In addition, there were significant increases in the cost of clothing, used cars and rents.

In spite of more glowing predictions from Herbert Stein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, that the "report contains the first encouraging signs on prices we have seen in the past two

months," the outlook is gloomy indeed for workers who must support a family.

JUMP

The tremendous jump in the Wholesale Price Index for the last three months is the real indication of what will happen to the cost of living in the coming months as the value of paper money evaporates. The March rate of increase in this index was over 26 percent!

Nixon has now put forward an "anti-inflation" program which would:

- Implement corporatist-style "labor-management participation in the wage control process" to a greater extent than in the past.

- Undertake a "radical shift" in agricultural policy to encourage overproduction—wiping out the small farmers—in order to fuel Nixon's trade war export drive.

- Further cuts in the budget to wipe out social welfare programs.

- Implement a restrictive monetary policy in combination with tax increases.

- Effect "minor changes" in price standards, while ending controls over prices except in the food processing and distribution, medical care and construction industries.

In Nixon's scheme, wages will be kept down to practically nothing with the aid of the labor bureaucracy, prices will not be controlled, there will be no more social programs, and trade war attacks will be stepped up.

Hospital Defies 1199 Contract Vote

BY BRUCE McKAY

NEW YORK, April 18—Several hundred hospital workers picketed Columbia Presbyterian Hospital today demanding a contract for all service employees.

Workers voted 878 to 507 on March 1 in favor of being represented by Drug and Hospital Workers Local 1199, but following its past tradition of union busting, the hospital administration has refused to recognize the union.

Columbia Presbyterian is one of the largest and wealthiest voluntary hospitals in the country and on its board sit representatives of some of the most powerful corporations in the world.

The victory in the vote count

was only the beginning of the struggle to win a contract at Presbyterian, as workers have learned in past struggles. Two and a half years ago, social workers at Presbyterian voted for 1199, but the hospital administration refused to recognize the union.

An arbitrator decided the dispute in favor of the union, setting wage, hour and benefit standards in accordance with 1199 standards. Presbyterian has arrogantly refused to abide by this decision by using the endless process of court appeals provided for under a 1963 amendment to the state's labor law, which in the past has been praised by the union leadership for allowing hospital workers to organize—while banning strikes.

The 1199 leadership under Leon Davis has so far confined the struggle at Presbyterian to talks and demonstrations, pushing

back the tremendous movement of the ranks. In a leaflet passed out at Wednesday's demonstration, Davis said: "There is still time TO AVERT A STRIKE and bring management to their senses."

In the meantime, workers at Presbyterian face some of the worst working conditions in the city.

"It's really terrible here, especially in food service where I work," one worker told the Bulletin. "It's just like a prison down there. They're always down on our backs, especially if they don't like you."

"We've got to put a stop to all this. I think the only way we can show them we're serious is to just walk off the job," he said.

"I'm fighting for my job," said another worker. "There's no dignity, no job security, and they don't respect anybody here. The Administration uses racism to keep us down and divide every-

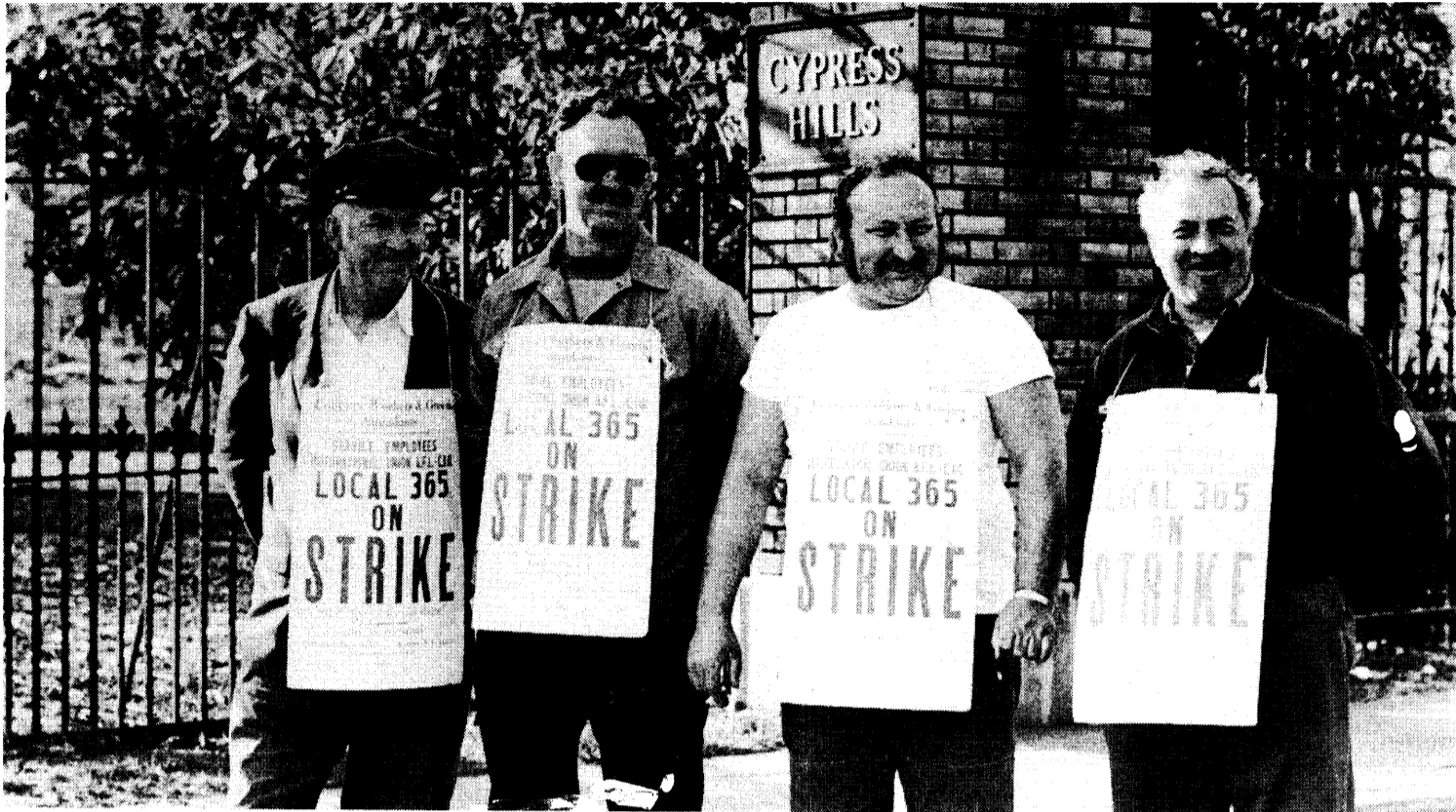
body."

One worker told the Bulletin one of the central issues which must be taken up in the fight for a contract is wages.

"Here I am paying \$175 a month rent and I have to save up two weeks to pay it on the money I make here," he said. "All I want is enough money to make a decent living."

"They should strike this Phase Three. Why should they freeze wages when food prices are going up and all your bills and everything else are going up too? You know, Nixon said prices were going to level off, but they're not. They're going to go up and up and up."

"The whole thing is a racket, man. Nixon has a real racket going. I think we have to fight it now. I feel it's going to be another depression—it's already a depression for me."



NY cemetery workers, on strike for \$12 weekly increase, are being hauled up before a state board of inquiry.

Long Strike Seen At Cemetery

BY BRUCE MCKAY
NEW YORK, April 22—Cemetery workers are now on strike at three locations following the rejection by management of a "rock bottom" wage and benefit package proposed by the union leadership.

The union proposal calls for a \$12 per week wage increase in each year of the three year contract, an offer which union officials have said is within Nixon's 5.5 percent Phase Three guidelines. The 1700 members of Cemetery Workers and Greens Attendants Local 365 have been working without a contract at 47 area cemeteries since January 2.

Picketing workers interviewed by the *Bulletin* at the large Cypress Hills Cemetery in Brooklyn said they are prepared for a long strike. They also said the \$12 per week increase being proposed by Local 365 President Sam Cimaglia is not enough in the face of the skyrocketing cost of living.

The cemetery owners' association has offered the men only eight dollars per week more in wages, and there are also sharp differences between the owners and union on the question of benefits and job classifications.

The state has taken the side of the owners very openly, moving to break the strike by setting up a three man "board of inquiry" headed by former New York City Deputy Mayor Robert Sweet.

In the face of a subpoena, Cimaglia said last week he is "ready to go to jail" rather than attend public hearings being held by the state panel. Management representatives have been excused from the hearings.

Cimaglia, however, has bowed to government pressure by refusing to call out his men in a full scale strike against all 47 cemeteries or taking up a fight against Nixon for a wage increase which can meet the needs of the workers in the face of the rampant inflation.

GE Plans To Bust Electrical Unions

BY DAVID NORTH

NEW YORK—With less than one month remaining until the May 26 strike deadline, the likelihood of a walkout by 140,000 electrical workers employed by General Electric is mounting as there has been absolutely no progress in the contract talks that began here in March.

Both the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE) and United Electrical Workers (UE) have declared that they will not accept the Phase Three guidelines of 5.5 percent, and that the fight to regain the losses due to the past increases in the cost of living is a central issue in the current negotiations.

However, spokesmen of the IUE and UE have reported to the *Bulletin* that it has not been possible to even discuss the unions' economic demands because the talks have reached a virtual impasse over revisions in the work rules that are being demanded by General Electric.

A national conference of the IUE bargaining committee has been called for April 27; and if GE does not change what the unions have called a "get tough" stance, "the whole thing could come to a head," according to a member of the IUE negotiating staff.

BATTLE

The battle facing the UE and the IUE is of critical importance to the entire labor movement because it is clear that the Nixon Administration and the leading corporations are viewing the talks with the electrical workers as a test of Phase Three.

Nixon knows that if the electrical workers blast through the 5.5 percent guidelines, there will be no holding back the more than four million trade unionists whose contracts expire later in the year.

The major companies realize that if GE fails to impose the drastic changes in work rules that it has presented to the unions, the victory of the electrical workers will have set the trend for defiance within all sections of the working class.

Therefore, on every issue related to wages, work conditions, and job security, the unions and GE are headed for a showdown.

•With General Electric citing the Phase Three guidelines, the stage has been set for a battle over wages. The IUE and UE have called for the elimination of the eight cent cap on the cost of living clause in the present contract. Without even counting the dramatic inflation of the past two

months, this cap has already cost electrical workers about 29 cents an hour since their last contract was signed.

This means that the IUE and UE must break through the guidelines and win an eight and one-half percent increase merely to win back the standard of living its members had in 1970. But this means a head-on collision with the Nixon Administration.

Al Litano, an officer of IUE Local 255 in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, told the *Bulletin*: "The way things look now, I expect Nixon to tighten controls even before we sign the next contract."

•In addition to the fight over wages, electrical workers face a set of revisions in contract language that open the way for the destruction of conditions in the plants and thousands of jobs.

The *Bulletin* has learned from a leading official in the UE that General Electric has demanded a free hand in putting any service on continuous operation. By running any sections of the plant it wishes on a non-stop basis, new work scheduling would wipe out Saturday and Sunday as days off

and result in big layoffs as more productive work patterns are established.

"Up till now," a source in the UE stated, "we have not been able to find out what this would mean in job losses."

REVISION

An even more drastic revision of the last contract now being sought by GE, according to our source, is the demand that new plants organized by either the IUE or UE will not come under the provisions of the national contract.

"This is the first step toward disrupting the national contract for every electrical worker," declared a UE spokesman.

The UE and IUE, which represent 70 percent of the workers in General Electric, have stated that they will not accept this demand.

"I thought we had settled this question in 1969," a UE spokesman told me. "But GE has brought it up again and is trying to break us down."

A third proposal advanced by GE would destroy the right to strike by electrical workers and

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Political Committee Statement

NCLC Hooliganism Attacks Trotskyism

The National Caucus of Labor Committees has opened up a vicious campaign of hooliganism and physical attacks on the Communist Party. Last week an attempt was also made against the Socialist Workers Party. As we pointed out in the last issue of the *Bulletin*, these are anti-communist provocateurs and a threat to the workers movement.

TROTSKYISM

The Communist Party is now trying to use these attacks by the Labor Committee to attack Trotskyism. In the April 21 issue of the *Daily World*, in an article by Morris Davis entitled "May 1 and a proto-Brownshirt gang's challenge to labor," the CP compares the activities of the Labor Committee to Trotskyism. "In the 40s the main disrupters were the Trotskyites, followers of Leon Trotsky." Morris goes on to say that "the Trotskyites" in World War Two "acted as fifth columnists of the fascist Axis powers" and were "wreckers."

First, it must be said that the

Labor Committee has absolutely nothing to do with Trotskyism. The leadership of this organization is made up of renegades from the Fourth International who rejected Marxism and turned against the working class.

Second, it is Stalinism and its Communist Parties that began the use of hooliganism in the workers movement beginning in 1928 when the first issue of *The Militant* hit the streets. The origins of these methods lie in the Moscow trials in which Stalin framed up and murdered almost the entire leadership of Lenin's Bolshevik Party and the Russian Revolution, including Leon Trotsky. The American Communist Party to this day has never repudiated these trials. The American CP itself was directly complicit in the assassination of Trotsky. During World War Two the CP earned the hatred of millions of workers for their support to every attack by the government on the unions. This is the real history.

At the same time, and despite

our deep political differences, the Workers League has made clear to the CP our willingness to organize a common defense against the Labor Committee's attacks. Last week we sent a letter to the CP which stated:

"We wish to inform you that the Workers League condemns the recent attacks made by the National Caucus of Labor Committees against members of your organization. The physical assaults which took place in Philadelphia and New York are blatantly anti-communist in character and represent a threat to all working class organizations.

"As the NCLC has announced its intention to continue its policy of disrupting your meetings—particularly the upcoming May Day rally—and those of all organizations that denounce their right-wing and anti-working class provocations, the Workers League proposes a discussion between our organizations on the preparation of joint defense of all working class meetings against

such disruptions."

We have also discussed with representatives of the SWP, who have also been attacked by the thugs of the Labor Committee, the question of defense. We wish to reiterate our call for the condemnation of these attacks and a discussion among the organization of a joint defense of all working class meetings against these attacks.



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Bulletin Trailblazers Welcomed By Detroit Workers

BY TERENCE CROSS

DAYTON—Today, the **Bulletin** has trailblazing teams working in the Pacific Northwest, the South, and the Midwest, marking a big step in the development of a paper which can give leadership today in the fight against Nixon. The work of the trailblazing teams is critical in the fight for the twice-weekly **Bulletin**.

In one week 399 workers and youth throughout the Midwest have bought subscriptions to the **Bulletin**. Over 500 **Bulletins**, 200 YS papers, and \$35 in literature have been sold.

The government's policies of vicious speedup, layoffs, and budget cuts were very evident in the Kalamazoo, Michigan area. Here, the drive of the corporations for more profit has resulted in the Pioneer Paper Mill being closed, significant speedup at the Fisher Body Plant and large budget cuts at Western Michigan University. The widespread unemployment and the restlessness of the Fisher Body workers is tempered by Nixon's move to cut all unemployment benefits and wipe out such benefits for striking workers.

A tremendous response to the **Bulletin**

and **Young Socialist** was shown as 82 subs and an additional 150 papers were sold in two days.

In Detroit, the open hatred of the workers for their so-called leaders can be seen by the contempt held for the Woodcock leadership in the United Auto Workers.

