

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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DECEMBER 25, 1972

103

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Drive**

Over The Top!

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We wish to thank all our supporters in this holiday season for this effort which has made it possible for us to proceed with our plans to install a web offset press so the the Bulletin can expand to 24 pages, the Young Socialist appear as a 16 page monthly newspaper, and a basis laid for the Daily Bulletin.

Communist Party Opposes Fight For Congress Of Labor

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Critical to the fight for the Congress of Labor and the labor party is the unmasking of the criminal role of the Stalinist American Communist Party within the working class. At a time when masses of workers are moving toward a break with the capitalist parties and toward the type of political struggle against Nixon that will pose the questions of socialism and power, the Stalinists try desperately to divert this movement into the direction of impotent protest and reformism.

This is the objective behind the call by the CP Central Committee for "United Labor Action" that appeared in the December 14 issue of the Daily World.

FRAUD

No worker should think for a moment that the Communist Party has decided to mount even the

slightest challenge to Nixon's war against the trade unions. This "call to labor" by the CP for "united action NOW!" is a cynical fraud.

What the Stalinists put forward are not specific proposals to smash the Pay Board—particularly a general strike—but hysterical appeals for unity around the bankrupt program of the trade union bureaucracy.

The CP does not call for the construction of a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans but rather for rallying "support of all labor's potential friends."

This statement, signed by CP General Secretary Gus Hall, declares: "The workers can win only if we learn the lesson of the outcome of the 1972 elections: a divided working class can only bring victory for the corporations and racists."

Their call for "Labor-Community Conferences" has nothing in common with the fight of the Continuations Committee for the Congress of Labor. We summon the working class to a Congress in which it will hammer out its program of action to defeat Nixon and to construct a labor party that will replace him and form a workers government pledged to socialist policies.

PHONY

The Communist Party, on the other hand, wants a phony conference that will map out protest activities to cover up for the continuation of the

trade union bureaucracy's treacherous collaboration with the Democrats and Nixon.

This is made very clear in the statement. The CP assures the working class that the organization of Strike Support Committees "will favorably affect the outcome of the negotiations." The Stalinists plan nothing but pressure upon the employers through the trade union bureaucracy.

The Communist Party is putting forward the line of the trade union bureaucracy, which is designed to prevent the working class from fighting Nixon.

The call by the Stalinists for "united Labor action" does not represent a break from the perspective that lay behind their reactionary support to McGovern but a treacherous deepening of that strategy. Their position remains: no action and no labor party.

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We call on all trade unionists to make preparations to attend the emergency meeting of the Continuations Committee in St. Louis and demand that their locals send delegations.

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Workers and youth discuss at literature table during two day conference of the Workers League of Canada. This conference, the second held in Montreal takes place shortly after the Canadian labor party, the NDP, won significant victories throughout Canada. The conference takes forward the fight against the new Tory government, to bring the NDP to power, pledged to socialist policies.

Tito Orders 25% Wage Cut For Yugoslav Workers

BY ED SMITH

The Stalinist bureaucracy in Yugoslavia, headed by Marshall Tito, has ordered mass wage cuts of up to 25 percent for nearly one million Yugoslav workers, primarily in heavy industry and the mines. Many thousands more, mostly white collar and other "non-productive" sectors of the work force, face a wage freeze for the first six months of next year.

The wage cuts are contained under new regulations passed by the Tito government, fixing wages next year at 90 percent of what they were in 1971. On this basis, some workers face losing 25 percent of their present wages.

The measure applies to 40 percent of the workers of the province of Serbia (about half a million people), several hundred thousand in Croatia, and tens of thousands in the other provinces.

Through the wage cuts and campaigns for more productivity, the bureaucracy hopes to make Yugoslavia even more attractive as a lucrative field for foreign capitalist investment.

The Yugoslav economy is in deep trouble. Exports to Europe are falling while inflation has shot up. This means the Yugoslav economy is at a growing disadvantage within the world capitalist market.

ABUSES

The Tito bureaucracy, pretending to avoid the abuses of Stalinism, decentralized the economy, setting the individual industrial enterprises on a profit-making basis, combined with big foreign capitalist investment. This was nothing more than an attempt to meet the economic problems by making big concessions to capitalism.

Now these decisions are coming home to roost. With the national economy in trouble, the individual factories are showing losses. The so-called "workers' self-management" of the factories has no jurisdiction over Tito's wage cuts, ordered by the government Social Accountancy Service.

Through this Service, the government has blocked the accounts of over 2000 firms who have suffered losses. In many

firms, workers have to wait months to receive their pay and some firms are running into difficulty paying wages at all. In the province of Slovenia alone, firms have debts of \$25 million—not to mention the debts of past years.

The bureaucracy proposes to meet this dangerous situation, which is only a reflection of the growing breakdown of the world capitalist system, by making an even bigger turn to the right.

EXCHANGEABLE

By next year the dinar, Yugoslavia's currency, will be fully exchangeable on the world market. At the same time, restrictions will be eased so that foreign capitalist investors can move their profits from Yugoslavian investments out of the country.

Through these measures, the state monopoly of foreign trade, one of the main bulwarks of the economy of a workers' state against the pressure of the capitalist market, will be essentially destroyed.

Currently Yugoslav representatives are in Belgium negotiating trade terms with the Common Market, the cartel of West European monopolists. The Common Market hopes to integrate Yugoslavia into a Mediterranean trade area which will include the military dictatorships of Turkey and Greece.

CRISIS

The crisis of "socialism in one country" is not confined to Yugoslavia or Rumania. In the Soviet Union itself, Premier Aleksei Kosygin has revealed in the current issue of the Communist Party journal, *Kommunist*, that net economic growth amounted to four percent—a decline from six percent in 1971, and nine percent in 1970.

The growth rate has gone down

by one-third each of the past two years and the growth rate for this year was the lowest in a decade. Industrial productivity is half that of the United States; in agriculture only a fifth of the U.S. Also, productivity has not risen at the projected rate this year either.

ATTACKS

The bureaucracy's past attacks in the past few months provoked an unprecedented response from the working class, including strikes and public demonstrations by workers against the policies of the bureaucracy.

The new wage-slashing, codified in government law, which means that government force can be used against working class resistance, means the stage has been set for massive, nationwide battles by the Yugoslav working class to defend their gains against the attacks of the bureaucracy.

Big Left Vote In Japan Jolts Tanaka Regime

BY

A CORRESPONDENT

The Japanese elections last week increased the representation of the Socialist Party from 87 seats to 118 and of the Communist Party from 14 to 38 in the Japanese House of Representatives.

The Liberal-Democratic (conservative) Party saw its parliamentary majority of 292 reduced by 15 seats. The Democratic Socialists, a right-wing split off from the Socialists, and the Komeito Party, political arm of the Soka Gakkai Buddhist sect, also dropped many seats.

The Socialists and Communists are moving toward a united front

Nixon Launches All-Out Offensive

BY MELODY FARROW

With the breakdown in the "peace talks" in Paris Nixon has opened up a new stage of the war in Vietnam to break the tremendous resistance of the workers and peasants against imperialism.

Only hours after Henry Kissinger's news conference, on the very day a "peace" agreement was supposed to be reached, Nixon ordered unprecedented bombing raids against men, women and children in the residential areas of Hanoi. U.S. planes attacked without interruption at low altitudes, dropping tons of bombs.

The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong were the heaviest raids of the war. Nixon has ordered a remining of the harbors as well as a broadening of the bombing raids to areas never hit before. What the U.S. has been unable to achieve at the bargaining table, it now tries to get with mass murder.

In reality the U.S. government has deliberately generated a phony peace atmosphere to prepare the next stage of the war in Vietnam.

Kissinger's claim last October that "peace is at hand" has been exposed as a cynical and deliberate fraud designed to win Nixon's election. Nixon was aided in this by the fraudulent peace propaganda churned out by the Stalinists.

Only the action of the American working class as part of the struggle to defend the unions against Nixon's attacks on wages, jobs and union rights with a general strike and the building of a labor party can end this war.

"BLACKMAIL"

On Sunday Kissinger declared: "We will not be stampeded into an agreement, we will not be blackmailed into an agreement...until its conditions are right."

In a statement which reveals the real motives for the breakdown in the talks, Kissinger said: "We cannot accept the

proposition that North Vietnam has a right of constant intervention in the South...We will not make a settlement which is a disguised form of continued warfare."

Throughout the news conference, Kissinger refused to reveal what Nixon's main objections to the original October agreement were. He claimed that Hanoi had made major last minute changes and that Thieu's objections to the October draft were a serious problem.

Kissinger's talk about an agreement that would mean "continued warfare" in reality means that Nixon will not accept any settlement in which the NLF maintains its rightfully gained strength in the South.

This is why tons of new military supplies and thousands of civilian and technical advisors were sent to Saigon, propaganda

(Continued On Page 18)

Argentine Youth Clash With Police

The Justicialist Party, the political instrument of Argentine dictator Juan Peron, has nominated Dr. Hector J. Campora, a 57 year old dentist and aide to Peron, for president in the upcoming Argentine national elections in March.

The nomination was denounced as absurd by leaders of the powerful Peronist trade union movement, who walked out of the convention. Campora is given no chance to win the election.

Peron left Argentina last Thursday for Paraguay. He left behind statements declining the presidential nomination and endorsing Campora. He will soon embark on a world tour to, among other places, Rumania and China.

Peron declined to challenge the military because he is afraid of the movement of the working class. Even before his departure, Peronist youths had battled with police in a Buenos Aires suburb on a demonstration honoring two 1970 victims of police violence. The battle left one dead and 30 injured, including 14 police.

Peron's heralded return to Argentina was a trip to fix a deal with the country's ruling military junta, ending with the nomination of Campora, who can provide no discomfort for the generals.

The walkout of the trade union chiefs from the Peronist party convention is an expression of the breakdown of Peronism itself and its hold on the Argentinian working class. Peron's deal with the military is a powerful affirmation of the necessity to build an independent revolutionary party that can free the working class from Peronism.

19 Steelworkers Die In Explosion At Weirton's 'Showcase' Plant

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

WEIRTON, W. Va.—A large sign at gate No. 5 of the Weirton Steel Division of National Steel Corporation reads: "Make Safety a Way of Life." That seems to be the extent of the concern for its employees that this company and others, such as the Koppers Construction Company of Pittsburgh, can muster.

On the morning of December 15, the worst disaster in the history of this city took place at the Brown's Island Coke Plant, which is being built for the Weirton Steel Division by the Koppers Construction Company. Nineteen were killed and 10 were injured by an enormous explosion in the 87 oven, battery basement of the modern, new works which were intended to be a showcase for the entire steel industry.

Koppers officials said they were baffled as to the cause of the explosion, as a team of two dozen company officials investigated the accident. At the time of the explosion, the ovens, part of an underground system designed to prevent air pollution in the coke-making process of the new plant, were being heated prior to being fully charged on December 29.

Coke oven gas, which was being piped across the Ohio River from the older coke battery in the Weirton Steel Plant, was being used to heat up the ovens, a process which has been underway since July, used to help dry the mortar which is used in its construction. A Weirton Division spokesman said the blast may have been triggered by gas seeping from the walls of the ovens.

GAS

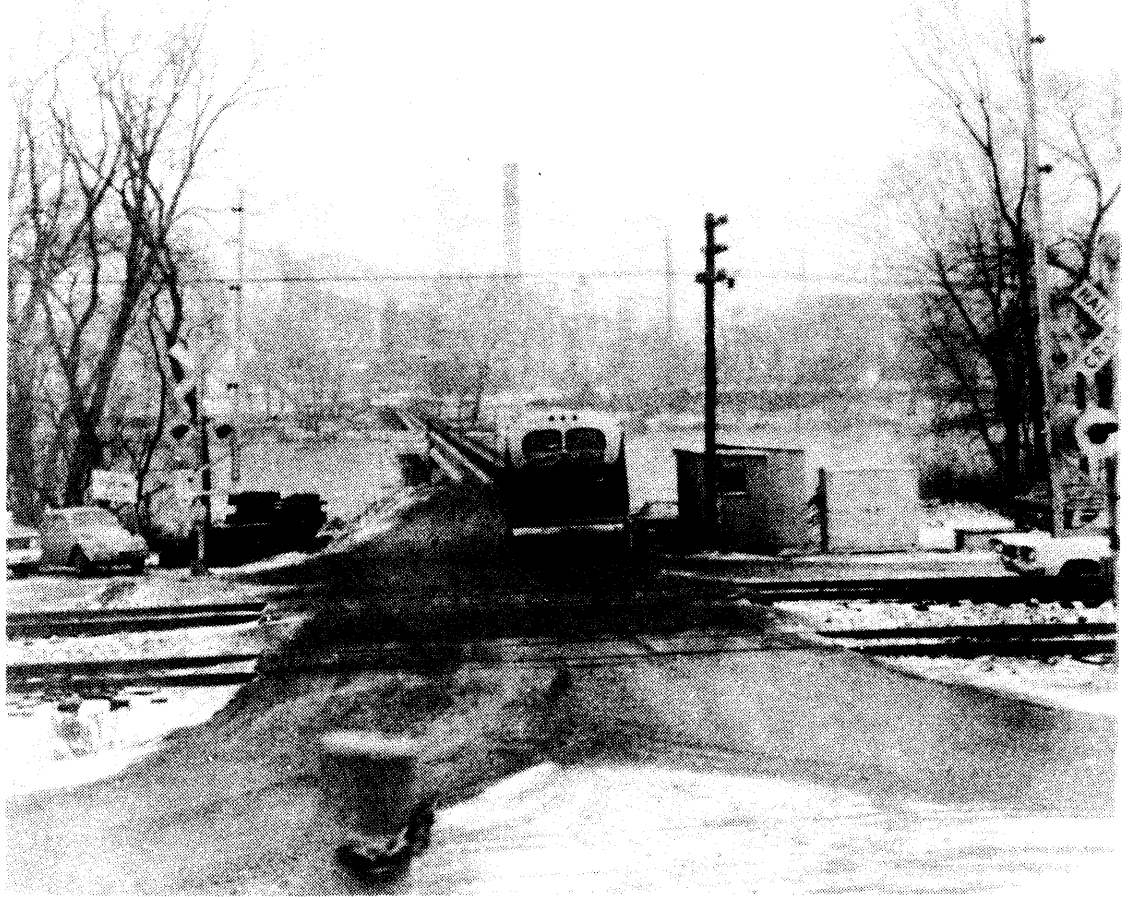
It was reported that fewer men were in the area than usual at the time of the blast because the coffee break had just been completed. According to a report, the Koppers Company was guarding

the injured survivors in the local hospital with its own security officials to prevent the press from seeing any of them.

While the company might have been "baffled" as to the extent of the accident, *Bulletin* reporters spoke with ambulance personnel, who had fairly conclusive information on the subject. One of them, Paul Geary, was on the island at the time of the blast, 25 to 50 yards away, and said that two of the men on the job had already passed out from gas inhalation before the blast occurred. He said there had been reports of gas in the area before the explosion and that he was answering a call for help for the two men who had passed out before the blast.

Describing the explosion, he said: "It shook the ambulance and all you could see was gray smoke. It was a mess." He said that 60 men were in the area at the time and that the 19 who were killed were on a coffee break.

Another rescuer, Harvey Templin, of Steubenville, Ohio, said that he and his partner, John (Continued On Page 18)



The National Steel Corporation murdered nineteen and injured ten in the worst gas explosion ever. The *Bulletin* went to the scene at Brown's Island Coke Plant.

Abel and Steel Bosses Agree To More Layoffs, Speedup

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

WASHINGTON—500 members of the United Steel Workers of America leadership and the American Steel Management, members of the Productivity Commission established under the 1971 steel contract met in Washington, D.C. December 14.

USWA President I.W. Abel and Commerce Secretary Peterson set the tone of the conference, which will lay the basis for further cutbacks in

the work force and wages throughout the entire steel industry.

The position of the union bureaucracy, expressed by Abel,

was to attack imported steel and foreign investments, while leaving the American capitalists with free reign over the methods of production. These methods have already resulted in large cutbacks and brutal speedup in plant after plant across the country.

Peterson, addressing himself to Abel's speech, opposed this position as "isolationist." The American ruling class is not opposed to attacking the jobs and living standards of the working class in other countries, but in order to do this it must be able to maintain its huge overseas holdings; investments which constitute in many cases the imports Abel would like to outlaw.

Peterson stressed the need to make other countries pay for their right to compete through further revaluation of their currencies. Both Abel and Peterson agreed to make conditions more unfavorable for foreign workers, while making the American worker more productive.

DANGER

The very existence of this productivity committee, sanctioned by the USWA bureaucracy, represents an extreme danger to every steel worker. The participation of the union legitimized the Committee and greatly limits the ability of the union to fight the layoffs and speedup coming out of the Committee's decisions.

A spokesman for the Sparrows Point Local 2610 at Bethlehem told the *Bulletin* that for every million tons of steel produced, 6000 jobs have or will be lost. With the current production of 18 million tons, this has meant 154,-

(Continued On Page 18)

260 Philly Dockers To Be Sacked

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

On January 1, 13 gangs will be laid off from the Philadelphia docks, thereby throwing 260 men out of work. In addition to these layoffs, one of the major shipping companies, the Luckenbach Steamship Company, has stated that they will be going out of business in the next few months.

As reported in last week's *Bulletin*, the men have been denied their Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI) for the past two months and with Luckenbach's announcement of the bankruptcy, which means the reneging of payment of the GAI, it becomes crystal clear that the bosses have no intention of paying the GAI.

The attacks on the longshoremen in Philadelphia follows the threat to the jobs of Brooklyn dockers by the closing

of three piers. One Brooklyn docker from Pier 6, one of the piers scheduled for closure, told the *Bulletin*: "This situation is impossible. I have worked on these docks for 25 years. Now I'll have to go to the hiring hall and most likely be without a job."

