

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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APRIL 10, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

## NLF OFFENSIVE SHAKES NIXON GOVERNMENT

BY DAVID NORTH

North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops are inflicting a massive defeat on the South Vietnamese Army. Not since the Tet offensive of 1968 have the puppet forces of American imperialism been thrown into a retreat as disorderly and ignominious.

The great battle being waged by the National Liberation Front is—above all—the expression of the tremendous offensive of the international working class against capitalism. The movement of the American workers which forced Meany off the Pay Board does not merely coincide with the Vietnamese offensive but is part of the same struggle.

What the Fourth International has foreseen and prepared for—the unity of the struggle of the masses in the backward countries and the workers in the advanced metropolitan states—is now being forged in battle.

Now this unity must be brought forward consciously in a general strike by the workers in the United States against the government that is responsible for the war and all the criminal attacks on their living standards.

The NLF offensive is carrying to a new level the fight to defeat American imperialism in Vietnam. Any attempt by Nixon to salvage this debacle through re-escalation will meet the unyielding resistance of the working class in this country. It

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**500 Join Young Socialists Rally** See Page 14

### Ballantine Workers Occupy Factory To Protest Shutdown

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK—"Either everybody works, or nobody works." That is how one worker expressed the sentiment which brewed behind the first sit-down strike in the U.S. since the 1930's.

Over 1,000 workers at the Ballantine brewery occupied the plant on March 31, the day it was supposed to be closed up permanently. The whole afternoon shift was solidly behind the move, and they remained until 10PM, when the union leaders talked the men into leaving.

The sit-in was sparked by the action of the Third Circuit Court which overturned a lower court order restraining Ballantine from permanently shutting the plant until all appeals were heard. The men saw that to leave the plant then was to accept the shutdown and the end of their jobs. Many of them gave 30 and

40 years of their lives to working in the brewery.

The shop steward who led the strike action refused to let his men leave the plant until the

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### Wisconsin Vote Jolts Democrats

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

MADISON, WISC.—The results of the Wisconsin primary gave further evidence of the break-up of the Democratic Party. Senator George McGovern, the maverick candidate running without the substantial support of the regular party machine, won a substantial plurality based largely on the support of rank-and-file trade unionists and farmers.

However, Governor George Wallace finished a strong second; and is now the candidate with the most consistent following among the middle class supporters of the

Democratic Party. In almost every part of the state, he outran Senator Hubert Humphrey, who finished third.

With all the return almost in, McGovern had 30% of the votes; Wallace had 22%; Humphrey 21%; Muskie had 10%; Jackson had 8%; and Lindsay only 7%. The New York mayor announced his withdrawal from the campaign.

Many working class voters explained their support of McGovern on the basis of complete disgust with the traditional candidates. It is also likely that the current Vietnam offensive contributed to his victory.

But that his victory was primarily a reflection of the disin-

tegration of the Democratic Party was expressed in the poor showings of Humphrey and Muskie, the Democratic presidential and vice-presidential candidates in 1968. Underlying this collapse of the principle national party is the deep economic crisis and the movement of the working class.

Wallace used populist demagoguery to win the support of the panic-ridden middle class. But he is actually the disguised voice of big business using these fears to salvage a decaying system.

"I'm not against people accumulating wealth," he said shortly before election day. "That's our system."

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### Revolution And Counterrevolution In Chile

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# Mujib Threatens To Shoot Leftists

BY A  
CORRESPONDENT

The people of Bangla Desh who just recently won their independence from Pakistan are facing mass starvation and death because of the food shortage.

The peasants of the rural areas have poured into the cities seeking help. Prices have skyrocketed because of the shortages and food riots have taken place.

The crisis has forced Sheik Mujib, the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh to reveal his real arrogance and contempt for the Bengali people.

Mujib spoke to a rally of 100,000 people at Khulna where thousands of people had demonstrated against injustices in the distribution of food and supplies.

Mujib threatened to resign unless the people followed his advice and worked together to reconstruct the nation. He tried to blame the crisis on "leftist extremists" and said the police had orders to "shoot down anyone engaged in creating confusion and trouble."

Mujib refused to put the blame on the real criminals responsible for the crisis, the imperialists and their allies in Pakistan who drained the country of all its wealth because Mujib is in the process of coming to terms with them.

The deepening turn of the Bengali people towards socialism is reflected in the tremendous growth of Communist Party branches throughout the country. Mujib will now turn sharply to the right as the masses demand that he carry out his vague socialist promises.

At the same time strikes and demonstrations against the dictatorial regime of Ali Bhutto continue in Pakistan.

On March 31st, 9,000 Sindhis walked out on Bhutto in the middle of a speech in Sanghar. No amount of demagoguery has been able to make up for the severe economic crisis there.



Workers picket Sacre-Coeur Hospital in Hull, Quebec during the March 28th one-day general strike called by public workers unions.

## 200,000 Workers Stage Quebec General Strike

BY JOHN OLIVER

MONTREAL—On March 28, 200,000 Quebec public employees went on a 24-hour general strike against the Bourassa government.

It marked the largest single strike in Canada since the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919. It was a decisive step in taking on the attacks of the Liberal government.

The Common Front, incorporating three unions, is comprised of teachers, hospital, hydro and liquor board workers, and other government employee sectors. The unification of the three unions, 210,000 strong, came in the face of vicious government attacks which culminated in the La Presse riot here on October 29.

Under tremendous rank and file pressure, Marcel Pepin, Yvon Charbonneau, and Louis Laberge, leaders of the three unions, were forced into merging their unions in order to negotiate with the government at one table. They set forth the demands for a \$100 minimum salary, a 24 percent wage increase over three years, and the elimination of salary differences between different sectors doing the same work.

The government's only offer was a 15 percent wage increase over three years which would mean a loss in salary of 9 percent due to increases in cost of living.

The union bureaucracy at all points showed their unwilling-

ness to confront the government. Workers were kept in the dark as to negotiations. The day before the original strike date of Friday, March 24, the strike was called off by the bureaucrats who used the excuse of a snow storm.

The leadership then began talk of a "compromise deal" eliminating the demand for "equal pay for equal work." They stated that the 24 percent would be negotiated at a future date. But the determination of the workers to win all the demands forced the strike to be called the following Tuesday.

### LAY-OFFS

A hospital worker told the Bulletin that: "Without job security, what good is a union." This hospital is threatened with the elimination of 50 percent of the jobs.

The Bourassa government is out to bust the unions. They have not retreated one inch. They have used injunctions and are prepared to use more.

The danger remains that the union leaders will sell out for a few crumbs and leave workers open to massive layoffs. Sentiment is high for a full general strike. This is the only road to victory.

# Allende Asks IMF To Run Chile Economy

BY ED SMITH

A meeting of representatives of Chilean President Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government and the sixteen member "Paris Club" of imperialist creditors of Chile has made it clear that the economic foundation of the "peaceful road to socialism" is becoming completely undermined.

Chile owes three billion dollars in foreign debts and interest and finds itself utterly unable at this stage of the world crisis to come up with it.

It is asking the "Paris Club" for a three-year moratorium on \$1.2 billion of the debts, and a ten-year period to repay. In return it offers a strict austerity program to pay the debts and acceptance of the advice of the International Monetary Fund and imperialist "advisors."

These proponents of the "peaceful road to socialism" have thus offered to place the direction of their economic policy in the hands of the imperialists themselves.

But the imperialists by no means have had their pound of flesh. Their latest counteroffer offers a two-year moratorium and six years to pay off the debts. These are the same terms given to the imperialist client government of Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei in 1965.

There are two prongs to the imperialist attack. One is the demands of the "Paris Club," on which it has been made clear there will be no retreat and will mean the ruination of the Chilean economy and the bankruptcy of the government.

The other is the increasingly open, brazen and provocative activity of the right wing in Chile itself. Both rest on the organic impotence of the Popular Unity government based as it is on the Stalinist policies of class collaboration.

After the ITT disclosures, the United Popular Action Movement, a constituent of Popular Unity, proposed "confiscation" of ITT's \$200 million property in Chile. Allende said he "personally agreed" with this.

The next day at the Paris talks, however, the Chilean delegation promised that there would be no nationalizations without full pay-

ment, in order to secure the toleration of imperialism a while longer.

What is most important is the recent discovery of a plot by the fascist "Fatherland and Liberty" organization together with former army officers including a general, for a coup to oust Allende. "Fatherland and Liberty" has been recently engaged with close consultation with the right wing Christian Democrats and National Party.

Although the uncovered plot seems to have been more in the realm of a putsch than a serious insurrectionary attempt, it remains a most serious warning that the Chilean bourgeoisie, backed more and more by U.S. imperialism itself, is looking less toward the sphere of parliamentary disruption and more and more to the Molotov cocktails and sulphuric acid bombs found in the "Fatherland and Liberty" headquarters.

Allende now moves on the offensive against the left wing, removing the Socialist Mayor of Santiago for using "excessive force" against a right wing demonstration. He joins the witch-hunt against MIR-led peasant occupations, attempting to "balance" the discovery of the fascist plot with the arrest of alleged MIR members with a pickup truck of stolen army weapons.

At the same time the MIR, for all its criticisms, maintains support for Allende and in the recent period has even entered into the management of nationalized farms and the like.

But the situation in Chile is not at all lost. The response to the ITT affair in the working class, as well as the continued upsurge in factory and land occupations, shows that the Stalinists and reformists have not succeeded in their task of breaking the resistance of the working class.

# IC Statement On North Ireland

The International Committee of the Fourth International condemns the imposition of direct rule by the Tory government over North Ireland.

This reactionary measure—supported by almost every left-wing Labour, Republican, Nationalist and Independent MP, as well as by a section of the Provisional IRA leaders—threatens the democratic rights of Protestant and Catholic worker alike.

We urgently warn British and Irish workers that the slightest support for direct rule is a vote of confidence in a regime that has tortured, interned and murdered hundreds of Irish workers in the last 20 months.

Support for direct rule has an

inexorable and sinister logic. If the Tory government decides to suppress Protestant workers with the same means that were used in Derry by the paras, what will the Republicans, Nationalists, revisionists and Stalinists do then?

To ask the question is to answer it. It was not an accident that these opportunists supported the despatch of British troops to Ulster in 1969!

What the imperialists could not preserve with baton, bullet CS gas and noise machines they now hope to keep by a negotiated political solution, conducted under the mantle of "direct rule."

Under the convenient subterfuge of replacing the hated Stormont regime the Heath-Wilson gang are preparing an even more sinister attack against Irish workers' rights, through a coalition of Republican and Orange capitalists, backed by the armed forces of the South and Britain.

Partition will stay, sectarian divisions will be exacerbated and the hated system of low wages, unemployment and speed-up will continue—if direct rule is effected.

The major burden of "direct rule" will fall on the backs of the Protestant workers who have been led by their clerical and Tory-Unionist leaders into the blind alley of sectarian politics.

The unity of Protestant and Catholic workers—a precondition for a successful struggle against British imperialism—demands an uncompromising struggle to tear this section of workers from the reactionary influence of Orangeism. This can be done only by revolutionary policies which stress the essential unity of the Irish working class in a common struggle to defend basic democratic rights, preserve the independence of the unions, defeat Toryism and establish a so-

cialist government throughout Ireland.

The nationalization of land, banks and industry under workers' control and without compensation is the only way forward for the Irish working class.

We categorically denounce the Wilson leadership's collaboration in this macabre Heath plan.

In the same way as the miners' leaders saved the Tory government from a political defeat at the hands of the mineworkers, so, too, the Labour traitors obligingly help the Tories in their moment of greatest weakness.

In the meantime the Tory press covers up, or plays down, the sinister conspiracy, by exaggerated and speculative reports of a possible "Protestant backlash."

Without Wilson and the Labour "lefts" "direct rule" would be impossible, or at least ineffective. Wilson's support for

direct rule is in line with his support for internment and the ghastly techniques of the army and police interrogation.

The International Committee of the Fourth International calls on all "left" MPs, as well as the Irish opposition MPs, to vote against this reactionary and dictatorial Act.

The silence of these MPs, or their equivocal attitude to "direct rule," will only provide testimony to their political bankruptcy, their fear of the Irish workers and their failure and refusal to face up to the alternative to direct rule.

We say that there is an alternative to direct rule and that it can and will be achieved. It is the joint struggle of the British and Irish workers to force the Tory government to resign and to elect a Labour government which will withdraw all troops from Ulster and help secure self-

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## ITT Exposures Throw Nixon Into A Panic

BY MELODY FARROW

The Nixon government is in a desperate panic to bury the ITT scandal once and for all. The more testimony is heard, the clearer it becomes that Nixon, Kleindienst, Mitchell and the whole ITT crew are lying about the connection between the ITT contribution of \$400,000 to the Republican National Convention and the Justice Department's favorable settlement of the ITT merger with Hartford Insurance Company.

Last week, Hugh Scott, Senate minority leader, announced that the Republicans would move for a vote to end the hearing which he denounced as "jackassery." This maneuver was directly inspired by Nixon himself who had just held a breakfast meeting with Scott prior to the announcement.

Last Sunday, Dita Beard, the ITT lobbyist was suddenly stricken with another heart attack after being questioned by the Senate Committee in the hospital.

Her doctors claim she may never be able to testify in Washington and the Committee has been urged to "quash the subpoena."

Beard denied writing the key sections of the memo and claimed that the whole thing was a forgery by "someone" who wanted to "destroy" her. Mrs. Beard, who had righteously proclaimed her desire to testify, referred to the Senate Committee earlier as "that bunch of little bums" but conveniently collapsed before her contradictory statements could be explained.

ITT is also trying another tactic by paying various analysts \$1,000 a day to provide phony evidence that the Beard memo could not have been written in 1971 but in 1972.



Dita Beard

### PANIC

The government is thrown into panic not only because it cannot cover up the ITT merger deal, but because it has revealed the whole role of the corporations in directing government policy and their close relations with the Democrats and Republicans.

Mrs. Susan Lichtman, a former secretary of Beard stated she remembers typing portions of the memo and that members of Congress would frequently request favors of ITT such as the renting of jet planes for personal use.

She stated that: "The one instance I specifically recall...was a request from Senator Vance Hartke" for a plane. Hartke was the so-called "liberal anti-war" Senator who was welcomed by the Socialist Workers Party to speak at an NPAC Conference two years ago.

The panic of the government has been sharply expressed by the steady stream of editorials on the ITT affair by the *New York Times*.

On March 30th, the *Times* wrote:

"The charges of high level fixing in the ITT case have already shaken public confidence in the integrity and impartiality of the Justice Department while presided over by Mr. Nixon's campaign manager, John Mitchell."

An even more explicit editorial on March 15th states:

"What the case has already shown, however, is erosion of government credibility as the wall between law enforcement and politics crumbles...The result is a contagion of cynicism about the system and its institutions."

The *New York Times* has been forced to hint at perjury by leading members of the Nixon administration and is warning of a possible "whitewash." As the editorial says, what concerns sections of the bourgeoisie which the *Times* represents, is that the scandal will break down the illusions of workers in the "impartiality" of the state and expose it for what it is, the instrument of the big corporations.

The ITT scandal has unearthed the tremendous power and control the huge corporations have within the government. These corporations represent gigantic empires whose interests determine every decisionalist state.

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CSEA strikers successfully stand their ground at Willowbrook State School against busload of scabs.

# Rockefeller Vows To Crush NY CSEA

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK, N.Y.—Governor Rockefeller and the leaders of the New York State Legislature have pledged a campaign of vicious reprisals against New York State Civil Service Employees, whose walkout over the Easter weekend threatened to paralyze all State institutions and offices.

New York's *Daily News*, which is fast becoming an open spokesman for Wallaceite fascism, has set the tone of this hysterical attack, stating in an editorial that the strike: "Violated every rule of human decency. To gain its ends, the CSEA has shown that it does not scruple at using helpless men, women and children as hostages."

The latest demand of the *News* is for "murder indictments" against the strikers!

Echoing the *News'* talk of "hostages," Assembly Speaker Perry Duryea called for enforcement of the Taylor Law "to the letter," and stated that: "Any lesser step...would serve as an open invitation...for continued nose-thumbing of this and other

laws covering public employee activities."

The ruling class has been thrown into a panic by not only the tremendous power of the strike but also the tremendous resistance of the working class to the attacks on their standard of living and conditions.

Following the agreement by the union leadership to return to work pending ratification, one worker at the Willowbrook School on Staten Island said: "I don't know why they called us back. We didn't get anything. Had we stayed out a couple of more days, we could have gotten at least seven percent and that isn't much."

In reaction to the return to work order, made without any provisions for amnesty, another worker at Willowbrook said: "If they try to put anyone in jail, we should go out again."

The CSEA was supported two years ago by Rockefeller against District Council 50 of AFSCME in an attempt to keep the state labor force in a state of docility. But all this was exploded.

In a situation of revolt against the Pay Board guidelines marked by Meany's departure from the Board and the upward spiraling of prices, these workers are anything but docile. It was reported that before the strike CSEA leader Theodore Wenzl was deluged by phone calls in Albany from irate workers demanding the rejection of the tentative agreement which provided for a 4% increase effective only in 1973.

There was a tremendous spirit of militancy and solidarity among the pickets and their families who successfully turned away several busloads of "volunteer" scabs which the administration tried to bring in.

One striker charged that: "These 'volunteers' don't know anything about feeding those babies. Let me tell you, any time you go into one of those buildings

you have a real job. The government is not concerned with the welfare of the patients or anyone. They are only concerned with Rockefeller, and those politicians and their money.

"The scabs are a bunch of bums," she continued, "and the Taylor Law is for the birds. Slavery times has gone out."

During the strike, Mayor Lindsay said that the New York City hospitals would make available 100,000 sheets, 50,000 diapers and 20,000 towels, "if it became necessary." On the same side, Lieutenant Governor Malcolm praised the strikebreakers "who

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## UAW To Strike Norwood GM

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NORWOOD, Ohio—Jim Young, Shop Committee Chairman of the Norwood UAW Local 674, revealed that unbelievably bad working conditions have developed over the years at General Motors' plant here. Young traced the speedup to 1967 when the company moved their management team from Flint to Norwood.

The workers at Flint had to strike 130 days against this labor-hating pack of GM bosses in 1967, the longest strike in GM auto history. After the strike, they moved this "team" to Norwood.

Since August, the plant has been put under the super speedup organization called General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD). Norwood had been for decades a Fisher Body and Chevrolet dual plant with two local agreements.

No new local agreement has been negotiated and meanwhile GMAD has let out all stops on speedup. They closed the plant January 14th to make so-called needed assembly line changes. Two days after the closing, a strike authorization vote was taken and carried by a 95 percent majority.

After GMAD reopened the

plant, five weeks later on Feb. 21st, a vicious attack was unleashed against the workers as the company attempted to force 3,800 workers to build the same number of cars as 5,000 built last year. The shop chairman revealed that the number of disciplinary layoffs has reached 806 workers and there are 705 grievances against unfair work standards.

But more decisive is the determination and solidarity of the workers to resist the speedup. The unfinished and repair work is so massive that since February the production workers are sent home from one to four hours early. This is done so that the repair crews can finish and repair the cars.

The Norwood shop chairman said that the production workers have only averaged around five

and one-half hours a day since the plant reopened Feb. 21st! This entitles them to supplementary unemployment compensation according to the National Agreement.

GM refuses to pay it, claiming it does not have to because it is due to a "labor dispute." Young states that the workers should receive 80 percent of their normal wages for the huge weekly shortages (hours less than 40) incurred in these seven weeks.