The **Bulletin's** headline **LAYOFFS BEGIN IN GENERAL MOTORS** aroused much interest. The trailblazers entered Detroit only days after an auto worker had had his head blown off in a stamping press. Describing this incident, one worker said: "After safety officials came in and shut down seven unsafe presses, the company turned the presses back on immediately after the officials left."

The murder and the arrogant disregard for any safety conditions by the companies



Antioch College literature table, where over \$11 of literature was sold.

show their determination to turn back the times to the days of merciless sweatshops. The brutal speedups and the intolerable plant conditions, along with wages, are explosive issues.

The will to defend the gains already made by the working class was shown by a walkout recently at the Dodge Main Plant, forcing the local leadership to promise a strike package. The betrayal of Local 3 President Joe Hardy, in refusing to carry this through, has resulted in a situation where Hardy cannot step in the plant without fearing for his safety.

The militancy of the auto workers, however, is not enough. Many workers see Woodcock as immovable. One Chrysler worker said, "I try to do what I can, because we know that Woodcock will do what he wants to anyway." The alternative of a labor party, to go beyond militancy, was fought for by the trailblazers. One hundred fifty-six subs and an additional 241 papers were sold in Detroit in three days.

The complete treachery of the union.

bureaucrats, who are attempting to handcuff the working class, was discussed with the new subscribers. A young steel worker in Dayton, facing speedup in his foundry, spoke against I.W. Abel's "no strike" pledge.

"Now Abel has signed this 'no strike' thing and we all know we have to have a strike. And something else we're mad about is that Abel has said there will be no support from the International for local strikes."

With unemployment soaring in the Dayton area and inflation skyrocketing, the government's attacks are met with the determination of the working class to defend themselves. One worker, an organizer for United Electrical Workers in Dayton, spoke about inflation. "Nine dollars an hour seems like a lot for skilled workers, but in six months it will be nothing. There can be no bargaining with Nixon." Over 88 subs have been sold at this point in the Dayton area, and in the Cincinnati-Norwood area 45 subs were sold in a single day.

In Cincinnati, one worker told the **Bulletin** that his entire shift at the Fisher Body Plant had been laid off. His new job at Wayfarer Mobile Home builders is non-union. The worker reported that: "We use Dodge frames and the company told us that when the Dodge workers got a raise, we'd get one, but we haven't seen one. They make \$30,000 off each van and I can't see why we can't get a raise."

Nixon's campaign against education has been seen in all areas. At Detroit's Wayne State campus, there has been a drop in enrollment from 1972, and several students reported a 200 percent tuition increase from last year. On Wayne's campus, 41 YS papers were sold in a morning in a fight to defend education. This was posed in a fight to construct a YS branch there against the middle class protest of the Young Socialist Alliance and its allies in the Spartacist League.

At Western Michigan University, as a result of an enrollment drop of 3000 from 1972, 70 teachers have been laid off.

In Yellow Springs, Ohio, at Antioch College, literature sales of over eleven dollars plus 51 YS papers were recorded within a few hours time. The enthusiastic response given the YS comes at a time when Nixon's budget cuts begin to squeeze small schools such as Antioch. One student reported that "One to three million dollars will be cut if budget cuts go through."

The success of the subscriptions drive here has been precisely because of the movement of the working class against Nixon. The fight now to construct a Marxist leadership and the fight to build a labor party, reflected here in large sales of the labor party Manifesto, is led by the **Bulletin**.



Discussion at Young Socialist literature table at Boston Univ., set up by trailblazers to build for a meeting against the budget cuts.

Trailblazers Tour Boston's Black and White Ghettos

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

BOSTON—Young Socialists from New York, Connecticut, Bethlehem and Baltimore have become a part of a trailblazing team going throughout the New England area selling subscriptions to the **Bulletin**. Roxbury, Somerville, Charlestown, Cambridge, Boston University, and Brandeis University are some of the areas in which the trailblazers sold over 180 subs and 300 **Bulletins** in four days.

Every day the trailblazers went out to auto plants, factories and communities. A table was set up at Boston University nearly every day selling a great deal of Marxist literature and **Bulletins**.

Workers from different unions, unemployed and youth bought subscriptions to the **Bulletin** expressing their sharp hatred for the policies of the government and Nixon. The team spoke to hundreds of workers and youth who were completely disgusted with the government, its two parties and protesting. One unemployed man stated in response to the fight for the labor party: "This state didn't vote for Nixon, maybe that's why Nixon is so hard here. But I see that the Democrats aren't doing anything about it either. They're all in it together."

A youth from a high school in Somerville stated that: "The schools can't get any worse here. The walls are falling in."

The attacks that the government has launched in Boston pose the urgency now to get a wide readership of the **Bulletin** and construct a leadership which can take forward the struggles of workers and youth. Unemployment in Massachusetts was recorded at 7.2 percent in the month of February. The shipbuilding industry has already begun a cutback of 13,000 jobs. The Boston city hospital is laying off 600 workers. This is just the beginning of what older workers will face in the New England area.

Crowded conditions, decadent buildings, filth and rampant disease can depict these areas. The ghettos, all of which are extremely rotten and degenerated, are separated into white, Black, and new immigrants. Racial tension has been whipped up to keep Black and white workers and youth fighting each other and not the government.

Young people, living under the worst

conditions, have become extremely frustrated with the life they are forced to live in and many turn to drugs. The school system in Boston alone is the worst in the nation. Recreation for thousands of youth in these areas is nothing more than hazardous playgrounds and the nearby street corner.

The universities and colleges are forcing students to pay tuition increases of hundreds of dollars. Boston University is raising tuition by \$400 while it is laying off 99 professors. Financial Aid programs are being slashed by half and even more in other universities.

MEETING

A meeting was called at Boston University for April 25 to prepare the fight that has to be conducted in New England against the policies of the government; to build the leadership which can fight all the way against Nixon to defend the rights and gains of the working class.

Dockers Fight Job Cutbacks

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

CHICAGO—As the 1973 Great Lakes shipping season starts, it has been exposed that the Sykes leadership has absolutely no intention of fighting to defend jobs on the Chicago docks. In fact, a key provision of last year's contract which is just going into effect actually prepares the breaking up of Local 19.

In the midst of a drive throughout the Great Lakes to cut gang size to four in the hold, a new seniority hiring plan has been adopted which will allow the docking companies to give any or all of the available jobs to non-union "extra men."

At a small but stormy local meeting on April 19, the ranks demanded that the new seniority cards for 1973 be pulled back. They also won an agreement from the Sykes leadership to open the local's membership books for at least 30 days to allow for a recruiting fight among the "extra men." Sykes closed the books last fall to "protect jobs for the union men." Actually his move was to cover his own refusal to fight for job security as more and more container equipment is moved into the area.

"Looks like I maybe paid \$464 for nothing," one union member told the *Bulletin* angrily. "I've got seven years, and now some guy who's worked the docks eight, ten, twelve years and never bothered about the union, he could get a job ahead of me." Local 19's hiring is done right at the docks, rather than at a hiring hall.

Each man reports to whichever dock he wants, and union men are hired for the day according to seniority. Then gangs are filled out as needed from the "extra men," who pay for a union permit to work, get full contract benefits and are also hired according to their seniority on the docks.

CLAUSE

The new contract creates 14 levels rather than 7, and was supposed to clear up some remaining chances for favoritism, rather than strict seniority, to determine hiring. But when the men reported to be reassigned, they were finally told the real meaning of the clause—that union and extra men would be pooled together for hiring.

"Seems like this is just as bad as what Abel did at the mills," another docker said. "Look, jobs are going to be tight this year. The union isn't really fighting the cuts, and now they're not even

fighting for our own men to get the jobs.

"Don't get me wrong—I think these guys should work, and I think they should be in the union. I fought against closing the books. There should be work for everyone—Chicago is the biggest port on the lakes."

Increasing use of container equipment at Calumet Harbor threatens to halve the number of jobs, and may even lead to the closing of Navy Pier. The first ship of the season, for instance, docked at Navy Pier near the loop for welcoming ceremonies with Mayor Daley, and then left unloaded. "They didn't even invite us to look at it, much less load it! It just came in and then disappeared. We don't even know who handled it; none of us did."

Many dockers think that the ship was loaded at Burns Harbor in Indiana, where the local leadership has accepted the four man gang size. Local 19 is under great pressure to cut their gang size from eight men.

DANGER

This is the real danger of the new hiring plan—it would now be possible to make up gangs of entirely non-union men and drastic attacks on working conditions and gang size could be made, cutting them off from union protection and actually using them as a wedge against the union membership.

While Sykes has been forced to defend the eight man gang size, he has no perspective for actually waging a fight against Gleason's policies, no perspective for defending jobs. Executive Board members report that he received a letter from Gleason demanding that he give in and accept the four man gang. Sykes said nothing about this letter at the April meeting.

"He's not much of a fighter," a docker said bitterly. "Maybe he's okay when he's preaching, I don't know. I think we have to get to the guys who haven't been at the meetings and tell them it's their job to come to the meetings and do the job Sykes won't do."

This fight is now being carried out around the program of the national dock caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

Midwest News



As the strike enters its fourteenth week...

CBS Strike Hit By Scabs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MADISON—Under pressure from the CBS national and the federal Communications Commission, WISC-TV (Channel 3) in Madison has agreed to submit seven items of a proposed contract with striking Communications Workers of America Local 5530, to arbitration.

The items include: discharge and grievance procedures, seniority and union representatives and activities. Disciplinary measures are now being taken against a worker for saying something derogatory about the station even in his off hours.

Now entering the fourteenth week of a strike against Channel 3, Manager George Stantis continues his vicious campaign to drive the union out. The scabs inside the station have filed for a decertification vote which, if approved, will close the union out. It is suspected there has been payroll-padding to turn the vote away from unionization.

DEFENSE

Picket Barry Bauman was hit and carried 100 feet into the parking lot on the hood of a scab's car. Fearing the driver would swerve around a corner, Bauman clutched the windshield wiper to hold on and his picket sign cracked the car's windshield. Now the driver wants to sue Bauman. The overripeness of the situation for building a political arm for the workers' defense is clear.

The company and its agents are using every force at their disposal to break the strike. Oak-Centurion guards, the company security force, have thrown strike signs off the lot into the street and even stolen some.

Local 5530 has filed a second unfair labor practices suit with the National Labor Relations Board against the company because of the attacks. The CWA International has finally begun court procedures and issued subpoenas to the company and seven or eight former union members last weekend.

Manager Stantis refused to fire the men, who resigned from the

union, although union membership was a condition of employment agreed upon in the 1970 contract.

The union is operating on an approximate \$450 a month strike fund which means pickets get paid 75 cents an hour. One striker was forced to find another job because he just couldn't eat on that.

ISOLATION

The CWA International has provided hardly any support even though Local 5530 is a tremendously large union. The leadership has let this strike go on in isolation. It has not called out its millions of members in support of the strike. Union President Richard Lang agrees with the policy and has not even called out other sections of local CWA workers in support of the Channel 3 strike.

The International CWA has repeatedly refused to mobilize the masses of workers in its membership in any fight for the rights of workers.

The leadership internationally and locally have remained tied to the Democrats and the old trade union traditions of pressure tactics and relying on ineffectual maneuvering in Nixon's courts without seeing that the system cannot afford to grant them anything lasting. They fail to pose the necessity of breaking from the party that is calling for a return to Phase Two and tighter wage controls.

Instead of fighting to win with the strength and funds of the International CWA membership, the present leadership sees it as a local fight unrelated to CWA in other areas. The only way to win is to bring out the entire union membership in support of the strike.

The present methods can only lead to demoralization and disillusionment.

UM Takes Hard Line On Union

BY AN AFSCME 1164 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS—After nearly two months, negotiations for a first contract have now resumed in American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1164 of the University of Minnesota Workers. At this negotiation meeting, the University administration demonstrated that it had only hardened its opposition and hostility to the union and its fight for a contract.

The administration feigned innocence and "could not understand the difference" between a six month probationary period now in effect under civil service rules and the union's contract demand for 30 days probation. In answer to the demand for more frequent negotiation sessions, the administration could find only two days in the next month when it was available to meet again.

In the face of the bosses' arrogant hostility, members of the Caucus for a Decent Contract again demanded a date be set in May for strike action if the contract is not signed and wage demands met.

Although the Stalinists of Progressive Labor now quietly state a strike will be necessary, they are absolutely opposed to setting a concrete date, only speaking of it in terms of "some time in the future."

PREVENT

In order to prevent a strike, the Stalinists are pressing phony charges that two leading members of the Caucus have violated the union's constitution and should be expelled. They are doing a job not only for the hospital administration and the local bureaucracy, but also for Joe Robison and the bureaucracy of Council 6 of the Minnesota State Workers.

Only the CDC has fought to expose the alliance between the Council 6 bureaucracy and the Democratic Party. The Caucus has fought consistently for a break with Governor Anderson and the Democrats and their budget cuts through the construction of a labor party.

RAILROAD

Before the trial even begins, Charles Williams, President of Local 1164, has made it clear he intends to railroad through a kangaroo trial.

According to the union's constitution, the trial date must be "mutually convenient." At no time was either of the accused contacted. They lodged a formal complaint that the date set was not convenient. Williams denied the request.

Second, the trial body must be "disinterested." Nearly every member of the Executive Board which will also serve as the jury voted to ask both Caucus members to resign. Williams also refused to disqualify those members of the E-Board and pick substitutes.

This miserable activity is a deadly blow against every hospital worker. It is a dangerous attack on the very existence of the union and, if they are allowed to succeed, will mean the end to any real fight to win a contract and a wage increase.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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KKK On Trial In Detroit

BY KEN WESTON

DETROIT—Five men on trial in Detroit for the dynamite bombing of ten Pontiac school buses in 1971, including former Michigan Ku Klux Klan grand dragon Robert Miles, have waived their right to a jury trial claiming that it would be impossible to draw fair jurors from the Detroit area.

Their lawyer, James Wells, in a blatant attempt to whip up a racist atmosphere at the trial stated: "There is a deep-seated prejudice in the words Ku Klux Klan. When a witness in this case appeared before the (federal) grand jury and was identified as a Klansman, the four black jurors sat there bug-eyed. They were afraid to ask any questions."

Wells went on: "The white grand jurors had never realized there was a KKK in the twentieth century. Ku Klux Klan sounds like a clandestine organization. It disturbs people and causes imagery."

TESTIMONY

The testimony of the government's key witness, Jerome Lavinger, leaves no doubt as to what kind of organization the modern day Klan is. The five men have been charged by the federal government with threatening and intimidating Black students in Pontiac and obstructing a federal court order for Pontiac schools to integrate through the busing of students.

Lavinger, a Pontiac fireman who informed on the Klan's activities to the FBI, testified that one of the defendants, Wallace E. Fruit, even suggested that 3.5 mortars be used to knock out a power station near Pontiac and also launch an attack on the buses.

Lavinger also said that Miles had discussed the possibility of assassinating two Black Pontiac attorneys who assisted the NAACP in its fight for integration of Pontiac schools.

PROVOCATION

The provocative and often violent activities of extreme right-wing political groups such as the KKK and Donald J. Lobsinger's "Breakthrough," have been instrumental in whipping up racist hysteria over school integration in Michigan just at the time when massive cuts in federal aid to education threaten every child's right to a decent education, Black or white.

ANTI-LABOR

The five defendants, members and associates of the viciously anti-Black and anti-labor KKK, seek refuge from a jury trial, preferring judgment by a US District judge, because it is the federal government which requires the services of these men to cover for its own anti-working class policies.

Midwest News



Local 1140 electrical workers in Minneapolis on strike for wage increase and cost of living clause.

