

Bulletin

Twice-Weekly Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League

NOW
TWICE A
WEEK!

VOLUME TEN NUMBER THIRTY SEVEN 373

FRIDAY, MAY 10, 1974

FIFTEEN CENTS

As Wallace Prepares In The Wings

Nixon Staggers On

BY THE EDITORS

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Nixon has arrogantly declared that he will not release any further transcripts of White House discussions, even if it means a showdown with the Supreme Court and will push to squash Leon Jaworski's subpoena for 66 additional tapes.

He and his chief aide, General Alexander Haig, have declared that Watergate is closed.

The transcripts that have been released expose the real face of this government. It is a government that rules by conspiracy, fraud, and trickery in the interests of the big corporations, a government controlled by a small clique of men who secretly plot the destruction of the basic democratic rights of the masses of people.

Nixon knows that the transcripts reveal his crimes and he knows that he stands exposed before millions of working people.

DEFIANCE

Yet he remains in office, he continues his defiance because the Democratic Party stands with him in this conspiracy and despite overwhelming proof of his guilt refuse to remove him.

At every critical turning point, it has been the Democrats who granted Nixon valuable time, while he seeks to build up support within the most right-wing circles for his administration.

The transcripts leave no doubt that:

**Bulletin
10th Anniversary Fund**

**Only One
Month To Go!**

A total of \$1512.75 has come in this week, giving us a grand total of \$33,191.74—which meets the two-thirds mark of the \$50,000 Tenth Anniversary Bulletin Fund.

We especially wish to thank the Young Socialists for the tremendous collection of \$753 at its Second National Conference.

There can be no stopping now! A total of \$4500 must come in each week from now until June 1 to complete this fund on time.

As the government now prepares to confront the working class head on, we must prepare with this fund for the launching of the Bulletin as a daily paper.

Let's go all-out in these next few weeks and go over our \$50,000 goal.



New York Printers Strike To Save Their Jobs —See Story p.3

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(Continued On Page 12)

Trudeau Government Topples

BY FRANK MARTIN

OTTAWA, May 8—The minority Liberal government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau resigned today after a vote of nonconfidence in the House of Commons. This sets the stage for new elections in Canada on July 8.

The fall of the Liberal government is the result of the breakup of the coalition between the Liberals and the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party, which has kept the Liberals in power since October, 1972.

The motion on nonconfidence proposed by the NDP, and supported by the 106 Tory members, came in the debate over the budget.

It condemned the Liberal government for "failure to apply any measures to help pensioners or others on fixed incomes, to deal with the housing crisis and to remove the glaring inequalities of the tax system."

Inflation is now running at an annual rate of 10.4 percent in Canada. Under these conditions, the working class has launched a massive wages offensive throughout the country. Strikes by postal workers, St. Lawrence river pilots, air traffic controllers, and airport firemen

have paralyzed the transportation system.

This has forced David Lewis and the NDP Parliamentary Caucus to break off their support for the Liberals. Following the budget vote, Lewis stated that the main issues in the election would be the cost of living. He called for price controls and a tax on "excess" corporate profits.

Even before the election was announced, Lewis had already offered to give "conditional support" to the Tories should they elect a minority government. The Tories are openly campaigning for a freeze on wages and stiffer strikebreaking laws to deal with inflation.

(Continued On Page 12)

**In the Midweek
Edition**

•Part Four of "Nixon Speaks: A Portrait Of A President," an assessment of the transcripts by David North.

•Interviews with Young Socialists who came from throughout the US to attend the YS Second National Conference.

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A Conference Based On Principles

The Young Socialists Second National Conference held May 4-5 in New York City was a tremendous step forward for the Trotskyist movement in the United States.

This conference, attended by 550 youth from cities throughout the country, was possible because of the struggle and break with the revisionists 10 years ago.

In that struggle, the Workers League fought for the most basic principle of Marxism and Leninism, that an independent party of the working class was necessary

What We Think

and that this party existed as part of the working class, yet in conflict with the thinking of the working class.

Lenin built a movement in the working class through a continuous struggle against its spontaneous thinking, which can only be trade union thinking which confines workers to the limits of capitalism.

Trotsky continued this fight for the independent revolutionary party against the Stalinists' policies of coalitions with parties of the capitalist class, policies which could only lead to the betrayal of the working class.

The Socialist Workers Party abandoned this fight, looking instead to guerrillaists, middle class radicals, or union bureaucrats, and liquidating the revolutionary party.

Our struggle against revisionism and our break with them over these principled issues laid the basis for this conference, at the heart of which was the fight to build a revolutionary party, on international perspectives, based on Marxism.

The struggle for these principles was sharpened in the fight with the OCI over Marxism as a theory of knowledge.

This fundamental disagreement was expressed at the Essen youth conference in Germany in 1971 over the question of training working class youth as Marxists as the key to building the revolutionary party.

At Essen, the OCI clearly opposing Lenin and Trotsky, voted against a resolution put forward by the Socialist Labour League which stated:

"There can be no revolutionary party without revolutionary theory. Behind every opportunist development in the history of the workers' movement, and especially Stalinism, has been the revision of Marxist theory. The continuity of the struggle for revolutionary Marxist theory in the past, the struggle of the Fourth International and the International Committee, was the only basis for the initiatives which led to this rally and for the struggle to build the international revolutionary youth movement.

"Revolutionary youth everywhere must devote themselves above all to the task of developing Marxist theory through the struggle against bourgeois ideology in all the forms it takes in the workers movement. This is the only basis for combatting the dangers of adventurism, activism, and "pure" militancy with which the revisionists and Maoists mislead the youth, and which can only lead to historic defeats for the working class."

Our youth conference was a sharp contrast to the conference of the revisionist Young Socialist Alliance. Ours was a conference of forces new to politics from among working class youth. These youth, the most revolutionary layer of the working class, come forward now because they see the revolutionary struggles in the immediate period ahead, and they are struggling now to prepare for this future. Our conference was convened to prepare for this future.

The conference of the YSA was a conference of middle class protestors in retreat trying to hold on to the dead past of protest in a new situation.

It was a conference of disintegration, of deep factional struggles, of a movement turned inward.

The struggle in our conference took place over the necessary problems that come from turning outward and recruiting youth, that come from the development of our movement, in contrast to the divisions within the YSA, which come from its disintegration.

This conference was only possible because we fought to break from propagandism, because we turned outward to build a movement among working class youth by fighting on a principled basis to construct a revolutionary party.

This sharp political struggle has brought forward many youth from across the country who will be critical in leading other youth and in bringing workers into the revolutionary party.

The police terror following the "Zebra" killings and the hysteria and police harassment following the Patricia Hearst kidnapping are aimed specifically at youth. As unemployment soars, especially during the summer, the capitalists are arming themselves for the rebellion they know they will face. San Francisco was a test of methods the capitalists are preparing to use in cities across the country.

This sharp situation of battle makes clear the need to build a disciplined movement that can mobilize millions of workers politically and not be broken up by police provocation. The struggle at the conference over the questions of individualism and idealism were very sharp because the objective situation, the relationship of classes, has reached a new stage.

Therefore, the fight against idealism and individualism, the way the capitalists train people to think, had to be sharp, because these methods can lead to the destruction of a revolutionary movement in this period.

This conference represented a development over the first national conference. At that conference, Marxism was discussed as being very important. However, at this conference the real meaning, and necessity of Marxism came out in the living struggle over beginning as an individual or beginning with the new objective situation of struggle in order to build a disciplined, combat party.

At last year's conference a struggle took place over protestism, over just going out and "acting" on immediate struggles. This year, there was a real change, in that everyone who spoke, spoke on the political issues. This change is not just a change in thinking among youth, but represents a change in the thinking of the working class as a whole. This rage expressed by the working class against Nixon is political and is the highest point of class understanding. This is what unites youth and older workers, what unites all layers of the working class. The struggle at this conference lays the basis for the youth to go beyond this anger to take a lead in actually building a revolutionary party to lead the working class to power.

Brandt Government Falls

BY A REPORTER

The resignation of Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany is an open abdication by the Social Democrats to the right-wing Christian Democratic Party.

Foreign Minister Walter Scheel will take Brandt's place until May 16, when Parliament must elect a new Chancellor. Finance Minister Helmut

Schmidt has been mentioned as a possible successor.

The "spy scandal" in which Brandt's aide for party affairs Gunter Guillaume, was discovered to be an agent for East Germany, was used by the Christian Democrats to force Brandt out to pave the way for a government that would launch a crackdown on the working class.

Brandt's resignation was not

an action of "integrity," but a deliberate capitulation to the right. Faced with a powerful upsurge of the working class, the Social Democrats of every country now turn the reins of control over to the conservative parties.

With the end of the economic boom and the rapid growth of recession, unemployment, and inflation in Germany, the capitalists have no more use for the

Social Democrats.

Brandt's regime was shattered by the tremendous wage offensive of German workers. In the recent period, engineering workers and public employees went on strike and forced wage concessions from the government.

DROPPED

In a local election last March in the industrial city of Hamburg, the vote received by the Social Democrats, who were originally elected by the working class, dropped to 44.9 percent, a loss of 10 percent.

Since 1972, Brandt has built up a vast apparatus of repression to use against the left and the trade

unions. He introduced legislation to bar "extremists" from holding office which would open up a witch-hunt against militant trade unionists. He established special armed police units, trained in civil war techniques.

Under his government, members of the anarchist group, Ulrike Meinhoff have been illegally jailed and tortured mentally and physically, while uniformed Nazis are allowed to reemerge and drill in Bavaria.

Brandt's resignation will give the Christian Democrats the opportunity to demand a new election and return to power, and use these reactionary laws and the police against the entire trade union movement.

Spinola Threatens Workers

BY MELODY FARROW

The new military junta in Portugal, headed by General Antonio de Spinoza, has issued a warning to public employees to halt meetings and demonstrations against company officials or else action will be taken.

Since the military coup April 25, telephone, postal, newspaper, and railroad workers have demonstrated to demand the removal of management officials who supported the former fascist dictator Marcello Caetano.

The new dictatorship of Spinoza, after promising sweeping reforms to gain time to consolidate power, is already moving to crack down on the working class.

The coup unleashed a flood of demands for reforms and improvements in the standard of living of workers which is already developing independent of the junta. Steel workers were scheduled to strike on May 6, but union leaders agreed to postpone it one week.

CENSORSHIP

The National Union of Journalists held a meeting to create editorial committees in every news agency to prevent censorship and ensure that all newspapers support democracy.

On May 4, demonstrators

massed at Lisbon's military airport to stop soldiers from departing to Africa. Twelve soldiers were kidnapped

ATTITUDE

The real attitude of the regime towards its colonial wars in Mozambique and Angola was expressed by the second top man in the junta, General Francisco da Costa Gomes when he declared in Angola last week that if the liberation forces refused to accept a "political solution," the Portuguese army would continue fighting.

Spinola has still not granted the release of political prisoners who are members of the liberation movement in Africa.

INVESTMENT

Spinola's proposal to turn the colonies into part of a federation with Portugal, which is opposed by the liberation movement, is aimed at securing these African countries as a source of investment and raw material for Portuguese big business.

This junta, whose leading men fought for the Nazis and Franco, have the unconditional support of the Portuguese Communist Party and the Socialist Party.

The Portuguese Stalinists are begging Spinola for a place in the new government and are joining the junta in denouncing leftist, "adventurists" who criticize the regime.



Mozambique Liberation Army.

Mario Soares, leader of the Socialist Party, has been on a tour of European capitals with the blessings of Spinola, seeking economic aid for Portugal.

Soares declared that there would be no Popular Front in Portugal as existed in 1936 in Spain and France but a "Front of National Unity" including "conservatives, Catholics, liberals, socialists and communists..."

It is only the Portuguese Trotskyists of the International Committee of the Fourth International who offer a revolutionary alternative to the traitors in the Socialist and Communist parties.

Railway Workers Paralyze India

BY ESTHER GALEN
Two million railroad workers in India began a nationwide strike as scheduled, on Wednesday May 7, in Bombay, New Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, and all the major rail centers.

"The fight is on... The entire working class is with us," declared the railroad workers national coordinating committee as negotiations with the Gandhi government broke off.

Gandhi has rejected the rail workers demands for higher wages and has stationed army reserve troops at all key rail centers. The arrest of over 3000 union leaders and workers has done nothing to halt the strike movement.

The rail union leaders declared that the shutdown would be total. This strike will bring the entire country to a halt.

Rail workers who only make \$26 a month, are fighting for a 75 percent wage increase and additional bonuses. On May 6, police opened fire on demonstrators in New Delhi, killing 20.

Faced with the revolutionary movement of the Indian masses, the right-wing is rallying behind Jayaprakash Narain to prepare the overthrow of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who they feel cannot handle the working class.

Narain has set up a new movement called Citizens for Democracy.

A number of right-wing parties and groups met in New Delhi in April to set up a new party and recently voted to use violence to overthrow Gandhi's Congress government.



ITU Local 6 pickets in front of Daily News building in Manhattan.

ITU Fights To Defend Union Rights

**BY JEFF SEBASTIAN
NEW YORK, NY—**
The showdown between the New York publishers and the International Typographers Union, No. 6 exploded in the early hours of Tuesday morning, when management at the Daily News deliberately provoked a walkout by printers.

The ITU has been conducting a slowdown at the News since April 18, which the paper claims has blocked suburban editions, cost over \$2 million in advertising revenue, and forced the loss of 30 percent of the advertising in Tuesday's edition.

The printers are fighting for ironclad guarantees that their jobs and working conditions will not be destroyed by new automated equipment that threatens to reduce the ITU workforce to a handful of men.

On Tuesday, ITU members were told to work with a plate that had been produced by non-union members. No. 6 men refused to handle it.

Management called in the police when No. 6 President, Bertram Powers, crumpled up the plate and Powers and other union representatives were arrested.

The ITU members are well aware that they are fighting for the existence of the union and they are determined not to give an inch on the automated elimination of jobs.

One printer told the Bulletin, "Profits are not the only criteria. They are using progress as a weapon to hurt people. I want to benefit from it. I want to work. It's my right."

"We can't allow this to go on. No man can compete with computers. The important thing is people. People must be honored. It's people that built the computers."

"Why should the employers benefit because they have the money and power? This kind of crap went on 100 years ago. They go forward and then backward a 1000 years."

One No. 6 member who did

not work for the News but showed up in the morning to picket, said, "Before this ends there'll be thousands like myself with moral and financial support. If I have to shell out \$25 to \$50 a week, I'll do it."

"I went down with the Mirror, the Journal and the World. Once automation comes in, they've got us. If we get the unions behind us they won't match us. The truckers deliver the ink and the longshoremen handle the paper on the docks."

"The Central Labor Council is the key to the whole thing. Do you recall the labor parade in 1962 when all the unions marched during our 114 day strike? That wasn't anything compared to what you're going to see."

"I've never seen the country in such shape. Behind it all is Nixon. The US has the worst unemployment, the worst inflation. No matter what you put your finger on, it's a problem and Nixon is responsible."



Bertram Powers.

The greatest danger to the printers comes from the reactionary leadership of the craft unions which has refused to honor the printers' lines.

While hundreds of printers picketed outside the Daily News, Newspaper Guild members massed outside, demanding an explanation from their leadership of the union policy.

Guild officials were shamefacedly explaining to the ranks that the Executive Board had authorized crossing the lines but that each member was free to follow his conscience.

Guild members are affected by the new equipment as well as the printers. The automated process permits classified ads to be taken and processed by a handful of people. All of this work is now handled by the Guild.

As one printer told us, "We've been patient for 13 months. These guys divide, and rule. I know a driver. He thinks he's safe. I told him all they have to do is call up Hertz or Pepsi and give them the contract and he's out. Everybody's vulnerable here. If necessary they'll move to Jersey and run a completely scab operation. The craft unions had better come to their senses."

The New York Times and the News are leading the way for every employer to employ the same union-busting tactics. The printers face a bitter battle which requires the support of all newspaper unions in a common fight and a struggle to force the Central Labor Council to use its enormous power to prevent production of scab papers.