The union has been authorized to strike this next Friday, April 7th. When asked by the *Bulletin* whether there has been any movement toward a settlement by GM, the union spokesman said: "No movement at all...the way things stand now...with the attitude displayed by them (GM)."

When asked about the need for a labor party, Jim Young stated: "I think we're going to have to come to that if we are going to retain what we have now. There's a move to strip unions...We're going to see a National Right To Work Law in my opinion..."

## Bell Tel Wildcat

CHICAGO, March 30—About 200 members of IBEW Local 165 walked off their jobs today refusing to let Illinois Bell force them into mandatory overtime.

The telephone installers were informed on Thursday morning that they had been added to the Saturday schedule. Contract procedures provide that union stewards be notified when men are to be added to Saturday crews and that at least a week's notice be given.

Behind the wildcat was the workers' understanding, that it is through apparently minor moves like this one, that Bell will carry out a drastic cut-back in employees that has been threatening for the last few months. There have already been cut-backs in the commercial department and the installers are determined to fight so that not one of their jobs is lost.

## St. Louis Workers Strike Bindery

BY JIM HAYS

ST. LOUIS—Members of Local 55 of the Women's Bindery Union are on strike for the first time in thirty years. They told the *Bulletin* that they had only been getting "nickel and dime" increases since their last strike and that inflation was now hitting them very hard.

Many of the women must support their whole families on take-home pay of about \$86 a week. One woman at Goodwin Press stated that she could not live on this since she had four children and her husband had been laid off from Biermans warehouse for over a year.

Another striker with two daughters said: "I would rather take a beating then go to the grocery store."

One of the big issues in the strike is the attempt of the bosses to put a "Management Clause" in the new union contract which covers 31 printing shops. This clause would allow the employers to change shift times, seniority rights, and bring in low paid apprentices to do overtime.

### WILDCAT

The companies have falsely told the press that Local 55 is on a wildcat. However the strikers told the *Bulletin* that they had only approved three of the six proposals in the contract.

Despite the fact that the union is only asking a seven percent pay increase, the contract must still go before the government's Pay Board. The workers' response to the Pay Board was: "The government is out to break the unions. If it weren't for a union, we would be working for \$1.50 per hour."

## Philly Dockers Forced Back

BY FRANK ELLIOTT

PHILADELPHIA—On Thursday, March 30, Philadelphia longshoremen were forced back to work after two weeks of a bitter strike.

The men voted to return to work, accepting a contract that is essentially the same as the one which they initially rejected. There is no increase in the guaranteed annual income from its present 1800 hours, and only minor increases in a still inadequate welfare plan.

The pension plan is unchanged from the previously rejected contract. The only concession gained is that the GAI will be paid monthly instead of every three months.

A large number of men bitterly expressed their feelings towards the new contract, and particularly over the treacherous role of the local and national leadership. "You ask what I think of the new contract," said one man, "it stinks, it's the same old contract—there's nothing different."

"The men went back because they were hurting from the strike. The leadership isolated us. They saw New York working and figured they'd better start working themselves."

Another man expressed the



St. Louis Women's Bindery Local 55 went on their first strike in 30 years against companies' "nickel and dime raises."

## El Mundo Strikers Defy NLRB

BY LUCIA RIVERA

PUERTO RICO—The *El Mundo* strike has entered its eighth week with no agreement reached between the Newspaper Guild Union (UPAGRA) and the company.

Since the strike's beginning, *El Mundo* has refused to deal with the main issues—the open shop and the economic demands. The company has designated the title "supervisor" to 200 workers who now perform the jobs formerly done by union members.

This is a conscious attempt to prevent these 200 from joining the union and at the same time an open attempt to smash the union.

Pedro Juan Dumont, the administrator of the union, has stated that the company's proposals were ridiculous. They have offered an increase of \$17 per year to newsmen, \$13 per

year to teletype operators and \$8 for messengers.

The union leadership has refused to accept this sellout. They are asking for increases of \$20, \$15, and \$15 in a three year contract which will include all fringe benefits. They are also demanding that the question of "supervisors" be dealt with in the contract.

A company spokesman has stated that: "We will not consider any proposal that increases the wages of the workers 40 percent and we think that those fringe benefits are ridiculous."

The union is facing its third injunction. The first was to prevent mass picketing and block-

## Nixon Halts Penn Central Rail Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Nixon's executive order blocking rail strikes by the Sheet Metal Workers and the United Transportation Union for two months is designed to aid the Railroad Companies in their drive to hold down the wages and destroy the jobs of the railroad workers.

Nixon's appointment of special three-man panels to come up with "non-binding" proposals for settlement is simply a stop-gap tactic to disarm the workers while a new transportation bill establishing compulsory arbitration is pushed through Congress.

The threat of a strike by the UTU against Penn Central's aim of cutting freight train crews in half—from 18,000 men to 12,000 and then to 9,000—was made by UTU President Al H. Chesser a few weeks ago. "If it's a show-

down they want, it's a showdown they'll get," said Chesser.

But it is clear that Chesser's statement that the union will now cooperate with the Presidential panel shows he is desperately trying to retreat from a showdown.

Penn Central's plan will not only cut the train crews on two-mile long trains from four or five to two or three, but will set the pace for massive layoffs by all the nation's railroads. Penn Central hopes to save \$150 million on a yearly basis.

In addition, they plan to abandon 9,000 to 11,000 miles of track as another measure to "solve" the corporation bankruptcy.

The same kind of cutbacks of workers will mean a loss of 25,000 jobs and a saving of \$400 million for the entire industry, in order to enrich the millionaire owners. There has already been a reduction of the railroad force from 1.4 million in 1950 to 625,000.

The position of the UTU bureaucrats in reaction to this attack is bankrupt. In Chicago, an International official of the UTU told the *Bulletin*: "Well, if the President's Board rules against the workers we'll try to get a new law passed through Congress I guess. What else is there to do."

A UTU worker at the TrailVan yards in Chicago told the *Bulletin*: "You don't know from one day to the next whether you're going to have a job or not. One guy with eight and a half years seniority was dumped here last week."

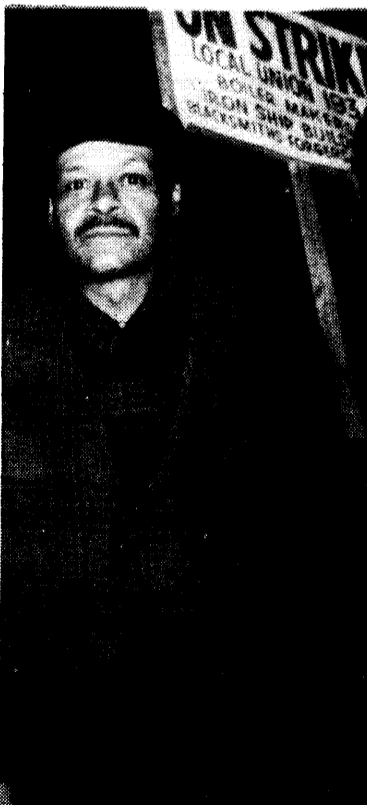
"He lost his whole pension and everything. At the Burlington yards here all the workers were told to move to Minnesota or find another job."

"A buddy of mine moved his family out there, put a down payment on a house and everything. Next week they told him they were closing that yard and he'd have to move to Seattle or back to Chicago."

"Looks to me like they're trying to make us all quit. Conditions around here are terrible. They've cut back until there's almost no maintenance and they've taken out all the latrines in the yards."

"I was supposed to get a raise last week and they told me I couldn't have it because my union doesn't have a representative on the Pay Board and that I will not get it until there is one. You'd better believe I'm ready to fight."

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Workers of AFL Local 1934 have struck Inland-Ryerson Products Construction in Milwaukee since March 11 to defend job security. Company is trying to split union according to departments with only departmental seniority.

sentiments of many of the men when he stated that: "Gleason is a company man and Askew's no better; they both have to go."

The contract was finally rammed through after a hastily called meeting and vote in which a large number of men were not even present.

The local leadership's whole role and perspective was made clear in a letter distributed to the men. It stated that despite the dissatisfaction of the men with the contract "we also have to take into consideration the salvation of the Port."

"We have done our very best to gain more concessions from the employers. The employers have absolutely refused to make any further concessions because they are in a position where further concessions would put them in a non-competitive position with the other ports and cause the business coming to Philadelphia to go to the other ports, and would further prejudice our case before the Wage and Price Board."

In this is expressed all the bankruptcy of the ILA leadership.

The reason that the PMTA refused to make any concessions on the guaranteed income is because they plan to run thousands of men off the docks, through containerization, and break the ILA and impose a dictatorship on the docks.

### TREACHEROUS

The leadership's role with respect to the Pay Board is equally treacherous. Despite the fact that the Pay Board has ripped up the West Coast contract, the ILA leadership states that any talk about "striking would further prejudice our case before the Wage and Price Board."

By not mobilizing the men now, they are giving the government a free hand to slash the wage agreement. The Askew-Gleason leadership is thrown into a panic by the determination of the dockworkers to maintain their jobs and decent working conditions.

They are forced into open collaboration with the employers and use the most vicious tactics to attack the men.

# UNEMPLOYMENT, USA

# Bethlehem, Pa.

Sprawling for more than two miles along both sides of the Lehigh River, the huge complex of steel mills of the Bethlehem Steel Corp. dominates the landscape in the eastern Pennsylvania city of Bethlehem.

The City of Bethlehem was founded by the Moravians, from Czechoslovakia, and since the 19th century the men who went to work in the mill were largely immigrants from central and eastern Europe and their children.

Many of the workers at the mill today as well as many who have been recently laid off are the sons and grandsons of Bethlehem Steel employees, now brought into the "mainstream" of the American working class.

Bethlehem, a small city lying in the shadow of this huge mill which draws workers from all over the surrounding area, is to some extent an industrial oasis in the center of a large rural area, and distant from the more political and cosmopolitan metropolitan centers of Philadelphia and New York. The mill only employs a small number of Spanish-speaking workers and even fewer Blacks, a contrast to the major industrial centers with their inner city ghettos such as Baltimore, Buffalo and Detroit.

At the same time, there is a very strong tradition of trade unionism, the fruit of the bitter struggle to bring the steelworkers into the CIO which began in the 1930's. This is the tradition represented by the older generation of steelworkers like the old-timer who told the *Bulletin* reporter during the contract negotiations last year, "We're not going to let them take away our standard of living and conditions. We fought too hard for that."

The Bethlehem Steel Corporation, the nation's second largest steel producer, along with the other companies comprising the "little Steel" group, has a long and justified reputation of uncompromising hostility to unions. In 1937 Bethlehem's hired thugs and paid police terrorized and defeated the organizing efforts of the United Steelworkers Organizing Committee throughout the state of Pennsylvania.

Although the company still controls the city of Bethlehem, it was forced to yield to the union in 1941. But not without a bitter and bloody fight. The strike began at the Buffalo-Lackawanna works where the pickets repulsed the attempt by police and scabs to break the picket line.

At the home plant in Bethlehem, the Mounted State Police together with the infamous coal and iron police, the Pennsylvania Cossacks, almost smashed the strike. Despite the treachery of the union leadership, the workers rebuilt their lines to more than 1,000 and forced the company to recognize the union.

## DEPRESSION

Perhaps more than any other industry, steel has been in a chronic state of depression since the late 1950's. For many steelworkers this has meant unemployment compensation and SUB

payments for those with two years seniority or more. For the companies it has meant a continual drive for profits through technological innovation—productivity. Automation, rationalization and speed-up has meant that, in the words of a USWA analyst: "Even under the added levels (of steelmaking expected in 1972) you're not going to get above depression levels of employment."

At the Bethlehem mill, many workers are not even aware of the company's plans for a second basic oxygen furnace in 1973 which will further decimate the workforce. But workers know that as long as the plant is under private ownership, many workers who have been laid off since last August's contract—some with up to seven years seniority, will never work in the mill again.

## LAYOFF

One young worker, who started in May 1964 said that he was laid off the week the contract was signed, eight months ago and had still not been recalled.

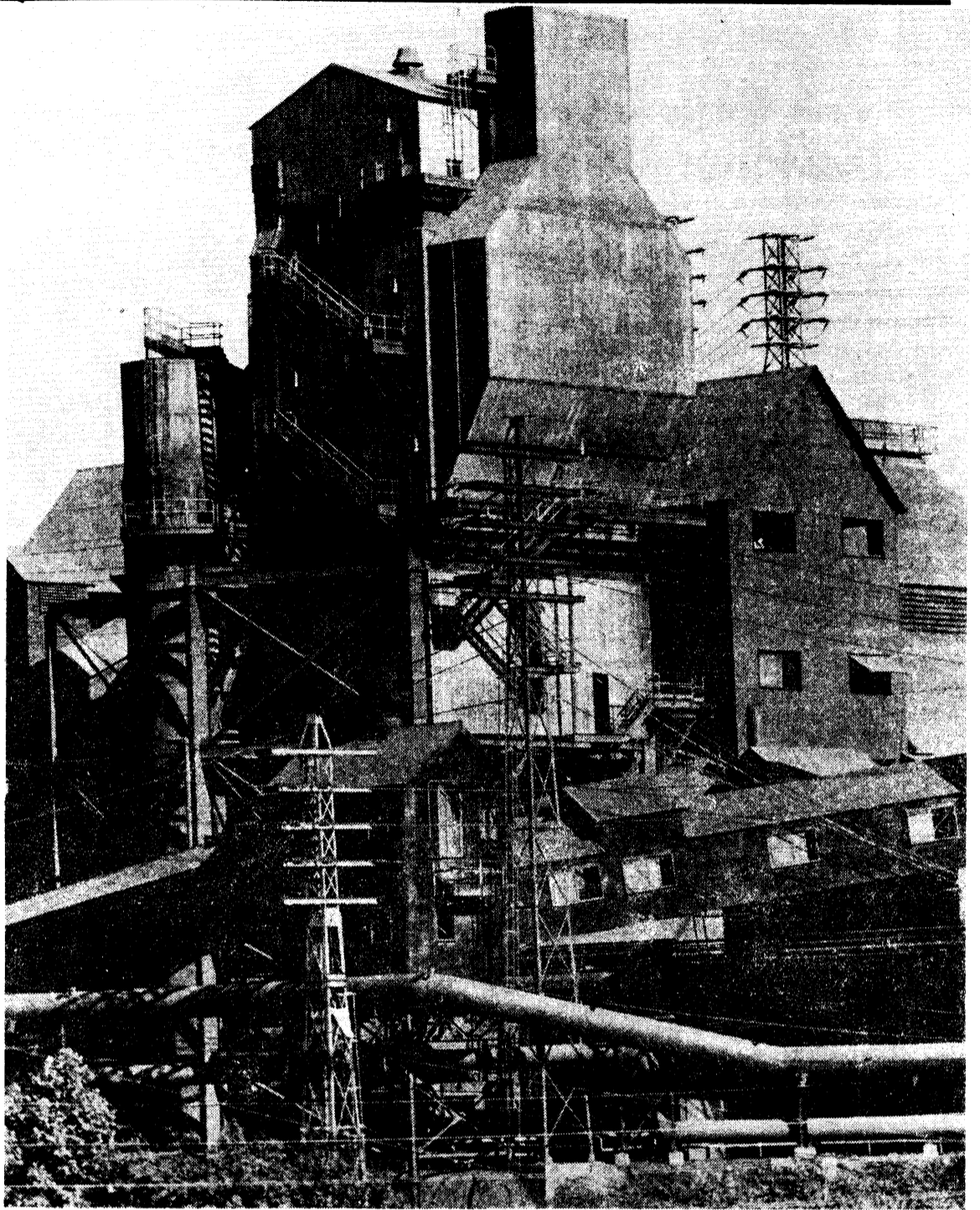
In the months after the contract, more than 5,000 of the 15,000 men at the mill were laid off. Many of them are still not back although some have recently been recalled.

The system utilizes the conditions of unemployment to create friction between the young and older workers. Many young workers complain that they are more subject to layoff because these older men "refuse" to take retirement under the union pension plan. One young worker from the coke ovens told the *Bulletin*: "There are 25 guys here who could go on pension. There are guys here with 45 years. A couple of guys even died on the job. These old guys are down there and they don't want to get out."

We spoke to one of the younger workers from the electrical division, who had 6 years seniority. He had just been recalled two weeks earlier. One third of the men in his division had been laid off following the contract. We asked him what he thought about the friction between the younger men and the old timers who refuse to get out. "I can't blame them," he said. "Many of them have 40 years seniority. The pension isn't much. Only about \$260 a month or less. They don't want to live on that. It would have been better if Abel had really gone for the 4 day week in the last contract like he said. That would have made more jobs. You can't blame the older guys for the unemployment."

"It's really rough now for young guys getting out of high school now. There's no jobs. I was just lucky. I wouldn't want to be getting out now."

During the boom, the mill provided jobs for the youth, but now, the massive layoffs that followed the August settlement have thrown thousands of men out of work. The vast majority of these steelworkers have not been rehired, and the company isn't planning to hire anyone off the street. This situation, compounded by the decline in



## Layoffs In Steel Mean Bleak Future For Youth

jobs in other industries, notably garment and construction, has placed the youth in a desperate situation.

Maria is a young Spanish woman employed as a secretary at Northampton Community College. She explained angrily: "There are no jobs in the city at all! People should get together. If all the kids got together we could run this place."

When asked about the influence of Bethlehem Steel on the lives of the youth she stated: "A lot of people depend on Bethlehem Steel, but how can you apply for a job when there are twenty thousand people on the list. They could hire more people—the whole world uses steel."

Another youth, a student at the community college, said that since the layoffs in steel it has become impossible to find work. He added that although there are plenty of employment agencies, most of the youth can't afford to pay the fees.

The Chain Bike factory is perhaps the only place that is hiring youth, but the conditions there are intolerable and the company hires and fires as it chooses because they know there will always be more youth looking for work. One youth told a *Bulletin* reporter that he waited three months to get a job at Chain Bike only to be laid off after three days.

The crisis in capitalism which is forcing the plant closings and layoffs in basic industry now threatens the lives of Bethlehem's youth. Police harassment and beatings as well as drug addiction increase as the youth are forced out onto the streets.

On Fourth Street, an old firehouse pool table, a juke box and a television is all the city has to offer, but now, the city administration is threatening to close even this down. Alleged complaints about "under age drinking and sexual activities on or near the premises" are cited as being responsible. But it is clear that the city fathers are afraid of more than this.

Recently, five young men were arrested and charged with violation of the gun and explosives act and conspiracy to blow up the Bethlehem Steel Laboratories and Pennsylvania Power and Light installations. The U.S. Treasury Dept. with the assistance of the local police engineered this frame-up in order to cover the stepped up attacks on the youth being prepared. Most of all, they fear that the growing anger of the youth against unemployment will find political expression.

According to the president of United Steelworkers Local 2599 there are still 2,000 workers at the Bethlehem mill laid off. He told the *Bulletin* that the expect-

tations that the union formerly had for full rehiring "were pretty bleak." He blamed Nixon for the seriousness of unemployment in the steel industry and in the rest of the country.

But when asked if the union had any program to fight unemployment, he said, "There's not much we can do. Of course foreign imports are hurting. The company controls who gets hired, how many, etc., and we can't tell them what to do on this question."

We asked him about USWA president I.W. Abel's call for a four day week to achieve full employment. He said "Oh yes, that would be good," but admitted that it was dropped from the negotiations in the last contract.

In contrast, a former teamster who was now working as a custodian, was irate about the unemployment situation and the attacks on the unions.