On the Manhattan docks over 170 men have been thrown off the GAI with the implementation by the New York Shipping Association of the new work rules, the multiple debiting system.

The new stage of the attack on longshoremen is a product of the contract accepted by the Gleason leadership. Since the signing of this contract, the leadership has refused to lift a finger to defend the jobs and conditions of the ILA ranks. Instead the leadership has collaborated at each point with the shippers and Nixon.

The fight in the ILA against Gleason must proceed now with the building of an opposition caucus in all ports around the following program:

*Strike action against the closing of any pier or port;

*Renegotiation of the present contract to eliminate PDO and the new work rules and to incorporate the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay;

*Nationalization under workers control of all docks, piers and shipping lines;

*For a Congress of Labor to prepare general strike action against Nixon's attacks and to construct a labor party.



Emergency Meeting of Trade Unionists

Called by the Continuations Committee of the National Conference For A Labor Party Now

To Answer Nixon's Attacks

Sunday February 18
St. Louis Gateway Hotel
822 Washington Ave. (downtown St. Louis)
9:00 AM

Registration & Room \$8.00

For reservations and more information write Continuations Committee at 135 West 14th Street, 6th Floor, New York 10011. Tel. 212-924-0852



Tenants from the Stella Wright housing projects have received wide support in their strike against poor living conditions. Above, woman from Newark suburbs discusses with one of the tenants.

600 Tenants Jam Court To Defend Newark Strike Leader

BY DAVID NORTH

NEWARK, Dec. 18—Accompanied by more than 600 angry tenants as he stood in the Superior Court this morning, rent strike leader Toby Henry pleaded guilty to having redistributed \$94,000 in back rent payments after the City Housing Authority refused to improve conditions in the Stella Wright projects.

Arrest UFW Florida Camp Organizers

BY BRUCE McKAY
BELLE GLADE,
Fla.—Organizers for the United Farm Workers Union are faced with a mounting campaign of police harassment as the growers mobilize their forces for an all-out attempt to break the movement of farmworkers.

In the latest incident, a UFW organizer from Clewiston and two student volunteers were arrested for trespassing while talking to Jamaican cane cutters at the Sugar Cane Growers Cooperative Labor Camp No. 2.

Arrested were organizer Hugh Pague and David Frieser and Steven Wolfe, who are both students at Sarasota's New College.

Both Frieser and Wolfe worked briefly as cutters last month but were fired when they allegedly could not meet the inhuman cutting quotas demanded by the company.

ARRESTS

These arrests are the latest in a series of trespassing charges brought against union organizers by the companies in an attempt to keep the labor camps closed. The Jamaican workers are locked up in the camps under conditions of virtual slavery.

Florida UFW Director Eliseo Medina said this week the union intends to wage a legal battle to open up the camps to organizers.

"We're prepared to be jailed in order to open up these camps," he said. "Florida growers think they can scare away the UFW by arresting organizers and locking them up. The UFW is here, we have a very serious commitment and we're not scared."

The harassment of union organizers is only the prelude to the vicious attacks on farmworkers now being readied by the growers and the government.

The trade union movement must prepare to defend itself against the violent anti-union assault with which the big corporations hope to destroy the unions and the living and working conditions of American workers.

However, Judge Irving Kimmelman, who has refused to stop right-wing Assemblyman Anthony Imperiale's racist campaign to block construction of Kawaida Towers, delayed sentencing of Henry because, as he stated, "I don't want to help you become a martyr just before Christmas."

Kimmelman ordered Henry to reappear before the court on January 3.

Afterwards, Henry told the Bulletin that Kimmelman had not been prepared for the 600 tenants and was scared to pass sentence at that time.



"But comes January 3," said Henry, "He'll have the courts surrounded with cops to stop the tenants from coming into the courtroom."

Last Friday, Henry received strong support for his call for a general strike in Newark to support the rent strike and for a labor party to lead a political fight against Nixon's attacks on all workers.

Speaking at a public meeting called by the Workers League in defense of the rent strike, Henry declared that he had spent more than two years trying to win the support of liberal politicians for the fight of the tenants.

"None of that helped," he said. "What we need now is action by the working people."

The New Jersey AFL-CIO must mobilize its ranks to support the fight of the Newark tenants with general strike action and break with the parties of big business responsible for the attacks on all workers in the state.

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CBS Crashes St. Louis Picket Line

BY A REPORTER

Determined to crush the two month old strike of technicians fighting to save their jobs, CBS has called on the police to defend scabs being brought from out of state to do work normally performed by union members.

Ray J. Moore, business manager of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 4, charged in a letter to Missouri Governor Warren Hearnes that police were used from November 17 to 19 in order to help Oklahoma strikebreakers enter the St. Louis sports stadium so that CBS could telecast a football game.

DUPLICATING

CBS, he added, had carefully prepared for the crashing of the St. Louis IBEW picket line.

CBS is duplicating its actions in St. Louis throughout the country. In New York City, scabs are sleeping overnight in the broadcast facilities.

These strikebreaking activities by CBS are being abetted by the courts which have ordered members of AFTRA, the broadcasters union, not to honor the picket line.

"The situation is becoming very strained here," one striker in New York told the Bulletin. "The wheeler-dealers are on the way out in the unions and the companies.

"You can see it in this strike. People are starting to say: this is it."

Two weeks ago, more than 2000 trade unionists demonstrated in front of CBS offices in New York in support of the strike.

71 Fired In Lindsay's Drive Against SSEU

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Seventy one welfare workers in New York City have been discharged after administrative hearings for lateness and absenteeism. These "disciplinary actions," along with fines and suspensions, were handed out during one of the most vicious press campaigns against Social Service staff.

Claiming workers sleep, exercise and play chess during their working hours, a witch-hunt atmosphere was created for the firings.

SSEU President Bart Cohen has done nothing to defend the union membership from these attacks. He has in fact opened the door to them through his refusal to oppose the rising workloads, staff decreases, attacks on civil service and most dangerously, the implementation of Community Social Services (CSS).

The CSS program would atomize some 2700 SSEU members into 46 locations in the community. Of these the city has secured funds for only seven. These seven are only funded to the end of the fiscal year.

Clearly CSS will enable the city to rapidly remove social service staff from its payrolls and is an open attack on the union.

At the same time, the wage increase won by the union in the

last contract is being held up by the Pay Board.

This situation must be turned around by both the December 20 Delegates Assembly and the upcoming January Membership Meeting. This can only be done by passing the motion put forward by the Committee for New Leadership which calls for:

- A policy of no movement of SSEU staff into CSS or any other new program until a complete blueprint detailing workload, manning, job content, promotions, and funding is negotiated with the union and voted on in membership referendums on location.

- Demand that the DC 37, Central Labor Council, and all bodies of the AFL-CIO convene a Congress of Labor for the purpose of preparing a general strike against the Pay Board and launching a labor party to take up a political fight in defense of the unions.



Young Socialist®

Send your letters to:
Abby Rodriguez, Editor
Young Socialist
6th Floor, 135 W. 14th Street
New York, N.Y. 10011

The Young Socialists -- A Year Of Struggle

December 18, 1972 marked the first anniversary of the Young Socialists. On this date last year, while the representatives of the biggest capitalist nations throughout the world met in a vain attempt to settle this economic crisis, 300 youth began the struggle to build a mass revolutionary Trotskyist youth movement to lead the fight against capitalism in the U.S.

The perspective presented at the East Coast Conference stated that this economic crisis would force Nixon and the ruling class into an all-out attack on the most basic rights of the working class, with the youth and students getting the brunt of the attacks.

The Smithsonian agreements reached by the capitalist class on that day have since broken down with the devaluation of the British pound and the Japanese yen, forcing an enormous trade war and attacks on the working class.

Following the re-election of Nixon, the most vicious campaign has been launched by the government against the basic right youth have to a job and decent education.

*Unemployment has soared over five million, while youth unemployment is over 17 percent.

*Inflation has steadily risen, causing a drop in college enrollment because of the tuition increases and the high price of clothing, food, and rents.

*Training programs for the youth, along with other reforms the working class won, have been slashed by the government.

*Nixon has declared his intention to eliminate the right to a decent education for the youth.

Within the last year, a budget crisis has racked every section of the country, eliminating programs, teachers, and creating overcrowding conditions in the schools.

*In Detroit, the government will eliminate school for two months because of lack of funds.

*In Chicago, the School Board is threatening to close the term a week early.

*In New York, parents, teachers and students have united and taken boycott actions in Ocean-Hill Brownsville and East Harlem against budget cuts.

*The chapter chairman of the United Federation of Teachers at John Dewey High School has organized a demonstration of Dewey students, teachers and parents against the Board of Education.

*Newark's Central High School has been threatened with complete shut down.

*And two students were brutally murdered in Baton Rouge.

In the face of this, when revolutionary leadership is critical to lead the struggles of youth against the government, every political tendency has retreated from the scene or played the most reactionary role.

The December 18 conference voted unanimously for the resolution which stated that the Young Socialists could only be built in a ruthless fight against those who will betray the working class and youth, that is, the Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League, youth movement of the Communist Party, and the revisionist Young Socialist Alliance, youth movement of the Socialist Workers Party.

While the Young Socialists campaigned for the unions to take strike action and call for a Congress of Labor to form a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans, the YWLL heaped attacks and slandered us as Nixon supporters, while they campaigned for McGovern.

Now the CP, seeing that the working class has completely rejected their reactionary support for McGovern, have mimicked our call for the independence of the working class—but without a call for strike action.

The crisis within the revisionist camp of the YSA has also entered a new stage. The rightward movement has increased rapidly with Nixon's election, creating panic among the middle class elements that the revisionists have based their movement on.

Their annual convention last month was evidence of the lack of perspective, and demoralization, as their unprincipled alliances with the Stalinists and Democrats blows up in their face.

Throughout the first year of the YS, we have been the only movement that has addressed itself to the need of the youth to turn towards the trade unions.

Only the YS has fought to mobilize the working class into a political fight against the government through the fight for the Congress of Labor and a labor party.

Through this fight, we have launched the Midwest YS and the West Coast YS in this year. Because of the growing necessity of revolutionary leadership we have begun preparations to launch the YS nationally on May 26-27 in New York.

From there, we will go on to establish an independent 16 page monthly Young Socialist in the fall.

We call on every youth to join us in the building of this movement at this critical point to defend the working class.

Students Fight Move To Shut Dewey HS



Brooklyn's John Dewey H.S. parents, students and teachers unite in a massive demonstration at the Board of Education against budget cuts, which would cut special programs in the school.

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

BROOKLYN—Over 2000 students along with teachers and parents stormed the front of the Board of Education at 110 Livingston Street last week in protest against the immense budget cuts at John Dewey High School.

Angered by the threat to turn John Dewey from an experimental learning program into a regular double session high school, many youth carried the banner of the Young Socialists contingent and shouted slogans which called for the United Federation of Teachers to take city-wide strike action, and call a Congress of Labor to build a labor party.

The demonstration, organized by the chapter chairman of the UFT at John Dewey, reflected the rapid movement of workers and youth to defend the basic right to education upon which Nixon has unleashed a vicious campaign.

Beginning with September 17 teachers positions were taken away. Each teacher has charge of 175 students. Of those teachers only 6 have been reinstated, which has caused classes to consolidate creating conditions in which over fifty students can be found in a single class.

John Dewey, the only school in the country based on an experimental learning program, is only four years old and should the government win, all the programs will be eliminated.

Already programs such as "Four in One," designed to help students learn more in the field he is interested in, has been cut in half.

The DISK (Dewey Independent Study Kit) program where students are allowed to take a course independently with the choice of having a teacher, paraprofessional, or learning on independent study has also been subjected to cuts.

This program is the center of the John Dewey system, where students work at their own pace taking as many classes as preferred during an eight hour

day. It enabled students to go through four years of high school in just two years.

While tremendous support was given to the Young Socialists demands, the demonstration itself was kept on the level of protest, by the UFT.

The danger of this policy was seen when assemblymen and a state senator were allowed to speak on the platform. Their demagogic speeches had no solu-

tion to the problems facing students and teachers.

The only answer to the attacks on John Dewey High School and the entire educational system throughout the country is for the unions to take strike action and wage a political fight against the Democrats and Republicans.

It is this fight for a Congress of Labor and the building of a labor party which the Young Socialists will take forward by building a YS branch at Dewey.

Newark Central High To Close

BY LIANA FLORES

NEWARK—Central High School, where students attend classes under virtual prison conditions, will be closed down at the end of the year because of Newark's financial crisis.

The Board of Education, which runs one of the most overcrowded school systems in the entire country, is trying to blame the students for the shutdown that was threatened last week.

CLEAN UP

Charles Bell, president of the Board of Education, said that Central will either "clean up or close down." He pretended that the Board is worried about a "very serious" drug problem. He also complained about a "night club atmosphere" in the student lounge.

But Bell is lying through his teeth. Central may be closed down because Newark is on the verge of bankruptcy and the corporations which control the city won't spend the money to save the school.

This same Board of Education that complains about the level of education in Central did all it could last year to destroy the Newark Teachers Union.

In order to prevent the students

at Central from fighting back against the threatened shutdown, the school administration has launched a reign of terror.

Police agents roam all around the school and the Board has said it will establish new discipline codes for Central.

Out of 1500 students enrolled at Central, only 42 are in the work-study orientation group. But even these students have little chance of finding a decent job after graduation or during the summer.

What is happening to Central is taking place in every part of the country. Youth in every city are having their right to a decent education taken away.

Teachers have also been hit hard, especially in Newark where the Board has imposed massive fines on the union so that it is thousands of dollars in debt.

The Newark Young Socialists will take up a fight against the threatened shutdown of Central and call for the unity of students, teachers and parents against the attacks on education.

Governor Orders Job Freeze At Minnesota U.

BY A YS REPORTING TEAM

MINNEAPOLIS—Governor Wendell Anderson, just having declared a hiring freeze on state employees, moves now to extend this freeze to University faculty and employees. This action is the latest in the state's all-out attack on education, as the ruling class dictates the need to wipe out all the gains of the working class.

The job freeze is intended to pave the way for huge cutbacks and mass layoffs, for the destruction of the University.

As Governor Anderson moves to impose the freeze, the "bare bones" budget submitted by the Board of Regents is expected to be sliced up by the DFL (Democrat) controlled legislature.

LAYOFF

In anticipation of major budget cuts, the University Administration is setting up the machinery to preside over the layoff of entire sections of the faculty. This is what stands behind the new proposed Tenure Code.

The Code states the threat loud and clear. "It is understood that the Board of Regents, if faced with the necessity of drastic reduction in the University budget, unquestionably has, and does reserve, the power to suspend or abolish positions, or even entire departments, divisions or other administrative units, as provided in section 16 of these regulations."

The bankruptcy of student powerism is expressed in the Student Senate's demand for "input" into the Tenure Code. Not seeing that what stands behind the Tenure Code and the attacks on the faculty is the government's determination to destroy the University itself, student powerists play the bourgeoisie's game and try to pit student against teacher.

The YSA on campus refuses to confront the questions of the Tenure Code and rising tuition at all. Instead of facing the real

problems and threats to the University and education as a whole, the YSA holds out the hope of reform, centering its fight on campus for a women's study department. This is a real slap in the face to students who are struggling to stay in school and faculty who are being robbed of their jobs.



The Hunter College Young Socialists held a highly successful fund-raising dance featuring The Rare Experience and La Salsera (above). The dance raised over \$300 for the Bulletin Expansion Drive.

Calif. Board Attacks Teaching Of Darwin

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The California State Board of Education last week opened the way to teaching creation by God rather than Darwinian evolution as the true origin of man. In a unanimous vote, the Board ruled that evolution would in the future be taught as a speculation by some scientists rather than as scientific fact.

The vote climaxed a campaign by right-wing fundamentalists who claimed that teaching of evolution in the public schools had caused "religious crises" in their homes. The Reagan-appointed board ignored a letter signed by 19 Nobel prize-winning scientists from California universities who declared they were "appalled" at the proposed inclusion of religious dogma in scientific textbooks.

A move to go further and actually institute teaching of creation as a coequal "scientific" hypotheses fell short on the vote. Spokesmen for the Institute for Creation Research of San Diego, the chief lobbyist for the proposal, left no doubt, however, that they had won a significant victory and would be back for more.

In fact, the equal time proposal did carry a majority of those voting, although absentees kept the measure from gaining the necessary absolute majority.

PRECEDENT

The board broke with precedent to establish a committee of its own members to review the final version of new science texts. Normally this is done by experts in the various scientific disciplines, but this time board members were clearly determined to impose their own views on the final text.

The literal Biblical version will not be considered by the committee, but Dr. John Ford, a Seventh

Day Adventist and board vice chairman, announced he would try to have the doctrine of special creation inserted in the new books. (Special creation is a doctrine that accepts all the material evidence for evolution, such as fossils, but argues that this was all especially created by God, presumably to give scientists something to do.)

The whole issue has been larded over with sickening hypocrisy about the possible violation of religious freedom and civil rights involved in teaching evolution as fact. This is in a state where the Reagan Administration refuses to let Ruchell Magee defend himself in court, jails reporters for protecting their sources, and announces openly its preparations for a full-scale assault on the trade unions.

In order to hold back the development of revolutionary consciousness with the youth, the ruling class is strengthening all the idealist and backward conceptions they have developed.

It is no coincidence that the racist theories of Professor Shockley of Stanford University emerge in this period.

Darwin's theory of evolution is one of the great leaps in the development of man's understanding of nature. The attack on it is deadly serious. Nixon and Reagan are now moving to take away the right of youth to an education. This takes the form not only of layoffs of teachers, budget cuts, and deterioration of buildings, but of the destruction of knowledge itself. The hard-won gains of science will be sacrificed at the altar of superstition.

Millions of youth are being driven to take up a fight against this government and its attacks. In order to prevent a turn towards Marxism and a revolutionary understanding of the crisis, the state is preparing to destroy the minds of students with religious garbage.