British Engineering Union Cancels Nationwide Strike

**BY A
CORRESPONDENT**
A nationwide strike was averted Wednesday between the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers and the National Industrial Relations Court when the \$113,000 fine against the union was paid by an anonymous donor.

The engineers had been threatening a strike over seizure of the union's assets and funds by the court for nonpayment of the fine.

The fine was imposed last September by the NIRC for an engineer's strike at Con Mech.

The payment of the fine is being used by the union leadership to avoid a fight in defense of the basic rights of the union. The Labor government bill to repeal

the NIRC would still leave the anti-union decisions of the court valid; unresolved cases would be passed on to the High Court adding to the body of law threatening the unions.

There will be no reinstatement of workers unfairly dismissed; no positive right to picket; and anti-trade unionists will be able to break a closed shop on "religious conscience" grounds.

The Industrial Relations Act and NIRC was set up by the Tories in order to break the trade union movement in Britain, to take away the right to strike, and bring the union under control of the government.

If the engineers had gone out, it could have brought about a general strike and a confrontation between the Labor government and the whole working class. Wilson and the labor leaders want at all costs to avoid that confrontation which poses revolutionary tasks

Since the Labor government's election in February the Labor Party has failed to carry out the requirements of the trade union movement. By acting as a Trojan Horse for Tory policies, they create great dangers for the working class because they refuse to fight these corporate state measures.

The Workers Revolutionary Party is calling for an immediate Labor Party Conference to instruct union leaders to carry out socialist policies or be removed from leadership.

Alan Thornett, member of the WRP and shop steward for auto workers at British-Leyland, is being refused recognition by management because he fought against layoffs and speedup in the plant. The fight to defend him is expected to get official backing from the Transport and General Workers Union.

One worker in the transport section for seven years stated:

"The basic issue is not Alan Thornett but the company's decision to break two cast-iron agreements—the first is that when they laid some of the drivers off they broke their promise of 'one out, all out,' the second is that they arbitrarily acted against Thornett instead of operating status quo, which says procedure must be gone through before any changes can be made."

"As far as the transport section is concerned, he is the best steward we have ever had ... if they get away with this they can get rid of any steward they want. I want to get back to work ... I have spent my savings on this dispute, but there is an important principle involved, we cannot back down."

Syria Refuses To Concede Territory

BY A REPORTER
Henry Kissinger's intense round of negotiations in the Middle East this past week has failed to produce any agreement between Syria and Israel on the terms of a ceasefire.

Despite Kissinger's claim that Syrian President, Hafez Assad, pledged to scale down military activity, bitter fighting continues around Mount Hermon, in the Golan Heights. On Monday, Syria shot down four Israeli planes.

Kissinger has shuttled back and forth between Israel, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt and is now meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, on the island of Cyprus.

DEMANDING

Syria is demanding not only Israeli withdrawal from the land occupied in the war last October, but a pledge to begin withdrawal from lands taken in 1967, including the town of El Quneitra. Syria also wants UN observers to be posted on three strategic hills overlooking

Quneitra.

Houari Boumedienne of Algeria, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, King Hussein of Jordan and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, together with the Moscow Stalinists, are fully behind Kissinger.

It is the determination of the Syrian people to defend their land and not to be tricked by another fraudulent ceasefire, which has made all of Kissinger's diplomacy fruitless.

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The Plot To Deceive The Mitchell Jury

BY FRANK MARTIN

The transcripts released by Nixon and new information published by the New York Times has exposed that the acquittal of John Mitchell and Maurice Stans, former chief fund raiser for Nixon's reelection committee, was rigged through an elaborate conspiracy by the government, the judge, and even the prosecution.

The discussion between Nixon and Ehrlichman, (see right) shows that Mitchell and Stans were guilty of all charges. This was part of the White House transcripts published only two days after the acquittal.

The methods used by the defense to get an acquittal verdict are part of the conspiratorial methods by which this entire government functions.

They hired Marty Herbst, the president of a "communications think tank" to construct a jury profile for the case. That profile called for jurors who were Roman Catholic, earned between \$8,000 and \$10,000 yearly, and who read the Daily News. There was no place for Jews or "limousine liberals," as Herbst put it.

"We wanted people who were home established, to the right, more concerned with inflation than Watergate, jurors who would associate the dour Mr. Mitchell with John Wayne."

Judge Gagliardi then gave the defense 20 peremptory challenges (the right to remove prospective jurors from the panel without cause) while the prosecution only had 8. This gave the Mitchell-Stans lawyers the ability to totally dominate the jury selection, based on their prepared profile. The prosecution went along with this, not even using one of their eight challenges.

The defense then brought Andrew Choa into the jury. He was brought in, not because he

E. - Ehrlichman; P. - President Nixon.

E. It's started out as an SEC action against Vesco for violations of the Securities Act. They then bumped into this two-hundred-and-some-thousand dollar donation to the campaign. P. Right. E. They have been on that. P. Right.

E. Since. And they've had Stans up and they've had Mitchell in and they're working on the question of whether or not Vesco procured an appointment with the Attorney General of the United States in consideration of a \$200,000 campaign contribution.

P. Oh my God. And Harry Sears charges that? E. Violation of Section 201. Now they have a witness, who was sitting in the room with Vesco and Stans. P. Yeah.

E. Vesco came in and said, "Mr. Stans, how does a guy get to be a big contributor around here?" and Stans said, "Well, the word 'big' means \$200,000." And Vesco said, "Cash or check?" And Maury says, "Either one." And he—

P. This was after my poor brother was up there?

E. I'm not sure. I don't know, before or after. I just don't know. But in any event, he said, "Well, how does one work out a quid pro quo?" And Maury said, "Well, what's your problem?" And he said, "Well, I'm afraid the Justice Department is after me on an SEC violation." And Maury said, in effect, "I don't know what I can do about that. Let's see." Vesco then got a phone call, allegedly from John Mitchell. Now, that's enough to indict.

P. It is?

E. They tell me it is. Because Vesco, as a result of the phone call, got an appointment.

P. (Unintelligible). My God, that's dumb. You know what I mean. I can imagine all those (unintelligible) in here trying to get—

E. Now that may not be enough to convict, but it's enough to indict.

fit the "profile," but as the defense's agent in the jury.

Choa is a vice-president of the First National City Bank. He voted twice for Nixon for president, supported Nixon's Vietnam war policy, and contributed to Nixon's 1972 reelection campaign fund. One of his friends described him as "to the right of Ivan the Terrible."

The prosecution knew this. Yet they allowed Choa to be put on the jury.

Choa's task was to lead the fight for acquittal. Even with a handpicked jury, he had a hard time of it. The first vote on the conspiracy charges was 8 to 4 for conviction.

Choa dominated the proceedings. He always spoke last, having the maximum effect on the jurors. He kept insisting on a re-reading of the conspiracy and obstruction of justice charges to give the other jurors the impression that they did not fully under-

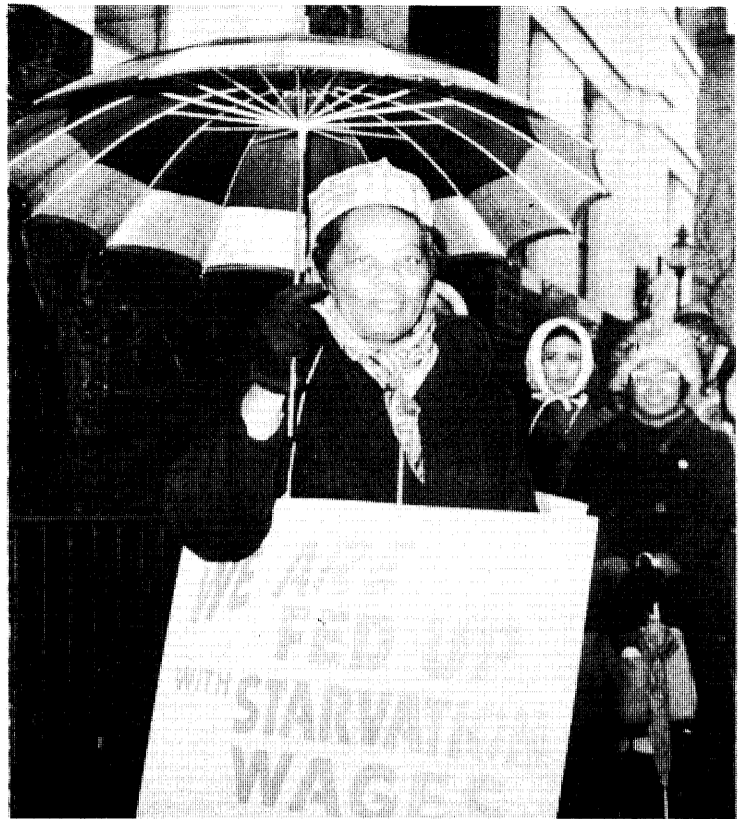
stand the charges.

In this way, Choa got the jury to put aside the first two charges and to reduce the case down to the perjury charges. This was further simplified to a question of who to believe—Mitchell and Stans or the prosecution.

"We didn't consider whether they (Mitchell and Stans) lied. They didn't have to prove themselves. The prosecution had the burden of proof," one juror later said.

In this way, Choa was able to get the jury to disregard whole sections of testimony proving Mitchell and Stans' guilt. Once he got the acquittal vote on the perjury counts, he was able to ram through the acquittals on the conspiracy and obstruction of justice charges.

The acquittal of Mitchell and Stans was a conspiracy, not only by the defense, but by the court and the prosecution as well, to let two proven criminals go scot free.



Adelphi workers picketing during 1969 strike to unionize.

1199 Accepts Adelphi Closure

BY

A REPORTER

NEW YORK, NY—
On May 2, Adelphi Hospital in the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn closed down and filed for bankruptcy.

Approximately 60 employees, many of whom have worked there for 40 years, were immediately laid off.

The closure was the culmination of a long and bitter struggle between Adelphi and Local 1199, the Drug and Hospital Workers Union, that began with a strike for union recognition in 1969.

The workers, then numbering 130, conducted a sit-in at the hospital to force the hospital to recognize 1199. The Adelphi management evacuated its patients and sought to make it appear that the hospital would close.

Community support and the mobilization of workers from hospitals throughout the city against police and court harassment forced management to back down and recognize the union.

Before the signing of a contract, many workers were earning as little as \$64 a week.

VIOLATING

Since that time, the hospital management conducted a continuous war against the union, consistently violating the contract and flouting court and arbitrator's rulings to pay wage increases.

According to Local 1199, almost three-quarters of a million dollars was owed to the workers. Management, however, did find the cash to pay off a mortgage to a company owned by the administrator, and to pay costly legal fees to fight the union.

These developments expose the myth of the so-called non-profit private hospitals which pay high salaries to their administrators, and engage in multi-million dollar business deals, often with concerns owned by their own trustees.

The 1199 leadership, throughout its battle with Adelphi, relied on lawyers, the courts, and liberal Democratic Party poli-

ticians.

The Bulletin spoke with Cato Jones, who had been employed at Adelphi for the last three years.

"Everybody feels very bad. We didn't know what to do. Most of the workers are of an age where it's kind of hard to get work.

"Management wasn't living up to the contract terms. I worked three years in my department and never got a rotation on Sunday. They didn't give me extra pay for the Sunday work.

"I went to the union lawyer. The vice-president talked with management, but nothing came of it.

"When they laid me off, all we got was the pay owed to us. I didn't get paid for vacation. I never took a sick day and didn't get paid for that.

"The older workers lose their pensions. We got nothing, even though we had it coming."

The administrators of these hospitals operate like private corporations, sucking the maximum in profits by raising rates and speeding up the workers.

The books are kept in secret and often funds are drained off into business ventures that bankrupt the hospital.

French-Polyclinic and Community Hospital are facing financial collapse because of such operations.

The closure of Adelphi Hospital is a bitter lesson in the futility of expecting the courts to defend the basic rights of workers. These same courts have upheld a fine of \$600,000 against the union for last November's strike.

The 1199 leadership bears responsibility because they allowed the case to be dragged out endlessly in court, and refused to mobilize the full power of the union's membership to force Adelphi to honor the contract.

The 1199 leadership of Leon Davis simply accepts this shutdown and the destruction of jobs. Hospital workers must insist on job security guarantees in their upcoming contracts and demand a citywide shutdown to stop closures.

The defense of medical care and jobs requires a political fight for a labor party to socialize medicine.

Wallace Wins Primary With AFL-CIO Support

BY A REPORTER

Alabama Governor George Wallace won the state Democratic primary election on Tuesday, opening the way for his election next November for a third term as governor.

Wallace won 273,684 votes, while his main opponent State Senator Gene McLain received 122,361 votes.

Wallace intends to use a third term to prepare a fight to win the Democratic nomination for president in 1976. He already has the backing of prominent liberals within the Democratic Party.

In the state primary, he had the support of Johnny Ford,

Black mayor of Tuskegee and William Branch, the only Black probate judge in Alabama.

STRATEGY

Wallace's strategy remains to build an independent right-wing movement based on racism, and anticommunism, to divide the working class and attack the trade unions. If he now seeks a national spot within the Democratic Party, it is only to build a base for his own movement.

Wallace was only able to win because he received the official support of the Alabama AFL-CIO and of George Meany.

The AFL-CIO, who during Wallace's last campaign, printed large numbers of brochures exposing his anti-labor program and fought to defeat him, now claims that he has changed his position.

Wallace seeks to play down his program now, only in order to gain time and establish a strong base of support, to emerge in the immediate period ahead as the leader of all the right-wing and fascistic forces who want to smash the working class.

McLAIN

The Democrats, like McLain, offer no alternative because their program is essentially no different than Wallace. Instead of raising the issues of unemployment and inflation which unite all workers, McLain based his campaign on attacking Wallace's presidential ambitions.

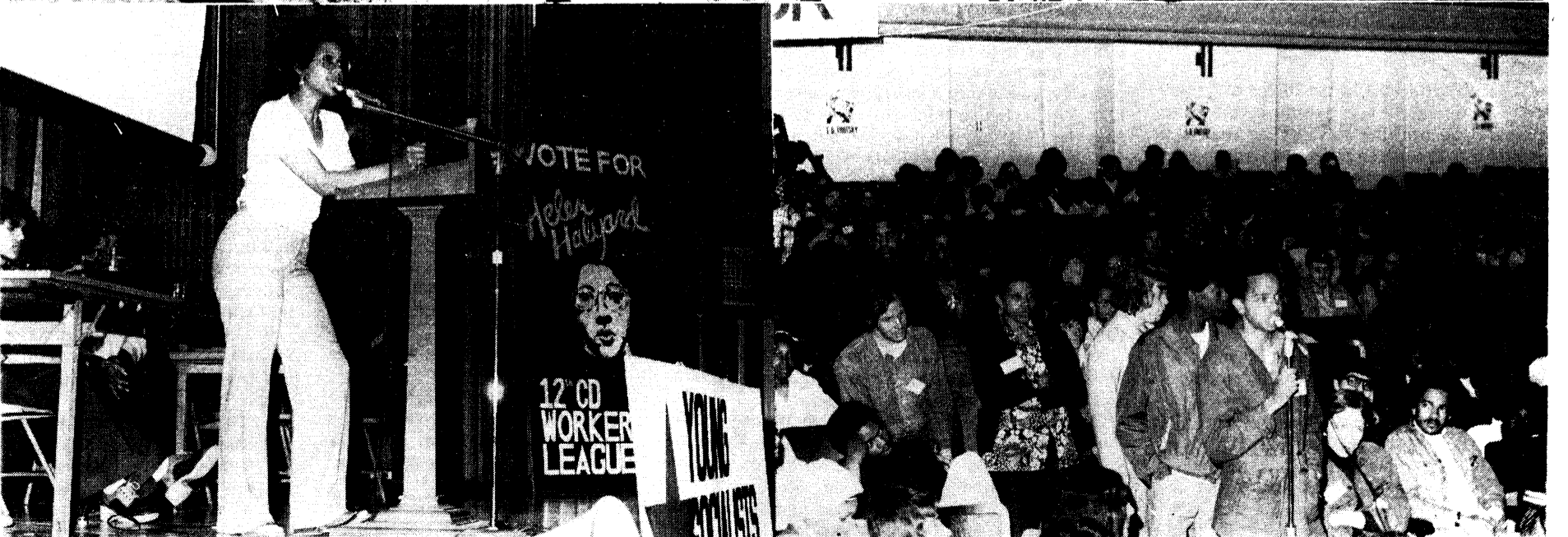
This election is a warning of the urgent need for an independent labor party, and of the need for a revolutionary leadership in the unions to lead this fight.

call from the second annual young socialists conference and may day march:



FORCE NIXON OUT!