"We're getting to another 1929," he said. "If a man is willing to work then he should have a job and a living wage. But the Pay Board tells us how much you should get when the cost of living keeps going up. We're at an impasse. There should be a complete break with the Pay Board and from the Democratic and Republican parties and labor set up its own party. Workers don't have their own party and we have to fight for it."

# Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

## YSA Begg Stalinists To Honor Versailles

The new offensive by the Vietnamese workers and peasants and the forcing of Meany off the Pay Board reflect the tremendous strength of the working class. This movement of the Vietnamese has proceeded despite all the attempts of the Stalinists to strangle it.

In the face of the movement of the working class and the role of Stalinism the YSA is prostrated before the Stalinists.

In the April 7 issue, the Militant prints an open letter that actually begs the Stalinists for support in the April 22nd demonstration called by the National Peace Action Coalition in Los Angeles and New York. The People's Coalition for Peace and Justice led by the Stalinists has decided to hold a counter demonstration to that of the NPAC.

They are asking for unity on the basis of the Stalinist program, on the basis of the Versailles conference.

The Versailles Peace Conference was built by the Stalinists directly from the Kremlin. The NPAC, and the PCPJ took part in it and voted together on the major resolution put forth. The conference marked the most unprincipled stand that the YSA has taken.

The participation in that conference held and built by the Stalinist bureaucracy and the French Communist Party, which in May-June '68 betrayed the French workers to DeGaulle, marked the direct participation by the YSA in the selling out of the Vietnamese Revolution. It is this role in Versailles which the Young Socialists hit upon throughout the SMC National Conference in February.

The YS spoke time and time again on the question of Stalinism, demanding that the YSA confront this question of Versailles. The question was raised as to why the YSA participated in that conference and why they sat through it even after their French comrades were beaten up and expelled for being "Trotskyists."

The YS pointed out that after the conference their refusal to confront the Stalinists would lead them into complete capitulation to them. This assessment has been proven correct in light of the new developments.

The Stalinists cannot leave it on the same terms as after Versailles. Now they have to twist that knife that they drove into the YSA after Versailles.

This is the meaning of the counter-demonstration which the Stalinists are proposing. But in light of all this treachery, the revisionists incapable of fighting them are running into the arms of the Stalinists.

Now the revisionists in the YSA are groveling in total submission to the PCPJ. They cap their plea for "unity" by reminding the American Stalinists in the Militant article, that NPAC has been endorsed by the Hanoi Stalinists:

"The Vietnamese have emphasized their respect for NPAC's demand 'Out Now!'...The Vietnamese have repeatedly urged the U.S. antiwar movement to unite. There is no justifiable reason why we did not do so this spring, at least in support of the actions that have been called."

The Hanoi Stalinists did everything to put off another offensive and tried to bargain with the U.S. in Paris. Now the YSA is carrying on as if their support is something to be proud of.

This is where the abandonment of Trotskyism has led them. Now they are trying to fight Stalinism by in them. Now they are trying to fight Stalinism by invoking the authority of the conference. They no longer stand on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky.

The revisionists and Stalinists will both seek to build a movement against the war with the liberal capitalist politicians. The article in the Militant states that at the demonstration Youth for Muskie, McGovern and Humphrey will be present. The very politicians responsible for the bombings are being brought forward.

The time to break the working class from the Democrats and Republicans is now. The independent mobilization of the working class is needed. The March 29 demonstration brought forth close to 500 youth on the basis of a Trotskyist program for the building of a revolutionary youth movement. It is this perspective which we will bring into April 22nd.

# YS Launches Fight For April 22 Rallies

BY A YS REPORTER

The Workers League and Young Socialists will hold demonstrations in different parts of the country on April 22 to rally the working class in defense of the Vietnamese Revolution.

In New York and Los Angeles, the WL-YS will participate on the basis of its own program in the demonstrations called by the National Peace Action Coalition.

SAN FRANCISCO

In San Francisco, the WL-YS will build a separate demonstration in opposition to the Stalinist demonstration called by the PCPJ in alliance with the liberal capitalists. The WL-YS has invited the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance to join with its own banners in this demonstration to expose and smash the Stalinist attempt to betray the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

The antiwar demonstration called for the same day in Minneapolis by the WL-YS will end in a rally held in the market place where workers fought police and national guardsmen in the historic battle of Deputies Run during the great general strike of 1934.

The WL-YS has called upon the SWP-YSA to join in this demonstration at the site of one of the most important events in the history of the working class and American Trotskyism. Under the leadership of James P. Cannon and Vincent Dunne, Teamster Local 534 mobilized the entire working class in Minneapolis in a strike that shook the foundations of capitalism in this country.

LEADERSHIP

With a Trotskyist leadership, the workers of the city met the full force of the capitalist government and defeated it. The battle that occurred in the market place was called Deputies Run because the workers set the armed bodies of the state in flight.

In its independent demonstrations throughout the country, the WL-YS will rally the working class on the basis of Marxist principles and recall the traditions of the 1934 Minneapolis general strike.

Against the treachery of the Stalinists who are planning to turn April 22 into a demonstration of collaboration with capitalism and its war upon the Vietnamese masses, the WL-YS will fight for the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution through the mobilization of the American working class in a labor party to defeat the Democrats and Republicans who are responsible for the war.



500 youth joined YS rally March 29th (See story pages 14 & 15). YS will organize mass march on April 22 to defend Vietnamese Revolution.

## St. Louis Youth Meet To Begin YS Drive

BY A YS REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—Over 16 youth attended a public meeting here last week to discuss the building of a revolutionary youth conference.

Almost half those in attendance were minority high school students and workers. The unemployment rate among youth has soared in this city.

A film on Ulster, made by the Socialist Labour League in Britain was the first item on the agenda. This film portrays the class divisions in Northern Ireland and the device which the ruling class uses, namely religion, to divide and weaken the working class.

Jean Renee, Mid-West organizer of the Workers League, pointed out the similarity between the problems confronting the Irish working class and those of the racially divided American working class. This division poses great dangers in this period when capitalism is in its death agony, and has to drive back the working class to the conditions of the 1930s and beyond.

DEMONSTRATION

Paul Zaferiou, from the Y.S. Steering Committee then gave a brief report on the Midwest Conference of Revolutionary Youth which was held in Minneapolis on March 18th and on the proposed demonstration to be held in that city on April 22nd against the war, unemployment and repression calling on the unions to take up a political fight against

the government. Paul then proposed a similar conference be held in St. Louis on May 6th, to launch the Y.S. in this area and that all the youth present take up a fight to build this conference.

The discussion that followed this proposal centered around the program of the Young Socialists. A youth from the University of Missouri at Columbia was skeptical about raising demands, which he insisted only created illusions in the working class and youth.

A young worker from the G.M. plant in this city, who was suspended for 12 months for leading an illegal strike, answered that workers need these demands and are beginning to realize it, because all capitalism has to offer is more layoffs and speed-ups. Since capitalism cannot meet these demands, this raises the whole question of socialism.

Calvin, a senior from Soldan High School stressed that the program would reach out to youth, who faced the brunt of the problems created by the crisis of capitalism, and who had to unite and base themselves on the strength of the working class.

He pointed out that the building of the revolutionary youth conference in this city was the only way forward. A number of other youth agreed to join in this work after the meeting broke up.

## Young Socialist



Hundreds of students rally in Boston University last week against arrests which were made at an earlier demonstration that was protesting Marine recruiting which was allowed on campus.

# Nixon Boosts Drugs To Stifle Struggle Of Youth

BY GIL GONZALEZ

The move by Nixon to legalize marijuana must be seen in the light of the Government's all-out war on the working class and youth. As the youth fight back against the attacks prepared by the capitalists and sections of youth turn to Marxism, Nixon finds it necessary to try to push the youth into the sick and degenerated drug cycle.

For all the outcry about the drug problem, Nixon seeks to perpetuate the use of drugs not only because it brings in multi-million dollar profits, but also because drugs turn the youth away from a struggle against the objective conditions in society.

Because he fears the power of the youth, Nixon would like nothing more than to have youth believe that the crisis of capitalism is nothing but a reflection of a mental crisis, and that it can be resolved by drugs rather than a battle for power.

It is in this point that we can see the relationship between why there are drugs and why youth turn to drugs. The youth that turn to drugs do so because they become frustrated and disillusioned with all the problems in the objective world. They do not begin with consciously changing this world.

Instead, they begin—as Nixon would have it—by attempting to solve the crisis as if it existed only in their heads. This is one of the most reactionary destructive types of subjective idealism in that it replaces the conscious fight to develop Marxism and build a revolutionary party against capitalism with acceptance of it and a destruction of consciousness.

Drugs take a section of the youth who are fed up with the decaying conditions of capitalism and turns them into the impotent and lifeless slaves of capitalism.

With an understanding that Nixon's so-called "war on drugs" is nothing but a thin cover for war against the working class, we must ask ourselves whether a solution to the drug problem can be found within the very economic and political system that profits from drugs and which cannot exist without them.

The only solution is the overthrow of capitalism and its diseases and the establishment of a

socialist order. This is the fight that the Young Socialists are leading.

### State Drops Charges Against Feliciano

In a surprise move March 24th, the government dropped all charges of use or possession of bombs against Puerto Rican militant, Carlos Feliciano.

The offer was made by chief prosecutor, Bronx District Attorney Burton Roberts, in the middle of defense motions for a pre-trial hearing which would have exposed the illegal search of Feliciano's car and home after his arrest.

In return for dropping all charges Feliciano agreed to plead guilty to "reckless endangerment," a minor charge which carries a maximum of 31 months.

The dropping of the charges is clear proof that the State had no evidence and that the whole case, like that of Juan Farinas and Angela Davis was a complete frame-up from the start.



## The Frame-Up Of Jeff Fort

BY DEBRA WATSON

CHICAGO—Methods of frame-up made popular by the FBI in the recent period have spread to law enforcement agencies throughout the country.

The State's Attorney Hanrahan has pushed through the conviction of the leadership of Chicago's Black P. Stone Nation on the testimony of government witnesses exclusively.

Hanrahan heaps promises on the members of a rival street gang, who all face some kind of jail sentence, to insure that they will say the right things. This testimony that could put the four leaders in jail for fifteen years is augmented only by the lies of members of the Gang Intelligence unit.

The lawyer for Jeff Fort and the other gang members called the frame-up a conspiracy against the Black P. Stone Nation. But the conviction was more than that. It was part of a conspiracy by the dying capi-

talist state against all those who dare to fight back in any way.

The City tried to buy off Jeff Fort and the rest of the leadership in 1967-68 precisely because they were leaders of a large section of south side youth. The \$927,000 OEO grant was for a job training program to be headed by the gang leadership.

They sought to keep the south side quiet in the wake of almost continual explosions on the west side.

With the deepening crisis, the government can no longer rely only on the leadership of a working class or youth organization to stifle the militancy of their members. Any kind of organization that questions the present state of society is a real threat to the government.

# Players Shut Down Baseball

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

WEST PALM BEACH, FLA., April 2—The first players' strike in baseball history is a reflection of the growing ruling class offensive to destroy all the rights won by the working class through years of struggle.

The underlying issue in the strike is not money but insistence of the capitalist club owners on their right to control the players' pension money in their desire to smash the bargaining power of the Major League Baseball Players' Association.

"The club owners are trying to grind the players in the dust," said Players' Association Executive Director Marvin Miller. "It's no longer a dispute over money. It is merely the owners' refusal to let the players spend what is theirs the way they want to spend it."

The owners have offered to pay an additional \$400,000 to the players' health care plan, but they steadfastly refuse to even consider the players' demand for a \$1.7 million increase in their pension fund.

Actually, \$817,000 of that increase is already in the fund, but the owners refuse to allow the players to use what is rightfully theirs.

"We've come to a point where the owners have to put up just

\$11,000 each to meet what we're asking, and they still refuse," said Montreal Expo player representative, Bob Bailey.

Miller bent over backwards trying to come to terms with the baseball management, even going so far as to offer to submit the dispute to the tender mercies of President Nixon.

But this grovelling at the feet of the ruling class only brought a kick in the face from the owners, who are interested only in the total humiliation and defeat of the Players' Association.

At this arrogant treatment, the players united in their strike action by a vote of 633 to 10, realizing that giving in to the owners now would lead to the destruction of all the gains won by the Association.

"We were forced into doing what we did," said Boston player representative Gary Peters. "If we had gone any other way it would have ruined our association. We would like to think that the owners will believe we are serious now!"

The owners now hope to place the blame for the strike on the "greedy" players and crush the union with the wrath of baseball fans. Already, the irate fans, including many workers, have vented their anger at the players, after being turned away here from the season's last exhibition game. They see only the large salaries made by a few players.

"They're getting more than they deserve already, said a General Electric pensioner who said he gets only \$128 a month from GE after 28 years of slavery for the company.

"There will be a lot of pressure on the ball players from the fans, but we don't think they've ever been fully informed of what we are up against," said Peters.

## Letters to the Young Socialist

Dear Editor,

Comrade, I would like to be accepted into your Socialist party. My name is Julio Raymond LeBron, I'm 25 years old and I come from a small but a very beautiful island called Puerto Rico. I have been here in this concentration camp for over seven months. I'm a cousin of our revolutionary Sister Lolita LeBron. I have been charged with an infamous crime of murder and robbery, and because some of my family are Revolutionaries, these pigs took the ransom that they had put on my body (100,000 dollars bail). Give my love to all my (ours) Revolutionary Sisters and Brothers in the Young Socialists.

"Power Then Peace"  
Julio R. LeBron



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Workers Open Up New Offensive

The departure of George Meany and the other three labor leaders from the Pay Board is now being followed by a mounting offensive of the American working class which was what forced Meany off the Board.

The more than 1,000 workers—the entire afternoon shift—who sat-in at Newark's Ballantine Brewery in opposition to the shutting down of the plant, show that the powerful American working class will not accept wage slashing and the destruction of jobs under capitalism.

The occupation of Ballantine is the beginning of a resurgence of the mass sit-downs of the Thirties, raised to the level of a direct political struggle, posing the nationalization of basic industry and socialism.

The explosive strike by 140,000 New York State Civil Service Employees, who were considered by Rockefeller and the bi-partisan leaders of the Legislature to be in their hip pocket is only the beginning.

But the same kind of explosion, in which an hysterical campaign is whipped up against the strikers, in which the "forces of law and order"—of injunctions, Taylor Laws, fines, jailings and troops are readied against strikers—can erupt at any time now.

There is literally no strike that can take place now without posing a political confrontation with the government and with Nixon, without raising the demand for a general strike.

This is expressed above all on the docks.

There is absolutely no way that the leaders of the dock unions, Bridges and Gleason, can keep the axe of the Pay Board from descending on the necks of the dockworkers without a strike. A strike on either coast poses not only the shutting down of both coasts in a nationwide strike, but must bring about a confrontation with Nixon and Congress, with the entire ruling class and sharply bring forward the movement for a general strike. There is no way that this kind of confrontation can be avoided. There is no other way that the Pay Board can be smashed and the basic gains of the working class defended, except through this fight for a general strike.

Wallace and these fascists can only be answered by the mass mobilization of the labor movement—by a nationwide dock strike, by a general strike and the creation of an independent labor party.

The labor bureaucracy seeks at all costs to avoid this mobilization and relegates the defense of the unions against Nixon and Wallace to support of Democratic politicians. This is the very same policy that, in Germany, led to the victory of Hitler and his brownshirts, and the crushing of the trade unions and mass extermination in the 1930s.

This is the line of the Communist Party which not only refuses to take up the fight for a general strike, but is completely silent on the criminal role of Harry Bridges, head of the West Coast longshoremen, who refuses, thus far, to call a strike. By attacking Meany for not mobilizing support for the ILWU, George Morris in the *Daily World* continues to strengthen Bridges' alibi that he cannot strike because of "lack of support" from the ILA and the AFL-CIO.

The fight must be taken up both in the ILWU and the ILA to force Bridges and Gleason into strike action—this is the key to the defense of the wage increases and the key to the unleashing of the power of the AFL-CIO in a general strike that can close down the whole country.



"Duty calls!"

## What we think

### CP Fuels Dying Democrats

The 1972 elections occur in a period of the sharpest confrontation between the American working class and capitalism in history.

The crisis of capitalism now raises immediately all the political questions facing the American working class. Meany's walk off from the Pay Board signified the whole break up of the traditional relation of class compromise between the labor bureaucracy and the capitalist class.

This also finds its reflection in the Democratic Party which is breaking up under the impact of the crisis and the movement of the working class. Through the collaboration of the trade union leadership American workers have been tied to the employers in the Democratic Party.

None of the leading Democratic candidates have been able to win decisive support for their campaigns. Muskie, the main contender, has been virtually wiped out with the Wisconsin primary. But the man who has gained throughout the primaries is Wallace, leading behind him a movement whose sole purpose is the destruction of the working class in the interests of big business.

With the tremendous threat posed to the labor movement by the victory of Wallace in the Florida primary sections of the United Auto Workers union in Wisconsin and Michigan together with other unions have taken up a campaign against Wallace exposing the dangers his campaign raises to labor. The campaign by the unions against Wallace is of critical importance. The only way this campaign can be taken forward is through the fight for a labor party.

It is at this point that the American Communist Party moves in to cynically use this campaign to push support for the liberal spokesmen for capitalism as the way to fight Nixon and the fascist threat of Wallace. The CP seeks to bolster the refusal of the labor bureaucracy to break from the Democratic Party.

The CP attacks the labor leaders for failing "to impose its demands on the candidates and to make those demands the central issues in the election—the issues of jobs and taxes and war budget and racial discrimination." The CP calls for pressuring the Democrats and above all refuses to raise the question of a fight for a labor party.

Instead the CP uses the threat of Wallace and fascism to keep the working class tied to the capitalist parties through the liberals like McGovern, Chisholm, Stokes and Abzug—the very perspective that will lead the working class into the hands of the fascists.

The real danger of this situation is

shown in Wisconsin where the hostility of sections of workers to the Democratic party is being channelled into support for McGovern. McGovern, of course, was one of the first to attack Nixon's wage freezing policies as not being strong enough!

According to the CP, McGovern in Wisconsin "has become sharper on issues of concern to working people." In the Florida primary the CP hailed Lindsay as the "only white candidate" to fight Wallace and attacked Meany for calling for his defeat.

In the 1930s and 1940s the role of the CP was critical in preventing the development of a labor party. The CP lined up with the labor bureaucracy against the demands of a section of the ranks for the formation of a labor party.

But today the crisis is much deeper than it was in the 1930s. This is why the Wallace movement has grown so rapidly and why Nixon as well as sections of the Democratic Party are calling for the implementation of Wallace's program.

The question of the building of a labor party, a party based on a program for power and socialism, is a matter of life and death. This is where the absolutely treacherous role of the Stalinists come in.

The CP is given vital aid by the Socialist Workers Party. In the face of the tremendous movement of the working class in Vietnam and in the United States, the SWP is prostrate before the Stalinists, standing together with them in tying the working class to capitalism.

In the current issue of the *Militant* Derrick Morrison writes a complete whitewash of the whole Gary Convention ending with praise for Democratic Mayor Hatcher of Gary, Indiana. Morrison writes:

"Up to now, the most vigorous examples of the organization of Black people as an oppressed nationality had been provided by Black students, Black GIs, Black prisoners, in some cases Black women. But now even the Black Democratic politicians are

reflecting the deepening discontent and nationalist sentiments of the Black community." Quoting at length from a speech made by Hatcher printed in the CP's *People's World*, Morrison attempts to paint Hatcher as a man completely hostile to the Democratic Party and praises his "idea of a Black party."

Hatcher, of course, is the man who was the mainspring behind the organization of the Gary convention, organized for the Democratic party to maintain the Black working class in the grips of capitalist politics.