Jefferson High Athletic Teams Face Cutbacks

BY KIKI MENDEZ

BROOKLYN—On top of the growing deterioration of conditions at Jefferson High School, the administration has now announced that the girls swimming team will be eliminated and that major cuts in funds will face every other athletic team.

In the Jefferson Annex, the financial crisis has produced tremendous unrest among the students. The Annex, which consists of two portables constructed to relieve the overcrowding in the main building, has been the scene of rebellions, and near riots.

Underlying these developments are the existing conditions in the Annex, which is overcrowded and is in desperate need of more teachers. The Annex students have no recreational facilities and are not even allowed to use the yard.

At a recent Parents Teachers Association meeting held Wednesday, December 13, Mrs. Baird, principal of the main building, made it clear that she has no intentions of defending the students' right to an education against the government's budget slashing. Her position, which holds the students responsible for the rotten conditions in the school, was uncovered when she called for more police.

A Young Socialist member spoke against this plan and called for the unity of students, teachers, and parents against the real enemies implementing the budget cuts. The YS called for all students and teachers to hold a city-wide demonstration against the budget cuts in preparation for a city-wide shut down.

Youth Unionize Against Slave Labor

BY ERNEST CAREY

PALO ALTO—Youth in the House of Pies here have walked out in disgust with the exploitation of young workers.

They have sought help from Culinary Workers Local 180 to unionize the House of Pies in this city and other northern California locations.

The youth turned to the unions because of the conditions that exist at the restaurant: minimum wages, no overtime or holiday pay, excessive work hours and no fringe benefits.

The former manager, Larry Gerald, said: "We're out here to get these kids the better wages they deserve. They (House of Pies) claim the pay is \$1.65 an hour but it isn't, they shortchange them. The kids don't even know how many hours they put in in a week."

One picket told us he was paid \$131 for 140 hours work. Some youth have also been forced to wait from two to eight weeks for their pay checks.

INTERNATIONAL FOODS

The House of Pies is owned by International Foods Incorporated, which also owns the Copper Penny, the International

House of Pancakes, Orange Julius and Will Wrights Ice Cream Parlor.

Gerald told the Young Socialist: "They wanted me to run this store with two waitresses, one dishwasher and one cook. The owner told me if the minimum wage passed, to charge the employees for one meal and a cleaning charge for uniforms."

"The cook was told to cook half time and bake half time for the same pay. Since he left the new cook has worked all day to 7 p.m. and was told to come back at 2 a.m. to bake pies."

House of Pies employs 16 year olds without work permits. These

youth work from 12 to 20 hours a day. They forced Gerald's 17 year old daughter to work nine hours without a coffee break, even though her school said she could work only five hours.

COMMISSION

Gerald added: "I went to the labor commission in San Jose to check on kids working from 9 a.m. to 11 p.m. and they said they didn't have the manpower to do anything about it."

The restaurant has no manager. The area supervisor there warned the employees that if any of them walked on the picket line or joined the union he would be fired.

YSA-Fuentes' War On Unions

BY ADELE SINCLAIR

NEW YORK—Luis Fuentes, Superintendent of Community School Board, District 1, has been touring college campuses throughout the city, attacking the teachers' union (UFT) for the collapse of the educational system.

His district, on New York's Lower East Side, has been torn by racial divisions between the Puerto Rican, Black, Chinese and white residents, who face 50 percent unemployment, rotten housing and now—no schools. In the face of these attacks by the government upon all working people, Fuentes seeks to deepen racial divisions at the very time that they can and must be overcome.

This tour, sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, has been the only activity of the YSA since its Cleveland Convention. It was at this convention that they made the sharpest turn from Marxism and from the working class. It was here that they ridiculed and denounced the fight of the Workers League and Young Socialists to break the working class from the Democrats and Republicans and build a labor party. At the same time, they announced the complete abandonment of even their meager protest demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

It is at this point, when even

the most massive bombings in the history of the war cannot defeat the Vietnamese workers and peasants, that the YSA announces the end of its demonstrations and sees a sell-out engineered by the Stalinists and Nixon as inevitable.

It is the YSA's turn from the Marxist method—from the struggle to change the present level of thinking of workers and youth—which throws the revisionists into total disarray, without any perspective for revolutionary leadership at a time when it is needed most. The movement of the working class internationally has shattered the old class relationships of the boom period and blown the YSA's adaptation to middle class protest to the wind. Women's liberation, gay liberation, Black nationalism and radical protest are all being swept aside by the movement of workers and youth to defend their interests as a class.

Now, less than one month after their Cleveland Convention broke up with NO perspective, the YSA turns further to the right. Spitting upon its Trotskyist past and its struggle to defend the trade unions against the government, the SWP-YSA now pushes the most opportunist and anti-union forces who seek to divide the working class and tie it to capitalism.

It is this movement of the working class, breaking through racism, which Fuentes also fears. At Brooklyn College, he



Young Socialists fights to unite Black and white, parents, teachers and students against budget cuts while the YSA lines up with reactionary community control forces against the teachers' union.

Young Socialist

lamented the impotence of the community school boards, stating that "these local groups absorb the brunt of community anger." In actual fact, Fuentes has absorbed nothing but his \$37,500 salary from Lindsay, to divert this community anger into an attack upon the teacher's union.

This is the meaning of community control: to pit one section of the working class against another, to fight for crumbs. It was clear, both at Brooklyn College and New York City Community, that Fuentes has no intention of fighting the real criminals—the Democrats and Republicans.

No sooner does Fuentes state that he is "the special enemy of the forces who profit" than he attacks the UFT.

While prefacing these attacks by stating: "I'm not against the UFT, just the leadership," he spends 99 percent of his time blaming the rank and file for the conditions in the schools. At NYCCC he openly stated that "the teachers have destroyed Ocean Hill-Brownsville." His solution to the budget cuts is to lay off more teachers. This would allow more funds to operate the schools, according to Fuentes. No amount of empty phrases could cover his hatred of the union. He denies that these teachers, whose salaries barely meet the cost of living in New York City, are part of the working class and refers to them as "capitalists" and "absentee landlords."

The fight of the UFT rank and file against its own treacherous Shanker leadership and against the government has to be defended by parents and students. Their struggle to improve conditions in the educational system is the same as that of the community. This was proven most clearly in the recent boycott of parents and teachers in East Harlem against the budget cuts.

At New York City Community College, it was this very unity which Fuentes attacked as being a ploy of the teachers' union to use the community for its own interests, implying that the teachers were "duping" the parents and students for their own "greedy ends."

In actual fact, he resents and fears this unity of parents and teachers because it threatens his own position as a "mediator" between the classes. This is the lesson of the struggle in East Harlem, where the parents denounced the community school board for accepting the crumbs of the Lindsay administration and for holding "delusions of grandeur."

When confronted on the question of Canarsie where the same cry for "community control" was utilized by white racists, Fuentes stated that "you wouldn't have this problem if half the school board were Black." The solution to this problem of course poses the breakdown of racial and ethnic divisions in the communities as well as the schools. It is this very breakdown of racism which the advocates of community control resist by accepting the present conditions and limitations of capitalism and refusing to smash through these barriers. It is this narrow, bourgeois method of thinking which opens the door to right-wing racists who take the same demands of the nationalists and use them to foster segregation. This is exactly what the capitalist class needs to assist its own preparations for trying to destroy the unions and drive down the living standards of the entire American working class.

LIMITS

Accepting these limits of capitalism, Fuentes conducts vicious attacks upon the right of teachers to a union wage and decent working conditions. Blaming their "greed" and "incompetence" and inability to speak Spanish as the reasons why schools aren't properly funded and youth aren't learning, Fuentes, like the poverty pimps of the 1960s, actually leeches off the existence of these rotten conditions. He attempts to ride the crest of working class anger and its movement to defend the right to a decent education by tacking on all manner of "left" demagogic talk to his pure opportunism.

The East Harlem boycott proved that the working class will not be confined by bourgeois nationalists to fighting over the scraps which capitalism throws out. At NYCCC, when a student

asked about his salary, Fuentes smugly stated that he was "willing to put his job on the line for the community," and anyway "whites were just mad because it was a Puerto Rican making so much money."

In other words, Puerto Rican workers and youth should fight the government for a few high-paying jobs for the Puerto Rican middle class—not to unite with Black and white workers to demand jobs for all and an end to the wage freeze.

It is the treacherous role of the Young Socialist Alliance in providing a cover for maintaining the existing divisions in the working class which must be understood. Because of the developments in Canarsie where racists used "community control" to exclude Black children from "their" schools, the YSA was forced to add something new to its theory—only the oppressed should be allowed "community control." It is only the understanding of the Workers League and Young Socialists, a Marxist understanding, which recognizes that any community control under capitalism is control by the oppressor, as long as the working class does not have control of the entire state apparatus.

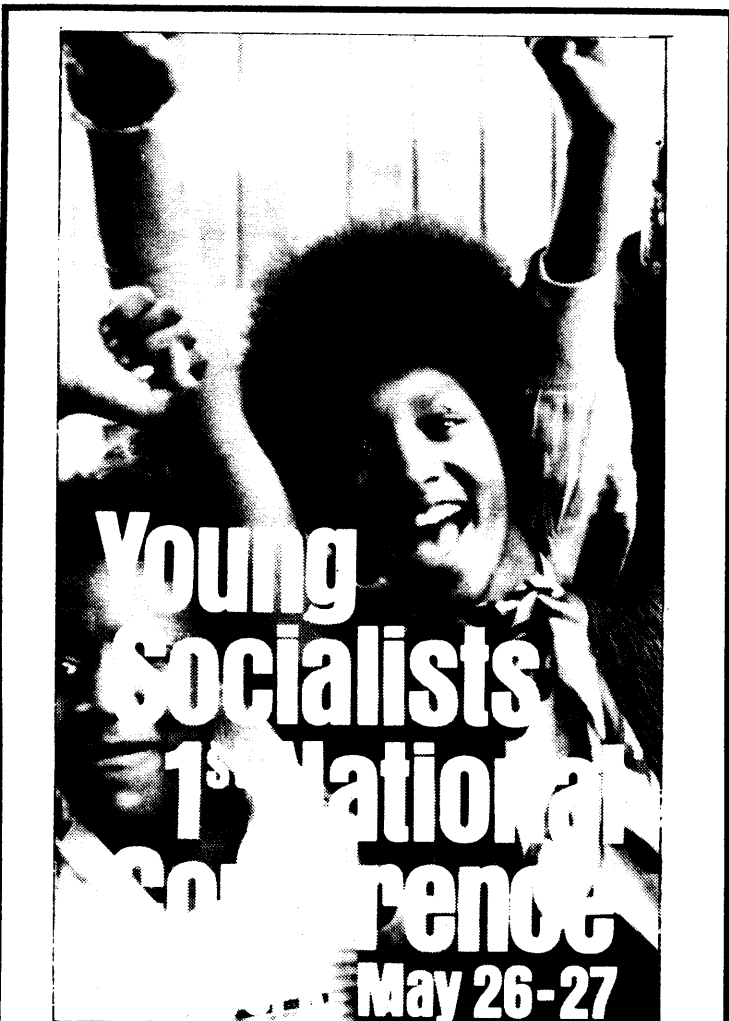
Today, this means that the right to a decent education can only be defended by mobilizing the strength of the teachers' unions and the entire labor movement to initiate general strike action against these attacks.

LABOR

This means that the fight to convene a Congress of Labor must be taken up immediately inside the UFT and the American Federation of Teachers. This Congress of Labor must be used as the vehicle for constructing an American labor party which will unite trade unionists, unemployed and youth against Nixon's moves towards bonapartist dictatorship and fight for socialist policies.

CORRECTION

Last issue several errors appeared in the article on East Harlem. Eleven assistant principals and five teachers were transferred. Mrs. Mildred Pallay is not a member of MEND.



Hunter College Playhouse,

68th St. & Lexington Ave., New York City

\$2.50 includes registration and Saturday night dance.

For more information write:

Young Socialists
135 W. 14th Street, 6th Fl.
New York, New York 10011

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Two Elections

During the past week, thousands of militant coal miners smashed the most entrenched bureaucracy in the American labor movement. Disgusted with Boyle's collaboration with the coal bosses, they have swept the gangster bureaucracy out of office.

But this election has meaning beyond the coal mines. It represents the repudiation by millions of workers of the entire trade union bureaucracy which is responsible for another election—that is, the re-election of Nixon.

Above all, the United Mine Workers election expresses the verdict of the working class on the shameful leadership of the AFL-CIO, UAW and Teamsters in 1972.

Millions of workers now hold their leaders responsible for the dangerous situation the labor movement faces after the re-election of Nixon.

- The bureaucracy must answer for the re-election of Nixon because it refused to construct the only alternative that could have stopped him—the labor party. Instead, it either clung to the bankrupt and labor-hating Democrats, or proclaimed its pathetic neutrality, or even backed Nixon.

- The bureaucracy must answer for the wages lost by millions of workers because it refused to end the Pay Board robbery by calling strike action.

- Now, the policy of the trade union bureaucracy has taken a new and more criminal turn. As one of its own—Peter Brennan—joins Nixon's cabinet, the bureaucracy announces its willingness to engage in close collaboration with the Administration.

The AFL-CIO is suggesting that it would like to renew its work on Nixon's vicious Productivity Commission and is dropping unmistakable hints that it would like to rejoin the Pay Board.

Not missing the signals, the Wall Street Journal happily reports that the AFL-CIO "may resume some role in policing pay curbs."

The policies of the Meanys, Woodcocks and Fitzsimmons are in complete opposition to the interests and movement of the American working class. They refuse to answer the class war program that Nixon began to reveal after November 7.

This election in the coal mines exposes all the middle class political tendencies like the Socialist Workers Party that do not see the strength of the working class and who do not understand what Trotsky meant when he wrote in the Transitional Program: "The laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus."

The trade union bureaucracy will not disappear of its own accord. But the movement of the working class creates the conditions for the building of a Marxist leadership in the trade unions.

It is to build such a leadership that the Workers League calls on all trade unionists to attend the emergency meeting of the Continuations Committee in St. Louis on February 18.

Best Sub Week In History

In the best week of subscription work in the history of the Bulletin some 943 have come in, giving us a grand total of 5333. This is over the three-quarters mark on our way to our goal of 6500 to give us a paid circulation of 20,000 by December 31st.

The New York area branches held two large mobilizations on Saturday in Bedford-Stuyvesant and in Newark bringing in a total of 350 subs in a single day. Brownsville leads all the branches with 114 subs in the week while Upper West Side got 69, Bushwick 56, East New York and Hartford 55 each, and San Jose 54. The following branches have already completed or gone over their quota: Hartford, Chicago, Palo Alto, San Jose, Fort Greene, and Upper West Side.

The problem is that the next two weeks fall over the holiday period. We are confident the branches can overcome these difficulties and bring in the 1200 subs needed in these two weeks.



"Merry Christmas to you too, Mr. Jones. I, ah, have to go now!"

What we think

What The Revisionists Left Out

The breakup of the so-called "peace" between U.S. imperialism and North Vietnam has exploded not only the attempts by the Stalinists to betray the Vietnamese revolution but the whole role of the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

It is the determination of the workers and peasants of Vietnam to win this war and the impossibility of concessions by Nixon because of the crisis of imperialism that has blown the agreement apart. Nixon, who the SWP-YSA claimed was the "antiwar candidate" in the 1972 elections, is now opening up a whole new stage in the war for which these talks were only the preparation.

This is the perspective the Workers League has fought for against the Stalinists and the revisionists. We said that the fight against the war must be part and parcel of the struggle to mobilize the American working class against Nixon's attacks on the unions, on living standards and working conditions in a Congress of Labor to prepare general strike action and to build a labor party.

On the eve of the complete breakdown of these talks when even the capitalist press was forced to admit that there was no "deal," the SWP's paper was headlined with an article entitled "Vietnam and World Politics Today." It included the International Report given to the recent YSA convention. In this report the SWP claims that the deal has virtually been signed, the Vietnamese revolution defeated and that we are now entering into a period of setback and defeat for the world revolution.

"What we are witnessing is a world detente, a deal on a world scale between the imperialists and the bureaucracies in the two most powerful workers states, a deal more far reaching than any since the end of World War II." This "detente," according to the SWP, "is more than just another sellout. Vietnam has been the center of the world revolution, and as the effect of this sellout begins to register over the next few weeks and months, its magnitude will become apparent. It will have a demoralizing effect on the world revolution."

Behind this perspective lies the SWP's complete rejection of the nature of the crisis today which the report sees as simply a question of the United States getting some heavy competition from a strong Japan and Europe. According to the SWP the deal has been completed because the Stalinists in Moscow and Peking have been "obtaining concessions" from Nixon.

It is precisely the fact that world capitalism now faces not competition but complete collapse that Nixon is preparing a qualitatively different

stage of attack on the working classes of Europe, the United States and the colonial countries. The U.S. cannot make the kind of concessions it made after World War II to the working class. This is the meaning of the whole breakup of Bretton Woods. It is not today a question of the Stalinists getting big concessions as the breakup of the talks confirms but it is a question of the sharp rightward turn of the leadership in Moscow and Peking in the face of the movement of the working class.

But it is this movement that the SWP-YSA is not only blind to but hostile to. It has been the impact of the crisis since August 15, 1971 that has brought the working class in every country into battle. Completely dismissing the tremendous struggle of workers in Europe and the United States which can now strengthen the Vietnamese people, the SWP claims that the colonial revolution has been defeated.

At a time when the Vietnamese workers and peasants have made it clear that they will not retreat and be forced from a military victory and when their struggles are joined by the offensive of the American and European working class, the revisionists are prostrate not only before Stalinism but American imperialism. They reflect all of the pessimism of the middle class radicals as the working class emerges on to the scene. The revisionists lack all confidence in the revolutionary strength of the Vietnamese masses and place all their emphasis on the relations with the Stalinists.