After the Saturday session of the National Conference the Young Socialists marched through Harlem drawing a tremendous response from the people. Many youth joined the march as it wound its way towards the rally point, chanting "We Want Steak, No More Beans! Nixon's Got to Split the Scene!" Directly below and bottom right: Delegates from many areas of the US line up to tell of their experiences in the YS. Directly right: Jim Lawrence, UAW Delco-Moraine in Dayton, brings greetings from the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party. Bottom left: Helen Halyard, voted National Secretary of the YS.



Nixon Speaks: A Port

BY DAVID NORTH

The Watergate transcripts reveal that beneath the appearances of a democratic government organized within the traditional framework of three independent branches—the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary—there exists the real government of Richard Nixon, the government of conspirators groomed by big business to prepare for civil war against the working class.

As the transcripts show so clearly, this coverup flowed out of Nixon's attempt to prevent the working class from learning of the vast network of police agents, illegal surveillance, and other instruments of repression that had been secretly developed within the White House.

The Watergate burglary was but one incident in a vast conspiracy against democratic rights which included the frameup of militants, the Kent State murders, the repression of the Black Panthers, and the surveillance and harassment of working class organizations.

These activities, which were to be concealed by the coverup, were organized in the White House by Nixon, working with what was, in effect, a private staff of political conspirators appointed by and responsible to no one but Nixon.

Among these individuals were H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, John Dean, Ronald Ziegler, Jeb Magruder, Charles Colson, Egil Krogh, and the White House "plumbers" who carried out their orders: men like Howard Hunt, Bernard Barker, James McCord, and Gordon Liddy.

They were the ones who plotted Watergate and later wrote the scenarios that were to cover up the conspiracy. But the Watergate conspiracy is not just the conspiracy of Nixon. It is the conspiracy of the capitalist class.

Expressed in the existence of Nixon's private government of conspirators just beneath the form of a democratic government is the actual movement of the ruling class toward dictatorship.

This is why the *Bulletin* has opposed every attempt by the revisionists to portray Watergate as nothing outside the normal practice of bourgeois democracy.

Such a position is blind to the actual



John Dean.

breakup of bourgeois democracy which now takes place because of the breakup of the economy.

It fosters illusions in the forms of "bourgeois democracy" and therefore refuses to prepare the working class as the real content of that democracy is transformed in the course of the struggle of classes under conditions of deep economic crisis.

Watergate and all of Nixon's efforts to cover it up represent a break with the practice of bourgeois democracy as it has traditionally functioned and expose the preparations of the ruling class for new methods of rule: for dictatorship and civil war.

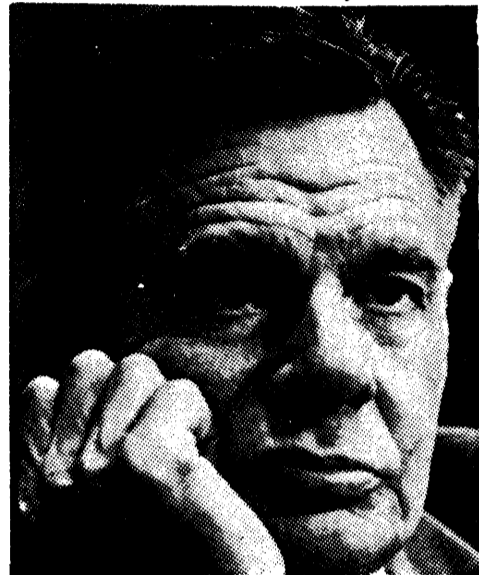
The Nixon government represents the capitalist class. Nixon personally was carefully groomed for this period in the course of a career that goes all the way back to the postwar witch-hunt of Alger Hiss.

The methods of conspiracy and frameup which are revealed in Watergate and documented by the transcripts were developed by Nixon over a long period as the lead-

ing anticommunist politician of the ruling class.

"We got the typewriter; we got the pumpkin papers," Nixon told John Dean on February 28, 1973, referring to the Alger Hiss case. In telling Dean, a Nixon favorite until their falling out a few months later, how the Watergate coverup was to be carried out, Nixon recalled his own experience as a master conspirator. Not suspecting that this conversation would one day appear in a published transcript, Nixon revealed how he had staged the scenario that sent Hiss to jail.

He confirms what Hiss always insisted:



Henry Petersen.

that the typewriter that was the central evidence against him—upon which he had supposedly typed secret government documents—was not his own, but had been planted by Nixon and the FBI in a conspiracy to frame him. This is borne out by Nixon's off-the-cuff boast: "We got the typewriter."

The significance of this reference to Hiss is that it shows how this Watergate conspiracy is the product of the most reactionary red-baiting forces of American capitalism brought into the White House under conditions in which the ruling class seeks to drive down wages, destroy jobs, crush the unions, and establish a ruthless dictatorship over American workers.

How far advanced these preparations are can be at least partly grasped by the Watergate transcripts, which show that real power in this country was exercised not even by elected bourgeois politicians, but by virtually unknown members of Nixon's White House apparatus.

It was the internal clique of White House operators who established private connections with police agencies, established private police agencies of their own, organized espionage operations like the Watergate burglary and the Ellsberg break-in, and supervised the surveillance of militants and socialists.

As the transcripts show, Nixon valued this private apparatus and feared that the Watergate investigation would break it up. He feared especially that the two men he considered most vital to his plans, Haldeman and Ehrlichman, would be forced to leave the White House. He told them on April 17, 1973: .

"Can Haldeman and Ehrlichman survive it. The point that I—Let me say this. I know your (unintelligible) It's a hell of a lot different than John Dean. I know as far as you're concerned, you'll go out and throw yourselves on a damn sword. I'm aware of that. I'm trying to think the thing through with that in mind, because, damn it, you're the two most valuable members on the staff. I know that."

Who are Haldeman and Ehrlichman? What made them so valuable? Until the Watergate coverup exploded in public, these men were unknown to most American workers. They had never run for any public office. They did not even hold positions in the cabinet.

However, they were for nearly five years among the most powerful men in government, answerable only to Nixon.

Haldeman first was attracted to Nixon during the latter's days as a tough anticommunist California politician. He worked in the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, learning all the techniques of fraud and falsification in which American business ex-

from the transcripts— Part 3: The Conspirators

On April 17, 1973, after learning that White House Counsel John Dean had begun talking to Federal investigators about the Watergate coverup, Nixon held a desperate meeting with John Ehrlichman and H.R. Haldeman to discuss a scenario to answer Dean's charges. In the course of the discussion, the conspirators expressed the hope that Dean would not be so "Unamerican" as to implicate Nixon. In the transcript, P. is Nixon, E. is Ehrlichman, and H. is Haldeman.

P. John, I'm just trying to see what the options are on Dean—what we turn loose here.

E. Absolutely. Well, let's go back to the press plan. Maybe that will give us some guidance. P. Right. E. If you say in the press plan, "The President got concerned about this," the question, "why didn't he get concerned sooner because this has been in the paper for months and months?" Well, "the reason he didn't get concerned sooner is he was resting secure in the belief that he had the whole story."

P. Right.

E. Well, what made him insecure?

P. Do I ever ask Dean in and ask him answers? The answer is no.

E. No, but the point is that you were resting secure on his assurances.

P. Go ahead. E. Well—H. Didn't you at some point get a report from Dean that nobody in the White House was involved. E. Didn't we put that out way back in August?

P. I mean, I just said "Well, that's all I know now." It was never in writing. He never came in orally and told me Dean—John Dean I never saw about this matter. You better check, but I don't think John Dean was ever seen about this matter until I saw him, when John Ehrlichman suggested that I'd better see John Dean.

E. You better check Bob, back in that period of time July—when we were in San Clemente—my recollection is that he did come and see you at that time—but we can check that.

P. Oh, by himself? No. E. Well, by himself or with one of us. I don't know.

P. He may have come in, but it was a pretty—I hope he did, hope he did. But he might have come in sort of the end, and someone said, "Look, here's John Dean from Washington," and I may have said, "Thanks for all your hard work."

E. Well—let's follow this line and see where it leads us. The President rested secure in the belief that his counsel had investigated this and assured him that nobody in the White House was involved.

E. O.K. Then, what moved him off of that belief and assurance? Well, what moved him off was the sequence of events leading to John Dean being sent to Camp David to write it all down.

P. What moved him off first were reports that occurred in the court testimony. E. That's right.

P. Charges were made by McCord—and other charges—Charges were made by McCord. I wouldn't say (unintelligible). Charges were made by McCord that, in open, before a jury committee. The President ordered a full investigation. E. Well, the first thing you did—and maybe you can avoid saying this—but you're saying you ordered a full press investigation when Dean came back and said to Bob, "I can't write that down."

P. He told me that too. E. Then that rang a bell. Because if Dean can't write that down, then we must have problems bigger than I ever thought. And so that's when you put on the full court press.

P. Well all right. Here's—you've got the dates on this. Well—

E. I have them in there, yeah. Let's see what Dean says on that. Well he says, "The reason I couldn't write them down is because Dick Moore and others said (unintelligible) said how could I write it down—draw the wagons up around the White House?" That phrase, remember

that, isn't that a Dean phrase?

H. Sure. His line was that you could do that because there was no problem at the White House, the problems were at the committee.

P. What did he tell you with that respect? What was Dean's line before he deserted? E. Well, what he said—

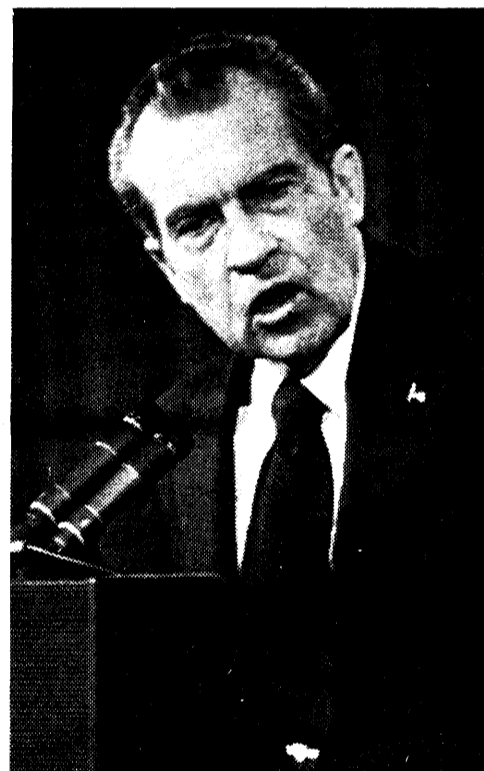
P. My point is—you've got to watch out. He may say, "Well, they were trying to get me—conspired to get me to write a report that was untrue."

E. Well, I understand, except that he was sent to write it without anybody being near him. P. Except Moore (unintelligible)

E. I'm sure that when he went through this exercise, it was impossible for him to write it down without it being a confession. And he said, "My God, I don't know how this case is going to break, but I'm crazy to have a piece of paper like that around."

P. Then I could say then that I ordered—who conducted the investigation? E. The way we got it doesn't say—

H. You asked other staff members to



explore this—you had Ehrlichman, Moore, Garment, Haldeman. P. That's right. All right. And then—

E. Then you contacted some people and said, "Don't hold back on my account." P. Yes, like Hunt—Liddy. E. Like Mitchell and Magruder.

P. I passed the word to all sources that everybody was to talk to tell the truth, which I had done previously. I reaffirmed. I reaffirmed specific terms to specific people.

H. Well, you had reason to believe that they might have a misapprehension on it.

P. Any misapprehension and so forth and so on—to all parties involved who were those people. I should not say—H. You can't list those people...

P. That's a problem. H. Yeah. But I think at some point, like you do on anything else, you gotta face up to the fact that the guy is either a friend or foe—or a neutral. If he's a neutral you don't have to worry about him; if he's a friend you rely on him, if he's a foe you fight him, and this guy—it seems at this point—is a foe.

P. When I talked to him I said, "Now John, any conversations are (unintelligible)." I said, "Anything (unintelligible) National Security are (unintelligible) you understand?" He said, "Yes (unintelligible) testified to it (unintelligible..)"

H. O.K. He said it and it was no problem for him to say it. But it was no problem for him to say a lot of things to us over the last couple of weeks too.

P. The point is, if you break it off with him, then he could go out and say, "Screw the (unintelligible)." H. No he can't. It's not his privilege. It's yours.

P. I know it's mine, but—H. If he screws the privilege—

Portrait Of A President

ators

P. Well, I think you have to charge Henry Petersen or whoever is in charge here with protecting your privilege and then that's got to go down to Silberman and Silberman has to be cautioned that he is not to go into matters of executive privilege—he is not to go into matters of national security importance. Any matters involving a conversation with the President—or national security, anything like that, they can ask me.

E. Now, the question comes up—I don't know how far this will run—but this caper in California for instance. Colson asked me this thing of Hunt's out there—the national security connected Ellsberg. Well Petersen knows about it I think. It's laying around some place over there. But if the question comes up, Colson says, "How do I handle that?" I said, "Well, Chuck, if I were asked that—I would say that that was a national security project and I'm not in the position to answer a question on that, because I would have to refer to the President for a waiver of executive privilege on that if he



desired to do so." And he said, "Well, can I say the same thing?" And I said, "Well, I don't know whether you can or not. He said, "Well, what would the President say if it's referred to him?" I said, "I don't know. I'll go ahead and ask him."

P. That's what we'd say. E. Can I tell him that for you?

P. Anything on the (unintelligible) thing, the plumbing thing was national security, the ITT thing. No, I can't believe it was that—you know—the Hunt thing there. That will just have to handle the way it is. (Unintelligible) Colson about (unintelligible) Hunt thing?

E. I don't know. If anybody around here did, if anybody did it, was Dean.

H. I doubt if Dean knew about that. You see Dean and Colson never tracked particularly well together, I don't think.

E. Whoever operates this at the Justice Department has to be told that the inquiry must not jeopardize your privilege. Some day they're going to try and put you in a crunch spot. P. Sure.

E. And they'll put a question to me and I'll say, "I can't take that question and then I'll be back to you and it's going to be hard."

P. No, turning it off. It's national security—national security area—and that is a national security problem.

E. Or, if it is something that you and I have discussed directly.

P. (expletive removed) it. E. I'll just (expletive removed) that—I'll just—H. I don't think anybody is going to try to challenge that, (unintelligible) conversations with the President (unintelligible). E. (unintelligible) just got to be told the background—H. Awful but before you get to that.

P. (unintelligible) talk to the President

about \$127,000 we had to get or were we able to get it or something that point—that we were still working on money for Hunt—I don't know how the hell—

H. That was the one that Bittman got to Dean on. He really cranked on it. He was very concerned—professed to be concerned because Bittman's threat was that Hunt said that, "If you don't get it to me I'm going to tell them all about the seamy things I did for Ehrlichman." And when Dean hit Ehrlichman on that, Ehrlichman's immediate reaction was let him go ahead—"There's nothing he can hang me on." Dean didn't like that answer and went on worrying about the money.

P. Told me about it.
H. Told you about it, told me about it. I was in here when he told you.

P. Good. What did we say? Remember he said, "How much is it going to cost to keep these, these guys (unintelligible). I just shook my head. Then we got into the question—

H. If there's blackmail here, then we're into a thing that's just ridiculous.

P. He raised the point—

H. (unintelligible) but you can't say it's a million dollars. It may be \$10 million dollars. And that we ought not to be in this—

P. That's right. That's right.

H. We left it—that—we can't do anything about it anyway. We don't have any money, and it isn't a question to be directed here. This is something relates to Mitchell's problem. Ehrlichman has no problem with this thing with Hunt. And Ehrlichman said, (expletive removed) if you're going to get into blackmail, to hell with it."