Portec Strikers Attacked

BY KATHLEEN RICK
MINNEAPOLIS—Portec

incorporated has opened up vicious union-busting tactics as the 400 workers at the Pioneer Division entered their first day of strike. Portec workers, organized into International Union of Electrical Workers Local 1140 produce asphalt plants and equipment for road construction. On the afternoon of the strike, one worker was knocked down by the company car when the plant superintendent drove it into the picket lines.

"We want this to be a peaceful strike," one of the angry workers said, "but Kimbillin (plant superintendent) is putting a strain on a peace-type thing." The eleven men at the gate picked up the front end of the station wagon and threw it back into the parking lot after Don Brynestad was hit in the leg. He had to carry a cane for the next day and a half after the incident.

"What I'm thinking isn't printable," Brynestad told the Bulletin. Brynestad has had to deal with not only the company's assaults, but the arrogance of the city attorney as well. "I went in to file a complaint, and the city attorney said it wasn't 'big enough' to go to court because I wasn't in an ambulance. He told me I should have gotten out of the way. 'What if I had been in a car and the plant superintendent were in my way, should I run him over?' I said. The city attorney didn't say a thing. I don't think Kimbillin should be superintendent," he added.

The rest of the workers are angry too. "What they are trying to do is beat us out of 6 months cost of living and get out of it for next year," one worker said. The company is offering a combined wage increase-cost of living package that doesn't meet even Nixon's 5.5 percent guidelines. The combined wording in the proposal would take away the cost of living that had been in the old contract. "With the way the food prices are going, you can just squeak by. We want our cost of living now, not nine months from now," another worker said.

As one Portec worker said, "Even the 5.5 percent wage increase isn't enough."

Midwest Steel Ranks: No To Abel's Sellout!

BY JACQUES JANNSEN

CHICAGO—Three percent! They can't do that! I can't go backwards that fast—I'll break my damn neck!"

Abel's sellout deal with the steel companies over the crucial questions of wages and the right to strike has been met by massive resistance by rank and file members.

Local 65 of the South Works plant in Chicago voted unanimously to reject the deal at their membership meeting on April 11.

The present contract does not end until August 1974, but Abel is anxious to reach an agreement with the companies now in order to prevent the workers from taking strike action. In fact this is the "justification" he uses for his deal.

He says that the steel companies stockpiled steel in 1971 to prepare for a long strike. The strike did not happen but the companies no longer needed to produce as much steel and so proceeded to lay off more than 100,000 of the then 530,000 steelworkers. Abel's argument is that by assuring the companies that the union will not go on strike then the steel companies will not stockpile and so, of course, there will be no layoffs.

This argument falls to pieces in the reality of the situation. The companies are ordering steel in vast quantities today in order to stockpile their own supply of steel before the price goes up as it will later this year.

US Steel has already consciously prepared for this by hiring new workers under the provision that they can be laid off at any time. The new workers are being told there is no job security in the steel plants and this is a warning to all the workers in the plants.

The Gary Post-Tribune's headline on April 21 was "No USS Layoffs." The article went on to say that the No. 3 open hearth at the plant was going to be permanently shut down the next day but that Edward Logelin, Midwest vice president for US Steel, assured them that "There will be no layoffs. People will be transferred. Production and demand being what they are, we have no plans to lay off anybody in Gary."

But the reason that US Steel can close part of its plant now when orders are up is because of the "partial completion" of the Q-BOP furnaces, which enables the company to use an advanced method of making steel.

In the face of these threats, Gary Works Local 1014 President Harry Paisacki has nothing to say. He boasts in a letter sent to the membership that he voted against Abel's deal at the meeting where Abel announced it, but in reality he accepts and supports it.

He refused to allow a motion against it at the membership meeting.

Only the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party and its caucuses can fight this sellout by the leadership. Caucuses in the steel locals must be built to repudiate Abel's sellout. Demands of a 20 percent wage increase, a 100 percent cost of living clause, no layoffs or speedups, and improved grievance procedure must be fought for on the basis of calling a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

Ranks Shut Tool Plant

BY A MEMBER OF LOCAL 714

CHICAGO—Tool and Die Makers at Ekco's Chicago plant took their tools home on Friday, April 20. Several stated that they would be back with "a ruler, and not much else."

The one thousand to two thousand dollars of precision equipment which each worker owns is essential for the complex work required on the multi-stage progressive dies that these workers build and maintain.

The action followed a week of struggle with management after \$250 worth of tools were stolen from a worker's tool box the previous weekend. The workers, through Teamsters Local 714, demanded that the company pay him full compensation and in-

crease security in the plant. When the company refused, the toolmakers took their tools home, an action which effectively ended most work in the tool room.

The situation is explosive as this incident takes place in the midst of struggles over safety conditions, overtime and pay scales. The toolmakers are planning retaliation for expected management attempts to fire any of them for "failure to perform work."

MEETINGS TO CELEBRATE

MAY DAY

'73

Minneapolis
TUESDAY MAY 1 8pm
Labor Hall 924 Second Ave. So.
Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary
of the Workers League \$1

Madison May 5 2PM Labor Temple, 1602 S. Park
\$1 contribution 75¢ HS Students & unemployed

Chicago Sun. May 6 3PM
Labor Center 1325 So. Wabash, 3rd Fl.
Speaker: Jean Brust

\$2 contribution
\$1 for students &
unemployed
(Includes supper)

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weekly organ of the workers league

Call Congress Of Labor To Defend GE Ranks

Nixon is now girding for an attack on the electrical workers whose contract expires less than a month from now. Through the General Electric workers, Nixon plans to force the implementation of Phase Three to slash the living standards of American workers and to defeat the union. GE has already stated that it will enforce the guidelines and at the same time is demanding new work rules which will mean layoffs for thousands of workers.

Through GE Nixon is trying to break the back of the wage offensive and to use a settlement on his grounds to attack the United Auto Workers and the five million other workers who now face Phase Three. Nixon hopes to isolate the GE struggle and to then push the unions back one at a time. The struggle in GE concerns every trade unionist and the future of the unions themselves.

The leadership of the UE and the IUE have said that they will not accept Nixon's guidelines. But it is not enough to simply raise demands—the question is to win them. This is the question now before the ranks of the UE and IUE that must now be faced up to.

Nixon and GE can only be defeated if the power of the whole labor movement is mobilized in support of the GE workers which are the first to challenge Phase Three and preparations are made now for the collision with Nixon and the government.

This is why the urgent question now is the convening of a Congress of Labor. Such a Congress will have to prepare general strike action by the entire labor movement not only to defend the GE workers, but all of the five million workers whose contracts expire this year. Such a Congress will have to initiate the building of a labor party to take up a political fight against Nixon and the Democrats to put an end to the wage freeze and all the attacks the government has launched against the working people.

The calling of this Congress of Labor is posed immediately before the May 8 meeting of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. But it is clear from all the recent moves by the labor leaders that they will not call this Congress on their own. They do not want to openly discuss a policy before such a Congress of thousands of workers who come to fight Nixon.

The only force in the labor movement that will carry out this fight is the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

The fight for the Congress of Labor means a collision not only with the present leadership of the unions but with the Communist Party. Out of one side of its mouth it talks about fighting the freeze and the need for the "political independence of the trade union movement." Out of the other side they applaud the leadership of the UE and IUE for refusing to fight for a program which can defeat Nixon and GE.

It is impossible to defeat Nixon's Phase Three and GE without a general strike of the entire labor movement. It is impossible to defend the unions against the government's attacks without building a labor party. It is impossible to carry through this fight without a struggle against the present leadership of the unions from the Meanys to the so-called lefts in the leadership of the UE.

This is the fight which is now being taken up by the Workers League and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party and will be at the center of the rally in Union Square this Saturday and in meetings throughout the country.



...THAT'S FUNNY!?! I CAN'T SEEM TO GET RID OF THE STINK!

What we think The Kissinger Plan

(Continued From Page 1)

Because "these expectations are not being fulfilled," Kissinger admitted that the ruthless proposals outlined in Nixon's recent trade bill will be the guide for the United States' future relations with Europe.

Of course, these comments were decorated by all the usual diplomatic references to "partnership" and "statesmanship," etc. But Kissinger's speech makes it clear that the assessment of the role of American imperialism developed by Leon Trotsky nearly 50 years ago has lost none of its original force.

Rather, the fact that the world capitalist crisis is centered in the United States today—which was not the case in 1924—makes an understanding of Trotsky's speeches on Europe and America more critical than ever before for the development of a revolutionary perspective for the United States.

"If we wish to give a clear and precise answer to the question of what American imperialism wants," declared Trotsky in 1924, "we must say: It wants to put capitalist Europe on rations."

In 1973, dubbed by Nixon, "The Year of Europe," this conclusion must be reinforced the following way: it is not rations but starvation that American imperialism proposes for Europe.

The replacement of the Marshall Plan by the Kissinger Plan is rooted in the historical development of the present crisis. As the Second World War came to a conclusion, two basic alternatives were posed to American imperialism.

Either there could be an immediate launching of war against the Soviet Union coupled with civil war against European workers as well as against working class soldiers returning to American plants; or there could be a compromise with the working class—arranged through the agency of Stalinism—based upon the redevelopment of Europe financed with a massive inflation of credit.

Fearing the consequences of the first alternative which would have pitted American imperialism and a prostrate European bourgeoisie

against the victorious Red Army, armed partisans in every Western European country, and rebellious troops within Eisenhower's army, Nixon's predecessors chose the second course.

But the price for this compromise is that the breakup of the inflationary monetary system constructed in Bretton Woods means that Nixon must confront this crisis with the international working class enormously strengthened.

At the same time, European capitalism is considerably stronger than it was in 1945. But this fact cannot be correctly understood in isolation from the enormous social power of the European working class.

For the heart of Trotsky's speeches on Europe and America is that the attempt to bend Europe to the will of American imperialism will drive Europe onto the road of the socialist revolution. Trotsky saw the reactionary policies of American imperialism as an influence for the explosive disruption of class relations in Europe. He declared:

"Today out of her own capitalist considerations and driven by the logic of imperialist rapacity, America is making the experiment with rations on a gigantic scale and in relation to many people. This plan will not go through without meeting with resistance, without arousing a cruel struggle along class lines and along national lines. The more the might of American capitalism tends to become transformed into political self-assurance—and this process is picking up tempo, the more American capitalism expands internationally, the more commands the American bankers issue to the governments of Europe, all the greater, all the more centralized, all the more resolute will be the resistance of the broadest masses of Europe, not only among the proletariat but also among the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry. Because, Messrs. America, it is not at all so simple a task, as you deem, to transfer Europe to a colonial position!"

It is even far more difficult today

to accomplish that, when Nixon cannot take on Europe without attacking millions of workers in this country. Trade war, the breakup of the Common Market, and the manipulation of currencies must find their American translation in terms of unemployment, wage cutting and laws against the trade unions. Moreover, these actions—which will provoke bitter resistance among American workers—must be attempted by Nixon at the very moment when the crisis which the entire ruling class confronts is expressed most graphically in the blow-up around Watergate.

Seen in the light of Trotsky's assessment of Europe and America, it becomes clear that the Kissinger Plan must create the conditions for the political struggle of the working class against Nixon against the background of revolutionary developments in Europe.

Within the context of this objective situation, the subjective factor—the revolutionary leadership of the working class—assumes the greatest significance. Internationally, Stalinism collaborates with the imperialists, betrays the working class movements, and weakens the foundations of the Soviet Union and China.

In the United States, the trade union bureaucracy—supported by the Stalinists of the Communist Party—have entered into an alliance with Nixon, supporting every reactionary trade war measure proposed in the Congress—such as the Burke-Hartke bill—while remaining tied to the Democrats and refusing to mobilize workers politically against Phase Three in defense of their trade unions and living conditions.

The fight of the Workers League, Young Socialists, and Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party for the Congress of Labor and the labor party is bound to the struggle to develop workers in the trade unions and all sections of youth as Marxists.

As contradiction is the source of development, we see the contradiction between the objective tasks of the working class and its present thinking and bureaucratic leadership is creating the most favorable opportunities for the development of a Marxist leadership in the United States.

It is with this confidence that we rally in Union Square in celebration of May Day and carry forward the fight for Trotskyism deep into the labor movement.

CORRECTION

In last week's issue of the Bulletin, a typographical error was made in "What We Think" on page 8. The last sentence should have read: "We know what he would do to a socialist congress and we prepare workers in the light of that knowledge."

Building the Bulletin

This past week the magnificent effort of our Bulletin trailblazing teams made it possible for us to bring in a total of 1197 subs. This is the largest total for a single week in the history of the Bulletin.

We now have a grand total of 7,375 towards our goal of 12,000 by June 1st. The great difficulty now is that branch sub work continues to slow down with only 207 subs received this week. This must immediately be reversed if we are to reach our two thirds mark of 8,000 subs by next week. We must actually go way beyond this mark or otherwise we will have to achieve 1,000 subs per week throughout May without the aid of trailblazing campaigns.

If seven comrades can sell 120 subs in a single day then no branch has any excuse in not fulfilling its goal through politically led full branch mobilizations. The political situation with the breakup of the Nixon regime, Nixon's open threats on Europe, and his preparations for attacks on the electrical and other unions require this and make it possible.



Vithana charges the Socialist Labour League with "opportunism" for its conditional support to the Indian Army when it invaded Bangla Desh in 1971.

A RECORD OF TREACHERY

The following is the second part of the two part series by Jack Gale, reprinted from Workers Press, which answers the Pablotites' "Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification."

Jaya Vithana, in the International Marxist Group pamphlet 'Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification', says that several letters sent by Bala Tampoe to Prime Minister Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike during the Ceylon 'emergency' in 1971, were 'soft'.

But he also thinks they 'laid the basis for the reawakening of the working class and reorienting it on a perspective of struggle'.

We will quote again what these letters actually said.

On May 14 Tampoe's Ceylon Mercantile Union wrote to Mrs Bandaranaike: 'We think it necessary to draw your attention to certain emergency regulations that have opened the door to police and military terrorism against the people.'

Apparently, this 'revolutionary' trade union leadership laboured under the illusion that Mrs Bandaranaike did not know what was going on! They continued: 'There is a widespread belief that "excesses" and even atrocities have been committed by police officers and members of the armed forces.'

A further letter declared: 'Does it serve any useful purpose to regard the rebels as criminals, who have intimidated and murdered innocent people, raped and looted and

indulged in kidnappings and arson, even if some of them may be proved to have committed such acts' (See Workers Press, October 20, 1972.)

'Is the view that the young rebels should not be regarded as "terrorists" and that they are deserving of humane treatment, a view that cannot be taken seriously in a country where the teachings of the Buddha are revered.'

The 'basis for reawakening the working class and reorienting it on a perspective of struggle' was laid, according to Vithana, by letters which

(1) Appealed to the head of a ruling government to stop the oppression on the grounds that she may not be aware of the 'excesses' taking place.

(2) Conceded the bourgeois claim that the young rebels were murderers, rapists and looters.

(3) Appealed to that well-known revolutionary source, the almighty Buddha.

Little wonder that Vithana fails to back up his claims as to the revolutionary content of Tampoe's letters by quoting from any of them!

'Not taking a position'

But, if that were not enough, two leading IMG members—Tariq Ali and Robin Blackburn—published a letter to Mrs Bandaranaike, together with Ernest Mandel, Alain Krivine and others which began:

'Without wanting to take a position with regard to the armed clashes which recently occurred in Ceylon . . . the undersigned are profoundly perturbed.'

Can the IMG leaders tell us of one instance in which the leaders of a genuine revolutionary tendency issued a public statement saying that they were 'not taking a position' on the mass murder of workers

and peasants by bourgeois armed forces?