Hatcher knows full well that if this stranglehold cannot be maintained directly through the Democratic party then he will seek to maintain it through a "Black Party." Such a party can only be based on the acceptance of the racism created by capitalism, tying the Black masses to their oppressors through Black capitalism and the Black middle class. The only sentiments that Hatcher reflects are the sentiments of capitalism.

It is precisely through the Black nationalist and the anti-war movement that the SWP is making its way towards the Democratic Party. The SWP boosts Hatcher at the same time that it holds discussions with the supporters of McGovern, Muskie and Lindsay. It has completely ignored the question of Wallace and makes light of the danger of fascism.

In the same issue of the *Militant* the SWP prints a statement from Linda Jenness the SWP's presidential candidate, on a "program to fight Nixon's attack on labor" which ends by saying that the "SWP supports the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions."

But the SWP cannot have it both ways. The ONLY way the working class can now move forward and unleash its tremendous strength is through the construction of a labor party. This is the only way that Wallace's and the capitalists' plans for dictatorship can be smashed.

### Big Drive In Next 2 Weeks

With the end of the Bulletin subscription drive less than two weeks off, the areas have a major drive ahead. The total received so far in the drive is 2,734 with 262 received this week.

In New York the drive has received a big impetus particularly from the work of the Young Socialists in Fort Green, East New York, Lower East Side and Chelsea.

NOTICE TO ALL SUBSCRIBERS: Because of the growth of our subscription list, it has been necessary to install new labelling and affixing equipment for mailing the *Bulletin*. This means we will no longer mail the *Bulletin* in a wrapper. We will continue to send the *Bulletin* in a wrapper to anyone specifically requesting this service at an extra charge of \$1.00 per year or 50¢ per six months and introductory subscriptions.

THE WORKING CLASS of Chile, one of the most combative, best organized, and politically experienced in Latin America, is now well into its second year under the "Popular Unity" regime of Dr. Salvador Allende Gossens. This regime is made up of a coalition of the Socialist and Communist Parties and various groups of Radicals and "Left" Christian Democrats. It is also supported by various elements outside of the coalition itself, including the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR).

From the very beginning of the Popular Unity government, the Trotskyist movement, organized in the International Committee of the Fourth International, which the Workers League supports, warned against any illusions whatever in Allende and his government. Based on the long and tragic experience with Stalinism and Popular Frontism of the working class in general, and the Chilean workers in particular, we took the position that the road to socialism in Chile lay not through the Popular Unity coalition, but against it. In particular we pointed out that the Chilean workers must demand that the leaders of the Socialist and Communist Parties must break from their bourgeois allies in the government and form a government of workers' parties to carry out socialist policies. In this way the Chilean working class could be brought through an experience that would clarify and expose the role of the Stalinists and reformists, as well as the Castroites, radicals, Maoists, Pabloites and other centrists dominating the MIR who provide a "left" cover for them.

#### ALLENDE AND THE TASKS OF IMPERIALISM

In actual fact the Allende regime played and continues to play a necessary role for imperialism in containing and disciplining the Chilean workers and peasants.

The peaceful "Chilean road to socialism" has been made possible, Allende has said, "because the congress has been in existence for 100 years, because the people have always had the right to self-expression and because the armed forces have always respected the law."

This is a dangerous deception. The Chilean congress is controlled by reactionaries who are presently moving toward an absolutely "legal" way to the impeachment of Allende himself. The army leaders would like nothing better than to "enforce the law" in removing Allende to crush ruthlessly the resistance of the workers and peasants to this "legal" act.

But we must approach the question on a deeper level even than this. The work of the Popular Unity government is a stage in the tasks imperialism must carry out in Chile and elsewhere in the colonial world if it is to survive internationally.

Allendism is only a strictly-defined stage in this process, and beyond the limits of this stage becomes an impediment to imperialism that must be removed—peacefully if possible, violently if necessary.

What are the present tasks of im-

perialism in the colonial countries, particularly Latin America? The fundamental economic crisis of imperialism, now breaking through to the surface, requires the capitalists to restore value and bring up the rate of profit. This can only be accomplished by stepping up tremendously the exploitation of labor.

In the colonial countries this means concretely, that these lands, always stunted and kept in misery for the benefit of imperialist super-exploitation, must now be almost literally drained of value essential to the survival of a crisis-wracked capitalist system. There is absolutely no hope now of any progressive historical development in these countries under the rule of capitalism—either domestic or foreign. The only way out is the reconstitution of society on socialist foundations under the leadership of the working class, the essence of the theory of permanent revolution.

In Chile capitalism was able to extract two primary sources of value—nitrate (essential for large-scale agriculture) and copper (for industry). The crumbs from this process of super-exploitation falling

other industries were laid by the "land reform" and the beginnings of nationalization in the copper and nitrate fields by the Frei regime. But this was accomplished by tying Chile in fact even closer to capitalism through loans, grants, and credits granted through such institutions as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as well as the banks and even the mining companies themselves.

However, all these developments could have meaning only within the context of eventually breaking the resistance of the working class. People like Frei and the Christian Democrats were incapable of doing this in the mid-sixties. Nor did imperialism by this stage feel capable of meeting the problem by direct intervention. This became the specialized task of the agents of the bourgeoisie inside the working class—the labor bureaucracy. This became the function of the Socialist and Communist Parties and eventually the Popular Unity government.

This is why the measures of Allende do not go past the limits set by Chilean "constitutionality" or even the norms set down by the Christian Democratic government.



# Revolution and Counter revolution in Chile

by, Ed Smith

to the Chilean bourgeoisie was the basis of the historic stability and legalism Allende talks of.

The problem, however—and this is tremendously exacerbated by the capitalist crisis Allende resolutely ignores—is the tendency for the price of primary materials, the stock in trade of colonial countries like Chile, to fall, while that of finished commodities, the products of the advanced imperialist countries, rises. This process, while to the liking of the imperialists, is disastrous to the colonial countries. This is why during the period of the boom, the conflict in the colonial countries flared up while the advanced capitalist countries were relatively quiescent.

Now, however, the restoration of value must move on to a qualitatively new stage with a tremendous increase in the exploitation of labor on the one hand and the destruction of the huge quantities of the productive forces (including the working class) on the other.

In 1955 the first effects of this crisis manifested themselves when the Ibanez government in effect traded international capitalist direction of the Chilean economy for a \$50 million loan. This process continued unabated during the years of Christian Democratic rule. The foundations for "rationalization" of agriculture and exploitation in mining and

This is why Popular Unity is being strangled in the coils of the loans and credits granted by imperialism through the IMF and the banks, which because of the crisis Chile is utterly unable to meet. Allende has now gone to the point of offering a limit to public spending to obtain a renegotiation of foreign debts—now nearing \$4 billion—and has even called for rationing to help meet Chile's "international obligations."

This process is illustrated quite clearly in relation to the copper miners of Chuquibambilla. When these miners threatened to strike for a big wage increase Allende refused to grant it and even enlisted the support of his friend Castro on his visit to go to the area and help talk the miners out of pressing for their demands. Here is how Allende explains his position in a conversation with his disciple, the ex-guerrillaist Regis Debray, in Debray's book, *The Chilean Revolution*:

"...I've read that, in France, even the police have threatened to go on strike. In Chile, in the context of our bourgeois democratic outlook, this would be unacceptable to the Chileans (!)...this is their Government and that it is not necessary for them to strike in order to solve their problems. What actually happens? The copper workers, for example, were and are aware that a strike in the copper

industry lasting sixty or thirty days is a strike which no Government can tolerate, because this would be a terrible blow to Chile, and it would represent a great loss of revenue to the State..." (Vintage edition, p. 110).

In Peru, in contrast to Chile, the government shows it will not tolerate wage increases for copper miners by massacring them. We must add that Castro applauds both Allende and the Peruvian generals as two sides of the same "revolutionary process." To understand this it must be seen that Castro sees "revolution" not as the assumption of political power by the proletariat and the smashing of capitalism but as the attempt in the colonial countries as in Cuba to develop the productive forces on the basis of statist measures by the nationalist bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie with the aid of Stalinism.

In this sense it is quite true that both Chile and Peru (and Cuba) are but two sides of the same process. It is only necessary to add that as the "popular" statist blandishments of Allende cease to have effect the bourgeoisie turns to throw out Allende in favor of those who can carry through the job on the basis of massacres.

This is why the Nixon Administration cooled off sections of the capitalist class like I.T.T. who wanted to throw out Allende through a coup right at the start, and why the Christian Democrats actually voted for Allende to assume power and passed his programs through Parliament at the beginning of his administration. This is also why officials like Nixon's press secretary now state Allende "hasn't long to last" and the right in Chile is now mobilizing more and more openly through parliamentary maneuvers, court decisions, street demonstrations and calls like that made recently by the fascist "Fatherland and Freedom" organization for the armed forces "not to allow the left to go beyond the constitution." Meanwhile a leader of the National Party proclaims, "constitutional guarantees are not enough to defend freedom and democracy from Marxism—what is needed is a mobilization of the Chileans." The end of this process can only be the overthrow of Allende and the installation of a naked dictatorship of capital.

The essence of the question is that in Chile, confronted with a large and well-organized working class, the bourgeoisie felt it could not defeat this class head on. It drafted the traitorous leaderships of this class to make it impotent through the Popular Unity and the "peaceful road to socialism." It could move in later for the kill when the class was suitably demoralized and disarmed by Stalinism and reformism.

#### ALLENDE AND CASTROISM

We have pointed out the essential agreement of Allendism (popular frontism) and Castroism. They are both tendencies that propose to solve the tasks of national development in the colonial countries outside of the struggle for leadership of the working class against the bureaucratic apparatus, particularly the Stalinists, outside of the taking of power by the proletariat and the setting up of a qualitatively new regime.

They both proceeded on completely nationalistic and anti-internationalist bases. This nationalist perspective is the basis of Popular Unity which sees only Chilean development of a "peaceful road" completely outside of a capitalist crisis which rules out from the start any "peaceful road." This is why Castro has never seriously posed a revolutionary perspective for the United States itself, outside of which any Latin American "road to socialism" is doomed from the start.

It is precisely these characteristics of nationalism, anti-theory, dependence on the bureaucracy and opposition to the working class which make Allendism and Castroism so compatible with each other despite the surface contradiction of construction of guerilla "foci" versus the parliamentary path to power. This is why both popular frontism and Castroism are supported by Stalinism. This in turn is why Castro had such an appeal to revisionists of all shades, particularly to the Pabloite renegades from Marxism.

As we shall see Castroism was the vehicle which the SWP used to abandon Trot-

skyism in the split with the International Committee in 1963 and opened the way for its Chilean co-thinkers to actually end up through Castroism in the camp of Allende, the betrayer of the Chilean workers.

It is not without significance that in 1967, with Castro at his most "revolutionary" and at the height of the revisionist hysteria over guerillism, one of the founders of OLAS, the international Castroite organization, was none other than Salvador Allende. At no time did Allende give up his opinions on the peaceful road to socialism in Chile. He merely conceded that in countries where no parliamentary road was available, guerilla warfare might be useful in establishing "progressive," "anti-imperialist" regimes.

At no point did Allende or Castro see guerillism as the road to working class power. They were in fact opposed to such a perspective. This opposition is what is behind the vicious, Stalinist-style slanders Castro has made on Trotskyism—his fear of the independent working class.

This is why Che Guevara could inscribe a copy of his book, *The Guerilla War*, "To Salvador Allende, who is trying to obtain the same result by other means."

This is why Castro endorses wholeheartedly not only Allende but the regime of Gen. Torres in Bolivia before its fall and the Peruvian junta. This is why the MIR of Chile went through Castroism to its present posture of "critical support" to Allende. This is why the Tupamaros, the urban guerillas of Uruguay, suspended their operations in endorsement of the campaign of the Broad Front, a Popular Unity type coalition. This is why the Bolivian POR of Moscoso, affiliated to the United Secretariat, could turn from an all-out concentration with guerillism and Castroism to the "anti-imperialist front" which includes not only the Stalinists and nationalists but even General Torres.

#### CASTROISM AND REVISIONISM

Castroism presented itself to the revisionists as a method of "getting around" the necessity for the Trotskyists to fight it out with Stalinism for leadership of the working class. Just as in the old days of Pablo, a new revolutionary leadership outside Trotskyism "formed by objective circumstances" was on the rise and it was best that the Trotskyists bring in their expertise to help these developments from the inside.

The natural upshot was the end of the struggle to construct Trotskyist parties in the working class as part of the Fourth International. In the "new world reality" such parties could only be sectarian irrelevancies at best and "brakes on the historic process" at worst. So as we shall see the Pabloites of the SWP and the United Secretariat turned everything in Latin America into getting in with Castroism—"integrating ourselves into the revolutionary current of OLAS." The real content of such an orientation was very much that of Cochran and Clarke in the SWP of 1953—"junk the old Trotskyism."

In the main document in the 1963 reunification congress of the SWP and the Pabloites, the following appears:

"The most probable variant in the next few years is...the following: the colonial revolution will continue involving new countries and deepening its social character as more workers states appear. It will not lead directly to the overthrow of capitalism in the imperialist centers but it will play a powerful role in building a new world revolutionary leadership as is already clear from the emergence of Castroist currents..."

Later on it is stated,

"In the advanced countries, the International can perform crucial services on behalf of revolutions in the colonial countries."

And the final conclusion is that revolutions may occur in the absence of a revolutionary party; even workers states may be established in such situations.

"Revolutionary Marxists in such situations face extremely difficult questions (!)... No choice is open to them but to participate completely and wholeheartedly in the revolution and to build the party in the course of the revolution itself."

This formulation—which disarmed a whole generation of Latin American mili-



Peasants guard a large landowner's farm which they occupied in Chile's Cautin province. Allende attacks these seizures by poor peasants and youth while the right wingers and fascists are demanding that he expel them with troops.

tants of the only weapon that could lead them forward, Trotskyism, and led them into the disaster of guerillism and prepared the way for capitulation to popular frontism—has its roots in the analysis of the Pabloites that Castro's Cuba was a workers state.

Since this state was established by middle class nationalists outside of and hostile to Trotskyism, through an "unconscious process" in response to "objective events," it follows that Castroism would indeed be part of a "new revolutionary leadership" that only needed to be helped along to "full consciousness." But was this in fact the case?

Actually the Pabloites had "recognized" certain features of what was going on in Cuba—the nationalization of private property, the monopoly of foreign trade, Castro's "revolutionary" rhetoric. What they refused to take up, and what had to be taken forward by the International Committee, was of what relationship of classes these "facts" and criteria were a manifestation.

Castroism was a middle class tendency completely outside the working class in rebellion against the stifling role played by U.S. imperialism. Its accession to power represented in no way a social revolution but rather a coup d'etat. What was crucial in Cuba was that when imperialism stepped in to crush this rebellion the Castro regime found support from Stalinism. This was the basis for all the nationalizations and other "socialist" measures.

When we leave aside the question of "criteria" and consider the Cuban regime from a class standpoint, we come to the conclusion that it represents a petty-bourgeois clique, its survival inseparably entwined with the Stalinist bureaucracy. Castroism could no sooner challenge Stalinism in Latin America or anywhere else than be destroyed as the Stalinists had power of life and death over the regime through the aid, sugar subsidies, etc., which it provided.

It is thus no accident that Castroism even at its most "rebellious," i.e., at the "guerillaist" stage, put forward policies that would leave Stalinist domination of the working class untouched. These policies were in turn particularly suited to the revisionists whose whole course of movement was away from Trotskyism in the direction of Stalinism. As we shall see, the logical course of this development was actually joining the Stalinist camp, just as in the time of Pablo himself.

When we examine the history and conceptions of the revisionists, it would be well to bear in mind the position of Trotskyism on these questions:

"No matter what the first episodic stages of the revolution may be in the in-

dividual countries, the realization of the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry is conceivable only under the political leadership of the proletarian vanguard, organized in the Communist Party. This in turn means that the victory of the proletarian revolution is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat which bases itself upon the alliance with the peasantry and solves first of all the tasks of the democratic revolution." (Permanent Revolution).

It remains only to add that of course this perspective is the antithesis of the two-stage theory of the Stalinists and nationalists and can only be carried forward in the most bitter struggle with these forces.

When the revisionists hailed the "revolutionary process" and Castroism as a new revolutionary leadership they were thus in fact turning away from Trotsky's perspective which had at its center the construction of parties of the Fourth International. The heart of their position was not really even Castro per se but the use of Castroism to turn away from the fight against Stalinism. As we shall see such a perspective could only, as it did, result in the destruction as Trotskyists of those following it.

#### TROTSKYISM IN CHILE

Now we can turn to the working out of these tendencies in Chile itself. Pablo, as a result of his liquidationist conceptions, had sought to liquidate the Trotskyist movement in Chile just as he had attempted to all over the world. On his instructions in the early 50's the great majority of the Chilean Trotskyists entered the reformist Socialist Party, led by none other than the present head of the Popular Unity government, Salvador Allende. Pablo's theory was that the SP would develop into a mass centrist party that could be pushed from within to the left, eventually leading to the establishment of socialism.

It was in resistance to liquidation of Trotskyism into these forces of betrayal by Pablo that the International Committee was formed. On the basis of a struggle against these betrayers of the working class the POR led by Luis Vitale, joined with the International Committee. This gave a principled foundation to the Chilean Trotskyist movement and opened up favorable possibilities for future development. In fact in the years after its formation and adherence to the IC the POR did make important gains, while the followers of Pablo, as happened all over the world, liquidated themselves completely and left the scene.

However, the development of the IC and the POR did not proceed in a straight line

or in a vacuum. Just as after World War II the responsibility for leading the IC fell on its founders the SWP. Once again the SWP drew back from its responsibility. This represented a decision to abandon any fight for dialectical materialism, which can only proceed objectively, on an international scale. Instead the SWP took up the narrow, nationalist method of American pragmatism. The SWP figured it would take care of itself and the international movement would take care of themselves.

But it did not turn out that way. The turn to the "American" method of pragmatism in short order brought a turn away from the struggle to independently penetrate the American working class with Trotskyism, to adaptations and eventually an orientation to the middle class, in the form of the labor bureaucracies, Stalinism, middle class nationalism, and liberalism. This meant, in order for the SWP to protect its flanks internationally, the SWP had to link up with and indeed push forward similar tendencies internationally.

The tragedy of Chilean Trotskyism is wrapped up with the criminal pragmatic decision of the SWP to use movements like Castroism as a shield against criticism from other members of the IC to conceal its turn away from the working class and towards the middle class at home.

The Chilean POR, due to its own theoretical weakness reinforced by the weakness of the IC internationally in the 50's, was of course bound to be affected by the growth of Castroism and it was to be expected that it would be susceptible to Pabloite illusions on the nature of Castroism. But this did not exhaust the problem. In fact at the time of the dispute between the SWP and the SLL over Castro, Vitale and other leaders of the POR were evolving very quickly, using Castroism as a cover, to the support of Allende. The SWP aided and abetted them in this.

No matter how the SWP may protest today it will become clear that behind the orientation of the SWP and POR to Castroism was Pabloism and the logical outcome of support to Castroism was support to Allendeism—that is, to the stranglehold of Stalinism and reformism over the working class.

The "reunification" of 1963 between the SWP and the Pabloites was an anti-Trotskyist venture through and through. In an article justifying the reunification by SWP leader Joseph Hansen ("The Test of the Cuban Revolution," *International Socialist Review*, Winter, 1965), it was made quite clear that the perspective of the reunification was a Pabloite one.