P. Good (unintelligible). Thank God, you were in there when it happened. But you remember the conversation? H. Yes sir.

P. I didn't tell him to go get the money, did I? H. No.

P. You didn't either, did you? H. Absolutely not! I said you got to talk to Mitchell. This is something you've got to work out with Mitchell—not here—there's nothing we can do about it here.

P. We've got a pretty good record on that one, John, at least.

H. But there's a couple of complications he can throw in there (unintelligible) which would be of concern, but I just can't conceive that a guy—I can see him using it as a threat. I cannot see him sinking low enough to use that. I just—although I must admit the guy has really turned into an unbelievable disaster for us. People don't—he's not an American and anti-Nixon. I'll tell you—during that period he busted his ass trying to work this out. It wore him to a frazzle. And I think it probably wore him past the point of rationality. I think he may now be in a mental state that's causing him to do things that when he sobers up, he's going to be very disturbed about with himself.

P. Also, he's probably got a very, very clever new lawyer (unintelligible). I think that's part of the problem...

P. Well (inaudible). I suppose then we should have cut—shut it off, cause later on you met in your office and Mitchell said, "That was taken care of." H. The next day. Maybe I can find the date by that—

P. Yeah. And Dean was there and said, "What about this money for Hunt?" Wasn't Dean there? H. No, what happened was—Ehrlichman and Dean and Mitchell and I were in the office, in my office, and we were discussing other matters. And in the process of it, Mitchell said—he turned to Dean and said, "Let me raise another point. Ah, have you taken care of the other problem—the Hunt problem?" Something like that. I don't know how he referred to it. But we all knew instantly what he meant. Dean kind of looked a little flustered and said, "Well, well, no. I don't know where that is or something," and Mitchell said, "Well I guess it's taken care of." And so we assumed from that that Mitchell had taken care of it, and there was no further squeak out of it so I now do assume that Mitchell took care of it.

cels, and after playing a major role in directing Nixon's arduous campaign for the presidency. Haldeman went to the White House in 1969.

He took with him two young associates from the advertising world, Ronald Ziegler and Dwight Chapin.

Together with John Ehrlichman, also from southern California, Haldeman was placed in charge of the special police and surveillance activities which Nixon ordered in response to the massive movement against the war in Vietnam and the militant strikes of 1969-70.

Ehrlichman, in charge of domestic affairs, headed a secret "super-agency" which was to coordinate all activities against political opponents of Nixon. He hired two men off the "red squad" of the New York City Police Department, John J. Caulfield and Anthony Ulasevic.

It was under the discipline of Haldeman and Ehrlichman that Nixon established the White House "plumbers" unit of Hunt, Liddy, McCord, and others. The day-to-day running of the unit was in the hands of yet another unknown White House functionary, Egil Krogh. Besides the Watergate burglary, the "plumbers" carried out the break-in at the offices of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist on the instructions of John Ehrlichman.

Former Attorney General John Mitchell played an important role in directing the "plumbers," but as he was not part of the White House staff, Nixon was at least concerned with his fate. Mitchell was chosen by Nixon, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman to be the scapegoat.

However, John Dean presented greater problems for Nixon. A young lawyer with a mind like a mouse-trap, he was thoroughly familiar with the Watergate operation and was placed in charge of the coverup effort, constantly reporting back to Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Nixon.

As far back as September 15, 1972, Dean had reported back to Nixon on the apparent success of the Watergate coverup. The following exchange took place:

D. Three months ago I would have had trouble predicting there would be a day when this would be forgotten, but I think I can say that 54 days from now nothing is going to come crashing down to our surprise.

P. That what?

D. Nothing is going to come crashing down, to come crashing down to our surprise.

P. Oh well, this is a can of worms as you know a lot of this stuff that went on. And the people who worked this way are awfully embarrassed. But the way you have handled all this seems to me has been very skillful putting your fingers in the leaks that have sprung here and sprung there... We are all in it together. This is a war. We take a few shots and it will be over. We will give them a few shots and it will be over.

The greatest shock to Nixon came when he began to suspect that Dean was going to speak to the Grand Jury in order to protect himself after the coverup began to collapse in the first months of 1973.

Nixon confronted Dean on April 6, and sought to persuade him to accept responsibility for the coverup without implicating either Haldeman, Ehrlichman or himself. He was particularly worried that Dean would spill the beans on the million dollars that Nixon said he could get to keep Howard Hunt from talking.

The following exchange took place:

P. John, let me ask you this. Let us suppose if this thing breaks and they ask you John Dean, "Now, John, you were the president's Counsel. Did you report things to the president?"

D. I would refuse to answer any questions unless you waive the privilege.

P. On this point, I would not waive. I think you should say, "I reported to the president. He called me in and asked me before, when the event first occurred, and passed to the president the message that no White House personnel in the course of your investigation were involved."

The next day, Nixon had an anxious discussion with Haldeman and Ehrlichman.

E. Dean has talked to everyone in this place.

P. I told him not to talk to him any more. But you see Dean—let's see, what the hell—what's he got with regard to the Presi-

dent? He came and talked to me, as you will recall, about the need for \$120,000 for clerical—

E. You told me that the other day, I didn't know that before.

H. But so what?

P. What?

H. But so what?

P. I said, what in the world John, I mean, I said John you can't (unintelligible) on this short notice. What's it cost (unintelligible) I sort of laughed and said, "Well, I guess you could get that."

E. Now is he holding that over your head? Saying—

P. No, No, No, I don't think Dean would go so far as to get into any conversation he had with the president—even Dean, I don't think.

H. Well, he can't—you have both executive privilege in conversation with him.

Revealed in these secret conversations is the great contradictions between the democratic forms of the government which appear on the surface and the actual content of that government which is based on the decay of capitalism and the turn of the ruling class towards the methods of dictatorship. The conspiracy itself represents the effort of the capitalist class to mask the contradiction between the forms of democracy and its preparations for civil war that proceed in secret within the White House.



Bernard Barker.

Haldeman's flippant comment that maintaining the appearances of concern for morality involves nothing more than a "PR" job represents the position of the ruling class. Nixon can release these devastating transcripts and expect to remain in the White House because he knows that his methods are those of the class he serves.

The publication of these transcripts must serve as an urgent warning to the working class. The capitalist class will continue its preparations for dictatorship with or without Nixon. The growth of the Wallace movement is an indication that big business is now seeking to work through his right-wing forces in order to drive back the working class.

At the same time, it will use the methods of conspiracy to attack the basic rights of workers. This is the lesson of "Operation Zebra," in which Mayor Alioto unleashed a police terror against Black youth in search of phantom killers whose existence was never even proven.

These dangers of dictatorship must be met by building the revolutionary leadership among workers and youth that will unite the whole working class to fight for socialism and overthrow capitalism. We call on all workers and youth to draw the lesson of this conspiracy by joining the Workers League and Young Socialists.

TO BE CONTINUED

Nixon Speaks: A Portrait Of A President

BY DAVID NORTH

The Watergate transcripts reveal that beneath the appearances of a democratic government organized within the traditional framework of three independent branches—the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary—there exists the real government of Richard Nixon, the government of conspirators groomed by big business to prepare for civil war against the working class.

As the transcripts show so clearly, this coverup flowed out of Nixon's attempt to prevent the working class from learning of the vast network of police agents, illegal surveillance, and other instruments of repression that had been secretly developed within the White House.

The Watergate burglary was but one incident in a vast conspiracy against democratic rights which included the frameup of militants, the Kent State murders, the repression of the Black Panthers, and the surveillance and harassment of working class organizations.

These activities, which were to be concealed by the coverup, were organized in the White House by Nixon, working with what was, in effect, a private staff of political conspirators appointed by and responsible to no one but Nixon.

Among these individuals were H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, John Dean, Ronald Ziegler, Jeb Magruder, Charles Colson, Egil Krogh, and the White House "plumbers" who carried out their orders: men like Howard Hunt, Bernard Barker, James McCord, and Gordon Liddy.

They were the ones who plotted Watergate and later wrote the scenarios that were to cover up the conspiracy. But the Watergate conspiracy is not just the conspiracy of Nixon. It is the conspiracy of the capitalist class.

Expressed in the existence of Nixon's private government of conspirators just beneath the form of a democratic government is the actual movement of the ruling class toward dictatorship.

This is why the Bulletin has opposed every attempt by the revisionists to portray Watergate as nothing outside the normal practice of bourgeois democracy.

Such a position is blind to the actual



John Dean.

breakup of bourgeois democracy which now takes place because of the breakup of the economy.

It fosters illusions in the forms of "bourgeois democracy" and therefore refuses to prepare the working class as the real content of that democracy is transformed in the course of the struggle of classes under conditions of deep economic crisis.

Watergate and all of Nixon's efforts to cover it up represent a break with the practice of bourgeois democracy as it has traditionally functioned and expose the preparations of the ruling class for new methods of rule: for dictatorship and civil war.

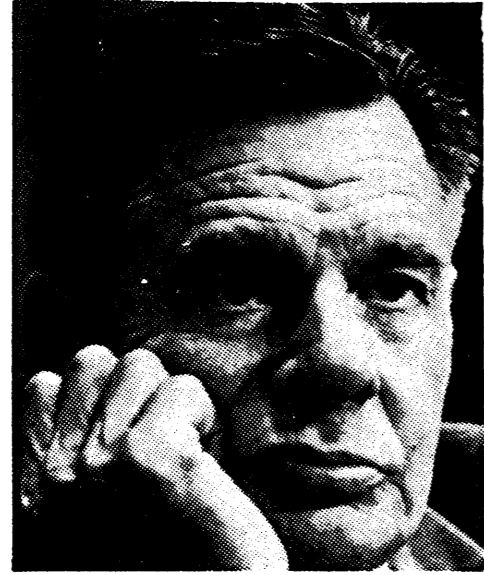
The Nixon government represents the capitalist class. Nixon personally was carefully groomed for this period in the course of a career that goes all the way back to the postwar witch-hunt of Alger Hiss.

The methods of conspiracy and frameup which are revealed in Watergate and documented by the transcripts were developed by Nixon over a long period as the lead-

ing anticommunist politician of the ruling class.

"We got the typewriter; we got the pumpkin papers," Nixon told John Dean on February 28, 1973, referring to the Alger Hiss case. In telling Dean, a Nixon favorite until their falling out a few months later, how the Watergate coverup was to be carried out, Nixon recalled his own experience as a master conspirator. Not suspecting that this conversation would one day appear in a published transcript, Nixon revealed how he had staged the scenario that sent Hiss to jail.

He confirms what Hiss always insisted:



Henry Petersen.

that the typewriter that was the central evidence against him—upon which he had supposedly typed secret government documents—was not his own, but had been planted by Nixon and the FBI in a conspiracy to frame him. This is borne out by Nixon's off-the-cuff boast: "We got the typewriter."

The significance of this reference to Hiss is that it shows how this Watergate conspiracy is the product of the most reactionary red-baiting forces of American capitalism brought into the White House under conditions in which the ruling class seeks to drive down wages, destroy jobs, crush the unions, and establish a ruthless dictatorship over American workers.

How far advanced these preparations are can be at least partly grasped by the Watergate transcripts, which show that real power in this country was exercised not even by elected bourgeois politicians, but by virtually unknown members of Nixon's White House apparatus.

It was the internal clique of White House operators who established private connections with police agencies, established private police agencies of their own, organized espionage operations like the Watergate burglary and the Ellsberg break-in, and supervised the surveillance of militants and socialists.

As the transcripts show, Nixon valued this private apparatus and feared that the Watergate investigation would break it up. He feared especially that the two men he considered most vital to his plans, Haldeman and Ehrlichman, would be forced to leave the White House. He told them on April 17, 1973: .

"Can Haldeman and Ehrlichman survive it. The point that I—let me say this, I know your (unintelligible) It's a hell of a lot different than John Dean. I know as far as you're concerned, you'll go out and throw yourselves on a damn sword. I'm aware of that. I'm trying to think the thing through with that in mind, because, damn it, you're the two most valuable members on the staff. I know that."

Who are Haldeman and Ehrlichman? What made them so valuable? Until the Watergate coverup exploded in public, these men were unknown to most American workers. They had never run for any public office. They did not even hold positions in the cabinet.

However, they were for nearly five years among the most powerful men in government, answerable only to Nixon.

Haldeman first was attracted to Nixon during the latter's days as a tough anticommunist California politician. He worked in the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, learning all the techniques of fraud and falsification in which American business ex-

from the transcripts— Part 3: The Conspirators

On April 17, 1973, after learning that White House Counsel John Dean had begun talking to Federal investigators about the Watergate coverup, Nixon held a desperate meeting with John Ehrlichman and H.R. Haldeman to discuss a scenario to answer Dean's charges. In the course of the discussion, the conspirators expressed the hope that Dean would not be so "Un-American" as to implicate Nixon. In the transcript, P. is Nixon, E. is Ehrlichman, and H. is Haldeman.

P. John, I'm just trying to see what the options are on Dean—what we turn loose here.

E. Absolutely. Well, let's go back to the press plan. Maybe that will give us some guidance. P. Right. E. If you say in the press plan, "The President got concerned about this," the question, "why didn't he get concerned sooner because this has been in the paper for months and months?" Well, "the reason he didn't get concerned sooner is he was resting secure in the belief that he had the whole story."

P. Right. E. Well, what made him insecure? P. Do I ever ask Dean in and ask him answers? The answer is no.

E. No, but the point is that you were resting secure on his assurances.

P. Go ahead. E. Well—H. Didn't you at some point get a report from Dean that nobody in the White House was involved. E. Didn't we put that out way back in August?

P. I mean, I just said "Well, that's all I know now." It was never in writing. He never came in orally and told me Dean—John Dean I never saw about this matter. You better check, but I don't think John Dean was ever seen about this matter until I saw him, when John Ehrlichman suggested that I'd better see John Dean.

E. You better check Bob, back in that period of time July—when we were in San Clemente—my recollection is that he did come and see you at that time—but we can check that.

P. Oh, by himself? No. E. Well, by himself or with one of us. I don't know.

P. He may have come in, but it was a pretty—I hope he did, hope he did. But he might have come in sort of the end, and someone said, "Look, here's John Dean from Washington," and I may have said, "Thanks for all your hard work."

E. Well—let's follow this line and see where it leads us. The President rested secure in the belief that his counsel had investigated this and assured him that nobody in the White House was involved.

E. O.K. Then, what moved him off of that belief and assurance? Well, what moved him off was the sequence of events leading to John Dean being sent to Camp David to write it all down.

P. What moved him off first were reports that occurred in the court testimony. E. That's right.

P. Charges were made by McCord—and other charges—Charges were made by McCord. I wouldn't say (unintelligible). Charges were made by McCord that, in open, before a jury committee. The President ordered a full investigation. E. Well, the first thing you did—and maybe you can avoid saying this—but you're saying you ordered a full press investigation when Dean came back and said to Bob, "I can't write that down."

P. He told me that too. E. Then that rang a bell. Because if Dean can't write that down, then we must have problems bigger than I ever thought. And so that's when you put on the full court press.

P. Well all right. Here's—you've got the dates on this. Well—

E. I have them in there, yeah. Let's see what Dean says on that. Well he says, "The reason I couldn't write them down is because Dick Moore and others said (unintelligible) said how could I write it down—draw the wagons up around the White House?" That phrase, remember

that, isn't that a Dean phrase?

H. Sure. His line was that you could do that because there was no problem at the White House, the problems were at the committee.

P. What did he tell you with that respect? What was Dean's line before he deserted? E. Well, what he said—

P. My point is—you've got to watch out. He may say, "Well, they were trying to get me—conspired to get me to write a report that was untrue."

E. Well, I understand, except that he was sent to write it without anybody being near him. P. Except Moore (unintelligible)

E. I'm sure that when he went through this exercise, it was impossible for him to write it down without it being a confession. And he said, "My God, I don't know how this case is going to break, but I'm crazy to have a piece of paper like that around."