A further lie and distortion deserves some attention. Vithana alleges that 'after the repression had begun, the Revolutionary Communist League wrote a letter to the Prime Minister pleading with her to lift the ban on their newspaper and citing as a reason the fact that they were the only ones who had consistently attacked the JVP's politics.'

'Given the situation, there was nothing wrong in using the tactic of writing letters to Bandaranaike in order to reach the masses. But Healy's Ceylonese friends were more concerned about their own sect and driving a nail into the JVP coffin rather than the mass movement.'

IMG members ought to note that when we refer to Unified Secretariat statements, CMU letters, etc, we quote verbatim from them. All the IMG has to do, if it wishes to refute our charges, is to reprint the original documents.

Vithana, by contrast, refers to our statements only in the most general terms. He never quotes literally from them—because if he did so his lies could not be maintained. Let us examine his claim that our comrades 'pleaded with Bandaranaike, etc'.

The letter he refers to was printed in full in Workers Press on May 29, 1971. We specifically stated that 'This appeal is made by Wilfred Pereira, residing at No 27, Arethusa Lane, Colombo 6, who is the registered proprietor, printer and publisher of the following newspapers which have been banned by the Competent Authority under the Emergency Regulations:

"Kakaru Puvath", "Virodhaya" and "Thollalar Seshi"—organs of the Revolutionary Communist League—and "Tharuna Satana"—organ of the Revolutionary Communist

Youth.'

Unlike Vithana and his IMG mentors, we will now republish extracts from this statement. We invite Vithana, the IMG, the Unified Secretariat, or anyone else to challenge this statement—or, indeed, to compare it with Bala Tampoe's references to the venerable Buddha:

It should be abundantly clear to any political literate who has followed our press that our politics can by no stretch of the most-fertile police imagination be put in the same category as the politics of the JVP (which is purported to be the government's main enemy at the moment) and similar Guevarist or Maoist organizations.

Between our politics and the politics of those other organizations—as also between ourselves and the traditional 'left' leaderships—there lies the unbridgeable gulf that exists between Marxism and the several varieties or petty-bourgeois reformism.

The putschism or conspiratorial adventurism of such organizations isolated from the working class is only the obverse side of the counterfeit coin of parliamentary reformist opportunism, which the petty-bourgeois agents of the bourgeoisie try to palm off on the working class as genuine Marxism.

When we differentiate ourselves from those other organizations and parties, we do not for one moment imply that we condone the suppression of their newspapers. Nor do we demand that the press of our political opponents be suppressed.

On the contrary, we stand for the democratic rights of all political parties and organizations that base themselves on the workers and peasants and speak in their name and for the socialist transformation of society, irrespective of the

means they advocate . . . Proscription and press gags are, above all, a means of suppression resorted to by governments which cannot find any other answer to the political arguments of their critics and opponents.

As this appeal will show, we are justified in believing that herein lies the reason for banning our newspapers.

In this appeal, however, we are only permitted to plead on behalf of our democratic rights. If and when those rights are restored to us, we shall take up once again for public agitation the question of general democratic rights, in defence of which we have always been in the forefront.

As Marxists, we believe that the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can be won for the struggle for socialism only if the youth can acquire faith in the ability of the working class to lead society onto a new road.

The working class can inspire this faith only by its strength, the firmness and determination of its actions and the clarity of its perspective. The propaganda and agitation carried on by our newspapers was always inspired by this unshakable belief in the leading role of the working class.

Our newspapers, with their emphasis on Marxist theory and method for ideological arming of the working class, were not only vehicles for propaganda and agitation; they were above all a school of Marxism. And for us Marxism is the distilled essence of the historical experience of the international working class . . .

In the name of humanity, whose fate today is threatened by the forces of international reaction, and in the name of the international working class who alone can fight and overcome those forces, we appeal against the banning of our

newspapers and for the restoration of our democratic rights in order to allow us to resume our work for the building of the revolutionary party in Ceylon as part of the international party of the socialist revolution, the Fourth International, which is a *sine qua non* for the building of a new world.

On behalf of the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League.

We can rip the cover off Jaya Vithana's baseless lies that Workers Press did nothing to 'break the curtain of silence about Ceylon'.

He also claims—wrongly—that we spent 'most of [our] time slandering and villifying the JVP'—the young Guevarist guerrilla group so brutally crushed by Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's government.

In particular, Vithana specifically states in the International Marxist Group's pamphlet 'Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification':

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'These proposals mark a sharp turn towards open dictatorship in Ceylon.'

On March 15, 1971, we headlined: 'Coalition is Counter-Revolutionary' and declared: 'The state of emergency declared in Ceylon . . . indicates the treacherous objectives of the counter-revolutionary coalition government.'

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that the Ceylon government's second set of emergency regulations constituted 'a threat to the entire Ceylonese labour movement'. We reported that Mrs Bandaranaike was attempting to link food shortages with the activities of 'secret bands of youths' who, she claimed, were 'trying to create confusion by terrorizing people with bombs and other lethal weapons'.

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We said: 'Recent emergency measures and repressions are directed against rising militancy in the working class', and we continued: 'We denounce the witch-hunting role played by the leaders of the Communist Party and demand the immediate release of all political prisoners.'

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. . . the United Left Front government has abandoned its modest reform programme and gone over to a bloody offensive against Ceylon's workers and peasants. British and international labour must denounce Mrs Bandaranaike's repressions and demand the release of all political prisoners.'

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'We denounce as traitors to the working class and socialism the Stalinists of the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the ex-revisionists of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party who serve the counter-revolutionary regime while Mrs Bandaranaike's troops shot down, without trial, young workers and students fighting for a socialist Ceylon.'

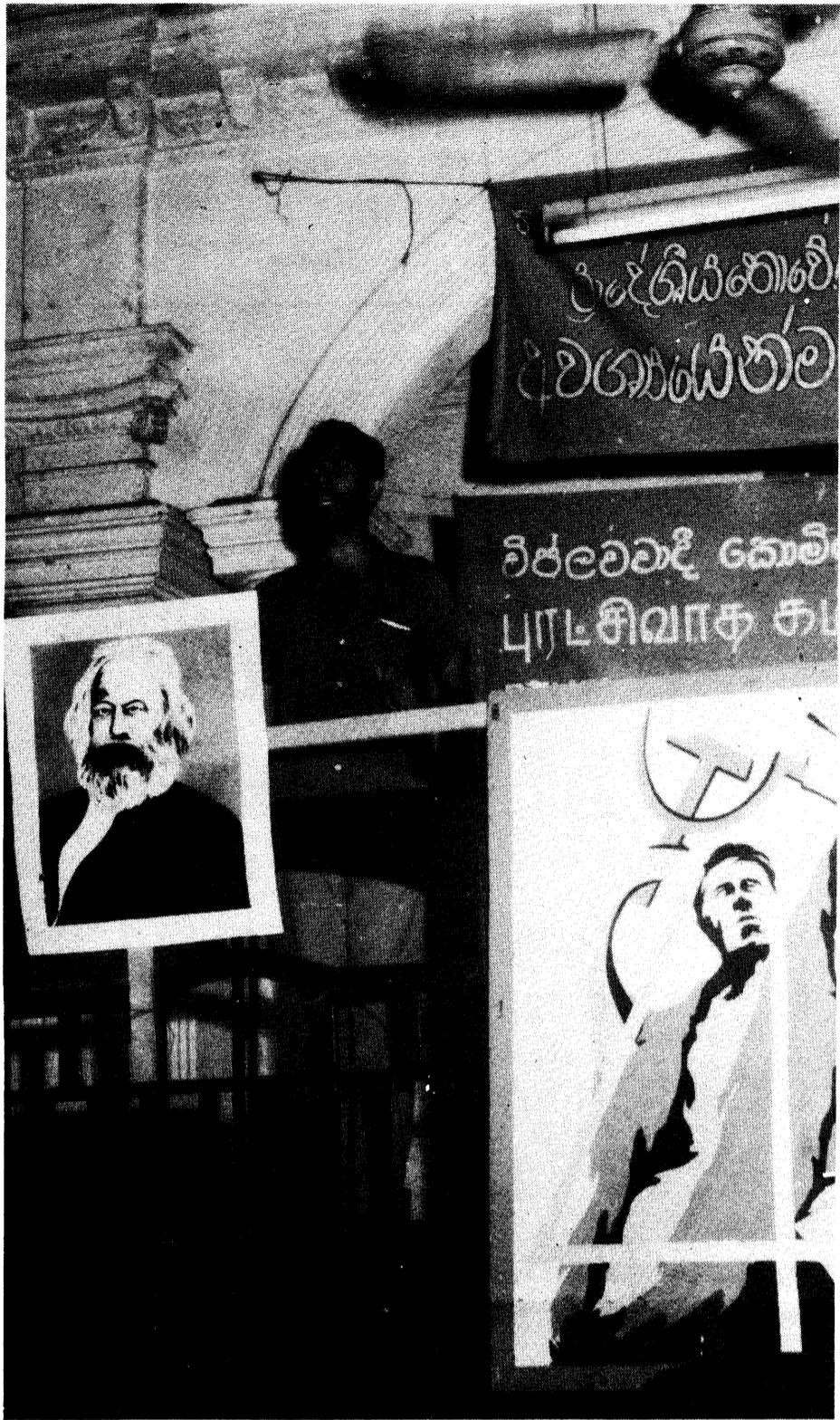
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In this series of articles we raised serious political criticisms of the JVP, in particular of its underestimation of the working class, which it claimed was 'crippled'. We sharply opposed the JVP's hostility to the immigrant Indian plantation workers.

We declared then, and we stand by this today, that 'however much the sacrifices of the youth may be, they cannot by themselves overthrow the capitalist system if they are not disciplined and led by the revolutionary Marxist party'.

We stand by these criticisms of the JVP. But we defy Vithana or any other revisionist to show us one line from the many Workers Press articles on Ceylon which did not unconditionally defend the JVP against the United Left Front, which included the Moscow-wing of the Communist Party and the ex-Trotskyists of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) in its Ministries.

We will refer to only one more of the many articles which we carried on Ceylon during the oppressions and afterwards. In the Workers Press 'International Youth News' column on May 6, 1971, we published an article on the 'Isolation of guerrillas'.

Here are some extracts from what we said in that article:

'The coalition government in Ceylon was paralysed when the struggles of the youth broke out on April 5. The forces, which made a considerable number of trained policemen flee from their posts and brought capitalist law and order to a halt in many parts of the country, were mainly unemployed youth.

'Young people in these countries cannot expect any future other than starvation and pauperization. In Ceylon almost half the adult population is unemployed or underemployed. . . Youth are convinced that the only solution to this problem lies in struggle against the capitalist system and its state machinery.

'That is why they have chosen to confront the state apparatus in many parts of the land.'

Our article went on to outline the struggle of the unemployed youth and continued:

'The basic political weakness of the JVP which led the rural insurgence, was that its leadership did not take measures to unite these struggles of unemployed youth with the workers. The result was isolation of guerrilla forces from the working class which helped the ruling class in crushing the uprising.'

These extracts from our reports and policy statements today and yesterday completely refute Vithana's allegations. They show him to be a liar, not once, but a hundred times over.

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'Our task', says Vithana, 'was to intervene in such a manner as to influence the best elements with the goal of winning them to revolutionary Marxist politics.' How did Tampoe set about that task at the meeting of which Vithana is so proud?

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That is how these self-styled Trotskyists set about educating the inexperienced youth of the JVP.

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Party and take the power. That does not mean we have illusions in or tail-end Stalinism.

There is, of course, one thing which Vithana leaves out.

The demand that the CP and LSSP break from the coalition has been made at the same time as our comrades in Ceylon fight to build up revolutionary cadres to lead the masses against reformism, Stalinism and revisionism and towards the socialist revolution.

Conditional support

Vithana also seeks to make capital out of the fact that the Socialist Labour League gave conditional support to the Indian Army when it invaded Bangla Desh in 1971. This, he claims, is another example of 'opportunism'.

We did give conditional support to the Indian army when the Indian bourgeoisie was forced to send it into Bangla Desh against the army of the murderous Yahya Khan.

A full statement of our position can be consulted in a series of articles by Michael Banda in Workers Press of January 3, 4 and 5, 1972.

The Unified Secretariat, in a statement of December 5, 1971, had claimed that 'these bankrupt classes (i.e. the Indian and Bengali bourgeoisie) have no right and no possibility of taking upon themselves the solution of the problems of the Bengali people'.

This at a time when the genocide launched by Yahya Khan was being backed to the hilt not only by American imperialism, but also by Russian and Chinese Stalinism!

Trotskyists recognize that the bourgeoisie cannot carry through a democratic revolution — nevertheless they have the right to fight for national independence.

Would Vithana deny the right of the Egyptian bourgeoisie to nationalize the Suez canal—or to wage war against Israel?

In real life the native capitalist class can be forced into conflicts with imperialism and be forced sometimes to summon the masses to its support.

Marxists critically support the right of the native bourgeoisie to fight imperialism while insisting on the organizational and political independence of the revolutionary workers and peasants.

We asked at the time—and we were never answered—what would Vithana's co-thinkers of the 'International Marxist Group' do if the troops of the Irish Free State invaded Ulster in support of the Provisionals?

Of course Marxists recognize, as we did, that the bourgeoisie will seek to behead the revolutionary masses at the first opportunity.

Only a blind man, a fool or a liar can claim that Workers Press did not pursue this principled line not only during the war but after Sheikh Mujib Rahman came to power.

As early as January 5, 1972, we wrote: 'Mujib's party expresses the requirements of the Bengali bourgeoisie, which is now trying to impose capitalist law and order on the armed workers and peasants.'

We have been consistent on this, as even a glance through Workers Press headlines will show. For example:

April 3, 1972: 'Bengali Workers Shot Down.'

April 5: 'Peasant Leader Slams Mujib's "Shoot on Sight" Order.'

June 7: 'Five Years for Strike in Bangla Desh.'

June 7: 'Unions Under Fire From Bangla Desh Leaders.'



Madame Bandaranaike

June 9: 'Bangla Desh Leaders Prepare to Gun Down Opponents.'

June 28: 'Mujib Clamp on Left-Wing Papers.'

July 6: 'Students a New Threat to Mujib.'

August 28: 'Bengali Workers Face Living on Pig Food.'

September 2: 'Awami League Attacks Bashani Hunger March.'

September 11: 'Mujib Purges the Left.'

September 19: 'Students Lead Attacks on Mujib's Policies.'

October 11: 'Secret Killings in Bangla Desh.'

October 19: 'Capitalists Loot Bangla Desh Economy.'

So much for our 'opportunism'. Vithana cannot back up his allegations with a single statement from our Press.

That is the pattern of Jaya Vithana's entire pamphlet. In seeking to justify a series of actions that would sicken every self-respecting member of the working class, he resorts to lies, clumsy evasions and unsubstantiated slanders.

That is to be expected from a totally unprincipled revisionist outfit like the International Marxist Group.

We are not surprised that they are 'proud' of the scab, ex-Nazi-toasting Bala Tampoe. They are worthy members

of a fraudulent 'International' which laid it down at its ninth congress in 1969 that the slogan 'Victory to the National Liberation Front' should be the slogan of all Unified Secretariat sections in those countries which did NOT have troops in Vietnam.

No compromise

They cannot deal with Tampoe.

He is a renegade protected by renegades. He remains in their international leadership because it is not a Trotskyist international.

It is an organization based upon the utmost contempt for principle, upon dishonest combinations, evasions and lies, upon dirty manoeuvres in place of honest examination of political questions.

The genuine Fourth International can, and will, be built only in relentless struggle against such renegades and charlatans.