How is it that the SWP on all the fundamental questions facing the working class and the revolutionary movement ends up on the other side and can only comment after the fact? This is not the result simply of a mistake in perspective but of its complete rejection of Marxist theory, of dialectical materialism. The SWP-YSA is torn apart and tossed about in this period of tremendous class struggle by its blind impressionism of what it immediately sees taking place on the surface or what George Novack calls "the facts." They cannot see developments as a whole and confront the contradictory reality behind those facts which is not beyond objective reality but is the concrete development of the contradictions, of the class struggle itself. Thus it began with the deal in Vietnam which both the U.S. and the Stalinists were pushing, denying the class contradiction behind this war and the movement of the working class.

Just as Pablo's method of impressionism led him to liquidate the Fourth International in the Stalinist movement and to see centuries of deformed workers states, the SWP today drops any struggle against

Stalinism, equating the bureaucracy with the workers and peasants in Vietnam and sees a whole period of defeat through "detente."

What determines the perspective of the SWP is not Marxism, the struggle of classes and the construction of a leadership of the working class but its relations with the Stalinists and a section of the capitalist class. At a time when the Stalinists and all sections of the capitalist class were clamoring for a settlement and Nixon was consciously using it to aide his re-election, the SWP gave the Stalinists a left cover by claiming that this deal was similar to the Brest-Litovsk treaty signed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Here the SWP openly equated Stalinism with Bolshevism.

Then as it became clear that whole sections of the Vietnamese people and the leadership of the NLF were in rebellion against it, the SWP said the deal had been signed and announced the closing down of its antiwar movement.

The SWP has in fact completely capitulated to the Stalinists who are today pushing their campaign "to pressure Nixon" into a deal to prevent the mobilization of the working class politically against the war and against Nixon's attacks.

At a time when Nixon has opened up a whole new stage in this war, the SWP has joined the camp not only of the Stalinists but the liberals who are saying now they will wait and see how things go now and give Nixon some help.

The SWP's antiwar movement collapsed with the end of protest politics, the breakdown of reformism and the emergence of the working class. They have no policy for the defense of the Vietnamese revolution and are today complicit with the Stalinists in attempting to betray it.

The Workers League has fought throughout this past period against the CP and the SWP for a policy of the defense of the Vietnamese revolution through the mobilization of the working class politically against the government. This has prepared the way now for the fight for a Congress of Labor to map out general strike action against the war and Nixon's attacks and the building of a labor party. This is the way the war will be ended.

The Bulletin will not be published next week because of our annual winter break. The next issue of the Bulletin will be dated January 8, 1973. The Bulletin staff sends season's greetings to all our readers.

RENEGADES FROM TROTSKYISM

A new series of articles by Jack Gale dealing especially with the situation in Ceylon.

On October 29 the revisionist 'Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International' issued a statement headed 'Healyites Smear Bala Tampoe'.

Intended as a reply to the articles on Ceylon published in Workers Press on October 18, 19, 20 and 21, the statement was published in 'Intercontinental Press' a journal edited by Mr Joseph Hansen, a leading member of the American Socialist Workers Party.

In the course of this series we are reproducing this statement because it reveals a great deal of the political techniques of those revisionists who comprise the 'Unified Secretariat'.

We are also publishing the documents of the Ceylon Commission set up by the 'Unified Secretariat' in 1969. These are reproduced from the American journal 'Spartacist' of autumn this year.

Although we have definite and clearly-defined political differences with the 'Spartacist' group, there can be no doubt that these documents are genuine.

As such they are of interest to all who are concerned with the development of Trotskyism and the struggle against revisionism in the Fourth International.

They reveal a political scandal of enormous proportions—a besmirching of the name of Trotskyism almost without parallel.

But the worst culprits are not Bala Tampoe and his associates in Ceylon. The most degenerate political renegades are the leaders of the Unified Secretariat—Ernest Mandel, Livio Maitan and Pierre Frank. By their dishonesty and political corruption, these people play into the hands of the Stalinists who have always lyingly accused Trotskyists of such crimes as these.

Equally guilty is Joseph Hansen of the SWP which, for legal reasons, cannot be a member of the Unified Secretariat but shares political responsibility for these events.

These people—while lyingly and slanderously accusing the Socialist Labour League of 'deep degeneration'—have covered up for a member of their International Executive Committee who, without a shadow of doubt, has associated with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and committed other crimes against the oppressed workers and peasants in Ceylon.

We make it clear that the rank-and-file members of the sections of the United Secretariat do not share the guilt of their leaders. There are many sincere people in the ranks of these sections who wish to build a revolutionary international.

But now this matter has been dragged into the open, they must examine it carefully—and, above all, demand to know why their leaders sought

to hush it up and even now continue to protect Tampoe and retain him in their international leadership.

The ranks of the Unified Secretariat have a political responsibility. If they do not now challenge their leaders on these questions and demand a full inquiry into this political scandal, then they are just as guilty of a political crime as Mandel and company.

In May of this year—following a visit to Ceylon by a member or supporter of the Spartacist group—Edmund Samarakkody, a former member of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) LSSP(R) and of the Unified Secretariat's International Executive Committee, wrote to 'Spartacist' and forwarded the documents of the 'Ceylon Commission', together with a minority report submitted by its Indian member.

Together with the Unified Secretariat statement, we reprint here Samarakkody's letter and the two Commission reports.

May 26, 1972

Dear Comrade Gordon,
I received your letter of May 12, 1972.

Regarding your inquiry on the authenticity of the two typewritten documents entitled 'Report of the Commission on Ceylon of the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International' and '[Indian delegate's] Report—Ceylon Question' both of which I handed to Comrade Bill L. when he was recently in Ceylon, I may inform you as follows:

I attended the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International (United Secretariat) held in Europe from April 11 to 19 1969 as a member of the International Executive Committee elected at the Eighth Congress in 1965. At this Congress (Ninth Congress) a Commission was appointed to inquire into the circumstances leading to, and the politics of the split in the LSSP(R) in 1968 and the request of the RSP that it be recognized as the Ceylon section of the Fourth International. The Commission consisted of the following: [two delegates from North America, one from Switzerland, a senior delegate each from China and India, and a delegate from Japan designated who, however, was not present].

MINORITY

[The Indian delegate] left the Congress on the 17th. Before leaving [the Indian delegate] handed me a copy of his report which he stated was a minority report and which he left with the Commission. I returned his report to [the Indian delegate] after taking a true copy of it. I informed [the Indian delegate] that I had taken a copy of it.

On April 19, two days after, the Ceylon question came up for consideration before the Congress. The report of the Commission was read out in



Bala Tampoe

open Congress by a member of the Commission and translated simultaneously to other languages. Copies of the report were handed to Tampoe and me.

I raised with the Commission the question of the minority report of [the Indian delegate] a copy of which I said was with me. I displayed this copy of the [Indian delegate's] report and requested the Commission to table this report. The spokesman for the Commission thereupon admitted that [the Indian delegate] had submitted a report but that it was not a minority report. When my turn for intervention in the Ceylon question came I quoted extensively from the [Indian delegate's] report without being challenged in regard to the accuracy of it.

At the end of the deliberations on the Ceylon question the Praesidium collected the copies of the report of the Commission that were in the hands of the translators and

also the copies that had been handed over to me and Tampoe. I however had with me my copies of the Commission report and [the Indian delegate's] report made by me from the originals in that regard when these were handed over to me by [a North American Commission member] and [the Indian delegate] respectively. I am in a position therefore to state that the copies of these two reports that I handed over to Comrade L. are true copies of the Ceylon Commission report and of the [Indian delegate's] report.

You are free to give publicity to these reports. I agree with you that 'the scandalous revelations will be a service to the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International. Yours fraternally,
[signed]
Edmund Samarakkody
Secretary
Revolutionary Samasamaja Party

Report of the Commission on Ceylon

The Commission had to deal with the following matters:—

(a) A request by the RSP led by Comrade Edmund not to allow Comrade Bala to sit in the Congress because as an 'agent of the class enemy' he would endanger the world movement. This request was reiterated in the Commission, and in front of the Congress charging Bala explicitly with being a 'CIA agent'.

(b) A written request of the RSP to disaffiliate the LSSP(R) led by Comrade Bala, as the section of the 4th International and to recognize the RSP as the Ceylon section of the 4th International.

(c) A written request by Comrade Karalasingham for his tendency that neither the LSSP(R) nor the RSP be recognized as the Ceylon section of the 4th International by this Congress.

Concerning the charges that Comrade Bala is an agent of the enemy class, on the basis of documents submitted by Comrade Edmund and Bala and after hearing extensively from the two comrades the Commission [found] that the accusation that Comrade Bala is 'an agent of the class enemy' or an 'agent of the CIA' was totally unsubstantiated by Comrade Edmund. To make such a grave charge was totally irresponsible on the part of Comrade Edmund and should be condemned by the World Congress.

All members of the Commission were able to agree on one point; while the leadership of a large militant union by a comrade of the 4th International might be an important achievement, the close Inter-relationship between the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU)—a union of 30,000 white collar workers with its own political needs—and a small party of some 50 members a large percentage of whom either belong to the union or hold leadership positions in that union inevitably results in a tendency to subordinate the party line and actions of the party to the needs of the trade union policy. Such a situation is dangerous even if the comrades involved start with the best revolutionary intentions.

It was with this question that the Commission was centrally concerned. The Commission did not feel it was in a position to fully examine the policies of Comrade Bala in his Union. We were concerned only with the possible subordination of party policies to the needs of the union, and the serious problems posed by the dual position of Comrade Bala as secretary of the LSSP(R).

The Commission felt that some of the actions and policies of Comrade Bala and the LSSP(R) brought to our attention by Comrade Edmund and not denied by Comrade Bala could have seriously damaged the reputation of Comrade Bala as a revolutionary leader, compromised the 4th International in Ceylon and [could] have been exploited by all the enemies of our movement. In this context, we refer especially to the following examples:—

(a) A series of incidents which together constitute compromisingly close relations between Comrade Bala and the Ceylonese embassies or missions of the imperialist countries.

(1) A trip to the US in the summer of 1967, financed by the Asia Foundation.

(2) His acceptance of a small private luncheon invitation at the residence of the British High Commissioner, during the 1966 plantation workers strike—a luncheon that was also attended by Thondaman, a trade union leader who was playing an open strikebreaking role against the plantation workers.

(3) His attendance at a small dinner party at the West German Embassy for visiting Chancellor Kiesinger.

(b) A letter sent to the Ceylonese Prime Minister on January 22 1966 by Comrade Bala in his capacity as union General Secretary, concerning the state of emergency in which he implied support for the imposition of a curfew in response to the 'violence' that occurred in Colombo. (This letter is included in bulletin March 17 1969.)

(c) Comrade Bala's policy in regard to the struggle against devaluation of the rupee in November - December 1967. The CMU did not support the strike that took place at that time in the private sector. Serious questions are raised concerning why the LSSP(R)

did not take the lead in fighting for united action by all the trade unions and working-class parties against devaluation.

Again on these charges and in other similar ones we did not attempt to pass judgement on the policies of the CMU, but on the subordination of the policies of the LSSP(R) to the union, as in none of these instances is there any evidence that the party took what the Commission considered a policy consistent with revolutionary Marxism.

The Commission was not unanimous in evaluating all these actions. While all agreed they were, or could be, extremely compromising, some comrades felt they might be explained in the context of Ceylonese political and trade union life; others felt they were totally unjustifiable.

With regard to the appeal of the RSP headed by Comrade Edmund, to be recognized as the Ceylon section of the 4th International, the Commission clearly established the following facts:

(1) that this group while in the LSSP(R) before the split operated as an undeclared faction within the party.

(2) that its claim of manipulation of the attendance of the April 1968 LSSP(R) con-

tendencies received the same number of votes as in the conference of June 1967.

(3) that while Comrade Edmund's tendency was not granted any minority representation at this 1968 conference, either on the Central Committee or on bodies such as the controlling body of the party Press, and that this refusal of representation is contrary to Trotskyist practice, Comrade Edmund's group split one week after this conference, without consulting or even informing the United Secretariat in advance. In previous letters the United Secretariat had clearly stated it was opposed to any splits in the LSSP(R).

(4) that upon splitting or forming the RSP, this group quickly issued a declaration to the public not only simply announcing its break, but attacking Comrade Bala, leader of the Ceylon section, openly as an enemy of the working class and in a thinly disguised way as an agent of the CIA. The Ceylon capitalist Press featured the full text of this statement gravely accusing Comrade Bala whose union had just ended a large strike.

(5) Finally in its Press and its letterhead the RSP has fraudulently proclaimed itself

as the Ceylon section of the 4th International.

On the basis of this mountain of evidence the majority report of the Commission begins with—the need to protect Tampoe! The enormous political crisis that has beset the Unified Secretariat's section in Ceylon is put down to 'the problems of adjusting to the change from mass party to a small organization! No explanation is given of how the Unified Secretariat came to lose its mass party.

All this report wishes to do is to patch everything up, in the hope that an organizational change (Tampoe's surrender of his post as secretary of the CMU) would somehow put everything right.

Tampoe, of course, was most reluctant to give up his comfortable trade union post and many weeks after this recommendation 'Intercontinental Press' was still referring proudly to Tampoe as the secretary of his union.

We publish here the recommendations of the majority report of the revisionists' Ceylon Commission:

On the basis of the undisputed facts the Commission had this established, and after lengthy and serious consideration, the Commission unanimously recommends the following conclusions to the

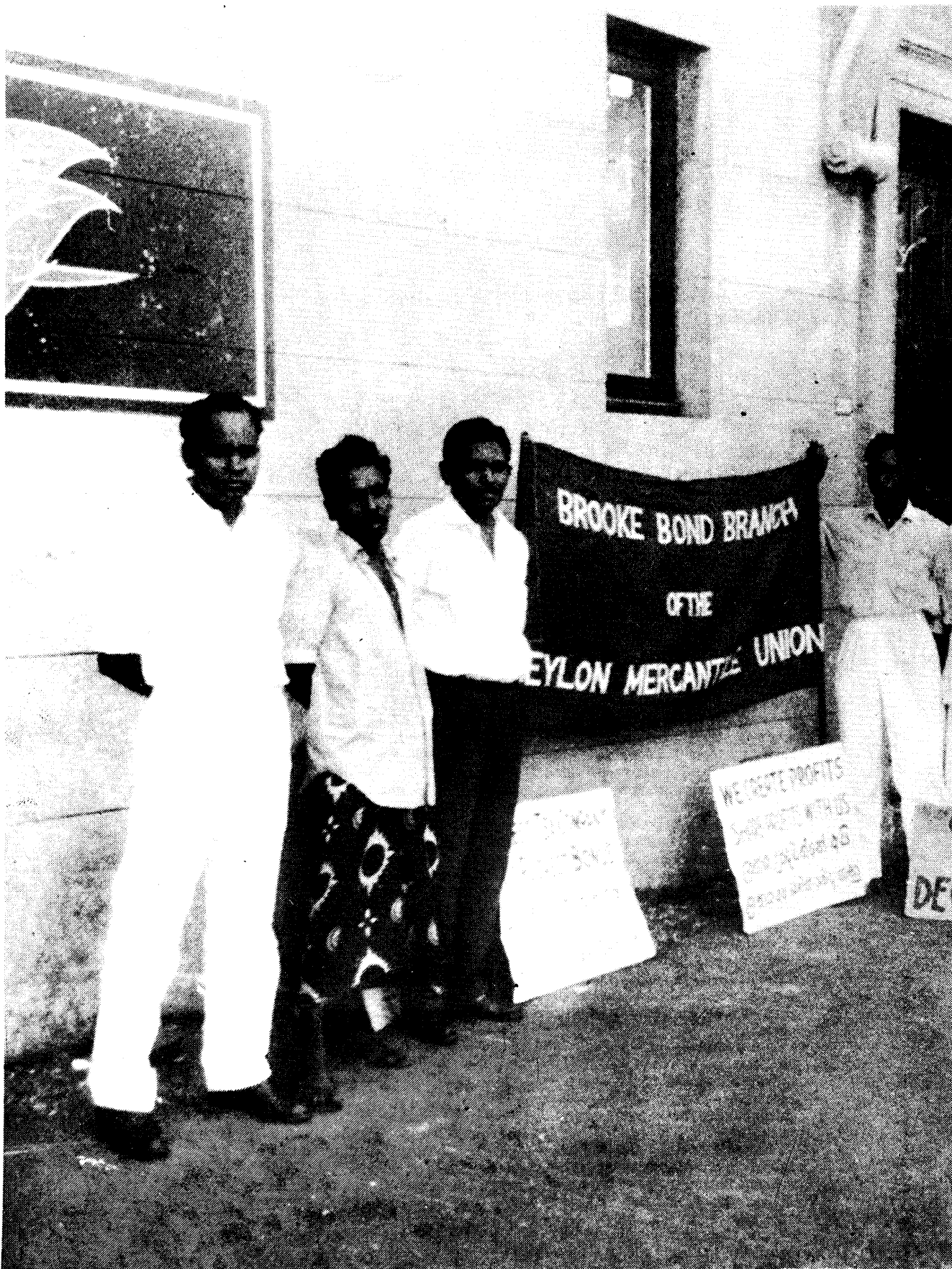
World Congress:—

(1) It is the duty of the 4th International to defend Comrade Bala against accusations of the 'agent' type. The World Congress should appeal to the RSP to withdraw these slanderous and damaging accusations publicly and in an appropriate manner.

(2) The split from the LSSP(R) in April 1968 was only the last of a series of crises and breakaways that have beset the LSSP(R) since its founding in the necessary break from the LSSP. One of the reasons for these periodic crises is that the leadership of the LSSP(R), or at least a part of it, could not adapt itself to the new reality of a reduced size of the party and tried to operate as they did during the days of the mass LSSP.

