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INSTITUTION

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME NINE NUMBER ONE 276

JANUARY 8, 1973

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

## U.S. Labor Must Stop Nixon's War

### Statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International

The International Committee of the Fourth International calls on its sections and supporters in every country to fight for the mobilization of the organized working class in defense of the Vietnamese revolution, against the genocidal onslaught of U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. army and air force are engaged on the greatest operation of mass destruction of human life in the whole of history. B-52 bombing raids in North Vietnam have killed more people in less than two weeks than the Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The tonnage of bombs dropped by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam is greater than the total dropped in the whole of World War II.

The attack now going on marks a decisive new stage not only in the Vietnam war, but in the world crisis of capitalism and the international class struggle.

Early in October 1972, U.S. President Nixon, campaigning for re-election, cynically and deliberately gave the false impression that peace terms were about to be finally signed. The real meaning of that maneuver is clear. U.S. imperialism played with the fate of millions of workers and peasants in Vietnam in order to win time and consolidate their power for their attack on the American working class and, through the trade war, on their rivals and on the working class throughout the world.

The mass extermination in North Vietnam today is the inevitable accompaniment of the new stage in the crisis of international capitalism. The continued heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, despite U.S. imperialism's genocidal policies, is the foremost example of the resistance of the working class.

Imperialism has no answer to the resistance of the masses except this mass destruction of life and of the means of production. Everywhere the capitalists turn, they need to smash the working class, an undefeated working class which resists every attack.

There is now not the slightest question of an agreed solution of the monetary crisis sparked off by Nixon's scrapping of the Bretton Woods system in August 1971. Special Drawing Rights, merely a new form of paper money, have accelerated world inflation and there will be no international agreement on them.

The controversy on IMF loans and Drawing Rights to "developing" countries means only that "aid" to these countries is at an end. The new bombing in Vietnam is the traditional capitalist "solution" to their insoluble crisis—war and mass destruction. The colonial workers and peasants must now be physically wiped out.

Having in the past unloaded their crisis on to the colonial peoples, the imperialists will now turn with renewed ferocity to the repression and destruction

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Militant Farah pants workers have been fighting the company for union recognition for over seven months. The workers have mobilized enormous labor support from all across the country. The above demonstration took place in St. Louis.

### Pay Board Cuts Teamster Raise

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Nixon's Pay Board has just cut 5 cents an hour from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters contract covering 400,000 workers and plans to deduct it from whatever increase is won in the upcoming July, 1973 negotiations.

The Teamsters leadership of Fitzsimmons is directly responsible for this attack.

The very same day of the Pay Board action, the Price Commission authorized Hershey Foods to raise the prices on its solid chocolates by over 9 percent and warned that restrictions on prices in 1973 (as if there were any) would have to be removed.

With contracts in many of the major industries, auto, rubber, Teamsters, General Electric and Westinghouse expiring in 1973, Nixon is taking measures to deliberately provoke a head on confrontation between the unions and the government.

On Friday, December 29th, the Cost of Living Council declared that it would be necessary to ease the "burden" of the controls program on big business.

The Council said that unless restrictions on profits were removed the Administration's goal of national growth could not be achieved. They forecasted that inflation would be difficult to control because so many items were not covered by the controls.

At the same time, George Schultz stated that outside of pressuring processors and distributors to hold down prices very little could be done about

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### Young Socialists Draft Program

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### Bulletin Expansion Drive

### Thanks For Great Work

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By your sacrifices you have laid the basis for the fighting class as it enters this year of 1973 into In the next few weeks the Bulletin will be announcing plans for this fight.

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# British Workers Near Showdown As Heath Joins Common Market

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Great Britain, following 10 years of negotiations, entered the European Common Market along with Ireland and Denmark on January 1. The Tory government marked entry with a celebration on New Year's Eve including a torchlight parade and an official dedicating ceremony at Westminster Abbey.

The entry into the Common Market represents the most naked counterrevolutionary conspiracy by Heath together with British and international monopolists and bankers against the British working class.

The Heath government has in the recent period brought to a head all the aspects of its drive to destroy the basic living standards and rights of the British working class.

State control of wages has been instituted while inflation soars, driving prices to astronomical levels.

Meanwhile the Industrial Relations Court has openly challenged the right of unions to exist as seen in the massive fine just extracted from the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) of some 69,500 pounds (almost \$200,000).

All this must pale, however, by comparison to what is now in store as a result of the January 1 entry into the Common Market.