P. Then I could say then that I ordered—who conducted the investigation? E. The way we got it doesn't say—

H. You asked other staff members to



explore this—you had Ehrlichman, Moore, Garment, Haldeman. P. That's right. All right. And then—

E. Then you contacted some people and said, "Don't hold back on my account." P. Yes, like Hunt—Liddy. E. Like Mitchell and Magruder.

P. I passed the word to all sources that everybody was to talk to tell the truth, which I had done previously. I reaffirmed, I reaffirmed specific terms to specific people.

H. Well, you had reason to believe that they might have a misapprehension on it.

P. Any misapprehension and so forth and so on—to all parties involved who were those people. I should not say—H. You can't list those people...

P. That's a problem. H. Yeah. But I think at some point, like you do on anything else, you gotta face up to the fact that the guy is either a friend or foe—or a neutral. If he's a neutral you don't have to worry about him; if he's a friend you rely on him, if he's a foe you fight him, and this guy—it seems at this point—is a foe.

P. When I talked to him I said, "Now John, any conversations are (unintelligible)." I said, "Anything (unintelligible) National Security are (unintelligible) you understand?" He said, "Yes (unintelligible) testified to it (unintelligible)."

H. O.K. He said it and it was no problem for him to say it. But it was no problem for him to say a lot of things to us over the last couple of weeks too.

P. The point is, if you break it off with him, then he could go out and say, "Screw the (unintelligible)." H. No he can't. It's not his privilege. It's yours.

P. I know it's mine, but—H. If he screws the privilege—

P. Well, I think you have to charge Henry Petersen or whoever is in charge here with protecting your privilege and then that's got to go down to Silberman and Silberman has to be cautioned that he is not to go into matters of executive privilege—he is not to go into matters of national security importance. Any matters involving a conversation with the President—or national security, anything like that, they can ask me.

E. Now, the question comes up—I don't know how far this will run—but this caper in California for instance. Colson asked me this thing of Hunt's out there—the national security connected Ellsberg. Well Petersen knows about it I think. It's laying around some place over there. But if the question comes up, Colson says, "How do I handle that? I said, "Well, Chuck, if I were asked that—I would say that that was a national security project and I'm not in the position to answer a question on that, because I would have to refer to the President for a waiver of executive privilege on that if he

about \$127,000 we had to get or were we able to get it or something that point—that we were still working on money for Hunt—I don't know how the hell—

H. That was the one that Bittman got to Dean on. He really cranked on it. He was very concerned—professed to be concerned because Bittman's threat was that Hunt said that, "If you don't get it to me I'm going to tell them all about the seamy things I did for Ehrlichman." And when Dean hit Ehrlichman on that, Ehrlichman's immediate reaction was let him go ahead—"There's nothing he can hang me on." Dean didn't like that answer and went on worrying about the money.

P. Told me about it. H. Told you about it, told me about it. I was in here when he told you.

P. Good. What did we say? Remember he said, "How much is it going to cost to keep these, these guys (unintelligible). I just shook my head. Then we got into the question—

H. If there's blackmail here, then we're into a thing that's just ridiculous.

P. He raised the point—

H. (unintelligible) but you can't say it's a million dollars. It may be \$10 million dollars. And that we ought not to be in this—

P. That's right. That's right.

H. We left it—that—we can't do anything about it anyway. We don't have any money, and it isn't a question to be directed here. This is something relates to Mitchell's problem. Ehrlichman has no problem with this thing with Hunt. And Ehrlichman said, (expletive removed) if you're going to get into blackmail, to hell with it."

P. Good (unintelligible). Thank God, you were in there when it happened. But you remember the conversation? H. Yes sir.

P. I didn't tell him to go get the money, did I? H. No.

P. You didn't either, did you? H. Absolutely not! I said you got to talk to Mitchell. This is something you've got to work out with Mitchell—not here—there's nothing we can do about it here.

P. We've got a pretty good record on that one, John, at least.

H. But there's a couple of complications he can throw in there (unintelligible) which would be of concern, but I just can't conceive that a guy—I can see him using it as a threat. I cannot see him sinking low enough to use that. I just—although I must admit the guy has really turned into an unbelievable disaster for us. People don't—he's not un-American and anti-Nixon. I'll tell you—during that period he busted his ass trying to work this out. It wore him to a frazzle. And I think it probably wore him past the point of rationality. I think he may now be in a mental state that's causing him to do things that when he sobers up, he's going to be very disturbed about with himself.

P. Also, he's probably got a very, very clever new lawyer (unintelligible). I think that's part of the problem...

P. Well (inaudible). I suppose then we should have cut—shut it off, cause later on you met in your office and Mitchell said, "That was taken care of." H. The next day. Maybe I can find the date by that—

P. Yeah. And Dean was there and said, "What about this money for Hunt?" Wasn't Dean there? H. No, what happened was—Ehrlichman and Dean and Mitchell and I were in the office, in my office, and we were discussing other matters. And in the process of it, Mitchell said—he turned to Dean and said, "Let me raise another point. Ah, have you taken care of the other problem—the Hunt problem?" Something like that. I don't know how he referred to it. But we all knew instantly what he meant. Dean kind of looked a little flustered and said, "Well, well, no. I don't know where that is or something," and Mitchell said, "Well I guess it's taken care of." And so we assumed from that that Mitchell had taken care of it, and there was no further squeak out of it so I now do assume that Mitchell took care of it.

P. (unintelligible) talk to the President

cels, and after playing a major role in directing Nixon's arduous campaign for the presidency. Haldeman went to the White House in 1969.

He took with him two young associates from the advertising world, Ronald Ziegler and Dwight Chapin.

Together with John Ehrlichman, also from southern California, Haldeman was placed in charge of the special police and surveillance activities which Nixon ordered in response to the massive movement against the war in Vietnam and the militant strikes of 1969-70.

Ehrlichman, in charge of domestic affairs, headed a secret "super-agency" which was to coordinate all activities against political opponents of Nixon. He hired two men off the "red squad of the New York City Police Department, John J. Caulfield and Anthony Ulasewicz.

It was under the discipline of Haldeman and Ehrlichman that Nixon established the White House "plumbers" unit of Hunt, Liddy, McCord, and others. The day-to-day running of the unit was in the hands of yet another unknown White House functionary, Egil Krogh. Besides the Watergate burglary, the "plumbers" carried out the break-in at the offices of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist on the instructions of John Ehrlichman.

Former Attorney General John Mitchell played an important role in directing the "plumbers," but as he was not part of the White House staff, Nixon was at least concerned with his fate. Mitchell was chosen by Nixon, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman to be the scapegoat.

However, John Dean presented greater problems for Nixon. A young lawyer with a mind like a mouse-trap, he was thoroughly familiar with the Watergate operation and was placed in charge of the coverup effort, constantly reporting back to Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Nixon.

As far back as September 15, 1972, Dean had reported back to Nixon on the apparent success of the Watergate coverup. The following exchange took place:

D. Three months ago I would have had trouble predicting there would be a day when this would be forgotten, but I think I can say that 54 days from now nothing is going to come crashing down to our surprise.

P. That what? D. Nothing is going to come crashing down, to come crashing down to our surprise.

P. Oh well, this is a can of worms as you know a lot of this stuff that went on. And the people who worked this way are awfully embarrassed. But the way you have handled all this seems to me has been very skillful putting your fingers in the leaks that have sprung here and sprung there... We are all in it together. This is a war. We take a few shots and it will be over. We will give them a few shots and it will be over.

The greatest shock to Nixon came when he began to suspect that Dean was going to speak to the Grand Jury in order to protect himself after the coverup began to collapse in the first months of 1973.

Nixon confronted Dean on April 6, and sought to persuade him to accept responsibility for the coverup without implicating either Haldeman, Ehrlichman or himself. He was particularly worried that Dean would spill the beans on the million dollars that Nixon said he could get to keep Howard Hunt from talking.

The following exchange took place:

P. John, let me ask you this. Let us suppose if this thing breaks and they ask you John Dean, "Now, John, you were the president's Counsel. Did you report things to the president?"

D. I would refuse to answer any questions unless you waive the privilege.

P. On this point, I would not waive. I think you should say, "I reported to the president. He called me in and asked me before, when the event first occurred, and passed to the president the message that no White House personnel in the course of your investigation were involved."

The next day, Nixon had an anxious discussion with Haldeman and Ehrlichman.

E. Dean has talked to everyone in this place.

P. I told him not to talk to him any more. But you see Dean—let's see, what the hell—what's he got with regard to the Presi-

dent? He came and talked to me, as you will recall, about the need for \$120,000 for clemencies—

E. You told me that the other day, I didn't know that before.

H. But so what? P. What?

H. But so what? P. I said, what in the world John, I mean, I said John you can't (unintelligible) on this short notice. What's it cost (unintelligible) I sort of laughed and said, "Well, I guess you could get that."

E. Now is he holding that over your head? Saying—

P. No, No, No, I don't think Dean would go so far as to get into any conversation he had with the president—even Dean, I don't think.

H. Well, he can't—you have both executive privilege in conversation with him.

Revealed in these secret conversations is the great contradictions between the democratic forms of the government which appear on the surface and the actual content of that government which is based on the decay of capitalism and the turn of the ruling class towards the methods of dictatorship. The conspiracy itself represents the effort of the capitalist class to mask the contradiction between the forms of democracy and its preparations for civil war that proceed in secret within the White House.



Bernard Barker.

Haldeman's flippant comment that maintaining the appearances of concern for morality involves nothing more than a "PR" job represents the position of the ruling class. Nixon can release these devastating transcripts and expect to remain in the White House because he knows that his methods are those of the class he serves.

The publication of these transcripts must serve as an urgent warning to the working class. The capitalist class will continue its preparations for dictatorship with or without Nixon. The growth of the Wallace movement is an indication that big business is now seeking to work through his right-wing forces in order to drive back the working class.

At the same time, it will use the methods of conspiracy to attack the basic rights of workers. This is the lesson of "Operation Zebra," in which Mayor Alioto unleashed a police terror against Black youth in search of phantom killers whose existence was never even proven.

These dangers of dictatorship must be met by building the revolutionary leadership among workers and youth that will unite the whole working class to fight for socialism and overthrow capitalism. We call on all workers and youth to draw the lesson of this conspiracy by joining the Workers League and Young Socialists.

TO BE CONTINUED



jeff sebastian

Starvation And The World Bank

"Unless substantial additional resources for both long-term investments and immediate balance of payments needs are provided quickly, the hopes of hundreds of millions of people for even modest advances in their economic well-being during the remainder of this decade will be shattered."

This is the gloomy conclusion of the latest World Bank report on the capital requirements of the underdeveloped countries.

The World Bank experts forecast a combination of soaring prices for commodities; food and energy shortages; and economic slowdown in the industrialized countries resulting in massive impoverishment for huge sections of the world's population with millions from the poorest countries being forced below the subsistence level.

The oil crisis which has quadrupled the price of crude oil has forced the poorest countries with no oil resources of their own to cut back on imports of energy or to restrict other basic necessities.

The World Bank points out that the price of urea fertilizer has risen almost as rapidly as that of oil. A ton of urea which sold at \$62 in 1968 cost \$225 in December 1973.

Fertilizer production is also lagging well behind demand. Developing countries are estimated to need an additional \$1.2 billion in foreign exchange over 1973 just to obtain the same amount of fertilizer.

Shortages of fertilizer mean shortages of food grains. The principal foodgrain, wheat, has tripled in price since 1967-69. Compared to the 1970-72 average, the underdeveloped countries are estimated to require \$8.4 billion more for cereal imports in 1974 alone.

It is precisely the poorest countries such as India which are most dependent on oil imports which also rely heavily on fertilizer imports.

Under these conditions, only the wealthiest farmers can afford to continue production. This threatens a massive uprooting of the poorest peasants from their land with millions of unemployed forced into the cities.

The optimum projections of the World Bank for only a temporary economic slowdown in the industrialized countries show the poorest countries of the Indian subcontinent, central Africa, and Latin America with a rate of growth for the rest of the decade falling behind the growth of population.

Under conditions of a deep economic recession in the industrialized countries, the standard of living will be forced down in the poorest countries with a present per capita income of under \$200 a year.

The bank's experts report that under the most optimistic assumptions, the underdeveloped countries will need, after drawing down on their own reserves and borrowing from the International Monetary Fund, an additional \$2.6 billion in 1974, \$6.8 billion in 1975, and \$10-12 billion for the rest of the decade.

It must be emphasized that the World Bank experts, who write in the politest terms for their imperialist employers, considerably understate the depth of the crisis.

Thus they assume "that the industrialized countries will pursue policies which will allow them to adjust to the higher energy costs and to their balance of payments disequilibria in ways which will not adversely affect the international economy."

They assume that the underdeveloped countries will draw on their reserves to make payments without emphasizing that it is precisely those countries in the most desperate condition which have virtually exhausted foreign exchange reserves.

Only at one point do they state in the cold blooded language of bankers, "...in those countries which cannot safely reduce reserves below present levels, the point will soon be reached where, without access to additional external capital, the only resource is reduction of imports, reduction in investment levels and reduction in growth rates. These "reductions" mean starvation and disease for countless millions.

The imperialist countries as a whole are facing a balance of payments deficit of \$40 billion in 1974. The possibility of loans and aid for the underdeveloped countries is dim.

If the World Bank presents the truth through its statistics, it is not because capitalism can alleviate the problem, but that the most far-sighted spokesmen for imperialism realize that their own figures spell out the conditions for revolution throughout the underdeveloped world.

Kansas City Star Breaks Contract

BY J. NELSON
KANSAS CITY—The Kansas City Star declared on May 6 that its labor agreement with K.C. Webb Pressmen's Local 14 is broken.

The dismissals and the abrogation of the contract by the Star followed an explosion the Friday before around

the firing of a pressman for "failing to perform his assigned job properly."

When a foreman fired the man, workers began a sit-down occupation of the pressrooms, and set up pickets outside the building.

The pressmen complained that the Star has fired over 20 of their co-workers in the past year whenever they dared to challenge a job assignment, or pro-

tested the rotten conditions and antiquated equipment.

Nearly 550 Star employees from other unions respected the picket lines, forcing the newspaper to shut down last weekend.

On Saturday, the Star obtained a restraining order against the wildcat, and early Saturday morning the police rushed in to clear the building. One pressman was arrested when he refused to leave the pressroom.

Members of the Mailers Local who met to decide their course of action when the wildcat broke, were also ejected. Thirty mailers were fired for holding this meeting.

Union leaders stressed that the strike of the pressmen was spontaneous and unauthorized. They urged the 20 pressmen who were not fired to return to work and tried to persuade their brothers to discontinue their pickets.

These leaders had no comment when informed that the Star had thrown their entire contract out of the window.

UAW Workers Strike FMC

BY KATE McDONALD
MINNEAPOLIS — Approximately 1700 production and maintenance workers of the United Auto Workers Local 683 went on strike last Friday as their contract expired with the FMC, Northern Ordnance Division in Minneapolis.

FMC is a huge corporation which controls subsidiaries in Africa, Mexico, Italy, and many other countries. The Northern Ordnance Division makes naval ordnance equipment such as missile launchers and rapid-fire gun turrets.

With the wage and price controls now lifted, the workers are fighting for a 15 percent-7 percent-7 percent wage increase in the three year contract.

"We got to see the record, and FMC had its highest earnings in history last year, and now they're trying to offer us less than what we got three years ago."

"FMC wants to do away with the cost of living escalator, like they all do. That's something we've got to keep. That's what we're fighting for here." Mayo told the Bulletin.

"The last contract we had a four percent cost of living. That's not enough—all of that is already gone. The union wants the cost of living to be negotiated every four months," another worker said.

BLOCKED

Last Friday, about 100 pickets blocked the plant entrance, to keep out approximately 900 salaried workers still working at the plant.

"The Fridley police sent seven squad cars out. There wasn't a confrontation with them; it was handled pretty well. You see,

three years ago at the last strike, FMC issued red passes to the salaried people. Then they'd just show the pass at the gate and be able to go in. This year, the company has said to hell with it and won't give them the red badges.