Says Hansen:

"Most heartening of all from a political



Copper miners go to work in class because of the central

point of view was the appearance in Cuba of a leadership whose origin was completely outside the Communist movement but which evolved in the course of the revolution itself toward Marxist positions. Thus dawned the bright perspective for which the Trotskyist movement has struggled since its inception."

This of course was fully in line with the perspective of the reunification congress resolution itself, "Dynamics of World Revolution Today," published in 1963, which stated:

"The emergence of mass revolutionary forces led by parties of tendencies which have developed outside the realm of Stalinist control (Cuba, Algeria) has introduced a most powerful disintegrating element into international Stalinism, favoring the development of a revolutionary left wing."

From this the natural conclusion is drawn:

"The weakness of the enemy in the backward countries has opened the possibility of coming to power with a blunted instrument."

In his article Hansen then brings this perspective home to Chile in his attempt to use it against the International Committee:

"During the period leading up to the reunification congress, the Chilean section of the International Committee warned Healy that his position on the Cuban Revolution would signify political hari-kari for anyone who clung to it..."

"Healy paid no attention."

What was this political perspective which the Chilean POR believed "would signify political hari-kari for anyone who clung to it?"

It was none other than the whole perspective of constructing the Fourth International in struggle against the spontaneous (bourgeois) consciousness of the masses and the bureaucracies that rest on this backward consciousness. As the Transitional Program of the Fourth International states:

"The world political situation as a whole is characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat...the laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus..."

"The building of national revolutionary parties as sections of the Fourth International is the central task of the transitional epoch."

Hansen, however, and the Chilean POR thought they had a better idea.

The Chilean POR supported the SWP enthusiastically. All the more so, in fact, because through adaptation to Castroism, which was the SWP's main concern, one could move to the main pole of liquidation in Chile, with its large, well-organized working class and powerful bu-

Chile's El Teniente mine. Miners play a critical role in the working industries in Chile's economy. reaucracy—Allendism. This is how it was seen from the start by the POR.

In the December 13, 1963 issue of *World Outlook* (forerunner of *Intercontinental Press*) a short article appears reporting the exile of Luis Vitale, "a well-known Trotskyist" and "one of the main leaders of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario" for distributing "a leaflet favorable to Cuba and advocating Marxist-Leninist positions."

In another article, entitled "Support In Chile For Hugo Blanco," it is reported:

"A group of young workers and students, some of whom were recently expelled from the Communist Party of Chile for their pro-Chinese views, have organized the Movimiento Revolucionario Comunista (MRC). On the wall in their headquarters they have painted a mural six meters wide and three meters high in which Hugo Blanco is given prominent place.

"The mural depicts a great number of workers and peasants among whom three figures stand. In the center is Salvador Allende, candidate for the presidency of Chile in 1964; to his right, Francisco Juliao, the peasant leader of Brazil, and to his left, Hugo Blanco."

Later in the same issue, we find an account of the origin of the MRC, under the heading "Pro-Chinese Wing Advances in Chile," in which we read:

"The group has published two issues of a bulletin, which advocates Marxist-Leninist positions and maintains a correct line in relation to the national situation...The Trotskyist groups in Chile, including the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, have supported meetings organized by the pro-Chinese wing, giving support to the increasingly revolutionary positions but without making any concessions to the errors of the Chinese Communist Party."

But what about the MRC's support to Allende? Does this fit in with maintaining "a correct line in relation to the national situation?"

The answer to this was not long in coming. The March 6, 1964 issue of *World Outlook* contained a report on the unification of the POR with a group of ex-Trotskyists around the journal *Polemica* and the MRC continuing under the name MRC. This group was in turn joined by a group around Clotario Blest "the outstanding leader of the Chilean working class" and of a group called *Movimiento de Fuerzas Revolucionarias*, a Castroite formation to which the POR had long subordinated itself politically.

"The new party supports the most revolutionary and progressive Chinese positions in the Chinese-Soviet conflict...As for national policy, the new Marxist-Leninist party is struggling for... (b) supporting with revolutionary methods the Al-

lendista movement...attempting to develop a revolutionary tendency within this movement through rank-and-file Allendista revolutionary committees..."

Here we see the fruits of Pabloism. Vitale of the POR had been one of the main glorifiers of Castroism inside the IC calling Castroism a "Marxist-Leninist leadership" and stating that the Castroites "serve as political models for all workers' parties in Chile." This perspective, trusting, as the article remarks, "not so much to the Trotskyist label as to the program of the Fourth International," ends up supporting the "best of the Chinese positions" and liquidating into popular frontism.

However, Vitale and his friends were just getting started. The April 3, 1964 issue of *World Outlook* carries a report of the splits from the Socialist Party by a Revolutionary Opposition which proceeded to hold discussions with the MRC on the foundation of a Revolutionary Socialist Party. This became the basis for the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (MIR).

Undoubtedly these developments would have opened the way for a big development of a Trotskyist party in Chile and in the process large sections of militants could have been clarified on the real nature of Allendeism. This however was not the perspective of Vitale. Point four in the discussion agreement between the MRC and the Socialist opposition reads:

"To express our support for the popular candidacy of Salvador Allende developing a revolutionary tendency in the movement of the Allendist masses."

What this meant in practice is well enough shown in an article in the very next issue of *World Outlook* (April 10, 1964): "Political Book A Best Seller in Chile:"

"A book by a Trotskyist author about Chilean politics has become a best seller here. The first edition of Luis Vitale's *Essencia y Apariencia de la Democracia Christiana* (Essence and Appearance of Christian Democracy), which was released on December 20, sold out in less than three months. The special interest in the book is due to its timeliness. Campaigning is intensive now for the presidential elections September 4 and the leading candidates are the Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei and Salvador Allende, who is backed by the *Frente Revolucionario de Accion Popular*, a combination of the Socialist and Communist Parties and some smaller groupings. (These "smaller groupings" were of course the representatives of the bourgeoisie—ES).

"...It was subjected to sharp attack by bourgeois journalists and radio commentators. Allende and the Allendist Committees rallied to its defense..."

"Most of the Allendist Committees have

held discussion on the book. It is serving as a handbook for the Allendist cadres in their encounters with Christian Democrats and the author himself has been sought for speaking engagements and courses on the differences between the Allendist movement and the Christian Democracy." (Our emphasis).

So the "Cuban road to socialism" led Vitale and the ex-Trotskyists of the POR to become the shameless apologists of popular frontism before the Chilean working class.

The SWP knew full well what was going on—after all, it was reported in full in its international journals. But at that time or since, there has never been one criticism, one disassociation of the SWP from its Chilean friends.

How could it be otherwise? The SWP had touted Castroism as the "dawn of the bright perspective for which the Trotskyist movement has struggled since its inception" because "these men of powerful will" had found out the only way to "serve the people" was through socialism. Once established, why not use the same Pabloite idealist method for such a "practical" "man of powerful will" as Allende—or indeed, for the Peruvian military as Castro himself has done:

"An upsurge has been noticeable of late in Latin America in sectors of the Church and military—two forces which are the strongest pillars of reaction—oligarchy and imperialism. Perhaps the last thing the imperialists expected was a movement that acquired an awareness of armed forces and set itself the task of carrying out a program of development for the country. A program of development that is carried forward consistently will lead to a revolution." (Our emphasis).

Here we have the whole program of Pabloism in a nutshell. The origin, the class position and role of popular frontism have nothing to do with the matter—the point is to get inside the "process" and make it "consistent". Indeed, is this not how Pablo originally justified destroying the Trotskyist movement by liquidation into "leftward moving bureaucracies?" Is this not how the Lanka Sama Samaja Party of Ceylon justified its entry into, first the "United Left Front", and later into the coalition government of Mrs. Bandaranaike? Is this not how Jack Barnes of the SWP justified his notorious formulation that one cannot be "too" nationalist, "too" feminist, in order to help middle class movements like Black nationalism develop "consistently" as they have in the recent period, into the arms of Nixon and Wallace?

The relations between the Chilean POR and the SWP in the period of reunification with Pabloism were based on an unprincipled division of labor.

While by 1963 the POR had been completely disoriented on the question of Castroism and the Cuban Revolution, this did not at all mean that the POR was in complete agreement with the Pabloites nor did it mean that in a common movement based on the struggle against revisionism these differences could not be understood and rectified in the light of the experience of the movement, considered in the light of Marxist theory. Thus the Trotskyist movement could have been prepared for the developments in Chile instead of being liquidated as was the case. In a resolution of the SLL "From Revisionism to Opportunism", printed in *Fourth International*, Summer 1965, we find the following:

"The statement of the Chilean POR in particular was clear and unequivocal. It rejected 'any separate attempt by any section of the IC to unify with the Pabloite IS. The Chilean POR will not allow itself to be dragged along by any particular section wishing to unite on its own account with the IS understanding that it is an elementary duty of revolutionary discipline to first discuss as a body in the IC, which in its entirety and by majority must decide the basis for unity with the IS at its World Congress.' We do not conceal the fact that the Latin American sections were in favor of an early unification—but neither do we wish to conceal their principled attitude to unity."

The succeeding developments in Chile could only have been expected. After the formation of the MIR one finds no mention of any struggle for Trotskyism inside it or

anywhere else in Chile. In 1966 it was reported by Morris in his book on Chilean politics *Elites Intellectuals and Consensus* (New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1966) that at the Fourth Congress of the Chilean trade union federation held in Santiago in 1965, 1% of the delegates were "ex-Trotskyists" now in the MIR. In the SWP publication *50 Years of World Revolution 1917-1967*, the ex-leader of the POR, Vitale, is identified as a "well-known Chilean revolutionary Marxist, a leader of the Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR)."

The MIR had turned since 1964 from direct support of Allendism to ultraleft, confrontationist adventures very much in the style of student powerism and Castroism which were popular internationally at the time. A sample of its activities is given in the Sept. 23, 1968 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, in which it was reported that crowds of students organized by the MIR had marched on the U.S. Embassy and battled police in protest of the Vietnam War. The students marched under the NLF flag.

"In 1969 it was reported that the police were seeking (Vitale) for deportation as an Argentine citizen. He was identified as a 'veteran Trotskyist' and as 'one of the ideologues of the MIR.' This is the last mention of Luis Vitale.

"In 1969 there was an extensive discussion of guerilla warfare in the Pabloite international movement. Contributing to this discussion was one Jose Valdes who has written with some frequency in *Intercontinental Press*. He wrote in the name of 'our comrades in Chile'—no organization, no paper, just 'comrades.' On behalf of these 'comrades,' Valdes supports the liquidationist line of the Pabloite majority headed by Mandel and Maitan against the SWP-led minority.

"Valdes particularly liked the concept of 'integration into the Castroist current,' stating that it wasn't like Pablo's entrism because one was integrating 'into a revolutionary nucleus which in fact, although not in words, accepts the theory of the Permanent Revolution...' Thus the role of Trotskyism is only to add words to explain what everyone already understands in fact!

"So today when the need for the Trotskyist alternative is imperative in Chile, there is no voice of Trotskyism. It has been systematically liquidated through the joint collaboration of the European Pabloites and the American SWP. Such is the bitter price we pay for Pabloism, for the unprincipled reunification of 1963..." ("Allende, MIR and the SWP," *Bulletin*, Vol. 8, No. 20, Jan. 24, 1972).

Once again Pabloism has liquidated Trotskyism into centrism. The POR has completely disappeared into the MIR which for all its criticisms stands foursquare as it has from the beginning on Allendism, just as Pablo liquidated the old Trotskyist movement into Allende's Socialist Party itself. In the liquidation of Chilean Trotskyism we see the fruition of the reunification of 1963.

#### SWP ON CHILE

It is precisely to cover up these fruits that the Pabloites have now made a certain turn in their approach to Chile. This is typified in the article "Chile: Reformism In Crisis" by Peter Camejo and Les Evans in the February 1972 *International Socialist Review* as well as a statement "passed unanimously by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International at the end of December 1971," "Chile—the Coming Confrontation," published in the February 21, 1972 *Intercontinental Press*.

In the Camejo-Evans article, we are advised that:

"What is tragically missing in Chile is a mass revolutionary-socialist party capable of playing the role that Lenin's Bolsheviks undertook after the February Revolution...Outside of the UP (Unidad Popular) the most promising formation is the MIR...It too has been seriously compromised by its policy of supporting the Allende government...although it has been moving toward a break with the 'Marxist President' in recent months..."

"The MIR is further handicapped by its ultraleft past in which it advocated a strategy of guerilla warfare by a small elite

rather than the construction of a mass revolutionary party..."

So, what is needed today in Chile is a "mass revolutionary socialist party" that will oppose Allende. The MIR cannot play this role because it is still tied to Allende, it is handicapped by its guerillaist past! Camejo and Evans make a great play of going over the history of past popular front betrayals in Chile but there is not a single word in this entire long article about the role of the Pabloites and the SWP on guerillaism and the evolution of the MIR, on exactly why it is that a "revolutionary-socialist party" is so "tragically" missing. This is because to bring up even the slightest bit of their own history in relation to Chile would expose these people and their revolutionary pretensions from start to finish.

What they wish to wipe out of history is not only that they did support the Castroism, guerillaism, and liquidationism



Chile's President Salvador Allende

which led to the destruction of Chilean Trotskyism and the present dangerous situation in Chile. They were its greatest political promoters in Chile and throughout Latin America, in a bitter struggle against the forces of the IC, who warned consistently that the Pabloite course of the SWP would bring about liquidation of the revolutionary forces.

This is why Camejo and Evans falsely present Castro in their article as somehow mistaken or fooled by Allende. Everyone knows the truth is that Castro is in full agreement with the course of Allende and is proud to count Allende as something of his protege. Allende and Castro himself are the first to admit this. It is not at all a question of a "mistake" by Castro any more than Mao's conversations with Nixon are a mistake, but the working out of the counterrevolutionary international strategy of Stalinism that Castro has endorsed all the way in return for Soviet aid in propping up his disintegrating Bonapartist regime in Cuba itself. This is why Castro's "mistake" with Allende is accompanied by his "mistaken" endorsements of the Peruvian generals, the Ecuadorian junta, Torres in Bolivia and feelers to the United States itself.

Not once in the ISR article do we find a single mention of Trotskyism or the Fourth International. While in the old days Hansen used to hint that when Castro "came to full consciousness," "Trotskyism would become a powerful current," his pupils prefer to abstract certain demands from the *Transitional Program* in classical centrist fashion taken apart from the struggle for a Trotskyist party as part of the Fourth International to implement.

They prefer, like the POR of Chile did in unifying with the Maoists, Castroites, and ex-Trotskyists renegades to form the MRC in 1964, that "the Trotskyist group acts without sectarianism, trusting not so much to the Trotskyist label as to the program of the Fourth International." (*World Outlook*, March 6, 1964), a formula useful to centrist renegades at all times and in all places. The evolution of the MRC should be warning of where these conceptions will lead.

The real outlook of the SWP itself in this matter of building "mass revolutionary socialist parties" is revealed in the fact that the SWP Presidential candidate Linda Jenness recently sent a message to the convention of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (formerly MPI), which greeted this

assemblage of anti-Trotskyists and conscious exponents of the Stalinist "two-stage" theory as the "revolutionary leadership" in Puerto Rico!

The statement of the so-called "Fourth International" is no better. In its first point, the resolution states:

"1. The victory of the Cuban revolution—which coincided with the irreversible crisis of the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalist movements that marked an entire stage of the political struggle in many Latin American countries—led U.S. imperialism and the indigenous ruling classes to reexamine where they stood."

The obvious question that springs to mind is just what role the Cuban revolution and Castroism played among these "bourgeois or petty-bourgeois revolutionary nationalist movements" and if so what form did its "irreversible crisis" take? But this question is hurriedly passed over and we do not see it again in the resolution until it is approached from another angle in point 9:

"...In any case, it is necessary to reject any concept based, explicitly or implicitly, on the hypothesis that thanks to the dynamism of the revolutionary process and the power of the mass movement and thanks to the weakening of the bourgeoisie and its very likely continuing decomposition and a situation in which imperialism would be compelled to renounce military intervention, the proletariat would come to power even without a genuine revolutionary Leninist party. It is likewise necessary to reject the variant derived from the hypothesis that an ersatz revolutionary party might prove sufficient, that is, some kind of front in which the revolutionists assemble together, or a cartel in which different organizations of the far left join up."

Well, well, what has happened here to the "acid test" of the Cuban revolution, that was supposed to put the International Committee beyond the pale of "ultraleft sectarianism" for insisting on the building of revolutionary parties in opposition to waiting for "the development of full consciousness" of Castroism and similar "unconscious revolutionary currents"? How would Castro answer such effrontery to "the revolutionary process"?

Perhaps, as he did in conversation with the journalist K.S. Karol, by proclaiming Cuba (and himself) outside "Marxist schemas" and an "exception to the laws of history." Or perhaps he will answer as Hansen did in the Fall 1963 ISR:

"In their pattern of action, the Cuban revolutionaries feel they have pointed the way for all of Latin America. The proof is their own success."

So there!

In any case all this theoretical business is not to get in the way of the practical recommendations of the Pabloites. This takes the form, so typical of the politics of the middle class, of "on the one hand" and "on the other hand":

"The necessary criticism of the contradictions and weaknesses of the MIR (on the one hand) must not at all stand in the way of recognizing the important role the MIR is playing as a catalyzer at the moment or of appreciating the programmatic rectifications or advances it makes (as for example, the speech (which ended up pledging support for Allende-ES) of Miguel Enriquez last November..." (on the other hand).

"As for Cuba, its influence takes contradictory forms. Fidel Castro's visit was symbolic in this respect. On the one hand the masses turned out in huge demonstrations to greet him and pay tribute to the Cuban revolution. On the other hand Castro's almost unconditional support of Allende and his adherence to the verbiage of the Popular Unity created obstacles to the development of understanding among the masses of the necessity to build a Leninist party and to develop a revolutionary strategy for the conquest of power."

The MIR and Castro for all their criticisms or lack of them of Allende proceed despite these criticisms to call on the masses to back Allende. They therefore act to channel sections of working class militants breaking from Allende through the back door back into the trap of popular frontism. This is the role of centrism—to act as a left cover for Stalinism and reformism in their attempts to

strangle the working class.

Our Pabloites of course proceed differently. One cannot ignore the contradictions. There is both good and bad involved in the situation. One cannot act as an "absolutist" like the terrible sectarians in the International Committee and actually take a stand for or against developments and forces in the class struggle. So we arrive at a position where it is found that the MIR and Castro have good and bad points and it is decided that a Leninist party would be essential in the abstract.

In the formation of such a party "the forces organized or influenced by the MIR will unquestionably play an important role...but other forces that still belong to the traditional parties will participate in this." How these forces are to become readymade constituents of such a revolutionary party is left up in the air but this formulation at least precludes the necessity of the United Secretariat taking a stand against the MIR, Castro, or any other centrist force, at least until the smashing of the Chilean workers.

The real way in which the Pabloites proceed in building such "Leninist parties" is shown clearly in the document reproduced just prior to the declaration on Chile in February 21 *Intercontinental Press*—"On the 'Anti-Imperialist Front' in Bolivia". It seems that after the recent military coup in Bolivia, the Bolivian POR of Moscoso, affiliated to the United Secretariat, decided to join the "Frente Revolucionario Antiimperialista" (FRA).

"Unfortunately," the United Secretariat tells us, "the founding document of this front presents a false political line. The theme of multi-class national unity, which it advances, reflects the positions of the majority sections in the leadership of the front—not only reformists and Stalinists, but also bourgeois elements, including Torres himself, who bear a crucial part of the responsibility for the success of the Banzer coup d'etat. The United Secretariat cannot agree with the POR's signing such a test, which is directly contradictory to the long-standing program of the POR and the lessons of the struggle against the Torres regime and the Banzer coup, which the POR itself had drawn."