This struggle is now being led by the International Committee of the Fourth International, of which the Socialist Labour League is an affiliated member.

There can be no compromise.

CONCLUDED

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Dianne Isaacs Film

Visconti On The Mad King

LUDWIG, THE MAD KING OF BAVARIA. Directed by Ludino Visconti. Starring Helmut Berger, Romy Schneider and Trevor Howard.

Ludino Visconti's latest film is a study of the demise of the monarchy. Those sections of the monarchy in nineteenth century Europe who were unable to face up to historical necessity—"duty," as Visconti terms it—were doomed to be replaced, by any means necessary, by a new bourgeois class anxious for markets and land.

Visconti documents this through the character of Ludwig, the Mad King of Bavaria: perhaps the best example of a man least suited to the demands of history and thus made its victim.

Visconti established his credentials as a director in *The Damned* and *Death In Venice*. He has little in common with contemporaries such as Bernardo Bertolucci or Antonioni, and in fact *Ludwig* is a more developed version of the German romanticism of *Death In Venice*, Thomas Mann's haunting novel about the solitude and decay of one man.

Ludwig is done in an incredibly subtle, exquisite, and completely classical motif which becomes its opposite by the end of the film: a detailed portrait of degeneracy and insanity. Visconti actually conceived it as a five act play, enhanced with his brilliant photography and insistence on historical accuracy right down to each costume and location.

The Mad King, played by Helmut Berger, was an unwilling inheritor to the throne at a very young age. Visconti goes to great lengths at the beginning of the film to present the incredible boredom of the pomp and ceremony of the court—all necessary for the tiny state of Bavaria to maintain graceful diplomatic relations with its larger, more belligerent neighbors.

This is the setting for the first "act" of the film, which occurred in a period where Germany as a whole—which before Bismarck actually existed as hundreds of tiny states and municipalities—required a revolutionary transformation to catch up with the development of capitalism in the rest of Europe. The bourgeoisie had shown itself utterly incapable of carrying out the task of unification on its own and was too frightened of both the masses and absolutism to call on either to aid it.

BLACK UMBRELLAS

King Ludwig was thus allowed a certain respite and chose to step out of the conflict. In one of the earlier scenes of the film, Visconti flashes a shot of a dozen black umbrellas—carried by bourgeois ministers—ascending upon Ludwig's castle late at night in the rain. The ministers had come to attempt to reason with the King about the political situation...and were politely turned away at the door.

Ludwig busies himself with horseback riding and female companionship until he is faced with the unpleasantness of war when he is called upon to lead his army in battle. The film jumps to a deeper level of clash between Ludwig and his duty. This marks the beginning of the end for Ludwig as the first point where he refuses his "duty." He turns down the plea that he go to the battlefield to lead exhausted troops.

Despite his own intentions, Visconti throughout the rest of the film portrays not just the decay of an individual but of an entire social order. The tempo of the film picks up and a new element is added: Richard Wagner (Trevor Howard), whose music immediately enraptures Ludwig. He spends a small fortune of the state's draining coffers to locate Wagner, hiding from his creditors in Zurich. He becomes incensed at one of his ministers for using



the police to find the composer and refuses to believe that Wagner is in debt.

By this time the objective conflict between the whims of the Mad King and the needs of the Bavarian state have sharpened even more. To the dismay of his ministers, Ludwig showers Wagner and his mistress Mathilde Wesendonk with wealth enough to compose "Wilhelm Meister" ten times over. Ludwig consciously removes himself from any responsibility as King and wraps himself up in building more and more castles and in Wagner's music, which is played throughout the film. He abandons his Czarina wife and spends most of his days away from the court altogether.

Visconti's real brilliance beyond merely a technical level is revealed in the latter half of the film. For a long period of time, Ludwig is not on the screen until his ministers require his signature for an urgent matter of state. Ludwig, it is mentioned, had been complaining of a toothache and was not to be disturbed. When Visconti next shows us the King, his teeth are completely black and rotted and he is moaning in a lavishly gilded bedchamber. It is in this fourth "act" where any connection Ludwig had to reality breaks up. He surrounds himself with homosexuals and hides in the most ornate castles his crazed mind can conceive for his architects to build. Of course he is still officially ruler of Bavaria and his ministers are too cowardly to dispose of him for the time being.

DENOUEMENT

The denouement is even more horrific: every mad tendency of the King is developed to its fullest and he has completely severed himself from Munich. The fifth "act" of the film opens with a young actor who had performed "Juliet" for the King being escorted into a cave where his Majesty is boating. Visconti lavishes over a shot of a gondola adorned with a huge swan bearing Ludwig, replete with a long velvet cape. He alights from the boat, flashes the actor a grin revealing his rotted teeth, and proceeds to throw bread-crumbs from a silver plate to the swans.



Above, Ludwig and Richard Wagner in intimate discussion. Below, the King after a bout with insomnia.

The "banquet" Ludwig throws for the actor afterwards is even more grotesque. The biggest absurdity is that this was the way Ludwig actually lived. Eunuchs in a basement below the banquet room haul the entire dining table down to replenish the food and wine. After the meal, Ludwig insists that the actor perform for him—through the entire night—in the most comical scene of the film.

Visconti quickly brings the film to a climax, as once again the ministers with their black umbrellas descend upon the

castle with a declaration ruling Ludwig insane and therefore unfit to rule. This time it is Ludwig's own army that has to capture the King, who has built a tower to escape what he knew was inevitable.

Ludwig spends the remainder of his days in an asylum in Bavaria. The State is now free from the fetters of feudalism. Not content to accept this fate, Ludwig's final act—supposedly vengeance against historical necessity—is suicide. Visconti thus ends a portrait of a generation passing violently out of existence.

BY AN SSEU
MEMBER
NEW YORK—

Social Service Employees Union Local 371 (AFS-CME) is threatened with a takeover by the state which would control the administration of the income maintenance component of the Department of Social Services.

The move for state takeover was the substance of a bill placed before the state legislature last week by Governor Rockefeller. If this bill passes, the city welfare system would be turned into a state agency as early as 60 days later. This poses tremendous threats to the job security, civil service status and union representation of 1600 clerical and social service staff. It also threatens their wages, hours, working conditions and other benefits which are generally superior to those of state employees.

Furthermore, the state takeover bid comes as a last ditch effort by the city. Because of the resistance of the workers and the strength of the union, the city has been unable to drive workers off the payroll. Thus, they now turn to the state to do the dirty job of implementing layoffs and demotions against thousands of SSEU-371 members.

On top of this, SSEU-371 members have now been hit with a new attack by Nixon's Cost of Living Council. It intervened last week against the city's agreement to pay SSEU members what would have been 95 percent of their 1973 wage increases negotiated in the current contract. Instead, the Cost of Living Council said the city could pay no more than a straight 5.5 percent of what were on the average 8 percent increases across the board.

Meanwhile, while these new attacks on jobs and wages loomed, disciplinary action leading to firings and suspensions have been initiated in the Department as well as forced resignations as a result of the SSEU leadership's acceptance three weeks ago of the city's new disciplinary time and leave procedures.

These new procedures cut down the amount of sick time workers will be allowed to take, and establish procedures for disciplinary hearings on excessive lateness and competency which will mean suspensions, loss of pay, and firings for thousands of workers in the department. They

State Takeover, Firing, Wage Slash Hits Caseworkers



NY SSEU-371 mobilized against new time and leave procedures, putting union bureaucracy under Bart Cohen, upper left, in a shaky situation.

are part and parcel of the city, state, and federal government's drive to eliminate social services and bust the civil service unions.

It is in the various welfare departments nationally that the struggle of the unemployed comes together with that of the employed worker. It is here that Nixon's budget cuts and anti-labor offensive are felt most sharply.

It is no accident that the time and leave and disciplinary procedures were instituted in the middle of a whole reorganization of the department. The reorganization itself, begun about three years ago, was aimed solely at making social service staff superfluous and replacing them with lower paid clerical titles.

Now what is posed is a complete automation of even the clerical operation, which deals with the issuance of welfare checks and other financial matters. Massive new computerization of the whole operation threatens thousands of jobs, from the highest to the lowest paid.

It was only the Committee for

a New Leadership in the SSEU, starting from an understanding of the crisis in the economic system, which was able to warn the ranks about the grave dangers posed by the reorganization scheme. Fighting the union leadership's attempts to lull the rank and file into complacency about the reorganization, the CNL, from the very beginning, carried out a campaign against it on the basis of a political understanding of the nature of the new period workers were entering.

They pointed out that profits were going into a crisis and, thus, social reforms won in past periods would be slashed. On this issue, the CNL fought every political tendency in the union.

COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party's supporters accused members of the CNL of being "anti-progressive" for opposing reorganization, and in particular for opposing the city's phony Community Social Services program. This program was set up by the city with the aid of the union bureaucracy in

order to get the social service staff out of the welfare centers and into a position where they had absolutely no job function. It was a set-up for layoffs.

The Stalinists in the union became the main boosters of this program, and the left cover through which the union leadership and the city were able to perpetuate this fraud on the membership. As soon as the city was assured of union cooperation with the new disciplinary procedures, they announced that Community Social Services was a failure and would be abandoned in the near future.

Supporters of the Progressive Labor Party, a group which broke from the Communist Party but never confronted the question of Stalinism, played the same kind of role. It was their position that reorganization was not desirable but it could not be fought.

It is PL's position that caucuses can be built in the unions on a syndicalist basis, without confronting the political questions facing workers today, such as the question of the labor

party. Therefore, PL supporters could not pose the political fight necessary to defeat reorganization. The reorganization of the welfare department flows from the need of the government to bust the trade unions, bust civil service protection and do away with social services.

This is a political attack on the part of the government and cannot be fought with bread and butter trade unionism. It is this refusal to bring Marxism into the unions which ties all the Stalinists and centrists to the trade union bureaucracy.

PARALYZED

That is why, in every crisis situation, the group called the 'Coalition,' a loose amalgam of syndicalists and centrists led by the Stalinist supporters of both Progressive Labor and the Communist Party, becomes paralyzed. They cannot put forward any real strategy for a fight against the city, and end up becoming a buffer between a real opposition in the union and the union leadership.

TO BE CONTINUED

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

Nearly 125 workers and youth turned out Sunday to hear the second in a six-part series of lectures on "Twenty Years of the International Committee" being given by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League.

Speaking on "The Split with the SWP: Balance Sheet on Cuba," Comrade Wohlforth explained how the Socialist Workers Party used the events in Cuba to break with the International Committee of the Fourth International and reunite on an unprincipled basis with the Pabloites.

Wohlforth insisted that Cuba never was the fundamental question, but the vehicle used by the SWP to avoid confronting international perspectives for the construction of a Marxist leadership of the working class.

In order to understand why the split occurred, Wohlforth maintained that it was necessary to begin not with the issue of Cuba but to go back to the objective conditions confronting the International Committee and the SWP after the split with Pablo in 1953.

The world situation was dominated in 1953 not by the prospect of imminent revolution as Pablo had claimed but by the emergence of an economic boom in the advanced countries which saw a real development in the productive forces. However, Wohlforth pointed out that the breakup of peaceful social relations that marks the present period was already expressing itself in the early 1950s.

"There took place the insurrections by the working class of East Germany in 1953 and by the Hungarian and Polish workers in 1956," declared Wohlforth. "These events foreshadowed the breakup of the boom and dealt blows to Stalinism from which it never recovered."

Wohlforth also referred to the massive general strike by the French working class in that same period which defeated the attempt at a coup d'etat staged by the French army officers stationed in Algeria. Somewhat later, in 1962, the Belgian General Strike posed the question of power to the workers in that country.

It was in the face of these developments that the British Socialist Labour League had grappled with some very important questions. Having conducted a theoretical struggle against Pabloism after the Open Letter of 1953, the British Trotskyist movement had made important strides forward and had intervened decisively after the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution by the Soviet Union and Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin, making it possible to win over important forces from the British Communist Party.

"The SLL raised the main issues," said Wohlforth. "First of all, it asked: 'What is the nature of the period? Why had the 1950s been dominated by compromises between the classes in the advanced countries? Would a Labour Party government in the 1960s be the same thing it had been immediately after the war?'"

To deal with these questions, the SLL undertook a serious study of the economic developments. Therefore, Wohlforth said, the SLL was able to put forward an international perspective and strategy for the revolutionary movement in all the advanced countries and Britain that is being confirmed today.

STRATEGY

The British Trotskyists, stated Wohlforth, said that the period of the boom was coming to an end; that a recession was developing; that the 1960s would be dominated by an increasing crisis of capitalism; and on this basis the SLL formulated a clear strategy in Britain.

Wohlforth explained that the SLL, understanding that the crisis would awaken the political consciousness of youth, began serious work within the Young Socialist movement of the Labour Party which was spearheaded by the publication of *Keep Left*. At the same time, the SLL saw that the Labour Party would have to play a different role in the 1960s. Its reformist leaders would come into collision with the working class, and therefore the SLL un-

derstood the necessity of preparing the youth for a battle with the labor bureaucracy.

In the SWP, however, there had not been a serious discussion of international perspectives. Wohlforth noted that at the 1959 SWP Convention, Shane Mage had criticized the perspectives document for lacking any serious evaluation of the developments within the economy. Not Farrell Dobbs, who had presented the report, nor anyone else in the leadership could answer Mage, Wohlforth recalled.

That episode, which exposed the failure of the SWP to probe the objective developments, had been rooted in the turn away from the fight against Pabloite revisionism almost immediately after the Open Letter had been written. Comrade Wohlforth said that the period from 1953 to 1956 was the worst in the history of the

example of the new "party building."

By 1961, said Wohlforth, there were clear differences within the International Committee. "On January 2, 1961," recalled Wohlforth, "The SLL wrote to the SWP and said 'We're going on two different lines.'"

OPPOSED

Wohlforth declared that the SWP held positions directly opposed to those upon which the International Committee had fought Pablo. The SWP held that there were less differences with Pabloism in 1961 than in 1953 while the SLL maintained that the differences had grown more profound. The SWP was clearly moving away from Trotsky's position on the need for a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies in the workers states.

20 Years of the International Committee

Section of audience during discussion after Tim Wohlforth's presentation on the 1961 period of the Fourth International.

Fraudulent Use Of Cuban Revolution

SWP; it did almost nothing.

Wohlforth asserted the objective conditions—McCarthyism was still strong—had been unfavorable for the revolutionary movement. But the SWP, which never actually understood that the fight against Pabloism did not end with the organizational break with Pablo and his allies, was not prepared to take advantage of the opportunities opened up by the Hungarian Revolution and the crisis of Stalinism.

The SWP, Wohlforth noted, turned to the developments within the CP—which was being torn apart by the events of 1956—in a pragmatic way. Rather than root the Khrushchev revolutions and the Hungarian Revolution in the history of Stalinism and a merciless fight against Pablo's theory that Stalinist bureaucracies could still play a revolutionary role, the SWP turned toward the middle class forces who were leaving the CP and politics altogether, or, openly embracing the capitalist parties.

Attempting to appeal to the centrist forces coming out of the CP, the SWP, explained Wohlforth, "tried to convince them that Trotskyism wasn't that bad." Finding itself drawn into the middle class milieu that emerged from the crisis of Stalinism, the SWP adapted to it. From 1958 on, said Wohlforth, the SWP began to develop a new relation to Stalinism.