"We had to stop them from getting in. We don't know who it is. We had to show the FMC how we stand."

Hospital Rates Rise 15%

BY DOROTHY WRIGHT

DAYTON, Ohio—Expected increases in health care costs will mean that adequate health care will be out of reach for the average worker, and will mean an increase in the infant death rate among the poor.

A recent study in the Dayton area reveals a significant increase in the infant death rate over the last two years in the most impoverished sections due to a rise in malnutrition and insufficient medical care.

It is now estimated that in the Dayton area, that with the ending of all price controls, there will be increases of at least 15 percent in hospital charges and 10 percent in doctor rates.

A complete breakdown in services has caused an overloading of emergency rooms for services usually given by a doctor in his office.

The cost of an average visit to an emergency room, without any X-rays, or treatment other than prescribed medication, is

now approximately \$30. The situation is further aggravated by the threatened closing of Model Cities programs, including health facilities such as Drew Health Center.

BLUE CROSS

With the expiration of price controls, hospitals in the area are already notifying Blue Cross and other health insurance companies of their intention to raise their fees.

Hospitals have cited the tremendous inflation that has caused the cost of supplies to double in the last year. Figures quoted as examples are washcloths, up from 11 cents to 22 cents; bath towels, from 58 cents to \$1.25; and facial tissues, from \$8. a case to \$15.30. Plastic supplies have increased so much that hospitals have returned to buying metal utensils.

Ed Lentz, deputy director for medical care administration of the Ohio Health department said: "We all hope health care will be about a 10 percent increase, but really we are hoping it will not be over 15 percent."

Robert Saner, an official of the Cost of Living Council said four billion dollars more will be spent in 1975 on health care, compared to when price controls were in effect.



From N.E.P. To Socialism

By E.A. Preobrazhensky.

Available for the first time in English, this book was written by one of the leading Soviet economists of the 1920s who joined the Left Opposition and was murdered on Stalin's orders. Written in 1920 as a series of imaginary lectures in Moscow in 1920 after the victory of the world revolution, it put forward Preobrazhensky's views on planned industrialization in a backward country. The book, which remains banned in the Soviet Union, will be of great interest to all those concerned with Marxist theory.

\$3.00

Order From: Labor Publications, Inc., 135 W. 14th St., 7th Floor, New York, NY 10011.

Teachers Fight To Save Union

BY A REPORTER
HORTONVILLE, Wis.—Striking Hortonville teachers have been hit with an injunction barring their union, the Hortonville Education Association, from mobilizing more than fifty pickets.

This measure is aimed at destroying the tremendous support the 88 strikers have received from teachers throughout the state. Hortonville teachers have been out since March 18.

COURT

In addition, the court has ruled that the Board of Education must give first priority to strikers for any vacant positions, and that a striker must accept whatever job is offered.

The Hortonville schools are presently being run by a scab force of 77 teachers and more than 250 substitutes have been brought in to cross the picket lines.

The court decision allows the School Board to hold off rehiring any teachers it feels are guilty of "strike misconduct," and to split the strikers by rehiring those it chooses.

SUPPORT

At the beginning of the strike, unions mobilized support throughout the state to support

Dairymen Win New Escalator

CHICAGO—1500 dairy workers in Chicago, organized by Dairy Employees Local 754, won a cost-of-living escalator in a three year contract, ratified on May 5.

August Bernier, chief negotiator for Local 754, won unanimous support for the contract, the first in the dairy industry to include an escalator.

Basic wages will increase 50 cents an hour, in each of the three years.

The average wage now is about \$5.30 per hour. In the second and third year, workers will receive additional wage increases of 10 to 15 cents, depending on the rise in the cost of living.

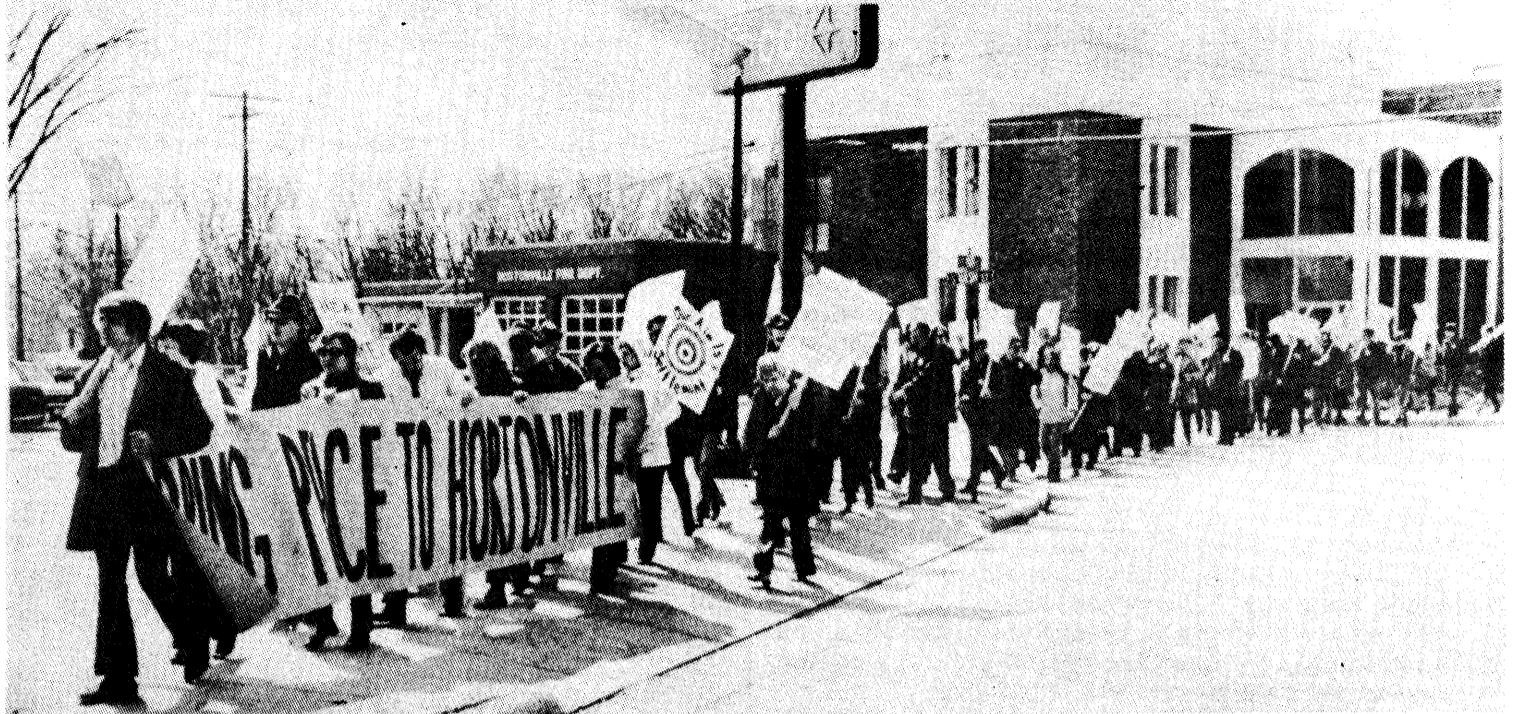
Employees of Certified Grocers of Illinois walked out Friday night, just before the 5 am settlement averted a full-scale strike. Local 754 also includes workers at Dean Foods, Hawthorne Melody, Meadow Moor, Hedlin-Kraml and several smaller dairies.

Nixon Gets Subpoena From AIM

BY A REPORTER

ST. PAUL—Federal Judge Fred Nichol of the Federal District Court has issued a subpoena on President Nixon for any tapes of discussions on the events surrounding the occupation of the Wounded Knee Trading Post.

Russell Means and Dennis Banks, leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM) which



Hortonville teachers marching to Hortonville High School to turn in signed contracts for 1974-1975. The board refused to accept them.

the teachers' demands for a seven percent wage increase. Teachers from all over Wisconsin joined the picket lines.

Hundreds of police were brought in, strikers were beaten, and many were arrested.

THREAT

The threat of a statewide, one-day walkout by teachers was sabotaged by the union leadership which refused to go all out to mobilize the labor movement. Forty percent of the teachers voted for the statewide strike.

Hortonville is a small rural community. There is virtually no labor movement in the area apart from the small teachers local. So far the Wisconsin labor leadership has only offered financial and moral support.

This places the Hortonville teachers in a perilous position. Already, five teachers are accepting offers to return to work, with the approval of the union. Two teachers were told to return as their "strike assignment," and are pledged to turn their salaries over to the union strike fund.

ALTERNATIVE

The union has set up an alternative school, manned by the strikers and attended by 81 students. A number of parents are sending their children to private schools during the strike.

The Board of Education is now threatening to declare the absent students truants, and to charge the teachers with encouraging them.

LEADERSHIP

The leadership of the Hortonville teachers is hoping to mobilize teachers from the rest of the state for demonstrations after Memorial Day, when most schools are closed. Hortonville remains open till mid-June.

The "Hortonville Vigilante Association," a local right-wing group formed to escort scabs and harass the teachers,

led the occupation, face ten felony charges on burglary, theft, arson, assaulting Federal officers, and illegal possession of firearms.

The subpoena was demanded by AIM attorney William Kuntler because former FBI director Patrick Gray told senators last year that he had discussed the Wounded Knee negotiations with John Dean. Nichol' order makes the

remains mobilized and prepared to move if new forces are brought in to aid the strikers.

The statewide teachers leadership is now confining the battle to the courts, quiet things down, and isolate the strikers.

If the Hortonville teachers are forced to return under the conditions ordered by the court, it will mean a purge of the most mili-

tant teachers and the effective destruction of the union.

HEROIC

The heroic actions of the teachers in maintaining their pickets, setting up their own school, and fighting for labor support can achieve little without the massive support of the powerful Wisconsin trade

unions.

If the teachers can be beaten, and arrested for fighting for a 7 percent raise, it is a warning to the labor movement of what is being prepared for even the biggest unions.

Labor must act to force the discharge of the scabs and guarantee the jobs of all the striking teachers.

NLRB Attacks Chicago Teamsters Local 705

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

CHICAGO—In a move to break one of the strongest union locals in the country, the National Labor Relations Board has ruled that Teamsters Local 705 must repay all initiation fees, dues, and other assessments to Chicago service station operators and employees, plus six percent interest.

The NLRB upheld an earlier decision by a judge that the Chicago local was guilty of a "systematic pattern of atrocious illegality" in organizing service station attendants.

NLRB Judge Ohlbaum called the organizing tactics "sheer racketeering," and said the unlawful activities may be unparalleled for "flagrant, egregious, and widespread corruption."

He accused the union of coercing the operators to sign up their workers without employee consent. The NLRB ordered the local to stop collecting dues and "purporting to represent employees" of the Gasoline Retailers Association, unless collective bargaining agreements are won by secret ballot.

This union busting could have repercussions in organizing drives across the country, be-

cause the NLRB decision was based on the charge that contracts were "imposed under threat." The threats mentioned were the picketing of scab stations and a threat to cut off gasoline supplies which are delivered by other members of Local 705.

CITED

Robert Jacobs, head of the Illinois Gasoline Dealers Association, is cited in the suit. He is a former Teamster business agent and was involved in organizing the service stations.

Ford Swallows Up Rivals

An article in the May 8 New York Times documents the crisis now hitting the international auto industry.

The French Company Citroen is now reported to be facing bankruptcy. With an unsold stockpile estimated at 50,000 cars and debts of nearly \$200 million, Citroen was barely able to float new bonds to pay off debts at an 11 percent interest rate.

Recent developments indicate that Ford is looking more and more for investments outside the

US.

Ford is constructing a giant assembly plant in Spain and is bitterly opposed to GM's attempts to buy into British-Leyland's Spanish operation, Authi.

The news about Citroen follows reports of a financial crisis for Italy's giant Fiat operation which earned no profit in 1973 and lost money in the first quarter of 1974.

General Motors recently bought into Asuzu, a Japanese manufacturer of heavy duty trucks which had lost money on passenger car production.

European and Japanese car production, including the giant Volkswagen and Toyota companies is in desperate straits. The powerful US giants are moving rapidly to destroy their rivals in a bitter international auto war.

Ford and General Motors can find no money to employ the hundreds of thousands of workers that have been laid off, but can raise vast sums to put their rivals out of business or invest in areas where the labor is cheap.

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LABOR TODAY

Conditions On The Docks

The International Longshoremen's Association contract expires on September 30. The employers see the contract negotiations as preparation for a new period of international trade war and cutthroat competition.

As in the newspaper industry, they are determined to use automation as a bludgeon to destroy the union. This means sweeping changes in the industry, which threaten to rip up the rule book, destroy safety and seniority standards, and reduce the ILA to a handful of men working under conditions of intensive speedup.

These changes which are designed to drive older men from the industry are destroying the conditions of thousands of dockers and leading to an increasing bitterness on the waterfront.

One New York longshoreman told the **Bulletin** about the deadly toll this drive is taking among ILA members.

"A couple of guys got killed this year. There's always injuries every day. Guys get careless.

"When a ship comes in, they want you to work it until it's done here or in Brooklyn. Saturday and Sunday too. They usually want you to work until 8 or 9.

"If you're on the Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI), you can't refuse unless they find you a substitute. They don't try very hard to."

The accident statistics more than verify dockers' complaints. During 1973, the number of claimants for injuries under the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act increased 60 percent. In some ports, the increase in injuries was astronomical from 49 percent in Boston, to 58 percent in Philadelphia, to 68 percent in Baltimore.

The strength of the longshoremen enabled them to negotiate the GAI. Under this scheme, longshoremen were supposed to be paid even when work was not available.

The employers, however, have been allowed by the ILA leadership to attach so many strings to the GAI that they are able to use it to smash up basic union rights.

For example, work in the hold of a ship is the most onerous and dangerous work on the docks. Traditionally, the older men with seniority are given jobs outside the hold working on the deck or on the docks.

Now, in order to maintain their guarantee, older men must accept any kind of work and the employers are consciously assigning them to the hardest jobs.

One man told the **Bulletin**: "I worked the hold fifteen years ago and now I'm a deckman, a hatch boy, and a driver. So they kept calling me for the hold.

"I took it to the union and they said are you on the guarantee? I said yes and they said forget about having your job category changed."

In the same way, the GAI is being used to play dockers off against each other and force work on cargos or under conditions that formerly would have been resisted.

"I've worked in Brooklyn, too," one Manhattan docker stated. "If they don't want to handle a cargo, they refuse it.

"They refused to handle bags the other day, so they sent some men over from Manhattan. They send you over there and you don't know what you're getting into."

Containerization and automation on the waterfront has been financed by the ship owners through the massive profits extracted from the labor of the dock workers.

Now this new machinery is being used to smash up rights, break down distinctions between job categories, destroy seniority, divide the union, and drive the men out of the industry.

Every concession by the ILA leadership or by the leadership of the West Coast dockers in the ILWU to accept the right of the employers to unrestricted automation only increases the employers determination.

The government, which is determined to gear up the ports for a relentless trade war on its European and Japanese competitors, stands prepared to use the courts, the NLRB, and the entire state apparatus against the dock workers.

Only a Marxist leadership that begins with the real needs of the working class can defend the dockers.

Such a leadership will fight against Gleason and Bridges for a united strike of East and West Coast dockers to close every port on September 30.

Dockers must fight for a GAI to be paid to every docker in every port where there is no work, the removal of all strings and penalties attached to the GAI, defense of all union rights, pensions at full union scale after 20 years, a thirty hour week at full pay, and a 100 percent cost of living escalator in the new contract.

A dockers' strike will rally enormous support from the entire labor movement against any attempt by the government to break it. It is in this struggle that dockers must take forward the fight to force Nixon out through the construction of a labor party pledged to nationalize shipping and port facilities under workers control.

by tom gordon



United Metal Trades Council is in second month of strike in Oregon and Washington for \$1.15 an hour.