The Unified Secretariat was completely correct in stating that there was no principled political basis for the split of the Edmund group from the LSSP(R). The 4th International hopes that eventually all Trotskyist forces in Ceylon will be able to unite their efforts in one organization. However at this time, the latest split and the wounds it has caused being too recent to allow the two groups to function seriously as one.

(3) The evidence placed be-





Brooke Branch of the Ceylon Mercantile Union which is led by the Revisionist LSSP(R).

fore the Commission tends to support the conclusion that the policies followed by Comrade Bala—especially in his dual role as CMU secretary and as LSSP(R) secretary—were gravely compromising to the 4th International.

The Commission was not in a position to get a clear enough picture of the policies of Comrade Bala in the concrete circumstances of Ceylon and the LSSP(R) to propose that this section be disaffiliated by the World Congress. But we strongly feel the need for further investigation of this matter. We therefore recommend the establishment of a small Commission composed of experienced comrades, preferably including at least one comrade able to speak the languages of Ceylon who could investigate the case by going to that country. At the same time, of course, the FI should not only investigate, but should try to help the LSSP(R) concretely in its work.

Specifically we urge the World Congress the following:

(1) That the leading bodies of the International be instructed to appoint a small investigating committee along the lines mentioned above. This committee will submit a report of its findings and its

recommendations for action to the next meeting of the IEC.

(2) That the EC act with all possible speed on the recommendations of this committee with full powers of a World Congress including the power to disaffiliate the LSSP(R) as the Ceylon section of the 4th International if it feels this is the proper action.

(3) That until the IEC decides otherwise, the LSSP(R) remains the Ceylon section of the FI and thus should be given all possible assistance in its work by all bodies of the International.

(4) That the double function of Comrade Bala as the secretary of both the CMU and the section be terminated as rapidly as possible.

(5) The RSP would not be recognized as the Ceylon section even were there not already a recognized section in Ceylon. The unacceptable methods by which this tendency carried through its factional fight before and after the split dictate a very reserved attitude on this question. We appeal to the RSP to prove its loyalty to the FI in renouncing at once the pretension of being the recognized section, by retracting the above mentioned attacks of a factional [nature] upon the LSSP(R) and its leadership, and by this means prepare the eventual re-

grouping of the Trotskyist forces of Ceylon in a united section.

Today we publish the minority report of the Indian member of the Unified Secretariat's Commission on Ceylon.

This reveals a totally unprincipled attempt to bury all political questions emerging from this political scandal.

INDIAN DELEGATE'S REPORT

The Ceylon Commission invited both Comrade Bala Tampoe as General Secretary of the LSSP(R), the official section of the Fourth International in Ceylon, and Comrade Edmund Samarakkody, leader of the RSP which has broken with the section, to explain their respective positions in connection with the split of April 1968 following a special Conference of the Party.

The Commission had before it a written representation submitted by the Provisional Committee of the RSP entitled 'Events leading to the split in LSSP(R) in April 1968' demanding that the LSSP(R) be disaffiliated as a section of the

regrettable that the split in the LSSP(R) took place in the manner in which it did without giving proper opportunity to the International leadership to intervene and avert it if possible.

Comrade Edmund justified the split on the grounds that the differences between his tendency and the majority of the LSSP(R) had reached a stage where they could not be resolved within a single organization. He also maintained that he kept the Unified Secretariat informed of the developments. He claimed the support of 40 out of 110 members who constituted the LSSP(R) in 1964 after they broke away from the reformist LSSP led by N. M. Perera as a protest against the class collaborationist coalition politics of the leadership of the united LSSP.

The LSSP(R) which was recognized as an official section of the Fourth International in 1964 had to contend with the secession of a pro-coalition tendency led by Comrade Karlo which has since entered the reformist LSSP. It had then to face the disruptionist activities of the Healyites inside its organizational fold. After the April 1968 split the Healyites have left the Party to form their own separate group. It has been contended that some of the Healyites are still in the LSSP(R) led by Comrade Bala.

The latest split has not only seriously undermined the prestige of the Fourth International in Ceylon where the Trotskyist movement had once a mass party in the LSSP which has since degenerated. On the basis of some reports before the Commission there is no guarantee that the LSSP(R) as constituted at present after April 1968 will not further split especially in the context of the Healy tendency in the fold.

Therefore it is necessary for the World Congress to re-examine the entire strategy of constructing a section of the Fourth International in Ceylon by regrouping the best elements of the Trotskyist movement.

It must be said that the Commission did not have any evidence to substantiate the charge made by Comrade Edmund that Comrade Bala is an agent of the CIA, because he accepted a trip to the USA on a project sponsored by the Asia Foundation. The Commission rejects the charge as irresponsible and motivated by factional considerations.

But at the same time the Commission cannot but take a dim view of the manner in which Comrade Bala got himself invited to the USA ostensibly under a project sponsored by the Harvard University. Although Comrade Bala maintains that he had kept the Unified Secretariat and SWP informed about his trip, some of his activities in Washington like his interview with McNamara have not been fully explained.

Also the unusually friendly relations he maintains with the diplomatic missions of West Germany (he was invited to a dinner party by West German Chancellor Kiesinger) and UK (he and his wife were invited to a luncheon by the British High Commissioner in the midst of a strike of plantation workers)—all these do not bfit a militant trade unionist and a revolutionary Marxist belonging to the Fourth International.

More important, however, is the fact that the political positions adopted by the LSSP(R) leadership on a number of questions during the last two or three years and the trade union tactics pursued by Comrade Bala as leader of the CMU also give scope for a

Fourth International on the grounds that the latter was following bourgeois politics alien to Marxism-Leninism and further suggests that the RSP be recognized as a section in its place.

The RSP has also made some charges of a personal nature against Comrade Bala as the leader of the LSSP(R). These charges relate to a trip made by Comrade Bala to the US of America on an invitation and financed by the Asia Foundation and also to the unusually friendly relations maintained by him with the British and West German diplomatic missions in Colombo.

Comrade Bala on the other hand made a separate representation in a statement on behalf of the CC of the LSSP(R) challenging the right of Comrade Edmund, a former member of the IEC, to be present at the World Congress as a representative of a split away group. He had accused Comrade Edmund of splitting the Party in defiance of a specific directive given by the Fourth International leadership for maintaining unity, and of now trying to cover it up with various baseless charges.

The Commission sought clarification from both comrades on the charges and counter-charges made by them against each other. It is indeed

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did not take the lead in fighting for united action by all the trade unions and working-class parties against devaluation.

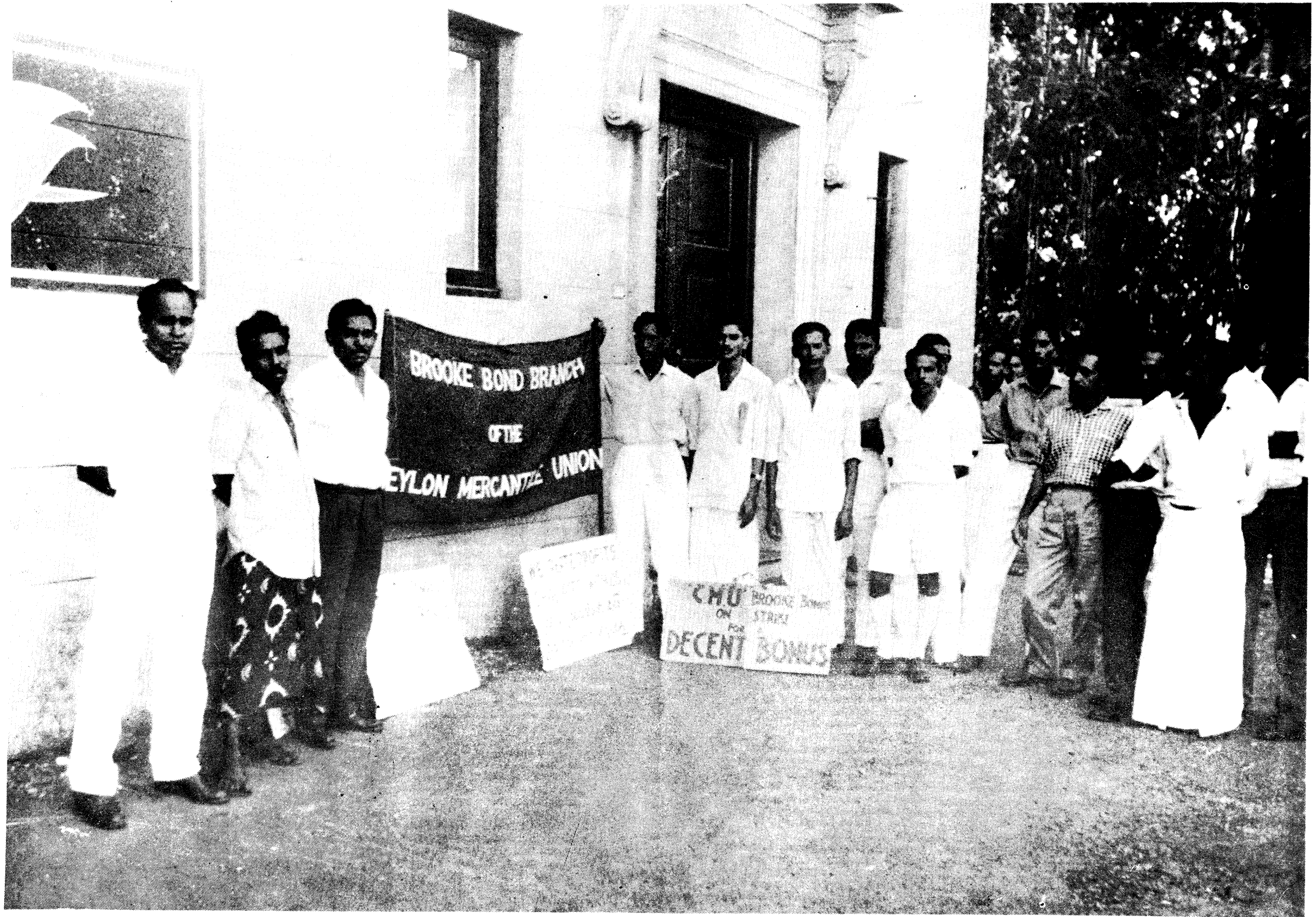
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as the Ceylon section of the 4th International.

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World Congress:—

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Brooke Branch of the Ceylon Mercantile Union which is led by the Revisionist LSSP(R).

fore the Commission tends to support the conclusion that the policies followed by Comrade Bala—especially in his

recommendations for action to the next meeting of the IEC. (2) That the EC act with all possible speed on the recom-

grouping of the Trotskyist forces of Ceylon in a united section.

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Fourth International grounds that the following bourgeoisie alien to Marx

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great deal of misunderstanding. There is enough documentary evidence to show that the LSSP(R) has been pursuing a line on issues like united fronts with other working-class organizations which, to say the least, does not conform to the general strategy of the Fourth International movement.

The role of the LSSP(R) during some of the recent strikes in Ceylon like the government employees' strike and workers' strike action against devaluation measures of the UNP government, and its consistent refusal to have joint action with other working-class parties has been such as to place the party in the camp of the enemy as opposed to workers in action. It has been even alleged that during a recent strike some of the CMU units on specific instructions from the leadership resorted to strike-breaking activities—not a complimentary development for the Fourth International movement.

Further, the letter written by Comrade Bala to the Prime Minister of the UNP government during the anti-devaluation strike and the privileged treatment given to him to hold a public meeting when meetings by others were banned in Colombo—along with some other incidents—have made Comrade Bala a suspect in the eyes of the militant working-class movement in Ceylon. Comrade Bala's contention that the charges had been borrowed from the journals published by the LSSP, CP(M) and pro-Peking group, etc., does not minimize the gravity of the situation.

There is enough evidence to show that the CMU is controlled bureaucratically by Comrade Bala. His wife is an important paid functionary of the CMU. So are some of the other colleagues of his in the LSSP(R). The fact that a section controls a big union like the CMU with a membership of 30,000 is indeed a positive gain. But it must be remembered that the CMU consists mostly of white collar employees known for their conservative political outlook especially in Ceylon. And there is an unfortunate tendency on the part of Comrade Bala to subordinate the politics of the LSSP(R) to the needs of the CMU.

This perhaps explains to a large extent the opportunist tactics pursued by the party on several trade union questions. Whatever be the final decision of the World Congress on the status of the LSSP(R) there is certainly a need for separating the leadership of the LSSP(R) from that of the CMU. In other words the top functionary of the CMU should not be the chief executive of the Party especially when the CMU represents the only mass [base] of the Party in Ceylon.

There are several charges against the leadership of the LSSP(R) which could not be verified on the basis of the documents placed before the Commission. But there are enough grounds to feel that there is something rotten about the functioning of the Ceylon section as it stands.

It has been alleged by a member of the LSSP(R), Comrade T. M. Perera for example, that the leadership denied any representation to the minority represented by Edmund on even the CC of the LSSP(R). Even if some of the charges are exaggerated the repercussions of unseemly controversy now raging in Ceylon in other countries can be far reaching.

Under the circumstances, the Commission feels that it would seriously undermine the prestige of the Fourth International as an international party of the revolutionary proletariat if the LSSP(R) as con-

stituted today is continued as an official section of the Fourth International. Its bona fides are in doubt, even if there is no slur on the character of the individual leaders of the Party.

The Commission therefore recommends that the LSSP(R) should be disaffiliated as a section to create the proper political conditions and facilitate the regrouping of genuine Trotskyist elements in Ceylon as a new section of the Fourth International.

At the same time the Commission rejects the claim of the RSP to be granted recognition as an official section of the Fourth International as the behaviour of its leadership in precipitating a split has been far from being responsible.

The Commission deeply regrets to recommend such steps in a country where the Trotskyist movement has had a long tradition. It would have favoured a course whereby the two tendencies that have split from each other could be brought together into a single party. Such a possibility does not exist for the present.

The Commission suggests that the World Congress should set up a special Commission with powers to visit Ceylon at an early date and explore the possibility of a new section of the Fourth International being built in that country.

SECRETARIAT WAS INFORMED

It is particularly significant that, according to this statement by the Indian delegate—who was Chairman of the Commission—Tampoe claimed that he had kept the Unified Secretariat and the SWP fully informed about his trip to the United States. Neither of these bodies raised the slightest objection.

This calls to mind an earlier collaboration with the avowed enemies of Trotskyism by Colvin R. de Silva, a leader of the LSSP when that party was the official Ceylonese section of the Unified Secretariat.

In 1957 Covin R. de Silva, a leading member of the LSSP, visited the Soviet Union and broadcast greetings over Moscow Radio on the anniversary of Lenin's death. This was the same radio over which Stalin had broadcast the murder of the Old Bolsheviks in the purge trials of the 1930s.

The so-called Trotskyist leader made no mention of Trotsky nor of the fact that the Stalinist jails were still full of political prisoners. Nor did he mention the recent brutal crushing of the revolution of the Hungarian working class.

Challenged about this broadcast when he visited London, de Silva justified it by saying it was done with the full knowledge and approval of the Unified Secretariat — Mandel, Frank, and (at that time) Pablo.

This confirms once more that the Unified Secretariat is collaborating with the LSSP(R) in exactly the same unprincipled way that it collaborated with the LSSP right up until that party's leaders joined Mrs. Bandaranaike's government in 1964.

In two weeks the Bulletin will print part two of this series. It includes extracts from the minutes of the United Secretariat's Third World Congress since the 1964 reunification.

Alan Berenson Books

THE NEW COURSE. By Leon Trotsky. New Park Publications, 1972.

The New Course, written in 1923, is an indispensable weapon for revolutionaries struggling to destroy Stalinism today. It was the first powerful blow struck by Leon Trotsky in the battle which was to take up the last 17 years of his life and which was to be the most critical of his entire life as a working class revolutionary: the struggle against the bureaucratization and degeneration of the Russian Communist Party and the Third International under the leadership of Joseph Stalin. The New Course was the first step taken by Trotsky in the fight which in 1938 was to necessitate the construction of a new international leadership for the working class—the Fourth International.

The struggle taken up by Trotsky in 1923 had actually been begun by Lenin himself who, in the last year of his life, concerned himself above all with the rising bureaucracy in the nation and party and especially with its representative—Joseph Stalin. And in this struggle Lenin turned to Trotsky for support.

It was Trotsky who began the battle for the development of Marxism and Leninism. The New Course stands as a classic in the use of the Marxist method itself—which Trotsky insisted upon in dealing with every problem facing the international workers movement and the Soviet Union. It was Stalin who, while swearing total orthodoxy, had substituted for the Marxist method the philosophical methods of the capitalist class: impressionism and empiricism in dealing with the problems facing the Soviet State. It is central to understand that crucial to the development of Stalinism was the revisionism of Marxist theory. It is this struggle taken up by Trotsky to defend Marxism against revisionism which is the cornerstone of The New Course and must be the cornerstone of building the Fourth International today as the leadership of the working class.

Trotsky wrote The New Course as an active participant in a struggle which raged throughout the Bolshevik Party in 1923. By that year the serious illness of Lenin had forced his withdrawal from the leadership of the party, which then passed on to an informal triumvirate of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev. They found a common ground in fear of Trotsky. Stalin was particularly important in that he was the leader of a vast party apparatus developed while he was General Secretary.

DERAILED

It was under this leadership that the long awaited and developing German Revolution was derailed in the earlier months of 1923. Furthermore, inside the party the Bolshevik principle of free democratic discussion was consciously undermined. It was replaced by the triumvirate with what Trotsky called "order giving and meddling."