However, it may all work out for the best:

"The United Secretariat will discuss this and other questions with the POR leadership in a comprehensive way in the coming period. The United Secretariat of the Fourth International calls on all revolutionaries to express greater solidarity than ever with the difficult and courageous struggle being carried on by the Bolivian comrades."

In 1964 when the Lanka Sama Samaja Party entered into the "anti-imperialist front" of the Stalinists and Mrs. Bandaranaike, the United Secretariat—though it had prepared the betrayal through its formulations of "faith in the leadership of the LSSP" and "discussion," at least felt compelled to expel the LSSP when that betrayal was consummated.

Now the entry of the Bolivian POR into a popular front, after the experience of Ceylon—and Allende!—after the betrayals of the thirties, the whole struggle of the Marxist movement against class-collaborationism, induces the Pabloites to say they "cannot agree to it." It is a matter for "discussion." In the meantime, revolutionaries should express "greater solidarity than ever" with these traitors.

Thus the United Secretariat shows that to fall for its talk of "building revolutionary parties" today means to be led by the nose into popular frontism tomorrow.

The line put forward by the SWP in justifying breaking from the International Committee and going over to Pabloism led, in Chile, to the destruction of the movement, and in Bolivia, a move to another betrayal as in Ceylon. This is the essence of Pabloism.

History shows that the only way forward for militants in Chile and all other countries lies not in the revisionist centrism of the United Secretariat and the SWP but in the struggle against Pabloism in constructing parties of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

# TV

DAVE NORTH



**FIRING LINE:** William Buckley interviews Bernadette Devlin in London. WNET-TV, Sunday, March 26—10 p.m.

The notorious right-winger William Buckley enjoys nothing more than jousting with befuddled do-gooders who plead for capitalism to show mercy to the unfortunate of the world. Liberals, pacifists, and humani-

tarians of all persuasions amuse him to no end. As a staunch defender of capitalism, he has nothing but disdain for all those who piously beg the ruling class to make concessions it obviously cannot afford.

Buckley has won a debate more than once by pointing out to an enthusiastic reformist that his reforms

## "We Do All The Work. . . Why Don't We Get The Profit"

would require revolution. And as the bewildered guest ponders this point, Buckley's flashing eyes convey the final point: "And, you do not want revolution any more than I want it."

Meeting Bernadette Devlin posed the type of challenge Buckley is not accustomed to handling. She told the columnist: "It's impossible for you and I to reach agreement." As she explained that it was a class war that is being fought in both Ireland and Great Britain, it was Buckley who came off somewhat ridiculous as he attempted to expound on the immorality of violence.

To Buckley's assertion that the principle problem in Ulster is the violent methods of the IRA, Devlin replied that the method "of right-wing conservatives like yourself" is to see the entire world "in abstractions." She asserted that the violence of the IRA grew out of the attempt of the working people to defend themselves against the violence of British imperialism.

### WORKING CLASS

Answering Buckley's assertion that the answer to the problems in Ulster could be found only in the destruction of the IRA, Bernadette Devlin stated that "the problem can only be solved by the working class asserting its rights as the majority over the means of production."

No sooner had Devlin made this remark than did Buckley remark that he was familiar with Marxist "platitudes" and seek to return to the question of violence in the abstract. But he did not fail to declare that "Detention (of Irish workers through the internment law) and violence are different."

Devlin argued that it was impossible to discuss violence when it was the ruling class that determined what the laws

should be. She pointed out that the Tories will change the laws governing "effective picketing" in order to prevent the repetition of the type of strike support that prevented the English government from moving the coal supplies during the miners' strike.

"But is it fair," intoned Buckley, "for some workers to prevent others from working?"

Devlin replied that she knew of one man who is preventing one million people from working.

"Who is that?" asked an aroused Buckley.

"He is Edward Heath," she answered, "the Prime minister of England."

Taken aback, Buckley pointed out that this was for the good of the economy.

"Whose economy?" asked Devlin. "We do all the work. Why don't we get the profit?"

Buckley explained that Henry Ford made his millions because he was a genius.

"Oh, so the ruling class rules because they're geniuses," answered Devlin. "I don't know about the old man but I've never noticed any sparks of genius in Henry Ford Junior and he has millions."

At this point, Buckley dropped out of the entire discussion, and asked Devlin to answer questions put to her by a guest panel composed of hysterical liberals.

One particularly vocal liberal asserted that British troops were preventing a bloodbath; for the Irish are an uncivilized bunch "who don't seem to behave like the English."

Another panelist, after asking Bernadette Devlin to tell the Irish workers "to leave us our profits," admitted that for himself, "the prospect of revolution is horrifying."

The camera briefly focussed on Buckley during this exchange, who was pretending to be asleep.

# FILMS

JEAN CAMERON

**CABARET.** Starring Liza Minelli, Joel Grey, Michael York, Helmut Griem. Directed by Bob Fosse. Distributed by Allied Artists and ABC Pictures Corp.

The film *Cabaret*, directed by Bob Fosse, depicts the social upheaval in Germany in the 1930s during Hitler's rise to power. Adapted from the Broadway musical of the same title, the material is based on *Berlin Stories* by Christopher Isherwood.

The movie takes a particular aspect of the extreme economic and social crisis of pre-Hitler Germany—the breakdown of social order and degeneration of social life—and views it through the cabaret life of the upper classes.

Once a real high spot of European social life characterized by fine dining and sophisticated entertainment, the cabaret has degenerated into a bawdy club wherein the aristocracy and middle classes debauch themselves among transvestites, prostitutes, and other low-life elements.

To such a dive, the Kit Kat Klub, comes Sally Bowles (Liza Minelli), a fresh young American entertainer in search of excitement and "delicious decadence." The film chronicles her willing fall from innocence into the muck of cabaret life from which she is unable to free herself at film's end.

She arrives in Germany and quickly immerses herself in an affair with a young

English student, Michael York. Soon she meets a German baron (Helmut Griem) as well, and makes a threesome of the affair.

Sally Bowles wants a career in singing and in acting, and she likes a good time. Also, she is not concerned with the political developments in Germany. She is noticeably bored when on an outing in the country with her two lovers her motor car is detained at the scene of recent fascist terror. A public speaking platform is strewn with red flags and bloodied bodies—the handiwork of the Nazis. Sally yawns and waits for the car to pass on. Her German baron answers the young Englishman's horrified stares with "Let them get the Communists under control and then we'll get them under control."

Each character reflects a side of the middle class and bourgeoisie's attitude toward Hitler.

The baron accepts the necessary distasteful role of fascism to maintain order and protect his class interests.

The young English student reflects the liberal's moral indignation, and yet he as an individual is impotent against fascism and eventually will leave the country and arena of struggle.

Sally wishes to see and know as little as possible, to go on with her little life without, she hopes, being touched by the terrible and great events around her.

But this wish, the director skillfully shows us, is impossible. Through cross-cutting scenes inside his cabaret with scenes outside, he shows how the developments in Germany, the brutality of fascism on the rise, pervades and changes the atmosphere in the Kit Kat Klub.

In an early segment of the film, during Sally's first number, a Nazi Party member comes into the cabaret, tin can in hand, collecting for the cause. He is un-

## Ruling Class Decadence Before The Third Reich



Portion of 1922 watercolor "Soiree" by Grosz shows corruption of German bourgeoisie.

ceremoniously booted out by the head waiter as "scum" beneath contempt. During the next night's entertainment, a band of uniformed fascists beat the waiter to a pulp in the alley behind the club.

Following these episodes and throughout the film the growing strength of the Nazis is shown as more and more join the audience. At film's end the audience is heavily peppered with Nazi uniforms and Adolph Hitle; holds a ringside seat.

The song and dance routines take on a

raunchier tone as the film progresses. One of the final numbers is in the poorest imaginable taste and in open capitulation to a changed audience. The master of ceremonies, played by Joel Grey, waltzes onto the stage with an ape in bridal finery, singing a song of star-crossed lovers, "Why Don't They Leave Us Alone." While the audience laughs at the preposterous combination of man and ape, to a very special section is directed the punch line: "Can I help it if you're Jewish."



## 500 Join Young Socialists Rally



Five hundred working class youth and students from all parts of the East Coast participated in last Wednesday's historic demonstration called by the Young Socialists against unemployment, budget cuts and repression.

Unlike the demonstrations of the past period of middle class protests, the youth rallied at Foley Square to build a revolutionary movement to lead the working class in a fight against the Government. The demonstration called on the unions to take up a political fight against the government.

This demonstration was a great milestone in the history of American Trotskyism. Never before in the United States has a demonstration of this size and power been mobilized on the revolutionary principles of Marxism.

Occurring simultaneously with the forward movement of the working class in this country and internationally, this demonstration reflected the determination of masses of working class youth to turn to the questions of Marxist theory in a struggle to develop a revolutionary consciousness within the working class.

At the very heart of the fight for this demonstration was the fight of the Young Socialists to build a revolutionary youth movement among broad layers

of youth. This is central in the construction of a Marxist leadership in the trade unions.

Demonstrators marched around Foley Square for 40 minutes before beginning the rally. The youth waved red flags and carried banners with the likeness of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Chants called for: "Smash Wallace—Build a Labor Party," "Fight Unemployment—Join the Young Socialists," among other slogans.

Workers of all ages in the area of Foley Square often stopped to applaud the demonstration.

Gil Gonzalez chaired the rally. In his presentation he emphasized the tremendous development of the class struggle internationally. He stated that: "Capitalism is in its deepest crisis and it must try to destroy the working class. We are seeing tremendous explosions in the U.S."

### BLOW

At the same time, this demonstration dealt a blow to the Stalinists and revisionists who are seeking to keep youth tied to capitalism. Abby Rodriguez spoke on this:

"The fight to build a revolutionary movement has to be carried out on two levels: it is a fight against the government and a fight against all those within the workers movement who seek to keep workers and youth tied down to capitalism.

"We have to expose the role of the revisionists and the Stalinists. This is what the YS will do on April 22nd.

"The Socialist Workers Party which was born in a fight against Stalinism has turned against Trotskyism and today winds up right with the Stalinists. The SWP, like the Stalinists, is trying to water down the seriousness of the crisis, and puts forth the illusion that reforms are what is needed today. They think that by maneuvering within capitalism the problems will be solved."

Miriam Rosario, a student at City College, spoke on the situation there:

"In the fight to build the YS we must understand the obstacles. The YS must understand what fascism is and how to fight it.

The JDL comes out of the middle class which is now squeezed between the capitalist and the working class.

"On the campus of City College and Brooklyn College the JDL comes out with brass knuckles and sticks and these blatant attacks upon working class youth are supported by the administration."

The demonstration emphasized the need to take up a study of Marxist theory. This turn of the youth to Marxist theory has been reflected in the prisons where classes in Marxist philosophy are being established. One member of the YS who recently came out of prison spoke of his experiences.

"The March 4 riot at Rikers occurred because of the conditions. We had 26 demands the day of the riot. Afterwards they beat up everyone.

"Now that I'm out there are no jobs. We need a revolutionary movement that unites the youth and workers in a fight to take power. They are ready to throw us into concentration camps."

### STRUGGLE

Kiki Mendez spoke on the struggle in the high schools against the brutal attacks: "Conditions in the high schools are barbaric. Youth are forced to attend overcrowded classes and the equipment is antiquated. Teachers are being laid off. The revisionists say it is a matter of civil rights. We say it is a matter of survival."

The courts of capitalism are already on their way to taking away our basic rights. The jailing of Juan Farinas expresses clearly the role of the government in this period. Juan's wife, Helena, spoke on the defense of all political prisoners.

"My husband is now in a federal penitentiary in Connecticut. This is part of the whole attack of the ruling class against the working class. This is not a matter of civil liberties. My husband was jailed because he distributed a leaflet that stated that he was against the war in Vietnam.

Lucy St. John, editor of the Bulletin, spoke on the proposal of having a mass meeting on May Day, the day of International





solidarity of the working class. "The struggle for an eight hour day was a bitter one. At Haymarket Square in 1886 strikers were shot down by the police. The leaders were framed and some were executed. But the working class internationally rallied to their defense and this was the beginning of May Day. "The YS must carry forward this tradition through the construction of the revolutionary party. All the gains that workers died for are being threatened today, and the only defense is through the socialist revolution. This is the central lesson for May Day 1972."

are beginning to think a little different. "The American working class is the most powerful in the world. It is also, in a sense, the most politically backward class in the world. Out of this contradiction will occur the development of a revolutionary movement more powerful than any other in the world.

**POLITICAL**

"Today every wage struggle becomes a political struggle. The dockers have to confront the question of who is going to run the country. Twenty million workers will very easily go out on strike but will not go out with the understanding that they have to go from the strike to a struggle for power.

"They will not do that on their own. This is where the youth come in. There must be developed a conscious youth movement which studies Marxism, which steels itself in the history of the movement. We see this demonstration as the beginning of that process."

**CRITICAL**

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League spoke on the necessity of building the YS.

"We are living in the most critical time in the history of the world. It is a period in which the very nature of society is going to change. There are changes taking place all around us but the most important is the one taking place in the heads of people. They





## England

# Labourites Applaud Tory Takeover Of Ulster

BY DAVID NORTH

It was against the background of a deepening economic crisis and sharpening political conflicts with the British working class that Prime Minister Edward Heath imposed direct rule on Ulster.

With its wage stabilization program in a shambles and with three million engineering workers preparing for a showdown battle with the Government, the Tories are now trying to shoot their way out of the capitalist crisis with civil war, repression, and fascism in both Ireland and England.

In spite of the weakness of the Heath Government, it is able to press its attacks on both sides of the Irish Sea because the leadership of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress has refused to mobilize the working class to throw the Tories out of power.

It is the Ulster situation that has torn the mask off "Opposition" leader Harold Wilson's active collaboration with Prime Minister Heath. Wilson, no less than Heath, played a leading role in the behind-the-scenes plotting that led to the suspension of the Stormont Government.

Only a week before Heath unveiled his program for intensified horror against the Irish workers, Wilson traveled through Ireland as some sort of special envoy for the Tory regime.

### TREACHERY

The full extent of Labour Party treachery was expressed minutes after Heath presented the direct rule legislation to Parliament. Like a well-heeled pet dog, Harold Wilson jumped to the support of the Tories, declaring that the Labourites would "give every facility for getting the legislation through."

With broad support from the Labour benches, the Tory legislation zipped through the House of Commons a few days later.

The same spirit of collaboration was demonstrated last week as the Labour members of Parliament rose to their feet in the House of Commons to cheer enthusiastically the new Tory budget.

Little does it matter to the Wilson crew that the reactionary measures proposed by Anthony Barber, Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer, consist mainly of gigantic tax breaks for British industrialists and new opportunities to export capital into the Common Market countries. The Tory budget that made the Labourites so very happy is geared to increasing unemployment.

Figures recently released indicate the continuing success of the Tories in creating longer lines of unemployed workers every month. For the third month in a row, the number of unemployed in England was over the million mark. In March, 4.3 percent of the British labor force could not find jobs.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

This statistic showed that thousands of the workers who were locked out of their jobs during the miners strike have not been allowed back in the factories.

Commenting on the news of greater unemployment, TUC leader Vic Feather promised "fullest possible cooperation" in the Tory plans for industrial development.

What Feather and the Labourites refuse to admit is that every Tory budget is aimed against the working class. The depth of the capitalist crisis does not allow the Tories to reflate the economy through fiscal and monetary manipulations, as it could during the Macmillan era when the paper money used to create a boom was backed in gold by the U.S. Treasury.

The August 15 measures by Nixon doom any effort to reflate the economy on this basis: and it is for this reason that the British capitalists themselves are quite skeptical about the long-term effects of the Barber budget.

The Guardian, newspaper of British liberals, reminded its readers that "...the last two budgets, which were similarly welcomed by industry, have failed so far

to bring about a significant increase in capital expenditures."

All the Tory measures are dependent upon the Government's ability to drive down the conditions of the working class through wage cuts, productivity deals, and layoffs. It is with this understanding that Heath is driving with all the energy he can summon into the Common Market.

But to bring Britain into the Common Market requires the sharpest attacks on British workers. At this critical point, the Tories have moved ahead with their plans to implement the Industrial Relations Act and make trade unionism illegal in Britain.

### POWER

Although the working class has the power not only to destroy this law but also to end the Government, the TUC has given clear indications that it will back down from a fight.

Until now, it has been the TUC position that the Act could be defeated merely by ignoring it. However, this passive policy is being challenged by the active use of the law by the Tories. Last Thursday, the National Industrial Relations Court—the Act's legal backbone—ordered the Transport and General Workers' Union to call off job actions by Liverpool dockers.

The only way to fight the Act is by forcing the Tories to resign.

The possibility of defeating this Government is now raised as angry engineering workers begin strike action to win their pay claim against the stabilization program.

In spite of the attempt by the leadership of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers to confine the battle to the local level, a nationwide unity is developing. The militancy of the workers,

who are determined to win no less than the miners, was indicated last week when 1,000 men occupied a steel factory in Cheshire one week earlier than strike action was planned after learning that the company was moving its stocks in preparation for the strike.

"Well we all took one firm decision," declared a worker. "We are not going to be locked out of these gates like our forefathers were in the 1930s. We are here ready for work but we will not be dictated to."

### LEAD

The workers in the plant realize that their action is giving a lead to all the engineering workers throughout the country. In their fight for a 25% wage increase (including 35-hour work week, holidays), the Bredbury workers are generating a

struggle that could destroy the efforts of the AUEW bureaucracy to avert a nationwide strike.

### DEFENSE

One Bredbury worker stated: "This dispute does not only involve Bredbury steel works, the Stockport district or the Manchester district, but all fellow-workers throughout the country. If we win here they will win."

The defense of the working class now requires that the Tory Government be brought down without delay. The activities of the Tory reactionaries in Ireland prove that they are prepared for mass murder. And in their recent actions against left-wing parties, the Tories have shown that they are poised for an assault on all democratic rights.



Women workers at British Steel Corp. voted to join men in plant occupation in Manchester, England. Workers are sitting-in at eight other plants also for higher wages.

## Germany

# Brandt Paves The Way For Fascism

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

Faced with the determined attempt of the reactionary Christian Democratic Union (CDU) to force an early election and throw the Social-Democratic Party (SPD) out of power, Chancellor Willy Brandt is making cowardly concessions to the capitalists.

The groveling of the SPD is expressed most sharply in its slavish dependence upon its liberal coalition partner, the Free-Democratic Party (FDP). Fearing a rupture with this bourgeois party, the SPD has abandoned its long-awaited program of tax reform.

Although the Brandt leadership had committed itself to the establishment of taxes on wealth and capital gains, it has now announced that the program would not be brought before the German parliament during this legislative period.

This decision openly marks the total bankruptcy of Brandt's reformist perspective. Because of the drastic reversal of the German economy since the August 15 measures of Richard Nixon, the reform program of Brandt—in spite of its shallow character—has become unacceptable to big business.

The tax reform program, which would have required the capitalists to pay an extra billion marks by 1974, encountered the stiffest resistance not only within the CDU, but also among the capitalist supporters of the FDP. It is before this opposition that Brandt is in full-scale retreat.

### RETREAT

Besides the retreat on the tax program, the SPD has actually taken decisive measures to break the living conditions of the working class. Brandt's bourgeois coal-

ition government has created unemployment that is approaching the half-million mark.