Magee Battles To Oust Court Lawyer

BY MARTY MORAN
SAN JOSE—Ruchell McGee attacked his court-appointed attorney last Monday after a prosecution objection was upheld, the second time in less than ten days that McGee was provoked into fighting with public defender

Sheldon Portman.
Four bailiffs threw McGee on the floor, handcuffed him behind his back, and dragged him into a holding cell. McGee shouted as he was leaving: "Get a gun and kill Portman. That's a sick, racist fool."
McGee has filed a motion to remove Portman as his attorney so he could defend himself. Portman says he wants

be relieved of the case, but so far the judge has not agreed.

The courts have consistently refused McGee the right to defend himself.

McGee is scheduled to face trial May 28 for the second time for the Marin County Courthouse escape attempt in which Jonathan Jackson, two prisoners, and a hostage were murdered by police.

McGee was acquitted of murder more than a year ago and won a hung jury decision on kidnapping and manslaughter charges. He is now being retried on a charge of "aggravated kidnapping."

McGee has not given up one inch in his fight for freedom. He has converted the courtroom into a trial of the system of capitalist justice by constantly raising the question of his first conviction in Los Angeles in 1963, when he was given life imprisonment for a \$10 robbery.

He has stated the false nature of this trial made him a slave and gave him the right to escape.

EXPLOSION

The latest explosion occurred when McGee was directing questions through Portman to Howard Moore, attorney for Angela Davis in her trial for the Marin County escape. Moore was asked about letters he had exchanged with the court reporter in McGee's 1963 trial, when assistant Attorney General Tim Reardon objected.

Davis herself has completely abandoned McGee's defense. Her own defense was separated from McGee's because the Communist Party wanted no part of McGee's revolutionary defense. The Communist Party's newspaper, the *People's World*, has not reported on McGee since last year.

Sears Ranks End 8 Month Strike

BY A REPORTER
SAN FRANCISCO—Three hundred Sears clerks began to return to work on May 6, after eight and one-half months on strike.

movements took place in the San Francisco working class, including a strike by carpenters against the pay board which shut down all northern California construction, a general strike of all municipal employees, a teachers strike, and a one-day dock strike.

The strikers, members of Retail Clerks International Association (RCIA) locals 1100 and 410, have resisted all efforts by Sears to break the union. They ratified a contract on May 4 by 231 to 11.

At every point Johnson acted to head off any support from the working class and conducted harmless protests which temporarily buoyed the strikers morale, but did nothing to break their isolation.

The strike was the longest in the history of San Francisco. Although Sears has never had a union shop, only seven out of three hundred members left the union during the strike. Because of this determination, the strike is ending with all strikers rehired and all substitute scabs fired.

This betrayal, accompanied by demagoguery about "rallying the community" behind Sears workers, was completely supported by the revisionist Socialist Workers Party.

The contract itself is a bitter pill for the strikers, most of whom told the **Bulletin** they preferred not to think about it and were just relieved to be back to work.

SWP members sat on the stage with the Democratic and Republican politicians, clergymen, and even a businessman or two, in open collaboration with Johnson.

Every major union demand was scrapped—medical plan, union shop, and increase in commission from 6 percent to 6.5 percent for "big ticket" salesmen.

The SWP must bear responsibility with Johnson for the bitter results of this strike.

The clerks got a 90 cent wage increase over three years back-dated to August 1, 1972, when the old contract expired. Salesmen received a guaranteed minimum increase of \$624 in place of an increase in the commission rate.

The responsibility for this set back lies squarely with the union leadership, particularly Local 1100 president Walter Johnson. During the strike, tremendous

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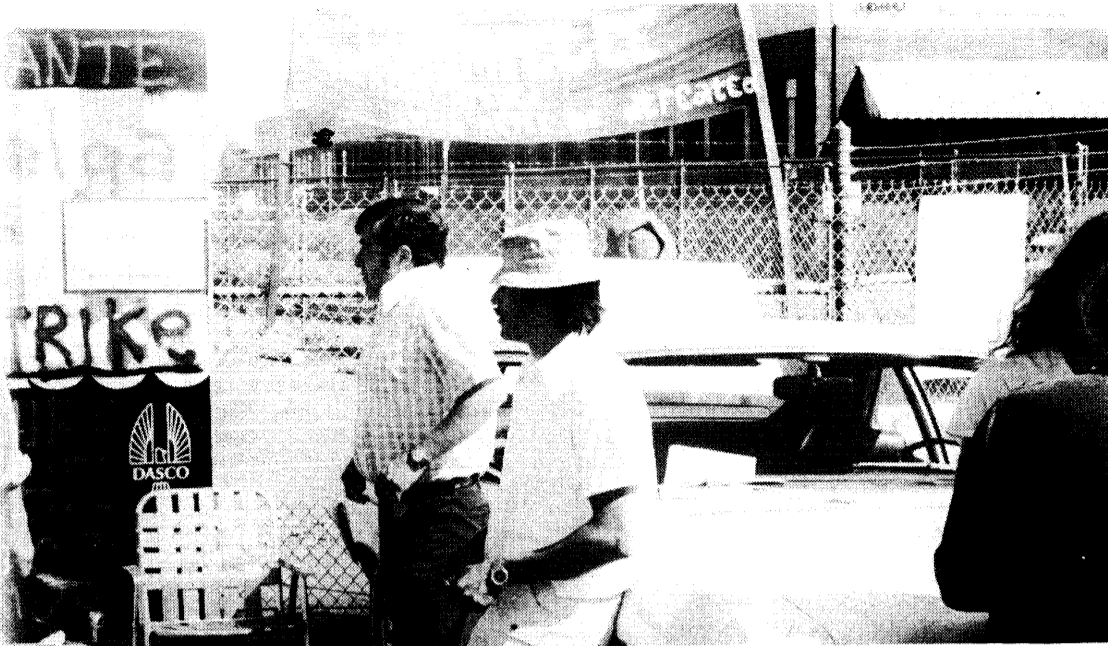
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300 workers staged a wildcat strike at the Dasco box company after a shop steward was fired.

west coast news

Glass Strikers Reject Offer At 9 Plants

BY TED BAKER
OAKLAND — Glass workers striking Owens-Illinois for over five weeks overwhelmingly rejected the company's latest offer by a vote of 1512 to 507.

The contract was rejected in all nine West Coast plants and in the main Oakland plant, it was rejected by an 85 percent margin.

SHOW

One woman picket told the Bulletin: "This is a show of strength. Owens was ready for the strike when we went out. They figured we would go back after three or four weeks.

"But this vote shows we are going to stay out until they hurt. Now new people who didn't care about the strike at first are signing up for picket duty. This is just the beginning."

The contract rejected by the glass workers was basically the

same as the original company offer. In a three-year contract, the company offered 30 cents an hour the first year and 23 cents an hour in each of the last two years. The only change was to make the first 30 cents retroactive to March 1.

RATIFICATION

Many union members were upset over the ratification vote. In the last contract, the Glass Bottle Blowers Association (GBBA) allowed Owens to bring in the American Arbitration Society to run all voting on offers. The company can force a vote on any new offer, even if it changes only a phrase.

One woman on the picket line said: "Who ever heard of a vote on company property with company men handing out the ballots.

DEAL

Before the strike, the International made a deal with the company so we vote on anything the company wants and these arbitrators run the voting. I think it stinks. We should do it ourselves like a real union."

Rank and file glass workers are determined to win the full union demand of a one-year contract and a dollar an hour raise, and are turning down talk of a cost of living escalator with a limit of eight cents an hour as a substitute for it.

PREPARING

Despite this, union officials are privately preparing to accept the company's basic pay offer. An official told the Bulletin: "We may have to accept the 30 cents. We've accepted it all over the rest of the country. If Owens gives us the rest of our package for the first year, we may have to accept the 30 cents."

United Mechanics To Turn Down Contract

BY A REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—United Air Lines workers will vote next week on a contract offer virtually the same as the one they rejected by an 85 percent margin last month.

The new offer provides an additional \$1.04 an hour over 28 months for 30,000 mechanics and other ground personnel. This is only four cents more than the offer rejected in April. The union leadership brought back this insulting offer only hours before the Friday May 3 strike deadline.

"I didn't vote for the first one and I'm not going to vote for the

second," a disgusted mechanic told the Bulletin at United's main repair facility at San Francisco airport.

Another said: "If there was no improvement in the second one, they'll probably vote it down. I would think."

VOTING

Voting will take place next Monday and Tuesday. Local union officials, who called for rejection of the first offer, have not yet taken a position on the latest terms.

Officials of the International Association of Machinists District 141, which covers all United workers, were com-

pletely cynical about their refusal to call strike action. One official justified bringing the offer back for another vote by claiming: "Most people didn't even know what they were voting on last time."

The top union leadership is opposed to strike action because it fears the political confrontation with the government which would follow. Nixon has the power under the Railway Labor Act to break the strike with a sixty day "cooling off" period.

United workers must vote down the contract and demand an immediate strike.

Is FBI Preparing SLA Bomb Provocation?

BY A

BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The scare campaign around the SLA and the Zebra murders continues here despite the issuing of a judicial gag order against Mayor Alioto and other principals in the Zebra investigation.

The gag rule only serves to increase the atmosphere of secrecy and danger in which the grand jury is meeting on possible indictments against three Black Muslims arrested and charged for the Zebra killings.

Four Muslims arrested at the same time have already been released for lack of evidence.

The grand jury is meeting in secret night sessions at City Hall surrounded by masses of police. All reporters have been thrown out of their usual waiting areas in City Hall for the duration of the hearings.

Witnesses, with their coats pulled over their heads, are hustled into the hearings by plainclothesmen. Others are brought into City Hall well in advance of hearings and held in special "protected" areas until they testify.

Uniformed police escort the jurors to their cars after each session. One juror spoke to the press long enough to say: "We don't want to be shot at."

The gag rule is being used to justify concealing the identity of the secret informer whose statements to Alioto led to the arrests.

The Black Muslims have charged that the informer is a former mental patient, and have

demanding an apology from Alioto for his statements linking the Muslims to the Zebra killings.

At the same time, the newspapers have revived the SLA witch-hunt. The scare headline in Tuesday's San Francisco Examiner read: "Fear SLA Ready To Bomb" and related an FBI and police story that they found hundreds of empty shotgun shells and rifle cartridges in an SLA hideout discovered last week.

The FBI claimed pellets from the shotgun shells and powder from the cartridges could be combined. "Together it was the makings of a pretty fair bomb," a spokesman said.

Ominous hints were dropped that the bombing could come at any time and any place, and that the ingredients indicated it would be an antipersonnel bomb.

This blatant provocation comes just as Steven Weed, Patty Hearst's fiance, wrote a long newspaper article admitting that she had probably joined the SLA without coercion. FBI special agent Charles Bates admitted that Patty was seen shopping freely and alone in the Fillmore district before the raid on the abandoned SLA apartment.

The press has now released a report that FBI officials were expecting suspected SLA members to kidnap San Francisco Mayor Alioto's grandchildren. Alioto's daughter, Angela Veronese, identified Emily Harris, who police allege is a member of the SLA, as the woman seen speaking to her children outside their home.



Grand Jury witness in Zebra case covers her face.

Cop Gets Light Suspension

BY A REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Police officer Paul Koerschgen, who killed James Baldwin, a resident of South Central Los Angeles last January 9, has got off with a suspended sentence.

Mr. Baldwin had been stopped at 7th and Avalon and possessed no ID. Koerschgen discharged his service revolver into Mr. Baldwin five times after Baldwin allegedly jumped back into his car.

With the assistance of his partner, officer James Coppi, Koerschgen planted a "throwaway" pistol on Baldwin to support his claim that Baldwin had been armed. Baldwin was later determined to be in possession of no weapons whatsoever.

The planted gun had been confiscated in the course of police activities several years

earlier by Koerschgen and had its serial numbers filed off.

The only action taken against officer Coppi's felonious participation in the coverup was six months suspension from the force last Wednesday.

INDICTED

So far, Koerschgen has only been indicted for using nonregulation ammunition in the shooting of Baldwin (hollow point bullets) and for carrying an unauthorized weapon.

In the months since the January incident, legal action has been taken by two separate families for beatings rendered two youths without provocation prior to the shooting.

The Bulletin interviewed Paul Williams, a young aluminum worker living in the Jordan Downs Housing Project in Watts. He stated: "The use of throwaway guns by the police is an illegal but common practice. If they catch you alone, they can kill you and claim it as self-defense.

"The police here are vicious.

They have set up a special gang detail for the purpose of dealing directly with the youth. There is the notorious Team No. 29. It originally consisted of two partners, Big Red and Cigar, both are southern rednecks who were given charge of the Watts detail.

"Cigar was the one responsible for turning my cousin crazy. He stopped him for a traffic violation, they got into an argument, and Cigar took him into an alley and worked him over and poked his eye out with a nightstick.

"The gang squad really feeds on violence among the youth. I used to be a member of the Crips and these cops picked me up and took me over twice to the middle of Nickerson Gardens which is controlled by the Bounty Hunters and shoved me out of the car shouting: "Crips here."

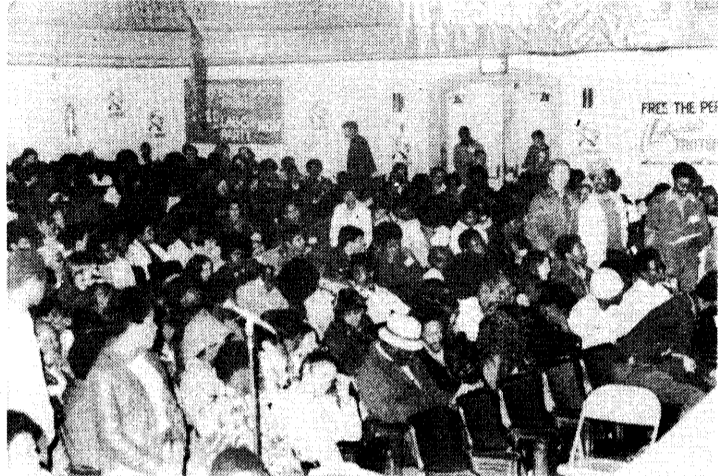
"Only by luck was I able to make it out of Nickerson Gardens without being killed. "I have become interested in politics because gang-banging is a deadend and is the man's game."

La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderato en la clase obrera. Es por ello que necesitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirigir su correspondencia a: Lucía Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

lucha obrera

— lucía rivera —

Las Tareas Frente A La Juventud Socialista



La Conferencia Nacional de La Juventud Socialista celebrada los días 4 y 5 de mayo en Nueva York, representa un paso de suma importancia en la construcción de un movimiento masivo revolucionario de la juventud, y en el entrenamiento de cuadros como el liderato de la clase obrera norteamericana.

Esta conferencia es drásticamente diferente de la anterior, hace un año atrás. Las condiciones objetivas, la agudización de la crisis capitalista que atenta contra los derechos democráticos de millones de trabajadores y jóvenes, las preparaciones hacia una dictadura por el gobierno de Nixon, fue el elemento principal para atraer 550 jóvenes de todo el país a esta conferencia.

La conferencia votó unánimemente llevar a cabo una campaña nacional en contra del desempleo comenzando el primero de junio. El mismo día, las células del área de Nueva York comenzarán con una marcha la campaña para elegir a Helen Halyard para congresista, representando el distrito congresional número 12 en Brooklyn.

Se adoptó la decisión de llevar a cabo una serie de clases de marxismo para poder entrenar a la juventud y a los trabajadores para la nueva época a que nos enfrentamos. Una época de crisis capitalista donde la cuestión de la clase obrera tomar el poder es presentada.

A pesar de que la juventud se acerca al partido revolucionario buscando una alternativa, la forma de pensar de la clase dominante (los ricos) es la que permea todas sus posiciones y forma de pensar. La lucha en el entrenamiento del liderato de la juventud, esta basado en el conflicto contra el pensamiento búrgues (capitalista) en la clase obrera.

La importancia central de esta conferencia reside en la preparación actual de un liderato de la juventud obrera, que ahora al regresar a sus comunidades puedan construir la Juventud Socialista en forma masiva, basados en el marxismo. A la misma vez atraer hacia el partido revolucionario amplios sectores de la clase obrera.