Preparation is currently underway to channel billions into investment outside of Britain, bringing about massive closures and unemployment where the working class is strong, into areas like Italy and fascist Spain where British capital can take full advantage of conditions where wages are below subsistence and where the trade unions are weak.

The British capitalist class will, through the Common Market, become the inheritors of all sorts of reactionary laws, originally established by the fascist regimes of Hitler and Mussolini against immigrant workers.

EEC entry means likewise at-

tacks on the standard of living of every British worker through huge increases in consumer prices. The EEC Common Agricultural Policy will now keep out cheap food imports that have been the staple of the British working class and force all food prices to Continental levels. This means for example, hikes of 28 percent for beef and veal, 179 percent for butter, 62 percent for cheese and 10 percent for bread.

The bitter resistance with which the British working class is prepared to meet the attempts by Heath to destroy its unions and conditions is clearly revealed in the massive struggle of the working class throughout Britain. Workers have come out in strike action against the fines exacted by the Industrial Relations Court against the AUEW.

It has just come to light that the Heath government, conscious of the fact that the movement of the working class may soon force it into a general election, is discussing in its highest circles plans to whip up a massive red scare in order to stampede the middle class into returning it for another five years.

A high Tory official has recently been quoted as saying in private discussion: "It's our last card in the pack. If we are forced to go to the country, we have everything we need for a scare on the left."

This explosive situation in Britain must now be taken into direct account as a powerful factor in determining the next stage of the development of revolutionary crisis in America, which is in fact the seat of the whole explosive character of the capitalist crisis internationally.

protect private property.

In fact, Somoza quickly moved to utilize the disaster and the suffering of those now starving and homeless, to make a profit.

Somoza ordered that those who looted the ruins for food were to be shot on sight and decreed that anyone who did not evacuate the city would not be allowed to have food ration cards. Following this declaration, a four year old boy was killed by the Army.

On Tuesday night, workers manned trucks and entered Managua with guns in search of food and belongings. Gun battles with the Army raged throughout the night.

Despite the fact that huge amounts of supplies have been



British engineering workers demonstrate to show their defiance of the Tory government's Industrial Relations Court, which has robbed the union of almost \$200,000 in fines.

## National Stoppage Sweeps Israel As Price Curbs End

BY A FOREIGN  
CORRESPONDENT

Thousands of Israeli workers greeted the New Year with a national two hour strike that hit every sector of the economy.

The strike was called against the lifting of price controls which were imposed in August 1971. Many items

are expected to jump by 25 percent.

Thirty thousand engineers and technicians threatened to strike against the T.V. and radio stations and shut electricity and water services on January 2 unless they receive an immediate pay increase.

HOSPITAL WORKERS

Three thousand government hospital workers are also planning a 24 hour stoppage in support of their wage demands.

At the same time, the Golda Meir government has arrested two more Jewish youth in the frame up of Arab and Jewish youth for allegedly spying for Syria.

In Egypt, hundreds of students at Cairo University protested the arrest of 400 to 500 of their fellow students. President Anwar El-Sadat, under pressure to take action against Israel's robbery of Palestine land, is charging the students with "anti-state" activities.

## Thieu Law Eliminates Opposition Parties

BY A FOREIGN  
CORRESPONDENT

SAIGON, Dec. 28—As Nixon terror-bombs North Vietnam, arrogantly demanding its complete surrender to imperialism at the Paris negotiating table, his puppet in South Vietnam, President Thieu, now moves to consolidate a dictatorial one-party regime.

It was announced last week that President Thieu signed a bill, using special emergency powers which he had arrogated to himself six months ago, that would effectively wipe out all political parties in South Vietnam with the exception of Thieu's own newly created "Democracy" Party. The bill sets up criteria for the legal existence of parties that could not be met by any of the current opposition groups. A leading opposi-

tion Deputy said of the new law: "It will drive people underground and into the Communist side. Only Thieu's Democracy party can meet the criteria."

It is clear that Thieu's action has the full backing of the United States. An American Embassy official in Saigon was quoted as saying that the effect of the new law would be "healthy."

In the last few months Thieu has forced the closing of many dissident periodicals, has further strengthened the powers of the President against the mild opposition within the National Assembly, and has ousted elected local government officials, replacing them with hand-picked appointees. Thieu now moves to further strengthen his personally-run military dictatorship with the backing of the imperialists and through the use of an elaborate system of semi-official corruption which insures the continuing "loyalty" of province and hamlet chiefs.