It was precisely this tendency toward the development of a bureaucratic leadership in the party which produced an explosion in its ranks. On October 15 a declaration signed by 46 members of the party was sent to the Politburo. The declaration which was to become known as the Platform of the 46 denounced the triumvirate for its mismanagement of the economic problems of the country and most importantly for its erosion of party

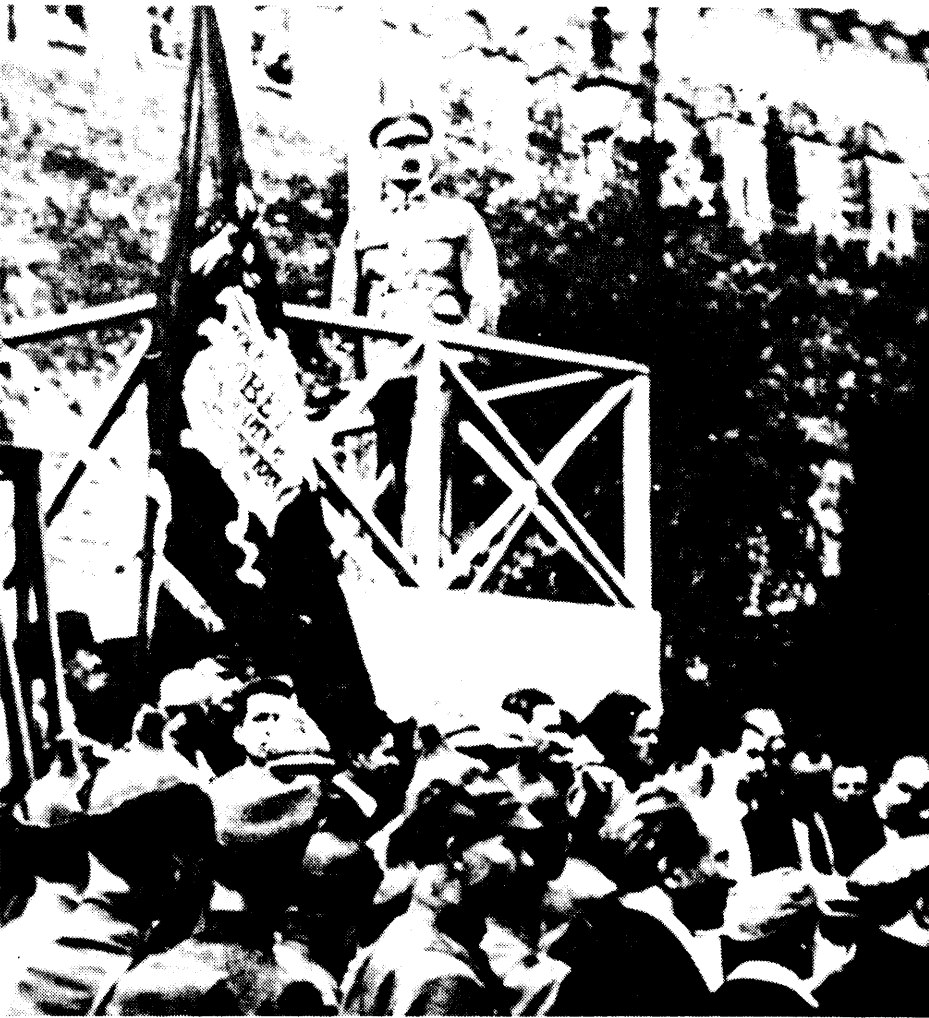
democracy in dealing with all the problems faced by the young workers republic. The Platform stated:

"We observe the ever increasing and new scarcely concealed division of the party between a secretarial hierarchy and quiet folk—between professional party officials recruited from above and the general mass of the party which does not participate in the common life."

MOVEMENT

The movement of free discussion was so great that the triumvirate was forced to promise what Zinoviev called "practical application to workers democracy in the party." He declared the start of a "New Course," part of which was to consist of the opening pages of Pravda to a discussion on all the issues facing the party and the workers state.

The declaration of such a turn was both an important and promising development.



Trotsky delivers a speech in Moscow c. 1920.

However, as things turned out, it was only Trotsky and his supporters who fought for its full implementation. It was for the discussion in Pravda that Trotsky wrote The New Course.

Whereas the Platform of the 46 was able to outline some of the characteristics of the bureaucratization of the party and was a vital first step in the struggle against it, Trotsky put forward a Marxist understanding of the actual social and historical origins of that bureaucratization. By probing into the "old course" Trotsky was able to warn of a degeneration of the Party leadership if the new course was not carried through.

EROSION

Trotsky rooted his analysis of the erosion of party democracy and the tendency towards bureaucratization in the isolation and backwardness of the Soviet Union after the Civil War. The necessary implementation of the New Economic Policy gave an encouragement to the development of new middle class forces hostile to the Soviet Regime, which could not be avoided. Furthermore these forces made an imprint upon the party itself.

Trotsky wrote: "A powerful magnet, the party attracted not only workers with little consciousness but even certain elements plainly alien to its spirit: functionaries, careerists, and political hangers on." Trotsky explained again and again the necessity of a party leadership which would base itself in a struggle against

these forces. He wrote:

"Bureaucratism is not a fortuitous feature of certain provincial organizations but a general phenomenon. It does not travel from district to the central organization through the medium of the regional organization. It is not at all a 'survival' of the war period; it is a result of the transference to the party of the methods and the administrative manners accumulated during these last years."

What this "transference" actually meant was that the party leadership was not taking up the necessary struggle against the hostile forces in the nation and the functionaries in the party. Rather they had begun to adapt to them, particularly in the case of Stalin who was the leader of the functionaries Trotsky wrote about.

The reasons for this lay in the method employed by all three members of the triumvirate—the method of impressionism and adaptation to existing

The Fight For The New Course

it. In its prolonged development bureaucratization threatens to detach the leaders from the masses, to bring them to concentrate their attention solely on questions of administration, of appointments, and transfers, of narrowing their horizon, of weakening their revolutionary spirit, that is of provoking more or less opportunistic degeneration of the Old Guard, or at least a considerable part of it. Such processes develop slowly and almost imperceptibly, but reveal themselves abruptly."

CONFRONT

Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev refused however to confront the very real dangers revealed by Trotsky and instead launched a vicious slander campaign against him. The triumvirate proceeded with exactly the same method. This led to the actual revision of everything Lenin had stood for in 1924 with the development of the theory of "socialism in one country" with which the triumvirate, representing the privileged sections within the party and the Soviet Union, proceeded to subordinate the life and struggle of the international working class to the bureaucracy in the USSR.

It was up to Trotsky in 1923 to defend and develop Leninism, as Stalin proceeded to use and revise it as justification for his move toward the great betrayal of Marxism represented by "socialism in one country." Trotsky wrote:

"Leninism is warlike from head to foot...Leninism cannot be conceived of without theoretical breadth, without a critical analysis of the material bases of the political process. The weapon of Marxist investigation must be constantly sharpened and applied...Least of all can Leninism be reconciled with ideological superficiality and theoretical slovenliness...Leninism seeks to pose and resolve the fundamental revolutionary problems to overcome the principle obstacle: its demagogical counterpart consists in evading the problems, in creating an illusory appeasement, in lulling critical thought to sleep."

WEAPON

What must be understood is that The New Course is not a series of predictions proved true but a weapon for revolutionaries today in that the heart of the book and its perspective was Trotsky's use and fight for the Marxist method, for dialectical materialism, against Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev who approached the question of leadership with impressionism and pragmatism. This cannot be stressed enough for it was precisely this which led to their capitulation to the hostile, privileged party bureaucracy and was at the heart of the degeneration of the Party, which Trotsky warned of in The New Course, into an agency of capitalism within the working class.

SKEPTICS

Petty bourgeois skeptics have always maintained that the triumph of Stalin was inevitable. However this mechanical view completely obliterates the necessary lessons to be learned from the struggle against Stalinism and from The New Course. Stalin did not begin as a counterrevolutionary. What led him to become one was his inability to fight the privileged sections of the party and hostile social forces within the nation. This inability was rooted in his own method of impressionism and pragmatism which finally led him to become the representative of those privileged sections.

The revision of Marxist theory was crucial in the development of Stalinism and the degeneration of Stalin himself. That must be seen as the central lesson of The New Course for revolutionaries struggling to build the Fourth International today against all those who insist that questions of theory are non-essential. They are essential in the struggle to change the thinking of the working class, in constructing the revolutionary leadership which will destroy Stalinism and capitalism.

Engineers Demand General Strike Against Heath Fine

BY MELODY FARROW

The stand of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), one of the most powerful and militant unions in Britain, to refuse payment of a court ordered fine of 50,000 pounds (over \$100,000) has received massive support from all sections of the British working class.

This act of defiance against the Tories Industrial Relations Court is bringing the entire working class once again to the brink of general strike action. A national strike in engineering could quickly lead to a shutdown of the whole country and the bringing down of Prime Minister Heath's government.

All the engineering shop stewards from North and South London have voted to strike if any attempt is made to seize the union's funds. Two hundred and fifty stewards representing 20,000 Ford workers in Dagenham have unanimously pledged to support the union's stand. A meeting of the AUEW's South Shields branch passed a resolution that demands the immediate recall of the Trades Union Congress to prepare for a general strike.

The Coventry branch has called for an "immediate total strike and to work to bring down the Tory government which is destroying all the hard won rights that union members have built." Coventry Branch No. 25 resolution demands a "General Strike to bring down the Tories and elect a Labour government that must repeal the Industrial Relations Act and carry out socialist policies."

The Engineering union was initially

fined 5,000 pounds for refusing to readmit a worker, John Goad, who had scabbed on a strike. The present fine was levied for the AUEW's contempt of court when it refused to voluntarily turn over the money to the court.

On January 1, Britain will enter the Common Market. Not only will prices and unemployment soar drastically but the leading sections of big business will immediately move to implement their plans for a right-wing dictatorship.

The continuing strength and militancy of the working class, which the Tories have failed to defeat, is creating splits within the top circles of the British ruling class.

The president of the Confederation of British Industry, Michael Clapham—who represents the large monopolies—publicly attacked the Tories claim that a five percent growth rate in the economy could be achieved. He said that the growth rate was based on inflation and paper value but that actual physical growth was completely stagnant.

Clapham then warned the government that any attempt to curb inflation through price restraints would hinder growth and that the only solution to spur investment was to cut back "consumption."

This statement is a direct warning to Heath by his big business backers that



Over 100 engineers lobbied the AUEW headquarters demanding that the union stand firm in its refusal to pay a fine worth \$150,000. The union leadership refuses to demand general strike action to bring down the hated Tory government and to mobilize the working class to smash the Industrial Relations Act and the Court that stands behind it.

they cannot afford any further delay in a showdown with the working class. If Heath does not break off all relations and discussions with the unions then the CBI heads will find someone who will.

Right-wing candidates are openly emerging as a growing force. In a recent by-election, a right-wing candidate ran against the Tory candidate and in another, the chairman of the Monday Club—an extreme anti-communist organization—was himself the Tory candidate. In a by-election in Uxbridge, four right-wing candidates polled together over 4000 votes.

As an example of what the Tories are preparing for the whole labor movement and the youth who seek to fight back, the courts just sentenced four members of the Angry Brigade movement to 10 years in jail on framed up charges.

This brutal sentence of the court, the growing trend towards fascist movements and the anti-subversion bill passed in Britain's colony, Ireland, reveal

the ruthless vengeance and terror that the British rulers are preparing to unleash on the working class.

Despite these attacks, the leadership of the Trades Unions Congress and the Labour Party have refused to mobilize their members in action against the government. The Engineering leaders, forced by the ranks to stand firm, are alone among union leaders in defying the Industrial Relations Act. Victor Feather of the TUC still hopes for more talks with the government on wages.

From the events of the past year, it is clear that the British workers will not be held back by union leaders who seek to collaborate with the Tories. This movement is creating the conditions to take forward the program of the Socialist Labour League, to build a revolutionary leadership in the unions, to force the Tories to resign and re-elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies and to transform the SLL into a revolutionary party.

The Rents Battle Of Clay Cross

BY ED SMITH

Last Sunday, the ex-mining town of Clay Cross in the North Derbyshire region of England was the scene of a demonstration. Three thousand people from towns all over the area blocked Clay Cross' main street for over a half hour, shouting "Heath Out!", "Rent Increases Out!" and "Tories Out!"

The 3000 marchers—only 1000 had been expected—were marching in support of the 11 member all-Labour Party Clay Cross town council. The Clay Cross council is now in the front line of the resistance of the British working class to the drive of Prime Minister Edward Heath's Conservative Party government to force it back into mass poverty.

The Clay Cross councillors have unanimously refused to implement a key part of the Tory attack: rent increases of over a pound (\$3) a week in municipal housing mandated under the so-called Fair Rents Act.

This Act will increase the rent of many tenants up to 50 percent. Rent hikes come at a time when workers' pay has been frozen by the Tory government and inflation is growing by leaps and bounds.

The current inflation rate of 8.3 percent per year will pale into insignificance in the new year with British entry into the Common Market and the introduction of the Value Added Tax (VAT).

The fight against the Tory Rent Act becomes a life and death battle for the English working class. As Clay Cross council leader Arthur Wellon told the British daily Trotskyist newspaper, *Workers Press* at the demonstration:

"This is just the beginning, just round one of the battle. We hope it will end in the downfall of this Tory government and a Labour government which will carry out their promises and not uphold the establishment."

The significance of Clay Cross is that broad sections of English workers are coming to the conclusion that the Tory government and the bosses that stand behind it are intent on inflicting ever more vicious attacks on the working class until it has driven workers back to the "hungry thirties."

The near-unanimous support the Clay Cross council is receiving among the workers from the town and, increasingly, from outside, comes from the new understanding among workers that there are fundamental issues at stake in this struggle.

PREPARATIONS

In the context of skyrocketing prices, preparations under the Industrial Relations Act to completely bust the unions as collective bargaining organizations and growing calls by the right wing for a "Specials Powers Act" to strip the working class of its democratic rights, the new rent hikes take on a special meaning for English workers.

The right to public housing and an end to slums, which the working class won from the first postwar Labour government, is being turned by exorbitant rents into a means of exploitation of the working class so the Tories can pay for their crisis.

A great movement of resistance to the Rents Act was sabotaged by the Labour Party reformists. An announcement by the Labour Party's national leadership that local councils controlled by the Labour Party could implement the Act or not as they wished opened the way for hun-

dreds of Labour councillors to desert to the Tories and line up for implementation. By the time of the recent Labour Party conference, the national leadership was attacking the councils who had decided to resist the law.

The Tories have formidable means to insure compliance with the rent hikes. Currently an auditor is determining how much money has been lost by the council's refusal to impose the increases. The 11 councillors will be personally liable for paying the money—already more than \$20,000 and enough to bankrupt the councillors many times over. If they refuse to pay—as they will—they can be sent to jail for contempt.

Already the council has been notified that 25,000 pounds (\$60,000) in housing subsidy may have to be given back in retaliation for non-implementation. And under the Act, the councillors will be punished by being suspended from the council for five years—which means the workers of Clay Cross will be stripped of their democratic right to elect representatives of their own choosing to office.

STRUGGLE

But the council is standing firm because they know what is at stake in this struggle. Said council chairman Wellon, an engineer in the county bridge department:

"Councillors are fully aware of all the implications. But we are also aware of the implications of not standing out against this act, which is more important."

Throughout the 1960s, Clay Cross council built public housing at two and one half times the national average and charged cheap rents. This was one gain for the working class as the government-sponsored shutdown of the coal mines proceeded and left the mining town of Clay Cross today with its present devastating unemployment rate of 18 percent. Now the

Tories want to take even the right to housing away.

MINERS

Discussions have been held with locals of the National Union of Mineworkers in the area. The miners wish no part of an isolated "protest" strike. They are pressing for area-wide or even national action.

As Arthur Wellon told *Workers Press*: "Some laws you could fiddle round. This time we have to say enough is enough. The government is deliberately set on the course of conflict with the working class."

"As far as I'm concerned this is the stand everyone in the labor movement has got to take. If we are left isolated, on our own, we could be jailed."

"Unless the whole of the trade union and working class movement takes up the lead, then all we've done is to prove a point. There's got to be a clash with this government where somebody loses and someone wins. Of course nothing can be solved while the Tories remain in."

There cannot be one step forward for the British working class without taking up the struggle to make the Tory government resign, to return a Labour government pledged to carry out socialist policies, which is the fight taken up by the British Trotskyist movement, the Socialist Labour League. Realization of this is reflected in the comments of Clay Cross workers and councillors.

Mrs. Eileen Wholey, the only woman on Clay Cross council, is a cook in the local school. Her husband works in the mines. She told *Workers Press*:

"Now the trade union movement must rally behind us. The Tories have been putting the working class down. But if the working class gets together we could put the Tories out of office. And it's brewing up for that, another Ireland here."



Photo courtesy of Bill Miller, a picket

Mounted police charged into the picket lines at the Cleveland Plain Dealer recently. Police are now being used by the corporations in their drive to smash the trade unions.

Police Unions

BY DAVID NORTH

The use of police to smash picket lines is now being used on a scale unknown since the great union battles of the 1930s. In every part of the country, workers walking their lines peacefully are being confronted with riot cops armed with billy clubs, mace, and guns.

"I turned around and there was this big police lieutenant, with a big smile on his face, pouring mace into my eyes and mouth."

These are the words of Guild member William Brown, who was one of 300 workers attacked last month during a strike in Wilmington, Delaware.

"It's hard to imagine what mace is like," he said. "But just think of tear gas applied to your face in liquid form, five or six times stronger than the vapor. I was completely incapacitated."

Other workers suffered more severe injuries. "I saw one guy who had been hit by billy clubs. He seemed to be dead when the ambulance arrived."

RESPONSIBLE

Responsible for the police attacks are the giant corporations and the government itself. The police departments of every city know that their brutal actions against striking workers have the full support of Nixon himself.

Two weeks ago, the Supreme Court came out with a ruling that gives broad legal protection to scabs against retribution by the unions.

Hardest hit in recent months by the police campaign have been members of the Newspaper

Guild. Besides the attack in Wilmington, workers in Cleveland and Fall River have been injured by the police strikebreakers.