Una resolución fue presentada por la célula de la Juventud Socialista de East New York que lee así: "Nosotros decimos que la gente obtiene sus ideas del mundo material y que de él puede sacar el conocimiento para transformarlo. Es así que podemos saber lo que Nixon esta haciendo y es así que nosotros planeamos organizarnos, cambiando nuestra forma de pensar y traer nuestra forma de pensar en línea a las tareas a que nos enfrentamos, para luchar contra este gobierno."

En la conferencia habian cerca de cien jóvenes hispanos; chicanos, puertorriqueños, dominicanos y otros latinoamericanos.

El **Bulletin** entrevistó a una serie de jóvenes chicanos de la Costa Oeste, Eugenio, de Elmhurst-Oakland y Leonardo de San José.

Bulletin: ¿Por que asistieron a la conferencia?

Eugenio: "Yo vine a la conferencia para construir un partido que sacara a Nixon del poder".

Leonardo: "Nosotros vinimos a la conferencia para construir la Juventud Socialista. Nosotros tenemos que aprender y entender como se construye un liderato. San José era un lugar bueno donde uno podía vivir hace 7 o 8 años atrás. Toda esa prosperidad ya se terminó. Actualmente mucha gente esta pasando hambre en San José. Las condiciones estan empeorando en la vivienda. Los dueños de las casas no se preocupan de repararlas.

"Hay muchos jóvenes que quieren destruir este sistema. Lo que me viene a veces a la mente es tomar el fusil. Pero se necesita más que un fusil para luchar en contra de este sistema. Tenemos que traerle un entendimiento a la clase obrera de lo que esta pasando".

Lo expresado por Eugenio y Leonardo es la voluntad de los jóvenes de la clase obrera de luchar en contra de este sistema que no tiene ningún futuro que ofrecerle. Es esta juventud como fue expresada en la conferencia la responsable de construir el partido revolucionario en contra de Nixon y de los capitalistas que él representa.

Court Order Forces Metro Drivers Back

BY BRIAN FLEET
BALTIMORE— On Wednesday May 8, all Metro bus drivers, mechanics, and clerical workers went back to work, following a permanent back to work order signed by US District Judge John Lewis Smith Jr. The union membership will be fined \$125,000, approximately \$40 each.

All the disputed issues, including a cost of living escalator clause, are to be settled under binding arbitration, but contract negotiations were resumed at 2 pm on Wednesday.

On Tuesday, most Metro bus workers had returned to work, but only 25 percent of the

workers in Alexandria, Virginia had returned for the morning shift and only 50 percent of the workers reported for the evening shift. Union president George Davis was at the garage for three hours, urging the men back to work.

WILDCAT

The five day strike was a wildcat, since the union leadership ordered the membership to obey the court order. The buses that did roll during the strike only moved under heavy police escort.

Metro was forcing workers to pay for their uniforms, which are much more expensive than their old uniforms. In addition, Metro was paying workers only \$26 every six months for dry cleaning costs.

The **Bulletin** interviewed David Mercer, a strike leader, who works at the Four Mile garage of the Alexandria divi-

sion.

"Metro is using back to work trickery and underhanded dealing. Back in February, they realized that they were going to use arbitration as a weapon to force Local 689 to strike. They tried to break our unions, but we refused to allow it to be split.

"I do not believe that our contract will be renegotiated since, in any event, all issues will fall under binding arbitration. Only when the judge ruled that the arbitrator should lean heavily on the cost of living provision did Metro decide to reopen contract negotiations.

"If we had stayed another week, a tremendous amount of pressure would have been put on Metro since the gas shortage was developing in the Metropolitan area.

"The biggest issue today being worked out in the labor movement around the world is the cost of living as a result of the inflation."

NIXON...

(Continued From Page 1)

It is the Democrats, who conspired with Nixon to take the lid off prices, which is rapidly leading to the biggest surge of inflation in history, who stand with Nixon's policy to deliberately create unemployment to defend the profits of big business at the expense of millions of working people.

Only the working class through its own independent struggle, in the establishment of its own independent political party, can throw Nixon out.

RIGHTS

What is at stake are 200 years of democratic rights won in struggle, the very right of trade unions to exist, and the right of workers to fight to improve their conditions.

Big business interests like The New York Times, the Chicago Tribune and right-winger Randolph Hearst call for Nixon's resignation because they want an authoritative government that can move unfettered to smash up these rights.

The New York Times together with the Daily News conspires to throw out the printers and to destroy the International Typographers Union. This is what every corporation is now plotting in order to resolve the crisis of the capitalist system.

The Nixon government is a weak and desperate government barely holding onto power as it sinks deeper and deeper into political crisis.

A campaign and struggle by the powerful trade union movement to force Nixon out through mass actions would receive the overwhelming support of millions of workers throughout the country.

Unless the labor movement takes advantage of Nixon's weakness to force him out, the growing paralysis of the government will strengthen ultra-right-wing political forces who want a dictatorial government.

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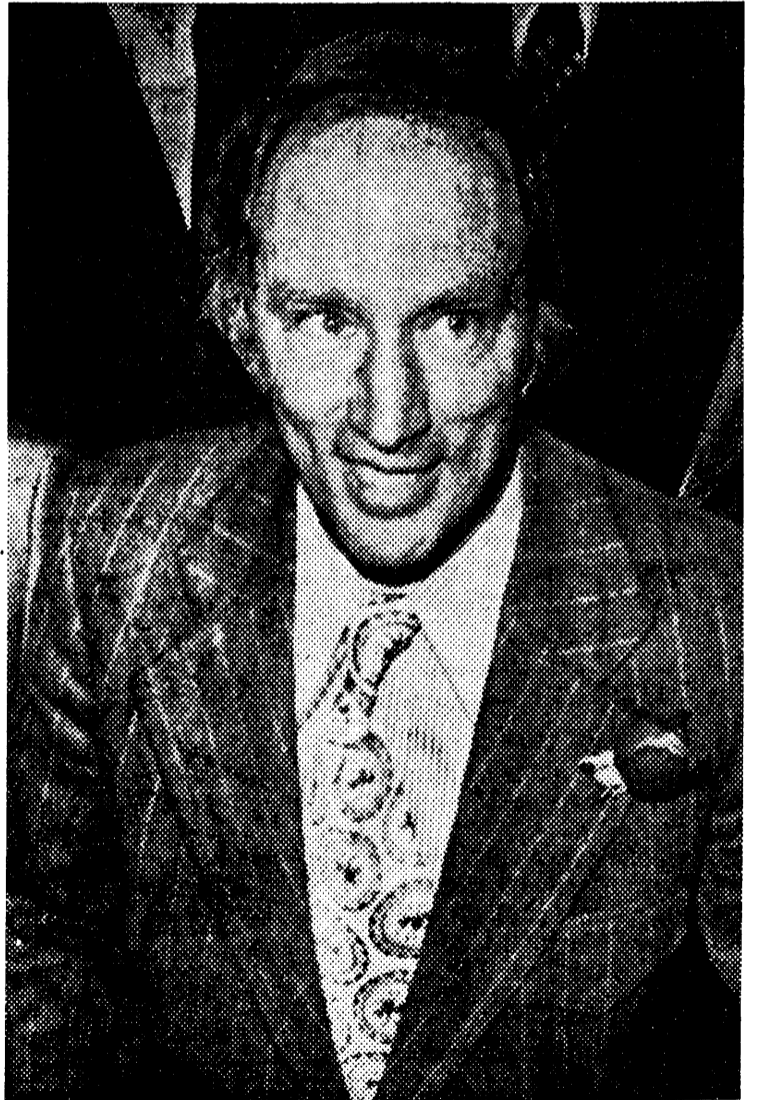
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CANADA...

(Continued From Page 1)

What is clear is that Lewis has no independent policies to deal with the crisis outside of supporting either the Liberals or the Tories, both of whom are determined to drive back the working class.

The Canadian Labor Congress, Canada's AFL-CIO, is meeting in Vancouver later this month. It must reject Lewis's policies entirely and demand the NDP fight for power pledged to socialist policies.

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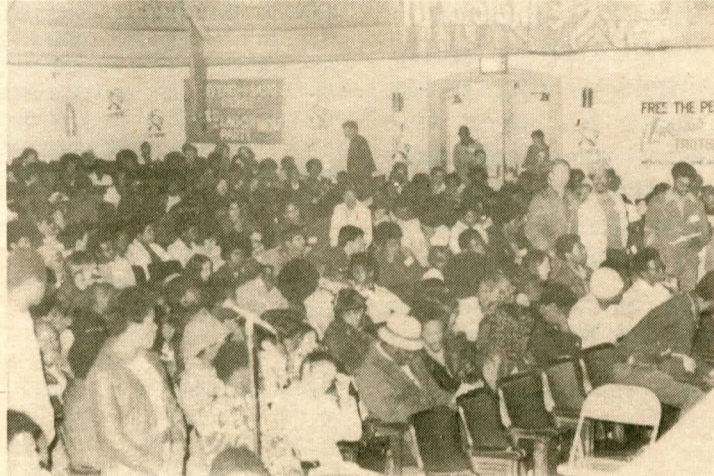
This is the only program capable of defending the rights of all Canadian workers and keeping the Liberals and Tories out for good.

La labor de esta columna es la construcción de un nuevo liderato en la clase obrera. Es por ello que necesitamos el apoyo de todos los obreros hispanos en desarrollar esta columna. Favor de dirigir su correspondencia a: Lucia Rivera, c/o Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011

lucha obrera

lucía rivera

Las Tareas Frente A La Juventud Socialista



La Conferencia Nacional de La Juventud Socialista celebrada los días 4 y 5 de mayo en Nueva York, representa un paso de suma importancia en la construcción de un movimiento masivo revolucionario de la juventud, y en el entrenamiento de cuadros como el liderato de la clase obrera norteamericana.

Esta conferencia es drásticamente diferente de la anterior, hace un año atrás. Las condiciones objetivas, la agudización de la crisis capitalista que atenta contra los derechos democráticos de millones de trabajadores y jóvenes, las preparaciones hacia una dictadura por el gobierno de Nixon, fue el elemento principal para atraer 550 jóvenes de todo el país a esta conferencia.

La conferencia votó unánimemente llevar a cabo una campaña nacional en contra del desempleo comenzando el primero de junio. El mismo día, las células del área de Nueva York comenzarán con una marcha la campaña para elegir a Helen Halyard para congresista, representando el distrito congresional número 12 en Brooklyn.

Se adoptó la decisión de llevar a cabo una serie de clases de marxismo para poder entrenar a la juventud y a los trabajadores para la nueva época a que nos enfrentamos. Una época de crisis capitalista donde la cuestión de la clase obrera tomar el poder es presentada.

A pesar de que la juventud se acerca al partido revolucionario buscando una alternativa, la forma de pensar de la clase dominante (los ricos) es la que permea todas sus posiciones y forma de pensar. La lucha en el entrenamiento del liderato de la juventud, esta basado en el conflicto contra el pensamiento búrgues (capitalista) en la clase obrera.

La importancia central de esta conferencia reside en la preparación actual de un liderato de la juventud obrera, que ahora al regresar a sus comunidades puedan construir la Juventud Socialista en forma masiva, basados en el marxismo. A la misma vez atraer hacia el partido revolucionario amplios sectores de la clase obrera.

Una resolución fue presentada por la célula de la Juventud Socialista de East New York que lee así: "Nosotros decimos que la gente obtiene sus ideas del mundo material y que de él puede sacar el conocimiento para transformarlo. Es así que podemos saber lo que Nixon esta haciendo y es así que nosotros planeamos organizarnos, cambiando nuestra forma de pensar y traer nuestra forma de pensar en línea a las tareas a que nos enfrentamos, para luchar contra este gobierno."

En la conferencia habian cerca de cien jóvenes hispanos; chicanos, puertorriqueños, dominicanos y otros latinoamericanos.

El **Bulletin** entrevistó a una serie de jóvenes chicanos de la Costa Oeste, Eugenio, de Elmhurst-Oakland y Leonardo de San José.

Bulletin: ¿Por que asistieron a la conferencia?

Eugenio: "Yo vine a la conferencia para construir un partido que sacara a Nixon del poder".

Leonardo: "Nosotros vinimos a la conferencia para construir la Juventud Socialista. Nosotros tenemos que aprender y entender como se construye un liderato. San José era un lugar bueno donde uno podía vivir hace 7 o 8 años atrás. Toda esa prosperidad ya se terminó. Actualmente mucha gente esta pasando hambre en San José. Las condiciones estan empeorando en la vivienda. Los dueños de las casas no se preocupan de repararlas.

"Hay muchos jóvenes que quieren destruir este sistema. Lo que me viene a veces a la mente es tomar el fusil. Pero se necesita más que un fusil para luchar en contra de este sistema. Tenemos que traerle un entendimiento a la clase obrera de lo que esta pasando".

Lo expresado por Eugenio y Leonardo es la voluntad de los jóvenes de la clase obrera de luchar en contra de este sistema que no tiene ningún futuro que ofrecerle. Es esta juventud como fue expresada en la conferencia la responsable de construir el partido revolucionario en contra de Nixon y de los capitalistas que él representa.

Court Order Forces Metro Drivers Back

BY BRIAN FLEET
BALTIMORE— On Wednesday May 8, all Metro bus drivers, mechanics, and clerical workers went back to work, following a permanent back to work order signed by US District Judge John Lewis Smith Jr. The union membership will be fined \$125,000, approximately \$40 each.

All the disputed issues, including a cost of living escalator clause, are to be settled under binding arbitration, but contract negotiations were resumed at 2 pm on Wednesday.

On Tuesday, most Metro bus workers had returned to work, but only 25 percent of the

workers in Alexandria, Virginia had returned for the morning shift and only 50 percent of the workers reported for the evening shift. Union president George Davis was at the garage for three hours, urging the men back to work.

WILDCAT

The five day strike was a wildcat, since the union leadership ordered the membership to obey the court order. The buses that did roll during the strike only moved under heavy police escort.

Metro was forcing workers to pay for their uniforms, which are much more expensive than their old uniforms. In addition, Metro was paying workers only \$26 every six months for dry cleaning costs.

The **Bulletin** interviewed David Mercer, a strike leader, who works at the Four Mile garage of the Alexandria divi-

sion. "Metro is using back to work trickery and underhanded dealing. Back in February, they realized that they were going to use arbitration as a weapon to force Local 689 to strike. They tried to break our unions, but we refused to allow it to be split.

"I do not believe that our contract will be renegotiated since, in any event, all issues will fall under binding arbitration. Only when the judge ruled that the arbitrator should lean heavily on the cost of living provision did Metro decide to reopen contract negotiations.

"If we had stayed another week, a tremendous amount of pressure would have been put on Metro since the gas shortage was developing in the Metropolitan area.

"The biggest issue today being worked out in the labor movement around the world is the cost of living as a result of the inflation."

NIXON...

(Continued From Page 1)

It is the Democrats, who conspired with Nixon to take the lid off prices, which is rapidly leading to the biggest surge of inflation in history, who stand with Nixon's policy to deliberately create unemployment to defend the profits of big business at the expense of millions of working people.

Only the working class through its own independent struggle, in the establishment of its own independent political party, can throw Nixon out.

RIGHTS

What is at stake are 200 years of democratic rights won in struggle, the very right of trade unions to exist, and the right of workers to fight to improve their conditions.

Big business interests like The New York Times, the Chicago Tribune and right-winger Randolph Hearst call for Nixon's resignation because they want an authoritative government that can move unfettered to smash up these rights.

The New York Times together with the Daily News conspires to throw out the printers and to destroy the International Typographers Union. This is what every corporation is now plotting in order to resolve the crisis of the capitalist system.

The Nixon government is a weak and desperate government barely holding onto power as it sinks deeper and deeper into political crisis.

A campaign and struggle by the powerful trade union movement to force Nixon out through mass actions would receive the overwhelming support of millions of workers throughout the country.

Unless the labor movement takes advantage of Nixon's weakness to force him out, the growing paralysis of the government will strengthen ultra-right-wing political forces who want a dictatorial government.

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