### ANTI-COMMUNIST

Furthermore, it has launched an attack on the political freedom of the German working class. The Brandt regime is as viciously anti-communist as those governments led by Adenauer, Erhard, and Kiessinger. The SPD has remained silent as the Government's interior minister—a member of the FDP—demands that the German Communist Party be outlawed.

In addition to this, the Brandt government sought to appease the CDU red-baiters by denying an entry visa last month to the revisionist theoretician of the United Secretariat, Ernest Mandel.

It is this cowardly retreat of the SPD that is opening the way for the CDU to return to power. Under conditions of crisis, a government led by CDU boss Rainer Barzel would be characterized by open preparations for a fascist dictatorship.

### HITLER

At this point, Barzel is covering the real motives behind the CDU drive for power with an hysterical campaign against the treaties negotiated by Brandt with the Soviet Union. All the nationalist filth of the Third Reich—complete with propaganda about the treaties leading to a communist takeover of Germany—is being revived by Barzel.

But the opposition of the CDU to the Moscow treaties is extraordinarily cynical. Barzel realizes that the treaties negotiated by Brandt serve the interests of German capitalism.

As a consequence of the treaties, German businessmen have been able to develop spectacular economic contracts with the Soviet Union. During the first three months of 1972, the Kremlin bureaucrats and the West German entrepreneurs have negotiated deals involving the exchange of millions of dollars.

In January, a West German firm reached agreement with the Kremlin on the construction of a 126 million mark plastics factory on the banks of the Volga. Another deal calls for the billion mark purchase by the Russians of German built railroad equipment.

### TREATIES

All these contracts hinge on the acceptance of the Moscow treaties. So while Barzel may base his parliamentary campaign against the SPD on the rejection of the treaties, there is little doubt that they would be promptly renegotiated by a new CDU Government.

Furthermore, the Moscow treaties serve to enhance the influence of Stalinism within the working class of West Germany. As the Funke, organ of the Trotskyist League of Socialist Workers stated in the issue of March 15:

"The Moscow Treaties...as the last treacherous measure in the pacification of the working class with the 'social-liberal' coalition, serves directly to disarm the working class before the counter-offensive of the working class..."

# Curran's Sellout Threatens NMU Jobs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—On Monday, March 20, at the monthly port meeting of the National Maritime Union rank and file, the union bureaucracy took a big step in ramming through a sellout contract.

A union spokesman told the *Bulletin* that the contract is still in the process of being ratified, that in a week to ten days the union will have received the vote from enough ships to complete the tally.

According to union figures, the vote at the New York port meeting was 326 for and 55 against, and the vote from all the U.S. ports is 3187 for, 126 opposed.

One Group 1 man, which is the highest seniority classification, told the *Bulletin* that the vote on the new contract was not announced prior to the meeting and that only a small number of men attended, while Curran had stacked the meeting with his "mouthpieces." The contract was not fully discussed and any opposition was cut off.

Any organized opposition to the bureaucracy, including James Morrissey's and the Spartacist group in the union have caved in and have not taken up any fight for a decent contract. A hand vote was then taken on the contract which is illegal according to union rules where only a secret ballot is legal.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

Backed up by an agreement by the union not to strike while negotiations were going on, a vicious contract is being pushed

through with no consideration for the fact that seamen have lost, as one Group 2 man stated, 5,000 jobs since the fall of 1968.

The NMU leaders lauded the contract as "within Pay Board guidelines."

The important conditions of the new contract include: 15 percent increase in wages over three years, 5 percent per year which is well within the Pay Board's guidelines, a wage increase that will be eaten up immediately by inflation; an attack on the pension plan—where before a seaman could retire at any age with 20 years qualified sea time, now, as of December 1972, he must also be 55 years of age. They will receive a worthless raise from \$250 to 300 a month.

But as the 18 and 19 year men can tell you, they cannot find work so they cannot get their 20 years qualified time, so no pensions.

The contract makes no provision for taking up a fight to stop the destruction of the NMU, no protection of job security, or for new jobs or for curtailment of containerization which is devastating all of the maritime and longshore unions, coast to coast.

As one Group 1 man said: "I drive a cab. You can't live off \$250 a month anyway." He also said that United Fruit has no U.S. crews on its ships anymore, and that the layup of the Constitution

cost the NMU 600 jobs and the layup of the United States cost the union 1,000 jobs.

There are virtually no passenger ships left and those that still sail are being sold to foreign flags or transferred to the West Coast.

This contract has only been pushed through to this point because there is no organized caucus building an opposition to the attempts of the employers and the government to destroy the union.

A caucus must now be formed fighting on a political basis, taking up a fight to go beyond the limits the Pay Board has set for the labor movement in this fight for survival:

- Rejection of this sellout contract.
- Nationalization of the maritime industry under workers control.
- 30 hour week, at 40 hours pay.
- Labor party in '72.

# UAW Militant Wins Reinstatement After Wildcat

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—On March 29, 1971, Nat Mosley was discharged from the General Motors plant here for his role in leading an unauthorized work stoppage.

The one day strike, which took place on March 23, 1971, was called against racism, overload of work, harassment of workers, and an end to the "scope of selection" where a man can get picked for any job and by-passed for promotion.

Since the creation of G.M.A.D. on October 1, 1971, the conditions remain the same and massive unemployment has been added to the list. Last month, 87 percent of the membership of UAW Local 25 voted to strike against the speedups and layoffs which resulted from G.M.A.D.

After this action and following a year-long battle with GM and UAW bureaucrats, Mosley was hired back in with his old seniority and \$3,000 back pay. But hanging over his head is the maximum penalty of sixty days on his record for five years. This means that he cannot be late or slip up in any way for five years

or he is subject to being fired.

The union now in effect is selling out the rank and file by shelving thousands of grievances for winning a few. As Mosley said: "They hired me back in for 900 grievances."

He went on to say that: "The new management system (G.M.A.D.) would destroy all the rights and privileges the workers have gained. Every plant G.M.A.D. has been put over has had massive unemployment and speed-ups."

Over one thousand workers have been laid off in St. Louis and the assembly lines have been speeded up from 57 cars an hour to 61.

It has just been reported to the *Bulletin* that the Blazer truck line in St. Louis is closing on March 31 and is moving to Detroit leaving 150 workers without work.

# Battle Looms At Taxi Meeting

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Taxi ranks are girding for their semi-annual general meeting, Wednesday, April 12, at New York's Manhattan Center.

Anger and pressure from the drivers has forced the Van Arsdale leadership to drop its support for a "limited number of men at 42%," and launch a minimal fight through selective strikes around the issue of "49% for everyone."

But the Local 3036 bureaucracy has sabotaged every effort to spread these actions to other garages in a massive city-wide shutdown. This is because "49%" is not the only issue.

Van Arsdale knows that the cabbies are ready to throw out the whole 16 month agreement—an agreement which has seen the fleet owners increase their meter profit a whopping 14% through the replacing of a 49% meter with a 42%-er.

## ATTACKS

This general meeting also takes place in the face of continued attacks from the City Council and Taxi Commission. It was revealed early last week that Commissioner Lazar has already leased a warehouse in Long Island City for 10 years at \$44,000 per year for inspections of every licensed "car-for-hire."

He also put in a request for 1.2 million dollars from the City Board of Estimate to renovate the building and buy inspection equipment.

In other words, the City

Council is going to pass Bill 730, and has given Lazar the green light to move ahead anyway. This bill lays the groundwork for the destruction of Local 3036 through the legalization of "gypsies." It also poses the wiping out of every owner driver's entire medallion investment.

## COALITION

The Rank and File Coalition continues to tail-end even the Van Arsdale leadership during these attacks. It has still taken no public position on Bill 730. By abstaining from "selective strikes," they leave drivers defenseless against the sellouts of the Van Arsdale leadership.

It is within this context that Drivers for a Decent Contract call for a city-wide strike vote at the upcoming General Meeting, if no contract is concluded around "60% of the meter." If the Van Arsdale leadership denies this strike vote, a massive citywide shutdown should commence on April 13.

## SHUT-DOWN

As many drivers have echoed in the garages: "We all have to go out. Selective strikes don't mean anything." And if Commissioner Lazar threatens to break the strike, Van Arsdale must make good on his promise to shut the whole city down.



Ballantine workers meet in Newark, N.J. on April 3. Union leadership denounced Friday's militant sit-in of 1,000 workers as "dangerous" to friendly relations with new bosses who may retain 200 of 3,000 workforce.

## BALLANTINE . . .

(Continued From Page 1)  
executive board of Local 843 Brewery Workers came down, met with the men, and explained their plans. One of the workers who helped spark the sit-in explained the action to a *Bulletin* reporter:

## OVERRULED

"We went into work Friday afternoon and we found out that the Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia had overruled Judge Shaw's decision. At about 4PM, one of the stewards in the warehouses got a phone call from the union headquarters to tell the men to go home and that 'We'll get in touch with you.'

"His people started to go home. I got in touch with my steward and I told him what this other steward had been told. He blew his top and said: 'Look, nobody's going to tell me how to run my people. When I confirm the story of us going home, then I'll go home.'

"Well, I was one of the men who took a stand and said: 'We are not going home. We are going

to sit here until some of our officers come down here and tell us right from their mouths that they give us the word it's okay for us to go home.'

## WEAR OUT

"The company tried to wear out our patience, but we stayed. The entire shift stayed on. We had full support.

"At around 9:30PM the entire executive board of Local 843 came in. We put across our point that either everybody works, or nobody works."

One thing that angered the men was that Ballantine officials had constantly lied to them about the closure after all the sacrifices they had made to keep the plant open.

The workers at the brewery are split into three locals—brewery workers, bottlers and drivers. The Joint Executive Board made up of these Locals called a mass membership meeting for the following Monday, April 3. The hall at the Robert Treat Hotel was packed with angry men who wanted to know what the union

leaders would propose.

The head of the Joint Board praised the ranks on their "determination" and the "fine battle you put up." But, he concluded, "We lost." He then introduced the lawyer retained by the union.

The lawyer explained that the union could not allow "picket lines or anything that might hurt our chances to make Falstaff the legal successor. It might scare them."

The lawyer then proposed, with the backing of the whole Joint Board, a resolution to ratify the agreement worked out between them and Falstaff. The agreement gave 200 union members—out of 3,000—jobs in distributing beer for Falstaff in the Northern New Jersey and New York area. It would be in effect for 60 days.

## HOSTILITY

There was a lot of hostility to this perspective. One member got up and stated: "There's more to this than pensions. They are taking away our jobs. We should talk about this and how to save the jobs."

## IC STATEMENT . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

termination and unity for Ireland.

The struggle for such a Labour government can be secured only through the defeat and expulsion of the right-wing Labour traitors. These men, in their own way have already betrayed the British workers to the Monopolists in the Common Market.

Acceptance of direct rule by Labour will inevitably strengthen the extreme right-wing in Ulster and in Britain.

At the same time it has thoroughly exposed and refuted the middle-class fallacy of the Republican Provisionals that terror is the most effective route to self-determination.

Far from leading to real independence and liberation their exclusive reliance to terror and their opposition to Marxism and the revolutionary party have now resulted in a rotten compromise; a belated echo of the wretched 1922 Agreement.

For the second time in 50 years Republicanism has revealed the bankruptcy of bourgeois nationalism and the utter weakness of the Irish middle class.

The revisionist and Stalinist civil rights protestors also bear a responsibility for the confusion and division in the working class because their policies of reform offered no way out for the Protestant workers and strengthened Paisleyism.

The present opposition of the Civil Rights Association to Westminster's "initiative" is totally unprincipled and recognizes the power of Britain to dictate policies to Ulster.

The opposition of the International Socialism revisionists, the International Marxist Group and the Stalinists to a campaign to force the Tories out of power and their tail-ending of Republican-nationalism have strengthened sectarian divisions in the working class and alienated the Protestant workers.

By separating the struggle against internment and for democratic rights from the struggle against the Tory government these reformists act as a political rearguard for imperialism.

The present crisis in Ulster demonstrates again the absolute necessity to expose and smash revisionism and build the Marxist revolutionary party in Ireland.

Similarly those who rely on emotion and radical phrasemongering are singularly silent when the Tory trap of direct rule is sprung.

What unites all these groups is their desire to keep the working class from participating as an independent and conscious force in the national liberation struggle. The International Committee of the Fourth International calls on the class conscious militants in Ulster and in the Republic to learn the lessons of the last four years' struggle, to reject the bankrupt and treacherous labour and nationalists leadership and build the revolutionary Marxist leadership in Ireland, League for a Workers' Vanguard, the Irish section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

- Long live the Irish workers!
- Down with imperialism and its Labourite and nationalist agencies!
- Withdraw the troops immediately!
- Force the Tories to resign!
- Release all internees!
- For a General Election!

## VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

will not permit its sons to be returned to Indochina.

Strategic positions all along the demilitarized zone have been conquered by the National Liberation Front. Supported with rocket attacks, infantry forces now control the area surrounding the city of Quangtri, capital of South Vietnam's northern-most province and major base of operations. American military spokesmen are admitting that the North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces pose a grave threat to the key cities of Hue and Danang.

It is reported that North Vietnam's Defense Minister, Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, announced to the liberation forces that "the United States imperialists have sustained heavy defeats and are facing innumerable difficulties and are in a fix." He also urged them on to "complete victory."

This offensive has demonstrated that the Army of South Vietnam, so lavishly equipped by the Pentagon, is an insignificant military factor. It has never been a fighting force capable of engaging the NLF in any sort of field operation.

What the NLF is presently accomplishing could have been done at any time during the war.

Only the treacherous political leadership of the Stalinists—searching at every point for a compromise with American imperialism—allowed Thieu's army to pose as a combat force.

At the very point when the Johnson Administration was

threatened with total defeat in 1968, the Hanoi government came to the rescue with the Paris Peace Talks.

Although those phoney negotiations permitted the imperialists another four years to strengthen their position in Vietnam, the NLF offensive has once again brought the masses of Indochina to the verge of victory.

Not since the coup engineered by John Kennedy against the Diem regime, has the American position been so weak. Most of Laos is in the hands of the NLF. The Lon Nol regime rules no more of Cambodia than the downtown section of the capital city. And in Vietnam, this new offensive has shown that the Thieu government could be destroyed at any time.

This time there can be no deals permitted with the imperialists. The power of the masses has broken through all the diplomatic barriers erected by Chou En-lai last month during Nixon's Peking visit.

At the same time, this offensive is a sharp slap in the face to the Kremlin bureaucrats planning to talk turkey with Nixon next month in Moscow.

A resumption of full-scale bombing over the North is inevitable. Hanoi and Haiphong will once again be hit by air strikes. At the same time, the Nixon Administration must consider the return of troops to Vietnam.

All these measures will meet the tremendous opposition of the American working class, now decisively opposed to the war.

## CSEA . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

disregarded the strike call of their leaders and worked extra shifts." He said they had shown "commendable humanitarianism."

The "moral outrage" by all of these labor-hating forces is the most despicable hypocrisy. Under Rockefeller and the Democrats, the state institutions are in a shambles because of the budget cuts and staff cut-backs.

A *Bulletin* reporter, who visited Willowbrook after the strike on Monday to speak to workers, observed in Building 6

conditions reminiscent of the horrible asylums of the 18th century.

The tremendous power of the CSEA strike was sabotaged by the treacherous leadership of Theodore Wenzl, who not only accepted a pitifully inadequate wage offer, but by returning to work without amnesty, strengthened the hand of the State and the Wallaceites in their attempts to smash the unions.

It is now necessary for the workers to reject this contract, return to the picket lines and fight for a general strike of the entire New York labor movement to smash the Taylor Law.

## I.T.T. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

Sitting on top of the ITT empire is Harold Geneen, at a salary of \$767,000 a year, the highest paid corporation head in the U.S.

He joined ITT in 1959 and transformed it from primarily a telecommunications industry into a multi-billionaire conglomerate with divisions in every major country of the world.

Its profits have doubled over the years. In 1970, ITT made over \$300 million in profits with assets well over 6 billion. A list of its subsidiaries is staggering.

### OWNS

In addition to its domination of the telephone and transatlantic cable equipment industry, ITT produces radios, TV sets, tape recorders, refrigerators and air conditioners.

Its industrial products service such areas as rail, aviation, electronics and chemicals. It has 56 component plants in 14 European countries. In Germany, ITT

has moved into the production of color TV tubes and it is competing with the French car radio business.

It owns Avis Rent-a-Car, Levitt Construction Company and the Hamilton Life Insurance. Two of its big subsidiaries include the Sheraton Hotel Corporation and the Continental Baking Company. It controls Rayonier, the leading world producer of chemical cellulose and the Pennsylvania Glass Sand Corporation.

The Hartford Fire Insurance Co. was the biggest plum of all with a net income of \$87.9 million in 1970 alone.

The capitalists, such as Geneen, must now move closer than ever to the government and play an openly counter-revolutionary role as they did in Chile. They are the voices who are calling for dictatorship to hold back the working class from taking power.

## WISCONSIN . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Whole sections of workers and youth saw the election as merely a back-stabbing competition between the Democrats, none of whom present any alternative to Nixon. As a younger worker from the Madison Oscar Meyer plant put it:

"They're all a bunch of blowhards. McGovern's the only one who makes sense. Nixon never fulfilled his campaign promises, spent money and killed boys in Vietnam."

"Humphrey's a stool pigeon from the Johnson Administration. He has a nice personality but no direct answers."

### PREDICTIONS

An older worker from the striking Inland-Ryerson Productions Construction Company in West Milwaukee, looked at the history of the two party system when asked his predictions on the Wisconsin primary:

"None of them can live up to their promises. We have two major parties, and some people just get attached to the Democrats or to the Republicans. Every time a Republican has been in office the bottom has dropped out for us on wages, on employment, everything."

In the atmosphere of a Holy Roller revival meeting, complete with Grand Ol Opry Music, prayers blessing Wallace and supporters, and warm greetings from Cornelia and George Jr., Wallace evokes the hysteria of the "average man," confused and insecure in the face of the strength of the labor movement, yet committed to defending the profit system.

In a speech before 2,000 residents of Racine, Wisconsin, a small town some 20 miles south of Milwaukee, Wallace built upon

But his defense of the "little man" especially the small

farmers and businessmen, in the tradition of LaFollette, becomes profoundly reactionary in this period. Wallace pits the middle class against the working class—especially unionists and welfare recipients.

Farmers and small businessmen of the South and Midwest particularly are caught in the middle of the economic crunch. Wallace is more successful now than in 1968 because the frenzy of the middle class has risen to a new high in reaction to the recent strike wave.

Wallace plays upon the insecurities and fears with anti-intellectualism, supposedly aiming his criticism at the slick "big businessmen," and at the "effete snobs" of the northeastern establishment.

But the real attack is on the civil rights and social and economic gains won by workers since World War II. Throughout Wisconsin Wallace stated: "That a vote for me will show those bureaucrats in Washington, D.C. that you are tired of your well-earned money going to some welfare recipient."

### REACTIONARY

By appealing to the most reactionary prejudices, Wallace is building an anti-working class and anti-communist movement.

In Racine, Wallace stated: "There is not a country in the world that we haven't supported from Afghanistan to Zanzibar. And then these countries turn around and tell us we're imperialist and spit in our faces."

A long-time advocate of increased spending, Wallace now boosts sentiment to "make America number one" in the world. With all the grand promises of nationalist supremacy of the Hitler youth to bolster fascism against the labor movement in

Germany, Wallace stirs up a fervor that the U.S. can maintain its dominant military position despite the international economic crisis.