"This was called 'Building the Party,'" declared Wohlforth. "The leadership was saying: 'First build our thing and then push over the Marxist line.'" Wohlforth referred to the SWP's support for the gubernatorial campaign of millionaire Corliss Lamont on a reformist ticket as an

example of the new "party building." Because the SWP had made no study of the economic crisis, Wohlforth maintained, it had moved toward the Pabloite conception of capitalism without contradictions, against the understanding of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

Then, the SWP declared that it disagreed with the International Committee on the question of Cuba, adopting the position that Castro had established a workers' state.

"The issue of Cuba was a fraud," stated Wohlforth. "It was used by the SWP to cover up the fact that it had already decided by 1961 to break with the IC in order to avoid the fight that was coming up over the issue of Pabloism."

Comrade Wohlforth explained the objective conditions out of which the Cuban revolution occurred. Even in the course of the boom, he said, there existed for the capitalists severe economic and political problems. One must never overlook the fact that one-third of the world remained virtually closed to capitalist investment due to the existence of the workers states of the Soviet Union, China, Eastern Europe and Indochina.

While the living conditions of the working class improved in the advanced countries and for a thin strata of the industrial proletariat in the backward countries, conditions for the masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America deteriorated as the capitalist boom drove down the prices of raw materials from those continents, creating the conditions for the movement of the peasantry and also of the intellectuals who came out of the universities with no future to be found.

The 1950s, declared Wohlforth, was

marked by the uneven development of the world revolution as there was rebellion among the peasants, dissatisfaction among the intellectuals and a much slower development among workers both in the advanced and backward countries.

The Cuban Revolution, Wohlforth asserted, was the highwater mark in the colonial revolutions—occurring after the developments in Indonesia, Ghana, Algeria—in the distance it went against imperialism.

"But it was also the end of the colonial revolutions," he stated, "as a process which took place in isolation from the working class." Furthermore, said Wohlforth, with the breakup of the boom the imperialists were no longer willing to tolerate regimes such as Castro's. It was because the United States attempted to destroy his regime that Castro was forced to turn to the Soviet Union.

"Then came the period of reversals: Algeria, the rise of the juntas, the butchery in Indonesia and Brazil," declared Wohlforth. "The period of compromise began to collapse."

Wohlforth said that a new period had begun marked by the combined movement of the masses in the colonial countries and the proletariat in the metropolitan countries.

Understanding that a new period had been entered, the International Committee said that there would be no more Cubas. But the SWP, said Wohlforth, called Cuba the "new way."

When the IC had placed Cuba in its proper framework, it turned to the central issue which was not Cuba after all, but Pabloism. It was on the issue of Pabloism that the perspectives for the building of Trotskyist parties hinged.

Wohlforth recalled that the SWP leadership used Cuba in a pragmatic turn away from the working class. He said that Hansen's rationale for embracing Castro as a "natural Marxist" represented the most vulgar opportunism.

"Hansen made a report in which he said: 'We're for building the party; hasn't the Cuban revolution been helpful for making the SWP bigger?; therefore, Cuba is good for the movement.'"

Wohlforth continued: "Hansen was saying that a revolutionary party is built pragmatically through adaptation to the middle class—that a revolutionary party 'sort of evolves.'"

"The SWP worshipped exactly what was most backward in Castro: his hatred of theory and his contempt for the American and international working class."

The International Committee, in its perspectives document of 1961, proceeded not from impressions but from a Marxist understanding of the contradictory development of the world crisis of capitalism.

Wohlforth said that it took some time for the opposition within the SWP—later to emerge as the Workers League—to understand what the International Committee meant when it insisted that the fundamental question was Pabloism, not Cuba. At the heart of the SWP's adaptation to Castroism was its capitulation to Pabloism, which maintained that a revolutionary movement could be built without theory, without any continuity with the historical struggles of the Marxist Internationals back to the 1860s, and without an internal struggle within its cadres for dialectical materialism.

RADICALS

In the discussion, a number of speakers from the Spartacist League attempted to focus the discussion on Cuba abstracted from the issue of Pabloism. In this way, the Spartacist speakers proceeded in the same manner as the SWP: as American radicals who are hostile to theory and the construction of a leadership based on international perspectives.

This hostility to the international movement was expressed most clearly when a member of Spartacist asked why Wohlforth used the pronoun "we" when referring to the positions of the International Committee.

"We're talking about the International Committee," replied Wohlforth, "which we defend. It was only the IC which conducted the struggle against Pabloism which has prepared itself for the present struggles."

Editor's Notebook

Now Renting

With the housing shortage worse than ever because of Nixon's budget cuts, you'll be delighted to know that apartments are now available at New York's newest address: 733 Park Avenue.

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CARIBBEAN CONFERENCE . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

struggle, stated that: "The racist industrial worker in Detroit contributes to the exploitation of minorities here and in the colonial countries..."

This racist, reactionary filth is introduced in a period when Jamaica and the entire Caribbean countries are entering a new period of class struggle. Underneath this racist attack on the industrial workers of the advanced countries and Latin people lies an all-out hostility to the working class and Marxism.

An open attempt at a revision of dialectics was made when the speaker tried to inject subjectivist content into the law of uneven and combined development to prove that the revolutionary class is no longer the industrial proletariat but the masses of the "lumpen proletariat" created by monopoly capitalism which Marx could not foresee in his time.

This now very popular law, which was in turn mentioned by every speaker, was turned into an empty abstraction removed from any real content. In fact, the unevenness of capitalist development as a result of the last period of inflationary boom was inadequately dealt with; the combined expression of that development reflected in the simultaneous movement of workers in the advanced as well as in the colonial countries in a common struggle against capitalism was completely left out.

A new low, however, was reached with Trevor Munroe, who spoke on the British West Indies. He was unable to deal with the question of Stalinism. Concerning the capitalist crisis, he stated:

"Given the unevenness and contradictory development of capitalism in the Caribbean countries, it is ultra-left to call for socialism now. The struggle in these countries has to be waged on the democratic front and in support of nationalist tendencies there. It is only through the con-

tinuous struggle for democracy in these countries that the perspectives for socialist construction can take place."

In this manner, the reactionary peaceful coexistence line developed by Stalin was thus adopted. The political and theoretical degeneration of the conference reached its climax with Ruben Berrios Martinez, representative of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) in the Senate and Juan Mari Bras, Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Juan Mari Bras broke away from the PIP with a small section on the basis of tactical differences in the late 1950s. He formed the MPI, Movement Pro-Independence, that became the PSP in 1971. He proved at the conference that, in spite of all his demagogic talk about Marxism and socialism, he remains a middle class nationalist adapting to the reformist, class collaborationist line of Stalinism.

When confronted with the question of the essential differences between the PIP and the PSP from the floor, both Mari Bras and Berrios avoided a principled political stand on the class character of both parties. Berrios stated:

"The PIP and the PSP have fundamental political and methodological differences... But, however, the fact that both have deep roots and support in the working class proves that both have the correct line."

Mari Bras expressed the fact that they are not sectarians and

ITALY . . .

(Continued From Page 2) the type which preceded the present government, but it is already clear that no amount of reshuffling of the parliamentary cards can guarantee any degree of stability.

The fascists—as the Milan grenade murder shows—are ruthlessly determined to establish their dictatorship in Italy.

GENERAL ELECTRIC. . .

(Continued From Page 4) shows the brutal character of the company's assault on the UE and IUE. Under the present contract, union members in any plant department have the right to strike on 24-hour notice over violations of the contract.

General Electric is demanding the right to lock out all the workers in the plant in the event of a walkout in a single department.

"This action, which GE wants to try very badly, would mean an attack on the fundamental structure of the union," a UE official stated.

The demands being made by General Electric are the culmination of their drive over

the last two years to destroy the working and living conditions of electrical workers in every part of the country.

In the Pittsfield plant, where 10,000 IUE members produce power transformers and bushings, GE threatened to shut down all operations unless the ranks accepted the transition from incentive to day work. Following the acceptance of this change, which resulted in a pay cut of nearly one dollar an hour, more than 1000 workers were laid off.

Tremendous anger is mounting within the plants against the attacks by GE in Local 707 in Cleveland, where the ranks have been hit by a speedup drive, "the

general feeling is that there should be an all-out fight against GE and the wage controls," asserted President Edward Harrison.

"I've told my people to prepare for a strike," he said.

MOBILIZED

The entire trade union movement must be mobilized to support the struggle of the IUE and UE. The conditions for united action against GE—and Westinghouse, where the contract expires just two weeks later—are particularly favorable because there are no less than 12 other unions involved to some extent in the negotiations in the electrical industry.

Since the vote by the Democratic-controlled Congress to support the extension of the wage controls, there is no longer any doubt that Phase Three can be defeated only by industrial action backed by the entire labor movement.

Nixon is counting on the leadership of the AFL-CIO to isolate each section of the working class as it enters into battle against Phase Three.

Therefore, it is necessary that the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, at its next meeting on May 8 to 9 in Washington, D.C., prepare for the development of policies to mobilize the labor movement against the Administration by calling a Congress of Labor.

CONTRACT

Such a Congress, called on the eve of the most massive round of contract talks since 1945-46, must deal with the basic questions confronting electrical workers and all other trade unionists:

•How will Nixon's 5.5 percent controls be smashed in order to defend living conditions as prices skyrocket?

•How will the very right to have a union be defended in the light of new laws against the unions and the type of contract changes demanded by GE and already partially implemented in other unions like the ILA?

The Congress of Labor will have to confront these questions and prepare for the political struggle to carry out a program in the interest of the working class by constructing a labor party.

When asked to comment on the necessity of convening a Congress of Labor, a leading spokesman of the UE told the *Bulletin*:

"In line with our position that has been a traditional position with this union, we say that the trade union movement in America must develop independent political action to lead to formation of a labor party. It has to be a labor party that is based on militant rank and file trade unionism for a struggle against Nixon and the corporations.

"We favor any get-together of representatives of the labor movement for that objective."

The UE leadership has the responsibility to place the demand for the Congress of Labor before the entire AFL-CIO.

As electrical workers prepare for the struggle against GE, the Workers' League and Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is raising the call for the Congress of Labor at its May Day rally in Union Square and in meetings held throughout the country as the political preparation for the building of a new leadership in the trade unions dedicated to this fight.

WATERGATE . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

gathering" operation against the Democratic political campaign.

The bugging operation was reportedly proposed by Jeb Magruder, deputy director of Nixon's campaign committee and G. Gordon Liddy, one of the convicted defendants. Magruder has told authorities the entire operation was approved by both Mitchell and Dean. Magruder has also reportedly told investigators that Mitchell and Dean arranged the payment of more than \$175,000 in Republican campaign funds to the seven Watergate defendants after their arrest to

silence them.

According to the *New York Times*, Liddy, E. Howard Hunt, and James McCord each received \$3000 a month in \$100 bills while the four Miami defendants were paid \$1000 a month each for their silence.

Haldeman and Ehrlichman have also been implicated as having played a major role in planning and later covering up the whole affair, and according to grand jury testimony revealed by columnist Jack Anderson, Haldeman approved the hiring of California attorney Donald Segretti to carry on political sabotage operations against the Democratic campaign.

With the accusations against Haldeman, the finger of responsibility points directly at Nixon himself. "He is the over-all executive officer in charge of operations," according to *U.S. News & World Report*. "It is his job to make sure that the President's orders are carried out...No one sees the President more often than Mr. Haldeman."

Confronted with these disclosures, Nixon initiated a new "investigation" and moved to dump everyone directly implicated in the case—removing his staff from the protective aura of "executive privilege"—in order to save his own skin.

As Nixon prepares for a confrontation with the working class in a drive to smash its basic rights and trade unions, the ruling class is becoming increasingly concerned the Watergate affair is undermining Nixon's ability to rule.

As one commentator in the *New York Times* put it: "If Mr. Nixon cannot convince the nation that the Watergate case was an aberration, whose perpetrators he is eager to punish, he will be hard-put to govern. A king cannot rule if his people see a palace full of knaves and liars."

Nixon is now under tremendous pressure to publicly accept some responsibility for the incident in order to cover up more damaging disclosures which will further expose the weakness and bankruptcy of Nixon's regime before the working class.

Recently, we have installed new mailing equipment which will enable us to handle our enlarged subscription list much more efficiently. However, because of technical difficulties in adjusting the new equipment, there has been a delay in the mailing of the papers in the past few weeks. We wish to apologize to all our readers for this delay which will be corrected with the next issue of the *Bulletin*. If any subscriber has missed any of the recent issues, they should inform us and we will mail out the missing copies.

that: "The future of Puerto Rico lies in the alliance of all progressive forces."

The political and theoretical liberalism that pervaded throughout the conference set the stage for the infiltration of urban fascist goons. They launched a vicious baiting of the Cuban ambassador to the UN, Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada, and physically attacked the conference.

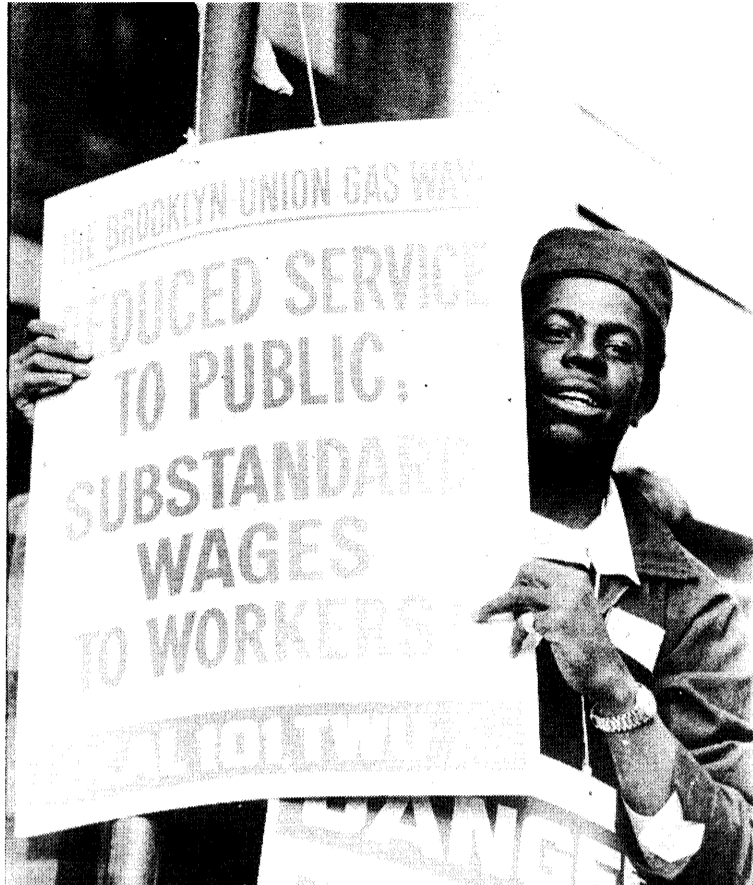
These agents, armed with guns, black jacks, and tear gas, had the backing of the corrupt Nixon government. The police stood passively by as they threw rocks and broke most of the windows in an attempt to disrupt the conference.

The need for workers and youth to mobilize students and the unemployed in the fight to call for a Congress of Labor and to build a labor party uniting all sections of the working class with a socialist policy was the motion put to the floor by the Workers League.

The fight for a labor party is not just a good idea as sections of the conference thought. It is a life and death question for the working class. It is the highest expression of the principled struggle of Trotskyism for the political independence of the working class against centrist and Stalinist class collaborationism. Not class compromise, but only the revolutionary struggle of the working class in its independent political organization will lead to the independence of Puerto Rico and the world socialist revolution.

They can be defeated only by the united force of the working class.

The biggest obstacle to the mobilization of the masses against the fascists is Stalinism, the doctrine of the Italian CP. These men are talking in terms of defending democracy when everyone can see that the Italian parliamentary system is a hollow sham.