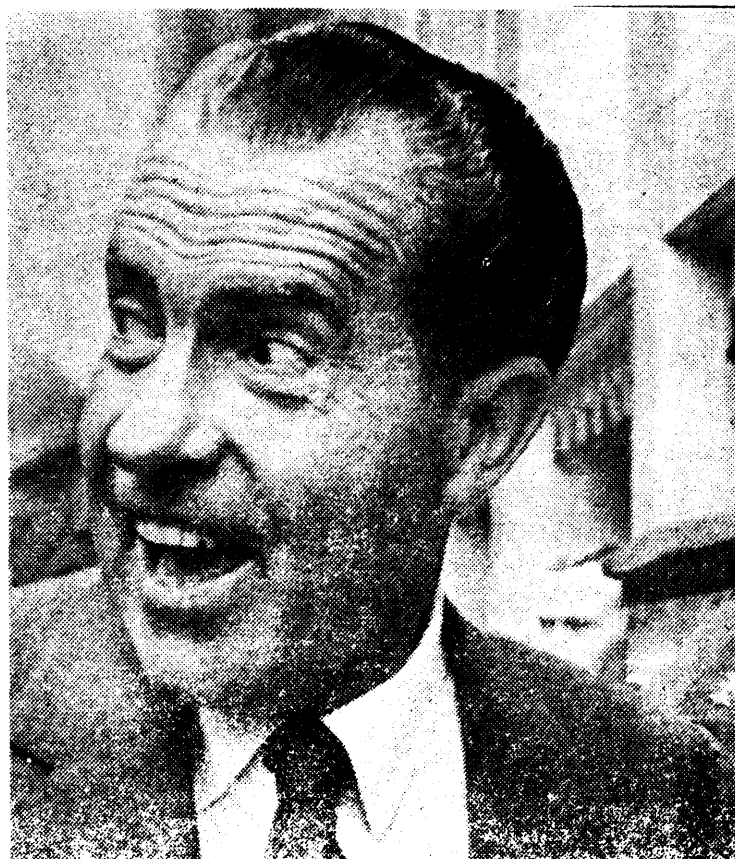
However, divisions within the printing trades—particularly between the Guild and the International Typographers Union—have made their members particularly vulnerable to attack.

DANGER

While all the involved unions recognize the need for amalgamation, as is seen in the formation of the International Graphic Arts Union and the negotiations being conducted by the Guild and ITU, there is a danger that rather than uniting the printing trades, separate amalgamations will lead to the splitting up of the industry into larger blocs of antagonistic unions.

At the very least, workers with the same boss must have a contract that expires at the same time, so that there cannot be a situation where the leaders of a union order their men through the picket line of another union whose contract has expired.

At a time when the workers of the printing trades are demanding strike action against the Pay Board to fight the cut in their contract and when the unions are threatened by armed strikebreakers, it is critical that the divisions be ended.



Left: the infamous racketeer Meyer Lansky. Above: the equally infamous threadbare boy from Whittier Cal.

THE FLORIDA CONNECTIONS

BY BRUCE MCKAY

With a little help from his friends, the threadbare boy from Whittier has risen to occupy the highest office in the land and enjoys the confidence of the most powerful sections of the American ruling class.

Like the Watergate affair, the business activities of the President's nephew bring to mind Richard Nixon's ties to organized crime and shed some light on just who some of these friends are.

According to the President's brother Don, his son, Donald A. Nixon is "making an honest living" working for the Bahamas Commonwealth Bank in Nassau.

This, however, does not tell the full story.

According to his father, the young Nixon has also been working for one of the bank's directors, Gilbert Straub, but no one in Nassau wants to say much about Nixon's whereabouts or his connection with the bank or Straub.

The secretary who answers the phone at the bank reveals only that Mr. Nixon is away and won't be back for several days.

According to bank officials, Nixon does not even work for the bank and does not have an account, but nevertheless, they admit his presence at the bank "occasionally."

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

Actually, young Donald has been working for Robert L. Vesco and a group of investors who operate in the shady regions of international finance.

Earlier this year, columnist Jack Anderson reported that

presidential adviser John D. Ehrlichmann lectured Donald about "behaving" himself when he went to work last year for International Controls Corp. (ICC), a Swiss-based company then controlled by Vesco and Richard E. Clay.

Young Donald's activities since then have been shrouded in secrecy, and no wonder. They bring to mind some of his now-wealthy uncle's more embarrassing friendships.

Vesco and Clay are presently negotiating the purchase of the lucrative Paradise Island casino from Resorts International, Inc.

Richard Nixon has had a long and cozy, if somewhat obscure, relationship with Paradise Island and Resorts International, which emerged from the Mary Carter Paint Company as a shell devised by National Crime Syndicate boss Meyer Lansky to develop Paradise Island in the spirit of Las Vegas.

In 1962, Nixon paid a visit to his friend Huntington Hartford at his Paradise Island estate. Hartford then owned Paradise Island (formerly Hog Island) and was negotiating with Nassau's Bay Street Boys for a permit to operate a casino.

Hartford was unsuccessful and sold out to Mary Carter which obtained the necessary certificate of exemption in 1965.

Actually, several Nixon friends were major stockholders in Mary Carter, including ex-New York Governor Thomas Dewey, who placed poor Richard's name in nomination at the 1952 Republican National Convention.

Dewey had invested in the Crosby-Miller Company in 1958, and the following year it merged with Mary Carter, with James Crosby becoming the new Mary Carter president. Crosby is another Nixon friend and became chairman of the board of Resorts International.

BEBE REBOZO

Charles (Bebe) Rebozo, reportedly Nixon's closest friend, mentioned Crosby in a deposition filed in a federal court suit in 1970. The suit involved the acceptance by Rebozo's Key Biscayne Bank & Trust Company of 900 shares of stolen IBM stock as collateral for a dubious loan arranged by an associate of Bobby Baker.

Rebozo said he had checked out the stock with Crosby and none other than the President's brother Don.

According to testimony before a Senate sub-committee investigating securities thefts by organized crime, Crosby's brother, Peter, "has operated in all phases of stock fraud and has used stolen securities many times as underlying collateral."

Another major Mary Carter/Resorts International stockholder, Richard Pistell, contributed \$17,500 to Nixon's 1968 campaign fund.

Nixon's association with Mary Carter Paints, Resorts International and the Paradise Island casino does not end there. When the casino held its gala opening party in 1968, Richard Milhous Nixon was among the guests of honor, and one of the company yachts was put at his disposal during the 1968 Republican National Convention in Miami.

James Golden, another close Nixon friend who was in charge of security during the 1968 campaign—as he had been during the world travels of Vice President Nixon—was put on the Mary Carter/Resorts International payroll after the election.

David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank and one of Nixon's most important ruling class supporters, has also played a prominent role in Resorts International.

Shortly after Mary Carter became Resorts International, Chase Manhattan gave the new company a credit agreement of \$5.5 million and agreed to become the transfer agent for the company's class A and B stock.

In 1969, through a secret purchase arrangement with the Chase, Resorts International attempted to gain control of Pan American Airways, but premature disclosure of the deal forced a cancellation.

SOARED

A good many Nixon friends no doubt were able to use their inside information to realize windfall profits as Resorts stock soared to \$61 a share on the American exchange. It now stands at about \$6 (A) and \$7-8 (B).

In addition, Chase acquired the mortgage for Island Hotel Co., Ltd., the subsidiary of Resorts which operates the Paradise Island hotel.

Richard Nixon has a standing invitation at Paradise Island, but the Secret Service has warned him to stay away because of the presence of too many people identified directly and indirectly with Meyer Lansky. Apparently, the same restrictions do not apply to young Donald.

The exact nature of Donald Nixon's activities in Nassau are not clear. Resorts International officials deny he is playing any role in the actual negotiations for the sale of the casino.

ASSET

His mere presence, however, is undoubtedly considered an asset by Vesco, who recently contributed \$20,000 to the Nixon campaign chest. Nixon influence, in fact, could be crucial in getting the Bahamian government to approve the sale.

Vesco's troubles with the Securities and Exchange Commission may also throw some light on Nixon's "honest living" at the bank, as well as the generous campaign donation.

Vesco is the mysterious figure who emerged in 1970 as the "savior" of Bernie Cornfeld's

notorious Investors Overseas Services, Ltd. (IOS) when it faced total collapse as the post-war inflationary boom upon which it had been built began to really crumble.

In addition to its reckless and often illegal stock manipulations and flagrant violations of exchange regulations in underdeveloped countries, IOS maintained a close relationship with Lansky's international syndicate, especially the International Credit Bank in Geneva headed by Lansky crony Dr. Tibor Rosenbaum.

IOS and its many spinoffs and subsidiaries are believed to have been important conduits for money Lansky's syndicate skimmed off gambling receipts in Las Vegas and Caribbean casinos, and IOS has been an important financial backer of Resorts International.

There is no reason to believe Vesco changed any of this.

ARRESTED

Vesco, in fact, was arrested by Swiss authorities last year in connection with his IOS activities, and the SEC is investigating his relationship to both IOS and ICC. Because of this, Vesco has been forced to give up his control of both companies. Donald left ICC about the same time.

Vesco, however, is still a director of the Bahamas Commonwealth Bank, one of the more recent IOS spinoffs.

Donald's association with Vesco and his uncle's relationship with Resorts barely scratches the surface of the Nixon link to organized crime. None of it should be surprising.

After all, Meyer Lansky has said his personal hero is Napoleon Bonaparte, and the extreme right and organized crime have long been intimately linked.

The ruling class itself has forged many important ties with organized crime, first during Prohibition then during the post-war boom, and as it seeks an alliance with the extreme right, all of the most seedy characters will emerge from the capitalist woodwork.

Madison Labor Boycotts Farah

BY NANCY RUSSELL AND ARLENE OLSON
MADISON, Wis.—This week Madison labor joined a nationwide picket line aimed at corporations refusing to boycott Farah clothing, one of the world's largest slacks manufacturers.

In a one day mobilization, the Madison Federation of Labor, Teamsters, United Auto Workers, and community supporters leafleted and picketed the H.C. Prange Stores in Madison, which have continued to advertise the Farah name, and are ordering a spring shipment of Farah slacks.

This kind of city-wide labor support indicates the kind of fight that must be aimed at the heart of Nixon's union-busting program. Trade unionists who spoke to Bulletin reporters expressed support for the picketers. Several youth joined in on the spot.

People interviewed agreed that a political fight against Nixon's administration was necessary. One Teamster commented: "A working man that doesn't agree with a labor party is crazy."

The police, called in by the Prange management, stated that while they did not know the ruling concerning the legality of picketing in a mall area, the Farah supporters must move out or be jailed. They said that the lawyers could take up the question in the morning.

UNFAIR

The boycott of Farah products has been conducted since May 20. It stems from unfair labor practice suits over firings for union activity, the company's hiring of armed guards, use of unmuzzled dogs and barbed wire around the plants.

Farah has seven plants in New Mexico and five in Texas. Only one department has successfully organized and the company has refused to bargain. While the Madison clothing representative stated that on the average, a Farah worker makes one dollar less than comparable unionized clothing factories, other sources stated that some workers slave at 35 cents an hour. "Nixon has pledged to keep the Farah unfair labor suits bogged down in the court system till it dies on the vine," Representative Wyss from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers said.

NIXON

Nixon, the Farah company, and H.C. Prange have made their positions clear: there will be no compromise. The only answer to these policies is the immediate convening of a Congress of Labor to give a political leadership to the fight of the working class for decent working conditions.

Midwest News



Hundreds of trade unionists demonstrated in front of Prange's Department Store in Madison, Wisconsin. The store continues to sell pants manufactured by the Farah company. The Farah workers have been demanding union recognition for seven months.

Safety Strikes Sweep UMW As Miners Vote Out Boyle

BY M. GREGORY

In the aftermath of the Miners For Democracy slate's overwhelming victory over Tony Boyle, a wave of strikes over safety conditions have swept across Illinois.

Angered by the latest disaster in a mine owned by the ruthless Consolidation Coal Company, which was responsible for the death of 78 miners in November of 1968, many of Illinois' 10,000 miners have stopped working.

The victory of Arnold Miller and the Miners For Democracy slate in last week's United Mine Workers election shows the determination of American workers to fight to defend their unions, standard of living and working conditions against the attacks of the corporations, Nixon and against the collaboration of the trade union bureaucracy.

With a margin of over 14,000 votes the candidates of the MFD defeated the corrupt leadership of W.A. (Tony) Boyle, who used intimidation and bribery to stay in power. Boyle has been directly linked to the brutal murder of "Jock" Yablonski, the leader of the opposition, his wife and daughter.

By ignoring the contract's safety provisions 2008 men died in the mines during Boyle's reign. Boyle made secret deals with the western strip mines (Consol) to pay only 50 percent of the contract's set 40 cent per ton royalty money, and kept the UMW way below standards met by the UAW and USWA in pensions, vacations, sick leave and pay, not to mention the complete control the bureaucracy established over the union.

In the mines the determination of the companies to protect their profits has led to the most

ruthless speedup, with total disregard to the safety and health conditions of the workers in that field. This situation in the mines, where more than 100,000 have been killed since 1900, has been made possible by the open collaboration of the union bureaucracy under Boyle. The central plank of the MFD campaign has been on safety, with the motto: "Coal will be mined

(Continued On Page 18)



Arnold Miller

Militants Fight Local Leaders To Stop Armour Shutdown

BY B. WILLS

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Minn., Dec. 18—At stake at the Armour Meat Packing plant here are the jobs of more than 3000 employees organized into Local P4 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America, AFL-CIO.

The Company's announcement last July of its intention to close the entire Beef Division in January 1973 was countered by the resolve of a number of workers with substantial seniority to prevent the shutdown of this key department. The jobs of 800 workers were directly threatened then.

Everyone understood that the elimination of this department was but the prelude to a complete shutdown of the entire plant since only the Hog Division would remain.

The attempt of a group of workers organized into the Local P4 Committee to Save Our Jobs (CTSOJ) to prevent any layoffs was frustrated by the combined efforts of two groups: John Dettwiler, President of Local P4 and his henchmen, and a small group of Black nationalists.

At both membership and shop stewards' meetings, Dettwiler's followers sought to whip everyone into line behind his do-

nothing policies by hysterical charges that "reds" were attempting "to take over and wreck this union."

At one of the shop steward meetings, where a leading militant attempted to speak on the real issue of joblessness facing the entire work force, Dettwiler's group stood up and began shouting him down to prevent him from reaching those present.

The small minority around Dettwiler then passed a motion threatening any member of P4 with immediate expulsion from the union if he dared to bring up or speak in favor of the CTSOJ program. In fact one of Dettwiler's stooges urged the body to call on Armour's union-hating guards to search every person carrying any package into the plant.

In recent weeks, however, young workers have been coming forward with powerful determination to prevent the com-

pany's closing of the facility in South St. Paul. Around these forces, a new attempt is being made to mobilize the entire plant against any further threats to the employees' jobs.

A full slate of candidates was nominated at the December membership meeting to run against the Dettwiler machine. The young workers coming forward to fight against the company will do all in their power to urge this opposition slate to campaign vigorously around the following program:

*Strike action in the Armour chain to recall all workers laid off since July 1972.

*Join the unions throughout the country in strike action to abolish the Pay Board.

*Support the calling of a Congress of Labor.

*Nationalization of the meat packing industry including the large cattle ranches under workers' control.

*Build a labor party!

Fire 20 Profs

MANKATO, Minn.—Twenty members of the Mankato State College faculty were fired December 15. The College announced that 58 more faculty layoffs will follow in the course of the year. The layoffs will chop Mankato's faculty from 640 to 562.

The Minneapolis Star and the state college system blame the layoffs on the declining student enrollment. All of Minnesota's seven state colleges have had enrollment decreases this year. Mankato State alone had an enrollment decline of 9.8 percent.

What the Minneapolis Star does not report is that the state's attacks on the students, through tuition hikes coupled with the dim prospect of finding a job, has forced students off the state college campuses.

STEEL. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

000 jobs lost. Local 2610 President Charles Casey Robinson blandly states that he did not think more cuts were possible. His plant has already lost 50 percent of the work force during his presidency. He hopes the Commission will create more supervisory jobs for union personnel.

The officers admitted that the Commission, which had met only once this year, has ignored all these recommendations made by the union, uncovering the real nature of cooperation between the union and management. The company wants to make high

quality steel at the lowest possible cost and welcomes the union bureaucracy urging its members to "do the job right the first time."

TREACHERY

The treacherous role of the USWA bureaucracy, feeding illusions in joint productivity commissions and refusing to protect jobs and wages, must not be allowed to continue.

As one worker at Sparrows Point put it: "I'm opposed to this Productivity Commission. All we've seen are jobs being cut. I've worked in the plant for 19 years, and I've been moved down to a laborer's position. There's no

further that I can go down."

A caucus must be built in the USWA which fights for the withdrawal of all union members from productivity committees and the re-opening of the contract now to demand the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

Steelworkers can take up this fight against Abel by attending the Emergency Trade Union Conference being called by the Workers League on February 18, where the questions of building this alternative leadership in conjunction with the fight for a Congress of Labor and the building of a labor party will be discussed.

VIETNAM. . .

(Continued From Page 2)

teams were moved into the country hamlets and decrees declaring the death penalty for NLF sympathizers were passed.

As the Hanoi newspaper has charged, Nixon was the one to raise new issues, namely the demand that Hanoi sign a written agreement to withdraw its forces

from the South or acknowledge that they were there "illegally."

In addition, Nixon is demanding a supervisory force to regulate a ceasefire, of 5000 which would have unlimited movement throughout the country. Hanoi will not accept more than 250. These 5000 supervisors would be used against the NLF.

North Vietnam, under the massive pressure of the liberation fighters, has been forced to reject an agreement that would destroy everything they are fighting for. It is a powerful testimony to the strength of the Vietnamese masses that, despite open pressure from Moscow and Peking to accept Nixon's conditions, they have refused to capitulate.