*Bulletin* reporters asked unionists what they thought of the Wallace campaign and received this reply from a Black worker from Inland-Ryerson: "He's a racist advocate. I haven't any more to say about it. Nixon's following Wallace's program."

A fellow picket said: "I think the busing issue's a farce. The people here have gone through it. Most of us are agreed to busing."

To deal with unemployment, Wallace claims that those on welfare are really to blame for the economic crisis and that the cost of welfare is what is driving salaries down and taxes up for the "average man." What Wallace is really seeking to do is to wipe out aid to the unemployed altogether.

But one unionist remarked: "When you get people used to working for wages and you throw them out, that's dangerous. If it gains anymore, that's revolutionary."

Large sections of the labor movement, the UAW and the AFL-CIO, have leafletted against Wallace throughout Wisconsin stating that "a vote for Wallace is a vote for Nixon" but the labor leaders have given no alternative to Nixon or to the Democrats who are moving to adopt Wallace's program.

McGovern has been able to win support from sections of labor that are disenchanted with Humphrey and the traditional leadership of the Democratic Party.

A Black worker also from Inland-Ryerson said this when asked about the need for a labor party: "Everybody tries to beat the labor man. It would be a good party if you got the right people. It would be beautiful."

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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# Seale Urges Support For Democrats

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND—Well over 10,000 people attended the three day Black Community Survival Conference held here by the Black Panther Party.

The crowds came in response to the Panthers promise to distribute 10,000 free

bags of groceries and to listen to the Panthers and other "representatives of the Black community" speak on the question of survival.

Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale revealed what the Panthers' politics are actually about in the speeches he gave at each session of the conference. Seale spoke passionately of the "Survival Program" and the way in which they were going to meet the needs of the people.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

Under conditions of mass unemployment and government preparation for dictatorship, Seale proposed 10,000 bags of groceries today, 10,000 in three months, and 20,000 sometime in the future.

He proposed to get these meager provisions by boycotts of stores and pressuring politicians. On Thursday Seale was explicit when he said that: "support from businesses is not enough, the politicians got to come up with some of that tax money for these programs."

Seale, who less than a year ago called the United States "fascist," today takes the mass sentiment of distrust for the ruling class parties and herds it back into the Democratic Party through the back door of "Survival Programs."

### CRISIS

The deep crisis that this line is causing for the Panthers was fully expressed in the question and answer session to Wisconsin Democrat, Lloyd Barbee. Immediately, the feelings of the audience about the Democrats came to the surface.

### DEMOCRATIC PARTY

One person asked how to tell which politicians to trust and which not to. Barbee's answer was: "The only way you can really have politicians you trust is if you run your own."

But he did not advocate that. Instead, he called for the people at the conference to "let your representative know how you're thinking." In rapid succession after this, he was asked a series of questions about whether the Democratic Party could solve any of the problems facing the working class, and such as the educational cuts and unemployment.

### REACTIONARY

When asked which candidate he supported for President he refused to answer, causing people throughout the audience to shout. One youth said to this reporter that: "Barbee's no different than all those other politicians. All he's interested in is his political future. He's doing this because he needs the votes, he doesn't really want to change anything."

It is clear that this reactionary conference changed very little. On the last day fights almost broke out when there were not enough groceries left for all the people present.



Bobby Seale

## LA Welfare Clients Face Slave Labor

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—The campaign in California to turn welfare clients into an army of forced labor took a new and particularly vicious turn in L.A. County recently.

It just became public knowledge that applicants for general relief, which is administered by the county to those not eligible for state or federal relief, were required to report to various work projects while waiting for as long as 90 days to find out if they were eligible at all.

Needless to say, some have worked on country projects for weeks and then been declared ineligible. The result of this is that the county gets work done for absolutely nothing.

### "MISINTERPRETATION"

Local welfare administrators said that all such cases of slave labor had been a result of a "misinterpretation" of the law on the part of local welfare workers. The only misinterpretation involved for these swine was that their scheme was exposed.

The revelation of local slavery comes at a time when virtually all local municipal unions have been involved in a "sick-in" to protest wages and working conditions. Some of the work projects for welfare clients involve things like office work.

Thus the supervisors' welfare scheme is aimed directly at municipal workers and directly at breaking the unions and driving wages down.

City workers have not been the only targets for forced labor schemes. Other welfare clients have been shipped to farming areas to do farm work in an effort to weaken UFWOC organizing drives as a part of the overall attack upon farm workers.



Panthers held "Survival" rally in Oakland which lured 10,000 workers and youth to support capitalist politician Dellums and liberal program with 10,000 chickens.

# Bridges Gives Up Pay Board Fight

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—An editorial in the latest Dispatcher by Harry Bridges entitled "We Lead Labor's Battle," is a warning to dockers of the betrayals being prepared by the ILWU leadership.

Bridges makes it absolutely clear that he intends to do everything in his power to avoid a fight.

His position remains a complete acceptance of the Pay Board.

While complementing the AFL-CIO for getting off the Board he says: "At least now the Pay Board will have to operate without having a smokescreen of labor cooperation and participation to point to in order to indicate that there is a Board of some fairness and impartiality. So much for the Pay Board for the time being."

### MAKE BELIEVE

In other words, having exposed the Board, the task now is to make believe it has gone away.

Throughout the editorial, he carefully avoids even the mention of strike action against the wage cut restricting himself to statements that the Board decision is not accepted and that the union reserves the right to cancel the contract.

It is clear that his conference with Gleason of the ILA resulted in no real commitment to a fight which is covered over with a vague phrase about the possibility of joint action.

### CONCLUSION

Bridges' final conclusion is that since the ILWU has led the entire labor movement into the fight against the Board it must now work "in concert with the labor movement." This means essentially that it will do nothing for the time being.

He states that: "We ask our longshore and clerks ranks to be patient...and to stand by to take such action as might be necessary..."

Until the Pay Board has acted on the ILA settlement, Bridges will take no action.

### CRIMINAL

The criminal nature of this policy is revealed by the act that the ILA settlement is for 14.9% in wages and fringes which is exactly equal to the pared down ILWU recommendation. Gleason is hoping that the Board will grant this amount and get him off the

hook.

Bridges, as well, would like nothing better than to report that the ILWU cannot strike because Gleason will not support them. Thus he refuses to criticize Gleason and hides this betrayal behind claims of a pact for mutual action.

The Stalinists continue to back up Bridges, reprinting anything he says that even hints at militancy, while heaping abuse on Gleason. All this while Bridges is engaging in some of the most cynical maneuvering in the history of the labor movement.

There is now a very strong sentiment on the West Coast docks for unity with the East Coast for a joint walkout. Most dockers say that they believe that this is the only way to win. The biggest danger is that this leads to an ac-

ceptance of Bridges' wait and see policy.

The ILWU leadership, backed completely by the Stalinists, is using the legitimate concern of the ranks for united action to prevent such a development.

The Pay Board will not simply disappear. The labor movement will have to bring it down by smashing its wage guidelines policy and reversing the dock cuts.

### ILA

Gleason will go to any length to avoid coming out. Only strike action by the West Coast can force Gleason's hand by mobilizing the ILA ranks to go out and preparing the way for a general strike of labor against any attempts by Nixon to break the strike.

## DAVIS . . .

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of guilt."

Throughout her statement, Davis herself blunted and distorted the real nature of this attack and the meaning of the struggles taking place in prisons all over the country. This attempt by the ruling class to silence Angela Davis, as the attack on Juan Farinas and all militants, is the preparation for massive battles to be fought against the entire working class.

This trial is not isolated from Nixon's turn to open racist policies which is part of a conscious plan to divide up the working class, nor is it simply a sick game being perpetrated against an innocent individual.

Because Angela sees her struggle separate from the struggles breaking out in the labor movement, she repudiates the strength of the working class which must be mobilized in her defense.

### LIBERAL

Instead she portrays herself as a liberal, having fought all her life for prison reforms and "to liberate Black and Brown and all oppressed peoples." Her goal is completely idealist.

She says: "In all of my activities, my goal has been to aid in

the creation of a movement to encompass masses of people to move toward a more humane, socialist society."

Obviously Angela Davis does not see the question of socialism as the question for today, but rather that this system can be changed through "the influence of large numbers of people" and could slowly evolve toward socialism.

Speaking of the motive attributed to her by the prosecution, that she was a woman "moved to violence by passion," Davis spoke of her participation in defense work and in particular for the Soledad Brothers, where "we felt the influence of large numbers of people would free them and we were correct."

She consistently denies Attica, the murder of George Jackson, and the whole crisis wracking this system, refusing to see that the capitalists, rather than allowing themselves to be pressured into freeing more prisoners, will turn instead against the whole court system.

By emphasizing the success of public opinion and pressure on the courts, she creates an extremely dangerous illusion, dangerous to herself and to the whole working class now coming under attack.

# West Coast News

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## Deportation Threatens Mexicans

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO—Under the guise of dealing with fraud in the sale of border crossing cards by U.S. Immigration agents, severe restrictions have been placed on the issuance of such permits to enter and travel in the United States.

An officer of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, commonly known as the Border Patrol, has called them "minor changes in regulations."

These words hardly describe the beginning of what could become a wholesale restriction on immigration, and is a further step in whipping up a campaign of repression against Mexican nationals living in the United States.

### PERMITS

Permits to travel in the United States used to be issued with minimum procedure. They allowed travel anywhere in the country for up to 15 days, and could be obtained without documentation.

After years of issuing permits at San Ysidro at the rate of 15,000 to 20,000 per month, the Border

Patrol has suddenly uncovered what must be a vast fraud operation that requires, of all things, restriction on the issuance of crossing cards.

### SELLING

However, the government never revealed the extent of the operation. Instead it changed procedures after the trial of only one Immigration agent accused of card selling.

It is obvious that the fraud is really the lame attempt by the U.S. Government to pose outright restriction on border crossing as some kind of "attack on crime."

### SINISTER

The implications are much more sinister and dangerous. The government has not, in fact, limited the number of people who

may cross the border.

What it has done is to require documentation of information supplied by the applicant, and to restrict the time allowed for travel to the so-called "actual purpose" for which the permit is requested.

### JUDGEMENT

What this means is that the government has, in essence, decided to review, and pass judgment on, the merits of individual cases, with regard to both their background and their reason for entering this country.

This means not only a restriction in the number of applications that can be handled, but also that "undesirables" of any type could be refused entry.

The direct effect is that the many Mexican nationals who come to California seeking jobs may not be able to cross the border. They will be forced into the slums of Tijuana, Mexico by the U.S. Immigration Service.

### DEPORTATION

But all of this is only the beginning. Control of border crossing in one direction implies control in the other direction. And that is what is being proposed in the campaign against "illegal aliens" that is being whipped up here. There is every indication that mass deportation is being planned through these border regulations.

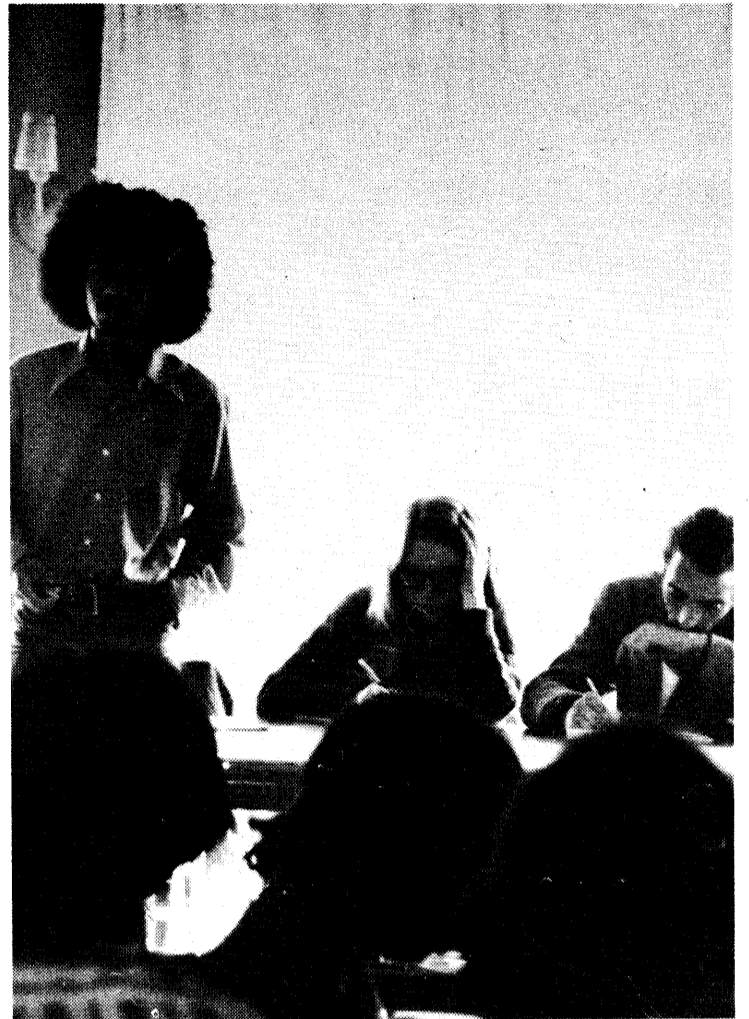
This is nothing new. In the depths of the Great Depression, hundreds of thousands of Mexican national and even American citizens from Mexico, were literally rounded up and herded across the border in night raids and mass deportations.

### RACIST

That threat is raised again now as the capitalist class musters all its viciousness to step up racist attacks on sections of the working class in order to weaken its resistance.

The trade union leaders who support such government actions, like Chavez of the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee, are consciously deceiving workers with nationalism. The real situation is that an attack on workers at the border will become an attack on those within the border.

After the Mexican nationals, the U.S. trade unions and the entire working class will be subject to "minor changes in regulations" by the American capitalists and their government.



San Francisco Young Socialists hold meeting to carry forward decisions made at West Coast Youth Conference. YS is preparing to organize demonstration on April 22 to defend Vietnamese revolution against Stalinist policies of betrayal which will be expressed in their rally the same day to attract youth to liberal politicians.

## Jury Acquittal Of Soledad Brothers Enrages Reagan

BY STEVE SAYLOR

SAN FRANCISCO—After two years on "trial," Soledad Brothers John Clutchette and Fleeta Drumgo were declared innocent on the charges of murder and aggravated assault.

Their trial was the most vicious example of what the capitalists intend for the entire working class. The Brothers have been under constant harassment in prison and in their court appearances, they were shackled by chains to the table. It was during their trial that spectators were pulled out of court for taking notes of the trial and the defendants' own lawyer was arrested for attempting to enter the court to represent them.

The only "evidence" that the state had consisted of contradictory statements of recently released "snitches," that is, prison informers within the prison.

### EXPOSES

The reaction of the jurors to this "trial" really exposes the fraudulent nature of the case. John Callahan, a young airline ticket agent said of the case: "It's time the establishment learns that they can't get the jury system to do their dirty work for them."

"We (the jurors) suffered through five months just to get the truth, but they suffered through two years to get justice."

Another juror, Harry Die-thelem, an ex-soldier in the German Army during World War II

said of the case: "The trial was legally fair but morally unfair because there were no Blacks on the jury."

### JUSTICE

Unable to fix a conviction in court, the capitalist press has now gone head over tail to gleefully express the just and fair workings of the capitalist system of justice.

The Christian Science Monitor went so far as to say that only in America could such a model of justice prevail. Behind all this whitewash is the real preparation to suppress any and all trials in the United States.

As one of the jurors correctly concluded, the state is finding it more and more difficult to get convictions in their own courts.

### VICTORY

Nixon and Wallace now lead the attack on the courts and the constitution. In California, where the death penalty has been overruled by the state court as being a cruel and unusual punishment, Reagan and the capitalist press now take up the cudgels on "the right of the courts to legislate."

The clearing of the Soledad Brothers is a great victory for the working class. Its movement in a fight for power will end such "justice" forever.

## Angela Brands Charges 'Fantastic'

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He stated that he intended to show that it was she who planned it, aided its commission, provided the guns and ammunition and had the motive.

According to the prosecution, the objective was to exchange six hostages, Judge Haley, Assistant Marin District Attorney Gary Thomas and four women jurors for George Jackson.

The main thrust of the prosecution's remarks was that it was a deep love for George Jackson, one of the three Soledad Brothers, which motivated her to commit violence, to plot the "ingenious" escape attempt that ended as a "bloody day of horror."

### FANTASTIC

On Wednesday, Angela Davis, acting as her own defense, presented her opening statement. Miss Davis branded Harris' remarks as "utterly fantastic, based solely on guess-work, speculation and conjecture...and only your guesses can fill the

gigantic gaps in the prosecution's case."

It has been the contention of the prosecution throughout the pre-trial hearings and the jury selection that this is not a political trial, but rather that a crime was committed and that Angela Davis "did in fact and in law commit the crimes charged in the indictment."

Harris has very consciously sought to remove any political basis for the motive and tried earlier in the trial to remove one of the overt acts from the indictment which was: that Angela Davis attended a rally calling for the freedom of the Soledad Brothers.

### GAME

Angela Davis correctly stressed the importance of understanding the nature of the trial which the prosecution has transformed. But then she describes it as "a sick kind of game he (the prosecution) has invented, repeatedly saying that Harris was "transforming normal human conduct to evidence

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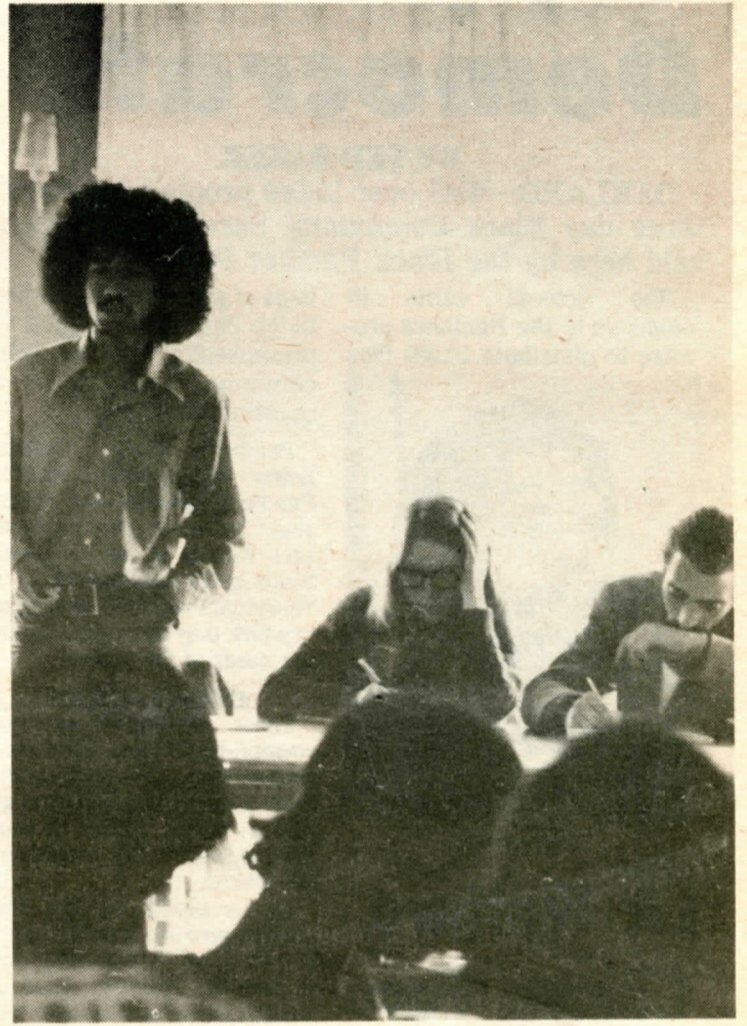
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