Workers today on the offensive against the Nixon government: left, thousands of hospital workers demonstrated against Pay Board last summer in New York. Right, member of Transit Workers Union Local 101 preparing for strike for a 40 percent wage increase. Insert, Philadelphia teachers strike which almost led to a general strike against Rizzo.

May Day And The Fight For Marxism

BY NANCY FIELDS

The April 28 Union Square May Day Rally, called by the Workers League, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party and the Young Socialists, will focus above all on the tasks confronting the American working class because of the international crisis of capitalism: a crisis which is centered in America.

Today, because of this crisis, the American working class faces a Nixon government determined to destroy the organizations of the working class and eliminate all its basic rights in order to preserve the capitalist system. Already, Nixon has created the Cost of Living Council which, by establishing government control over wages, seeks to eliminate the basic right of trade unions to negotiate a decent wage.

At the same time, the most basic right of the trade union movement—the right to strike—is being signed away as the head of the United Steel Workers of America, I. W. Abel, concludes a "no strike" pact with the steel bosses. Together, these measures pose tremendous dangers to the trade unions, challenging the very purpose for which the unions were built—to defend the interests of workers.

Coupled with these measures, Nixon has launched a racist campaign in order to divide the working class and pit one section against the other. This is the meaning of the hysterical anti-busing campaign carried out during the 1972 presidential election campaign: a campaign now being carried forward in the anti-integrationist moves in school systems all across the country.

This attempt to divide the working class is also aimed at pitting young workers against older workers in a battle for the declining supply of jobs. In the face of this growing unemployment, Nixon's chief labor traitor, Peter Brennan, has proposed a sub-minimum wage for youth. This will allow employers to return to the brutal child labor practices of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Its aim is to break up the trade unions by enabling employers to hire young workers at non-union wages while laying off the older unionized workers.

Nixon's sharpest attacks have been leveled at the youth, unorganized labor and the unemployed. His slashes in federal funding for education threaten the basic right of youth to a decent education. His welfare "reform" proposals will mean a return to the forced labor camps of the 1930s. His vicious cuts in the veteran rehabilitation programs means that thousands of returning Vietnam veterans face lives of permanent disability. Finally, his elimination of all the employment programs

created in the 1960s poses a future of permanent unemployment lines.

While Nixon hits out directly at the weaker sections of the working class, his policy of rampant inflation is aimed at destroying the standard of living of all workers. The cost of basic necessities is soaring upward at the rate of 25 percent, while any semblance of controls—such as the rent control laws—are abolished.

WAGES

It is this inflation which makes the struggle for wage increases the central issue confronting the five million workers whose contracts are to be negotiated this year. And it is to meet this confrontation over wages that Nixon moves to consolidate his power in order to have a free hand to take on the unions.

In this, he is aided by the Democratically-controlled Congress which just voted to extend the Economic Stabilization Act: the act which gives Nixon the power to control wages. These same Democrats are daily urging a complete freeze on wages and they assure him of their full backing in passing all the laws necessary to carry this out.

At the same time, Nixon's attacks are not aimed solely at American workers. He has prepared new measures to control trade tariffs—which are also backed by the Democratic Congress—in an attempt to push the burden of the crisis onto Europe and Japan. These measures pose an immediate threat to the jobs, standard of living and all basic rights of the European and Japanese workers.

At the same time, the decision of the capitalists not to honor the 3 billion dollars of Special Drawing Rights—paper gold—issued to the underdeveloped countries threatens these colonial countries with immediate starvation and collapse.

Thus, as big business demands that its Congress support every measure against workers here and internationally, the trade union movement must call its own Congress of Labor to construct a labor party which will carry out a political fight against the Nixon government. That is the immediate task posed before the Executive Council meeting of the AFL-CIO on May 8. Every struggle, from the fight for decent wage increases to the fight to defend the international working class, is above all a political struggle.

To carry forward this political struggle

today, the May Day Rally will return to the internationalist and socialist traditions of the American working class, to the conscious betrayal of the struggle against capitalism by the Stalinist American Communist Party. It is critical that these lessons be brought forward today in order to train a new leadership capable of taking the fight for a Congress of Labor and a labor party forward.

From the 1930s to today, the policies of the American CP have remained the same. Thus, just as they joined with their own ruling class during World War Two to urge workers, in the name of "national unity," to stay on the job to produce arms for their own ruling class, so today, they join hands with Nixon and the trade union bureaucracy as they seek to blame the present economic crisis on the rise and relative strength of European and Japanese capitalism vis a vis the US.

This is the meaning of the International Ladies Garment Workers campaign of "Buy American." In a demonstration called by the ILGWU which was directed against the workers of Japan and Europe—in the name of the "national interest," the Communist Party turned out in full support.

At the same time, they join with the trade union leaders in their criminal policies to accept wage controls which threaten the destruction of the standard of living of millions of workers in the face of rampant inflation. They refuse to pose the only demand which could establish a nationwide strategy in all the unions to actually fight against Nixon's Cost of Living Council: that is, the call for the trade unions to convene an emergency Congress of Labor.

Above all, they seek desperately to prevent the independent mobilization of the working class—the formation of a labor party—because such a policy immediately raises the question of power. Thus, during the 1972 presidential election, when millions of workers and youth were turning against both parties of capitalism, the CP worked fervently to tie the working class to George McGovern.

Throughout the campaign, the *Daily World*, newspaper of the American CP, lined up with the labor bureaucracy in an attempt to line up rank and file trade unionists behind the Democratic Party, the party which had created the very law for Nixon to use to destroy the wage gains of workers. In fact, as Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CP, notes now—in an attempt to cover for their conscious betrayal of the struggle of millions of workers—members of the Central Committee of the CP voted for McGovern.

At the same time, inside the trade union movement, the CP fights to hold the struggle of the ranks to the level of trade

union militancy. They maintain in every area of trade union work that political questions must be kept outside the unions. By bringing forward the syndicalism that dominated the early development of the American labor movement, they consciously aid Nixon in his battle to beat back the working class here and internationally.

The Workers League May Day rally will, above all, fight for an understanding that today trade union questions are POLITICAL. All the gains of the American working class can only be defended through a political struggle against the Nixon government. Thus, while the CP will hold its May Day rally around the following perspective of: "Join the national meat boycott; for economic security; for social progress and for peace;"—our rally will be held in complete opposition to the perspectives of the CP.

HISTORY

We will fight to establish the real history of Union Square, bring forward the socialist and internationalist traditions of the American working class in order to develop a leadership capable of leading workers in a break from the pragmatic methods of militant trade unionism to a turn to a political struggle through the formation of a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

As Nixon deepens his attacks on workers here and abroad, with the aid of the Stalinists and the labor bureaucracy, the urgent requirement of May Day 1973 is to develop workers and youth as Marxists for, as the history of the American working class reveals, each decisive break with the old methods of struggle has only been made through the conscious intervention of revolutionaries.

The struggle to defend all the basic rights of the labor movement can only be carried forward today by the Workers League and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party and the Young Socialists in a fight to build a new leadership in the unions and among the youth to carry forward the fight for the trade unions to convene a Congress of Labor around the following program:

- An end to wage controls. General strike against Phase Three.
- 20 percent wage increase and 100 percent cost of living escalator in every industry.
- No layoffs. A 30 hour work week at 40 hours pay.
- No speedups or anti-union laws.
- End the budget cuts.
- Nationalization of basic industry under workers control.
- Build a labor party now!

BY SHEILA BREHM
FONTANA, Cal.—I.W. Abel's open collaboration with Nixon in signing the "no strike" pledge is creating tremendous opposition inside the ranks of the 350,000 member United Steel Workers of America.

Abel has literally sacrificed a right that workers fought and died for in the 1930s. The pact gives the steel corporations and the government everything.

According to the terms of the agreement, steel workers are to accept binding arbitration of a contract that is to remain in effect until 1977. A national strike is prohibited before the contract is signed and throughout the life of the contract. If individual plants are shut down by workers over local issues of layoffs and speedups, they will receive no support from the International.

AFL-CIO President George Meany, congratulating Abel on the agreement, called it "an excellent example of sound collective bargaining and labor-management statesmanship."

Abel, eager to please the steel bosses and the administration, stated, "We have today embarked on an unprecedented experiment that we think will prove there is a better way for labor and management to negotiate contracts."

Although Abel has willingly agreed to hand over the rights of thousands of steel workers to the steel bosses, he will have no easy time winning the acceptance of this "unprecedented experiment."

At the Kaiser Steel mill in Fontana, which employs over 8000 workers, the overwhelming sentiment is one of opposition to Abel's "no strike" pledge.

Doug Brauns, a member of Local 2869, has worked at Kaiser for five years. "Unions definitely need the right to strike. Without the right to strike, we might as well not even have a union, there's no point in it."

Angered by Abel's pact, he said, "Anybody that is on the side of Nixon, but says he represents the union workers should be done away with. With Abel doing this, I think it makes him as bad as Nixon, and I do not like anything Nixon has done since he's been in. Take the inflation, it's entirely Nixon's fault."

"The whole problem is that Nixon is strictly for big business when he tries to keep our wages down to 5.5 percent, and just look at the prices going up. I think it is time for workers to have our own political party."

REFUSAL

Behind Abel's signing away the right to strike is his refusal to mobilize steel workers in a fight against Phase Three and the government's attempts to throw living standards and working conditions back to the 1930s. Abel agrees with the administration's call for "sacrifice," but Ray Perea, a young steel worker, does not.

Steelworkers Denounce Abel Deal



David Ballesteros, upper right, who spoke to the Bulletin about conditions at the Kaiser plant in Fontana. Young workers expressed their hatred of Abel leadership.

He explained: "I will not sacrifice. When they tell me that Nixon is going on a diet, then I'll go on a diet, but I don't feel that Nixon has any intention of pulling his belt in."

"As far as the meat boycott goes, protest never proves anything, all it does is make a lot of commotion, stir up a lot of publicity, but never sways the government or Nixon. This is why we need the right to strike. It gives workers the right to a better paying job, more money. It might take our own political party, like a labor party, to keep this right and to get Nixon out."

Like many steel workers interviewed by the Bulletin, Ray said: "There is no union without the right to strike. If Abel is going to come out with a no strike deal, then I say, put the man out. Put the boot to him."

Leo Reif, 34 years old, who has worked in Kaiser's tin mill for 16 years, said: "Every working man should have the right to strike. That is the only hold we have on the company. We have to have fighting power. If we wouldn't have the right to strike, we'd be working for nothing. The company would take over, just like that."

"Abel must be getting paid under the table to do something like this. I don't think he will make it in the next election. There is no way I would ever vote for Abel."

"We need new leadership that won't sell us down the river. The biggest issue we face today is wages. They are not up to stan-

dard. Prices are going up: 5.5 percent or 3 percent is not enough the way everything is going up. We're tailing behind. We need at least 15 percent, that's just for starting, no, it should be more than that even."

"I'm not willing to sit back and settle for Abel's three percent and a 'no strike' pledge. I know that a lot of unions will not settle for 5.5 percent. They will be going out for big wage increases. Of course, it's a good question as to what the government will do."

Referring to the police terror being used against 750 striking rubber workers in Los Angeles, Leo said, "Look what is coming down against them and they're not even asking for that much. In that sense, I could see the need for a labor party. I wasn't too crazy about the Democratic Party in the last election, even though I've always been a Democrat."

John Vojtko, 27 years old, has worked for Kaiser for six years, but he said it seemed like 80. "They make an old man out of you. I may look young on the outside, but I'm not on the inside."

RUTHLESS

It has been at the Kaiser plant in Fontana that the most ruthless productivity drive has taken place—a staggering 32.1 percent in the CW pipe mill, compared to a six percent national average in productivity. As a result of Kaiser's tremendous drive for profit, William J. Lindley was crushed to death two months ago.

Commenting on this John said: "It is not an uncommon thing to hear about a worker getting killed from time to time. They preach safety, but they make you work with the violations, and the union accepts it. The union should have control over safety; not like it is now. The grievance procedure gets us nowhere now."

Regarding the productivity drive, John told the Bulletin: "I think if a worker does more work, then he should get more pay. In the tin mill, though, I can't say there is a lot of speedups. We're just short-handed. They leave men on layoff and double people over; they won't hire, they just keep the little workforce they have."

"There used to be five or six laborers on one turn, now they have one. For a while I was saying no to this, let them hire, but more people started taking the overtime, so I did too. I need the money."

Dino Papavero, president of Local 2869, welcomed the productivity drive to "help make Kaiser more profitable." At a recent union meeting, Papavero told the membership that he originally opposed Abel's "no strike" pledge at the Basic Steel Policy Conference. Now that it has been agreed to he told the ranks, "We must live with it."

At the union meeting he opposed a motion to reject Abel's deal, claiming the motion was "too political." The motion was narrowly defeated.

John Vojtko said he did not feel

steel workers could live with the "no strike" pledge. "We should have a choice. We should have the chance to vote in a national referendum so that we can reject this."

Recalling the differences in what his paycheck could buy six years ago, John said, "Then I took home only \$100 a week, but I could pay the rent and buy good steaks. Today I make twice as much money, and I can't even afford to buy steaks."

Another Kaiser worker, John Ballesteros, said: "Everything could go down the drain if we don't have the right to strike. Do you know how long it took to get where we are? For big business, the 5.5 percent is good, but not for us. Like they say, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. I think if we fight Phase Three there will be a revolution, and if there's a revolution, anything could happen from there."

"It all adds up to the fact that we need a revolution. That's my opinion. But I doubt Abel would ever lead one. He's more like Nixon. He'll do anything to stay where he's at."

The Abels who are so willing to give up everything to aid the steel companies must be replaced with a leadership that can defend the unions. This requires that the "no strike" pledge be rejected in every USWA local along with reopening the contract for a 20 percent wage increase, and an end to the productivity committees. Above all, this means a political struggle to build a labor party.

Jobs Dry Up For East Bay Construction

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND, Calif.—Depression levels of unemployment are gripping construction workers in the East Bay. The pick-up in building after the rainy season has not materialized, and every construction union in Alameda county has over 10 percent of their members out of work.

Laborers Local 304, the largest local with over 4000 members, has as much as 15 percent regularly out of work. On a normal day 300 to 400 members wait unsuccessfully at the Hayward dispatch hall, while over 100 more wait at the Oakland hall.

Local 304 member said "I've been in this union 25 years, and it's never been like this. Every year there's always work after the rains, but for the last two years it's been bad. Last year I only worked four months, on and off, and so far this year I've worked about four days. My wife is making more than I do and she's only getting \$2.00 an hour." During the 50's and 60's East Bay towns like Hayward and Fremont mushroomed. In 1950 both had populations under 20,000, now Hayward has over 100,000 and Fremont has nearly as many.

Now the boom in construction is over, the tremendous cutbacks in the aerospace industry have stopped the flow of new people that fed the building of houses. At the same time sky rocketing interest rates have ended the period where speculators could throw up huge housing tracts on a shoe string budget. Last year

Fremont issued over 3000 building permits, this year building permits will be limited to 600.

CORRUPTION

The soaring unemployment that has hit the construction industry, has generated almost unchecked corruption in the leadership of some construction locals. Last year the top leadership of Local 304 was replaced in a faction fight over corruption.

But in the words of one member, "Nothing's changed but the names, we've still got the same clique running the union, they just switched around jobs. They're still sending out men who aren't on the board, and if you're in the right group a little grease will always get you a job."

Mass unemployment in the construction industry can only be stopped through the nationalization of the industry under workers control. The first step in bringing this about must be the defeat of the Nixon wage freeze through strike action by the entire labor movement. Out of this a labor party must be built pledged to nationalize all industry under workers control.