UMW STRIKES. . .

(Continued From Page 17)

safely or not at all." Miller's platform demanded no firing for refusing to work in unsafe conditions; full crews and helpers on all machines; payment for time lost for mine closure over safety violations; and a full time Safety Committeeman at each local.

Another section of the campaign was based on an urgent need to improve the UMW pension plan. The maximum under Boyle was \$150 a month, with many men getting only \$50. Miller's platform included a base pension of \$200, plus \$10 for every year worked over 20 years; 25 and out clause regardless of age, and responsible investment of funds.

Under the Boyle regime, the fund lost millions every year. The money paid to the Yablonski murderers reportedly came from here. The National Bank of Washington (75 percent owned by the UMW), originally set up by the union to aid individual miners, has played a role under Boyle in the financing of non-union strip mining.

DEFEND

Miller told the Bulletin in an interview after his election: "We're going to move in the direction of restoring full democracy in the union and start to work on the field of safety and the benefit program...I think that labor ought to get together. I

think that the presidential election demonstrated all the more the need for labor getting together. It really bothers you when you realize that the labor movement represents the majority of the people, that you still allow these things to happen. I'm not satisfied with that."

The ranks who mobilized their support behind Miller must fight for this new leadership to carry through a real struggle to defend the miners against the corporations and the government, against the Pay Board, productivity and layoffs. Such a fight will require the demand for a Congress of Labor to defeat Nixon's attacks and the construction of a labor party.

An older miner, an active supporter of the MFD from Pennsylvania, told the Bulletin: "Boyle didn't resign. We threw him out. When Bud Zanoski stole the District 5 election from us two years ago, we almost threw him out the window of the office." Describing a fund raising dinner for Boyle in Pittsburgh, he said: "The MFD mobilized over 200 people and scared Boyle's men away from it. Only about 30 miners attended. Most of the 40 people who were there were wives. People were sneaking in through side doors and windows." He showed us a sign he carried during the demonstration, which read: "District 5 is still alive, Boyle can't kill us off."

RESISTANCE

After making concessions, the North Vietnamese have pulled back from a settlement. Behind this stands the tremendous resistance of the NLF who are not about to lay down their guns. Last month, the French newspaper Le Monde reported that three leaders of the NLF organized a rebellion within the NLF against the position that the NLF must accept negotiations.

The American Communist Party is now saying it will "increase the pressure on Nixon to sign the peace accord now."

As Nixon has made clear, U.S. imperialism is immune to pressure. What it is concerned with is the destruction of the Vietnamese revolution as well as every right and gain of the American working class. The CP has used this "pressure" to push the sellout of the Vietnamese revolution and to prevent the mobilization of the American working class against this war.

Only the Workers League warned that behind the peace talks Nixon was preparing for a new offensive in Vietnam and unlike the pessimists of the Socialist Workers Party, we said that the movement of the working class and the crisis of imperialism would make an agreement impossible.

Only a labor party can end the war in Vietnam and defend the basic rights and living standards of American workers.



A student from John Dewey at the demonstration called against the destruction of the school.

WEIRTON DISASTER. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

Vowers, carried two men out. "One died but the other lived," he said. "Three smaller explosions occurred after the initial blast during the rescue efforts, and hampered the work and bodies and pieces of bodies were all over the place."

Bulletin reporters also talked with Weirton Steel Division employees outside Gate No. 5. One of them said that he personally knew one of the victims, a man whose wife has just recently given birth. He described the accident as "a terrible thing to happen, especially around Christmastime."

SPEEDUP

When asked about whether he thought that this and other industrial accidents were related to the drive of the government and corporations for speedup and

productivity, he replied: "They're building everything up around here, and they do seem to do it more quickly. Yes, I think speedup could be part of it. We had that bridge collapse in the state not too long ago, and it just wasn't adequately maintained."

Workers in all industries are facing rapidly deteriorating safety conditions, as Nixon and the corporations push their drive for productivity to exact greater profits from labor.

In order to beat back these attacks, the unions must immediately convene a Congress of Labor to plan a course of action which can defeat Nixon's plans. Such a conference would have to launch a labor party based on the unions. Every worker who wants to defend his living and working conditions must take up this fight.

Bulletin
weekly organ of the workers league
JULY 1, 1972

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IBT Leader Joins Growers Against UFW

BY DENNIS BROWN

LOS ANGELES—The American Farm Bureau Federation held its 54th Annual Convention here on December 10-14. Ten thousand members from throughout the country attended.

The AFBF is the most conservative of all the farm organizations, and gave full backing to Nixon's re-election campaign. It is no surprise that keynote speeches were delivered by California Governor Ronald Reagan and Earl Butz, Secretary of Agriculture and Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the Teamsters.

Earl Butz was presented with the AFBF Distinguished Service Award for his "vigorous support of farmers and ranchers in the public debate on food prices and

labor union practices..." In accepting the award Butz made clear what he liked about the AFBF:

"In the efforts to end the dock strikes and bring order to transportation woes, the Farm Bureau applied effective pressure. In fighting self-defeating food price controls, Farm Bureau helped to carry the facts to the people."

It is clear by his remarks to the convention that the Nixon administration is going to maintain the large level of subsidies ("welfare") to agribusiness while removing any semblance of controls on food prices which rose 52 percent over the past year.

ANTI-LABOR

Governor Reagan made clear in his address that he has every intention of getting legislation on the books similar to Proposition 22, which would destroy the United Farmworkers Union. With agribusiness accounting for 16 billion dollars, or 12 percent, of the total gross product in California, it is no wonder that such a big anti-labor campaign is being mounted.

Teamster President Fitzsimmons shared the same platform with all these anti-labor speakers. From full support to Nixon during the elections, Fitzsimmons now offers full cooperation with the growers against the farm workers.

Although he blasted the delegates for their support to the right to work laws and the open shop, he went on to call for an alliance between organized labor and farmers, even of the agribusiness variety.

REACTIONARY

The very next day Fitzsimmons announced that the Teamsters would begin a campaign to organize farm workers. This reactionary move is aimed against Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers at a time when the Farm Bureau and the big corporations threaten to destroy the UFW.

The only contribution the Teamster leadership has made to organizing farm workers in the past years has been to scab on the UFW and sign sweetheart contracts with the growers.

Every trade unionist must fight for union support to the UFW which is in the front line of government attacks on the unions. By lining up with Nixon, Fitzsimmons is paving the way for the same attacks on the Teamsters.

Farmworkers cannot defend themselves with a boycott policy. The trade union solidarity built up in the fight against Proposition 22 shows what can be done. The UFW must carry this fight forward with a policy to answer these attacks through the construction of a labor party.

Paper Box Striker Hit By Scab Car

BY JUDITH HALE

FONTANA—A striker at the Ross-Brown Paper Box Company was run down by a scab while picketing in front of the company with several other strikers.

Sherry McKee was hit by an automobile which carried her several feet before she could get off the hood and jump to safety. The automobile driven by Sandy Duval "never slowed down; it was a hit and run accident," stated one of the strikers.

The police investigated the accident but made no arrests. Sherry McKee escaped serious injury.

There have been numerous attacks against strikers by scab workers since the strike began November 14. The only arrests the police have made was jailing one picket for allegedly throwing a rock. Several witnesses stated she never threw anything. She was jailed over eight hours before charges were dropped.

The police continue support of the company by allowing scab workers to park their autos in the police parking lot where a cattle-type truck then picks them up and delivers them to the company.

There they are met by armed owners who act as guards as they pass through the gate. The number of scab workers is increasing as the unemployment office sends new people to cross the picket line.

The United Steelworkers Local 7451 continues to seek negotiations with the company demanding a clean up of the unsafe and intolerable working conditions and a closed shop.

The strikers presented a list of over 20 safety hazards, many life endangering, that must be corrected. Most employees with up to 18 years seniority earn only \$1.65 per hour with no health or vacation benefits.

West Coast News



Over 200 Farmworkers and supporters demonstrated outside the Farm Bureau Convention Hall. The convention was addressed by Ronald Reagan.

Postage Hike Forces Labor Papers To Fold

BY BARRY GREY

SAN JOSE—Twelve labor papers throughout California, including the Santa Clara County Union Gazette, closed down suddenly last week as a result of the postage rate hike recently imposed by Nixon on small journals.

The only major labor papers left are the East Bay Labor Journal and the San Francisco Labor Press. Jeff Boehm, editor of the 72 year old Union Gazette, told the Bulletin that the postage increases will total 700 percent over the next 10 years for labor papers all over the country.

Boehm said: "This will make people think twice before starting something. This is real intimidation."

He stated that the IAM Machinist, a weekly with a circulation of over a million will be cut back to a semi-monthly or even a monthly. Boehm was not

informed of the closing until last Sunday when he received notice that he would be paid through Tuesday.

OWNED

The 12 papers that have closed down stretch from Santa Barbara to the Oregon border. They are all published by Olympic Press, which is owned by the estate of Sheldon Sackett, a millionaire of Coos Bay, Oregon.

Boehm told the Bulletin that the labor press should be owned by the labor councils. He stated: "I'd like to see it resumed. The unions in most of the Bay Area are going to have to have some way to communicate."

The dismantling of the labor

press is one more step in Nixon's campaign to destroy the unions. Along with the Pay Board, anti-strike legislation, and all forms of government intervention, the elimination of independent journals is designed to squash the independence of the labor movement. This is the central purpose of Nixon's current witch-hunt against any opposition from the capitalist press.

The labor movement in California must take immediate steps to publish new labor papers, owned and controlled by the unions.

These developments drive home the urgency of building up the Bulletin as a mass circulation paper to prepare the way for the launching of the daily Bulletin.

McCracken Urges 'Realistic' Unemployment

BY A CORRESPONDENT

PORTLAND, Ore., Dec. 11—Representatives from the biggest banks, utilities, brokerage firms, insurance and realty companies, and corporate industries in the Pacific Northwest met at the Tenth Annual Business and Economic Outlook Conference in the Portland Hilton Hotel today.

The sponsors invited so-called leading authorities including such economic luminaries as the featured Paul W. McCracken, a University of Michigan academic and recent past Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors under President Nixon.

McCracken, while expressing a certain official optimism about national economic prospects over the next four months, posed the problem of determining when to "brake the expansion." He believes the time is now.

The economic braking is to be based upon the "realistic" acceptance of a shrinking "practicable full employment zone." A higher rate of unemployment is required, he said, because there is a higher proportion of young workers who have to be paid a minimum wage and because certain jobs are "oversupplied."

According to McCracken, there

is no alternative but to continue with wage and price controls. "If controls stop, people will lose confidence in money." While praising the imposition by Nixon of a hard line ceiling on federal expenditures, he advocated steps to "curb the power of Congress to spend too much."

The task that McCracken posed to the businessmen at this conference is to "acclimatize" the public to accept as "realistic" the attacks from the employers and the government against trade unions and living conditions. This outlook was made even more explicit by other speakers at the meeting.

John J. Lyman, vice-president of the Security Title Insurance Company in Los Angeles, whose subject was "Yield is the Name of the Game," advocated cut-backs in government spending, "overblown welfare and social security programs."

Claude Rosenberg, president of a San Francisco capital management firm, expressed the outlook of these businessmen toward the labor contracts expiring next year. "We have many industries which are going into very severe wage negotiations. If we relate it to what happened three years ago, we can say that things simply have to be significantly better."

CONTRACTS

"Three years ago we had massive contracts. We will have no such thing in 1973. And, although we will probably have the disruption of strikes, these are things we have to live with."

The importance of this Business Outlook Conference, meeting at a time of fundamental international economic crisis, is expressed in what the discussion revealed about the thinking going on in corporate and financial circles in preparation for big economic and political battles with the labor movement.

West Coast News

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Berkeley Trade Unions Prepare Labor Slate For City Council

EDITORIAL

A recent conference of trade unionists held in Berkeley has announced meetings for January 20 and February 3 open to all Berkeley unionists to prepare a labor slate for the April elections to the City Council.

Temporary officers to prepare the meetings are members of AFSCME, AFT and ILWU.

These meetings have been called in response to the anti-labor policies of the so-called radical City Council, which ordered city workers across picket lines during the University of California strike and attempted open union-busting in the strike of Berkeley public employees.

Leaders of the Alameda County Central Labor Council have indicated willingness to consider endorsements to proposed labor candidates through COPE.

These developments indicate the tremendous potential of the labor movement to move towards an independent political party of labor as the Democratic Party reformists more and more expose their bankruptcy.

The real anti-labor face of Berkeley's radical council became immediately apparent the minute labor moved to defend its basic rights.

This same council was elected to office with tremendous assistance from the Communist Party, which proclaimed the election a "people's victory." Today the CP attempts to deepen its betrayal by campaigning for such a coalition on a national scale, while the SWP has no policy for labor.

The meetings held in S.F. and L.A. by the Workers League on the Fourth International Today posed that only the International Committee had prepared for this period in a continuous battle against Stalinism and revisionism.

The Workers League's fight for a Congress of Labor to prepare the launching of a national labor party is the only policy that can take the labor movement forward.

These beginnings in Berkeley are indications of the tremendous leap now being prepared in the labor movement.

It is on the basis of this strength and determination of the unions to fight that the Fourth International meetings put forward the perspective of building the Bulletin into a mass circulation daily.

The Workers League will fight to rally a big section of East Bay trade unionists to campaign for a Congress of Labor and a labor party at the coming meetings.

This will be part of the preparation for bringing trade unionists from all over the West Coast to the February 18 Emergency Meeting of the Continuations Committee of the National Conference For A Labor Party Now.

ILWU Men Wildcat In Defense Of Jobs

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Ten terminal warehousemen of ILWU Local 13 have set up an unauthorized picket line to protest the elimination of their jobs.

The 10 TW's have been stuffing containers for the Johnson Line at Crescent Warehouse for five years. When the company recently moved its operations to Overseas Shipping Company, all 10 warehousemen were thrown out of work. They have lost their approved pension rights, welfare rights, and medical coverage.

The picketing marks the first protest against the tremendous unemployment that is sweeping the Los Angeles Port due to the increased use of containers. Last year, most terminal warehousemen were able to work a five or six day week, but as one TW explained: "Now we're lucky to get one day in six months. The PMA is to blame for this, but Bridges set us up for it."

HOSTILITY

The growing hostility to ILWU President Harry Bridges stems from his broken promise from two years ago when he pledged to register 75 TW's from the LA Port to B men. This was never done.

Teamsters Local 692 have stopped all trucks entering the Overseas Shipping Company in support of the picket line. However, the TW's are bitter towards the other members of Local 13 who have been crossing the picket line. A handmade picket sign reading: "With friends like the BA, Who Needs the PMA?," referred to the daytime Business Agent, who has refused so far to honor the picket line. The night time business agent and Local 13 men are not crossing the lines, however.

There is no doubt that Harry Bridges is in for a big battle from the Local 13 ranks as they realize that in order to fight the PMA, they will have to fight Bridges.

As a Local 13 member said: "This union has no business having three different branches (A, B, and TW). This is just what the PMA wants to see—union members fighting each other. There will be a lot of pickets like this before our contract is up next June. This, you might say is just the beginning of what you'll see."

The picketing warehousemen are appealing to the entire membership of Local 13 to support the fight to get their jobs back, as they see the layoffs of the TW's as the beginning of the elimination of hundreds of A and B men's jobs.

White Front Stores Closure To Hit 2,000

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 2000 workers will be laid off by the closing of 21 White Front discount stores in California, Oregon, and Washington. The closures, to take effect on January 28, were announced in New York last week by Sol W. Cantor, chairman of the parent company, Interstate Stores Incorporated.

Interstate operates a national chain of more than 170 stores, including White Front in the West, Topps discount houses in the East, and the Toys R Us toy chain.

The company has been in financial difficulties for several years. It has paid dividends only once since 1967, and last year had a net income of only \$568,000 on sales of over \$700 million. This year the White Front chain alone has lost more than \$4.5 million.

Cantor claims that the stores to be closed were responsible for nine million dollars in losses and that the remaining stores will be able to show a fat profit.

CLOSED DOWN

Earlier this year, eight Topps stores were closed down, and Cantor indicated that 17 more of these were on the chopping block for 1973, threatening the jobs of another 1500 workers. These cut-backs are to be accompanied by a sweeping reorganization of the company's financial procedures and debt structure at the direction of Interstate's creditors, principally the giant Chase Manhattan Bank.

The Bay Area will be particularly hard hit by these job slashes. All nine of the White Fronts in the area will be closed, throwing over 800 out of work.

Interstate Stores is a classic product of the postwar inflationary boom. The company began in the 1930s by acquiring conventional department stores at depression prices.

In 1960 Interstate bought out White Front and Topps, then small regional chains, and plunged into the booming discount store business. In only a few years, it built up a nationwide network of over a hundred stores.

FINANCED

This acquisition and expansion was financed by credit money supplied by the banks. These loans were contracted for on the assumption that there was no place to go but up and that sales and profits would continually increase.

In 1969, when the corporation was already beginning to suffer from the suicidal competition among discount chains, it plunged into the discount toy business by buying out other firms and building up a chain of 40 stores under the Toys R Us name.

Now, when the discount stores are getting the axe, Interstate still plans another frenzied round of expansion of its toy chain, opening 12 new stores next year. This will lay the basis for a still



Downtown Los Angeles was packed with hundreds of workers from many unions supporting the struggle of workers from Farah pants. The seven month fight for union rights has met support from trade unionists throughout the country.

greater collapse in the near future.

STATEMENTS

Thus far the leadership of the Retail Clerks has done little more than issue statements of regret moaning that every year more and more large stores close and wipe out thousands of jobs. This threatened closing is only the beginning of a process that

can destroy thousands more as Interstate drives to cut costs.

The union must fight to stop these closings by organizing national strike action against Interstate to prevent the loss of a single job.

This must be carried forward with the fight for a Congress of Labor and the launching of a labor party that will nationalize the banks and large department stores under workers control.

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