FARMWORKERS . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

hall. A restraining order issued Tuesday barred mass picketing and led to 311 arrests. The farmworkers were so determined to shut down the fields that the judge Friday had to drop the trespassing charges, cancel the restraining order, and release all pickets.

Although only 12 percent of California's table grapes are grown in the Coachella valley, over 80 percent of grapes on grocery shelves from May to July are grown here. Thus the strike can immediately strike a heavy blow against the growers.

The open attempt of Teamster leader Fitzsimmons to break the farmworkers has forced George Meany to make a show of defending them.

But the AFL-CIO leadership, including Chavez, is unable to do what must be done to win. Fitzsimmons' collaboration with the growers is only the vilest expres-

sion of the policy of collaboration with Nixon on the Pay Board and Cost of Living Council. What will smash Fitzsimmons is an explosion within the ranks of the Teamsters over the question of wages, as the Master Freight Agreement covering half a million truck drivers expires this summer.

Meany and the rest of the bureaucrats stand with Fitzsimmons in helping to hold down wages while prices soar.

Chavez backs this up with his craven support to the liberal Democrats who are now screaming for a total freeze on wages.

Farmworkers must demand an all-out mobilization of the strength of their union in mass pickets supported by the AFL-CIO to shut all Coachella vineyards. The AFL-CIO must call a Congress of Labor to smash Phase Three and lay the basis for a labor party.

SEALE . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

Area, is left without a shred of a political policy with the Democrats in ruins and thousands of trade unionists left only to the bankrupt demagoguery of Bobby Seale.

This drives home the urgency of carrying a fight into every union local for the immediate construction of a labor party based on the unions.

West Coast News



LA teamsters strike big van and storage companies for 40 percent raise.

Los Angeles Teamsters Strike For 40%

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Seven Teamster Union locals have rejected a 30 percent wage increase and are striking the Southern California van and storage industry for the first time in 25 years. The strike against Lyons, Bekins, and Beverly Hills, the large van and storage companies, involves 1800 teamsters. Teamsters voted down the 30 percent offer by a nearly 70 per-

cent margin, even though most of the union officials recommended approval. Most of the strikers doubt the government will step in to slash any wage settlement, since "we are only asking for

what other drivers already have," stated several of the pickets. No doubt the union officials' approval of the original offer was to avoid any collision with Phase Three, so as not to upset Fitzsimmons' cozy relationship with Nixon.

Strikers say they are determined to hold out for a 40 percent wage increase, which more than challenges Nixon's 5.5 percent wage limits. The teamsters in Southern California are demanding parity with San Francisco teamsters who earn \$6.41 an hour, as compared to only \$4.62 in the Los Angeles area.

Ray Falk, picket captain from Local 389 told the Bulletin, "Los Angeles is not really a labor town. We only want to be up where the other teamsters are. We're the lowest paid drivers in Southern California, except for taxi drivers—and they don't carry pianos and drive big rigs."

INFLATION

Over a period of 12 years, wages have increased only two dollars an hour. Explaining what brought on the strike after 25 years of being behind the San Francisco teamsters, Falk explained, "It's inflation. Times are different now. We need more money. The prices keep going up and they're freezing our wages, so what can we do? We want to go back to eating meat."

Industry officials are now whipping up a campaign against the strikers. Charles Goldstein, chief negotiator of the Southern California Van and Storage Industry Committee, said if the industry gave more than 30 percent it would mean "unreasonable and inflationary rate hikes for our customers."

The striking teamsters were quick to point out, however, that the industry sought a rate increase way before the strike began.

RU Goons Attack Bulletin

BY A REPORTER

MILPITAS—On Wednesday, April 18, seven supporters of the Maoist Revolutionary Union physically attacked three Bulletin salesmen and prevented them from selling at the Ford plant in Milpitas.

The Revolutionary Union supporters, including some of its leading members in San Jose, Danny O'Neil, John Ranson, and Jane Ferrer, declared that they would see to it that the Workers League no longer sold its press at the Ford plant.

These Stalinist hooligans are mistaken. The Workers League and Young Socialists will continue to sell the Bulletin at the Ford plant and throughout auto in ever larger quantities.

This is our right and a necessity, as a caucus of the National Auto Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party must be built at Ford to smash Woodcock's sellout bargaining

program and lead the fight for a 20 percent wage increase and the demands of the TUALP program for the auto contract.

Because the Workers League is fighting to construct a Marxist leadership in auto, based on the need for a break from the capitalist parties and the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist politics, the Stalinists line up with the bureaucracy against us.

These people are the most conscious supporters of class collaboration and reformism within the unions. They are up to their ears in alliances with labor lefts and centrists. They completely support the reactionary Brotherhood caucus at the Fremont GMAD plant.

Recently the Revolutionary Union backed the red-baiting campaign of the San Jose City College administration and the nationalist Somos Raza aimed at expelling the Young Socialists from campus.

The Workers League calls upon rank and file UAW members at Ford and all working class political tendencies to defend our right to distribute our press and to denounce this vicious attack by the Revolutionary Union.

UCLA YS Meeting
Thursday, May 3rd,
12:30
Math and Science
Building Room 5200

West Coast News

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Phone: 824-4096



Farmworkers rally outside Coachella Courthouse for release of 311 pickets arrested.

Civil War Hits Grape Fields

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

COACHELLA, Calif.—This small farming community 150 miles southeast of Los Angeles has become the center of a new stage in the struggle of California farmworkers.

Teamster leader Frank Fitzsimmons has stepped up his collaboration with the growers by attacking the United Farm Workers union in its home territory, the table grape vineyards.

The UFW contract here was the first signed by California table grape growers. Midnight, April 14 that contract expired, and the next day the Western Conference of Teamsters in Los Angeles announced sweetheart contracts with growers who produce 85 percent of Coachella valley's harvest.

UFW leader Cesar Chavez announced a strike against all non-UFW vineyards in the Coachella valley. The massive support which the union has among farmworkers was immediately displayed. At 40 vineyards picketed the first day only two crews refused to walk off and join the UFW.

The four year contract is the first Teamster intrusion into the vineyards in six years and was announced after the end of five days' futile negotiations between the growers and the UFW.

DESPERATE

The Teamsters leadership have made this desperate move because they have failed to crack the resistance of farmworkers in the Salinas lettuce fields. Strikes there are endangering the profits of the growers from the harvest due in May.

What is posed now is the extension of civil war conditions this summer to every UFW-organized field in California and Arizona. The growers are determined to break the union, and as each 1970 contract expires, the Teamster bureaucracy intends to step

forward as the growers' hatchet man.

Already Teamster officials have physically driven workers back into the fields when they attempted to walk off. The UFW introduced 23 affidavits into court alleging harassment and intimidation with "guns, knives, clubs, baseball bats, grape

stakes, and other dangerous instruments."

The Teamster contract reestablishes the hated labor contractor regime, which makes farmworkers virtual slaves to a grower-controlled middleman. UFW contracts abolish labor contracting and set up a union hiring

(Continued On Page 19)

Editorial

Politics Not Protest On April 28th

The April 28 mass rally of trade unionists takes place at a decisive time for the labor movement. Never have the responsibilities facing the unions been posed so sharply.

Nixon with the full support of the Democratic Party has now obtained full legal sanction to launch his attacks on labor through Phase Three threatening the right to negotiate wages and contracts and the right to strike.

Never has a government been so exposed as this one with the Watergate scandal revealing that Nixon and his entire entourage are up to their ears in espionage and criminal activity.

In California the rights of the unions are under unprecedented attack. The assault on the farmworkers is not simply to deliver a defeat to the union, but to completely destroy it. In the Bay Area the closing of the shipyard is a blow designed to smash the unions with mass unemployment. In Los Angeles rubber workers on strike face police, scabs and violence as the employers launch a vicious open shop drive.

The government has never been more isolated and exposed before the working class. It is only the criminal refusal of the labor leadership to lead a mass fight to defeat it that enables Nixon to continue his attacks.

Every section of the labor bureaucracy aided by the Communist Party and the revisionists is seeking to confine the April 28 rally to a futile protest to exert pressure on the administration.

The Socialist Workers Party has even gone to the point of inserting the official leaflet of the labor bureaucracy for the rally into each issue of the Militant.

April 28 is the first big political movement of trade unionists to fight against Phase Three. It must not be allowed to be turned into a feeble protest.

Only the calling of a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party with a program to end controls, speedup, unemployment and anti-union laws through a fight for power can take the labor movement forward.

No Alternative From Seale

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

OAKLAND—In the Oakland elections for mayor Bobby Seale polled 19 percent of the vote to come in second and qualify for a May 15 runoff election against conservative Republican Mayor John Reading.

While Seale ran on a completely reformist program promising jobs, housing and decent medical care through the proper funding of Oakland Reading concentrated his fire on the Panthers, warning of a radical takeover of Oakland.

Seale has done everything possible to identify himself as a Democrat and is now appealing desperately to the other Democratic candidates as "representatives of the people" to support him in the second round.

There can be no question that a good number of the 20,000 votes cast for Seale represented illusions that Seale, because of his reputation as a militant in some way offered an alternative to the bankrupt liberals of the Democratic Party.

Disgust with the Democrats runs so high that not even the endorsement of the labor movement in Oakland could salvage the campaigns of Seale's Democratic opponents.

The Black Panthers have now come forward in Oakland to offer their services to the ruling class

in policing an explosive situation. Their perspective is to take over the Democratic Party and what remains of the poverty programs. This sprinkled with some populist demagoguery is calculated to produce an electoral machine no different from those that have elected Black mayors in a number of other cities.

The heart of the Panther perspective remains a program for community control of police and schools which accepts the continued existence of capitalism and seeks to divide the working class along racial lines.

A big responsibility for this situation lies with the Socialist Workers Party, which although backing away at the last minute, offered critical support to the campaign on a Black power basis. The Communist Party assisted this development as well by proclaiming all Democratic opponents of Reading as progressives.

The biggest danger is that the Oakland labor movement, one of the most powerful in the Bay

(Continued On Page 19)

MAY DAY '73

San Francisco

SATURDAY MAY 5 8PM
Holiday Inn Gold Room
50th & 8th St.

**Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary
of the Workers League**
\$1 contribution

Los Angeles

FRIDAY May 4 8PM
Hall 201 Embassy Auditorium
839 So. Grand St.

**Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary
of the Workers League**

\$1 contribution 678-3528

West Coast News

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Farmworkers rally outside Coachella Courthouse for release of 311 pickets arrested.

Civil War Hits Grape Fields

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

COACHELLA, Calif.—This small farming community 150 miles southeast of Los Angeles has become the center of a new stage in the struggle of California farmworkers.

Teamster leader Frank Fitzsimmons has stepped up his collaboration with the growers by attacking the United Farm Workers union in its home territory, the table grape vineyards.

The UFW contract here was the first signed by California table grape growers. Midnight, April 14 that contract expired, and the next day the Western Conference of Teamsters in Los Angeles announced sweetheart contracts with growers who produce 85 percent of Coachella valley's harvest.

UFW leader Cesar Chavez announced a strike against all non-UFW vineyards in the Coachella valley. The massive support which the union has among farmworkers was immediately displayed. At 40 vineyards picketed the first day only two crews refused to walk off and join the UFW.

The four year contract is the first Teamster intrusion into the vineyards in six years and was announced after the end of five days' futile negotiations between the growers and the UFW.

DESPERATE

The Teamsters leadership have made this desperate move because they have failed to crack the resistance of farmworkers in the Salinas lettuce fields. Strikes there are endangering the profits of the growers from the harvest due in May.

What is posed now is the extension of civil war conditions this summer to every UFW-organized field in California and Arizona. The growers are determined to break the union, and as each 1970 contract expires, the Teamster bureaucracy intends to step

forward as the growers' hatchet man.

Already Teamster officials have physically driven workers back into the fields when they attempted to walk off. The UFW introduced 23 affidavits into court alleging harassment and intimidation with "guns, knives, clubs, baseball bats, grape

stakes, and other dangerous instruments."

The Teamster contract reestablishes the hated labor contractor regime, which makes farmworkers virtual slaves to a grower-controlled middleman. UFW contracts abolish labor contracting and set up a union hiring

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Editorial

Politics Not Protest On April 28th

The April 28 mass rally of trade unionists takes place at a decisive time for the labor movement. Never have the responsibilities facing the unions been posed so sharply.

Nixon with the full support of the Democratic Party has now obtained full legal sanction to launch his attacks on labor through Phase Three threatening the right to negotiate wages and contracts and the right to strike.

Never has a government been so exposed as this one with the Watergate scandal revealing that Nixon and his entire entourage are up to their ears in espionage and criminal activity.

In California the rights of the unions are under unprecedented attack. The assault on the farmworkers is not simply to deliver a defeat to the union, but to completely destroy it. In the Bay Area the closing of the shipyard is a blow designed to smash the unions with mass unemployment. In Los Angeles rubber workers on strike face police, scabs and violence as the employers launch a vicious open shop drive.

The government has never been more isolated and exposed before the working class. It is only the criminal refusal of the labor leadership to lead a mass fight to defeat it that enables Nixon to continue his attacks.

Every section of the labor bureaucracy aided by the Communist Party and the revisionists is seeking to confine the April 28 rally to a futile protest to exert pressure on the administration.

The Socialist Workers Party has even gone to the point of inserting the official leaflet of the labor bureaucracy for the rally into each issue of the Militant.

April 28 is the first big political movement of trade unionists to fight against Phase Three. It must not be allowed to be turned into a feeble protest.

Only the calling of a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party with a program to end controls, speedup, unemployment and anti-union laws through a fight for power can take the labor movement forward.

No Alternative From Seale

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

OAKLAND—In the Oakland elections for mayor Bobby Seale polled 19 percent of the vote to come in second and qualify for a May 15 runoff election against conservative Republican Mayor John Reading.

While Seale ran on a completely reformist program promising jobs, housing and decent medical care through the proper funding of Oakland Reading concentrated his fire on the Panthers, warning of a radical takeover of Oakland.

Seale has done everything possible to identify himself as a Democrat and is now appealing desperately to the other Democratic candidates as "representatives of the people" to support him in the second round.

There can be no question that a good number of the 20,000 votes cast for Seale represented illusions that Seale, because of his reputation as a militant in some way offered an alternative to the bankrupt liberals of the Democratic Party.

Disgust with the Democrats runs so high that not even the endorsement of the labor movement in Oakland could salvage the campaigns of Seale's Democratic opponents.

The Black Panthers have now come forward in Oakland to offer their services to the ruling class

in policing an explosive situation. Their perspective is to take over the Democratic Party and what remains of the poverty programs. This sprinkled with some populist demagoguery is calculated to produce an electoral machine no different from those that have elected Black mayors in a number of other cities.

The heart of the Panther perspective remains a program for community control of police and schools which accepts the continued existence of capitalism and seeks to divide the working class along racial lines.

A big responsibility for this situation lies with the Socialist Workers Party, which although backing away at the last minute, offered critical support to the campaign on a Black power basis. The Communist Party assisted this development as well by proclaiming all Democratic opponents of Reading as progressives.

The biggest danger is that the Oakland labor movement, one of the most powerful in the Bay

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MAY DAY '73

San Francisco

SATURDAY MAY 5 8PM
Holiday Inn Gold Room
50th & 8th St.

**Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary
of the Workers League**
\$1 contribution

Los Angeles

FRIDAY May 4 8PM
Hall 201 Embassy Auditorium
839 So. Grand St.

**Speaker: Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary
of the Workers League**

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