It is not, however, the cowardly parliamentary oppositionists that are behind Thieu's moves. He is preparing for a revolutionary explosion of the workers and peasants in Vietnam in the eventuality of a U.S.-imposed "ceasefire."



Nguyen Van Thieu

## Nicaragua Rulers Steal Earthquake Supplies

BY A FOREIGN  
CORRESPONDENT

One week after an earthquake destroyed Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, thousands of poor workers and peasants have been unable to obtain more than a handful of food.

Immediately following the quake which killed at least 7000 people, General Anastasio Somoza Debayle, the head of the ruling military junta, declared martial law, not to aid the victims but to

flowed into the area, the people have received hardly anything and reporters in the refugee town of Masaya say only one small distribution center is set up. Most people had not eaten anything for days.

The political chief of Masaya's Central Committee set up for relief aid stated: "We haven't received any aid and we don't have anything and the people who are coming in are poor and desperately need help." He asked the relief agencies and countries sending food to distribute it directly because the government was taking most of the aid. General Somoza is personally in charge of relief operations.

The military regime is raking

big profits off speculation and prices have soared 30 to 50% since the earthquake.

In Nicaragua, out of a population of two million, 250,000 people are unemployed. The meager livelihood and possessions of the poor workers has now been wiped out.

But Howard Hughes, the multibillionaire who was in a Managua hotel at the time of the earthquake, had no trouble at all. After spending the night in his air conditioned limousine, he demanded and got from General Somoza the right to be flown out of the country immediately. He had been there to discuss investing in Nicaragua.

# Nixon Declares 73 Year Of Trade War Against Europe

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The most brutal trade war in modern history is on the agenda for 1973, which Richard Nixon has promised to make the "Year of Europe."

All the attempts to patch up the world monetary system have failed miserably. Since the breakdown of the December 1971 Smithsonian agreements, brought about by the floating of the British **Order 5700 Jobs Cut On Penn Central**

BY SANDY MEREDITH  
PHILADELPHIA—The Federal government has ordered the elimination of 5700 jobs on the Penn Central Railroad. This is the second stage of the government's onslaught on railroad jobs.

The government has just concluded an experimental program involving a one man reduction of 272 crews. It now intends to carry this policy to all train crews—cutting back the regular three man crew to one brakeman and one conductor. The government intends to completely destroy the railroad unions, which means that the struggle has now become a political struggle against the Nixon administration.

Under the guise of attacking feather bedding, the new work rules are actually aimed at throwing thousands of men onto the unemployment lines in order to save money for the railroads.

The men understand that the government does not even intend to stop with the present crew reductions. A young railroad worker told the **Bulletin**: "They're trying to get ones that are not fully protected. If the brakemen get laid off, I'm going to get bumped. I'm against the government and Nixon's attacks."

The United Transportation Union, (UTU) which represents the trainmen, has given notice that it will strike if the crews are cut. However, the union leadership is still continuing negotiations with the Penn Central. This poses a dangerous situation to the ranks. The leadership posed no struggle against the new work rules during the last contract fight, and did not lift a finger to defend the men against the previous job cuts.

A Washington trainman told **Bulletin** reporters: "There's going to be a strike—nationwide. But it's going to have to be longer than a couple of days like the last one."

Another worker stated: "The union leadership didn't do anything to stop the layoffs. The leadership doesn't tell us much. They keep us in the dark about everything. The only thing that would do it would be a national strike of all transportation unions."

pound, the world bankers have been unable to find a way to establish stable relations between the dollar and the major currencies.

What predominates in the world today, therefore, is a desperate jockeying for position by all the capitalist countries as they prepare for trade war.

While the movement toward all-out trade war was given a big push forward by the development of yet another gigantic balance of payments deficit by the United States for the last months of 1972, British Prime Minister Edward Heath warned that the capitalist countries "shall cut each others throats" unless a solution to their problems are found.

"There will be the development of protectionism and this will weaken the security of the western world as well," Heath said.

However, Heath's fears will have absolutely no affect in preventing the trade war. Even since he made his remarks three weeks ago, the crisis has thrown all the capitalist countries into even more bitter conflict.

Not only have the relations between the United States and Europe grown more tense as Nixon continues to demand enormous trade concessions, but the Common Market is now clearly on the verge of breaking up.

Rather than being able to unite in order to withstand trade war with the United States, all the national boundaries of Europe assert themselves. Rather than bringing about a greater unity of European nations, the entrance of England, Ireland and Denmark into the Common Market on January 1 has brought about only an increase in disagreements.

### TENSIONS

Even the agreements formally reached by the Common Market cannot be put into practice. Last

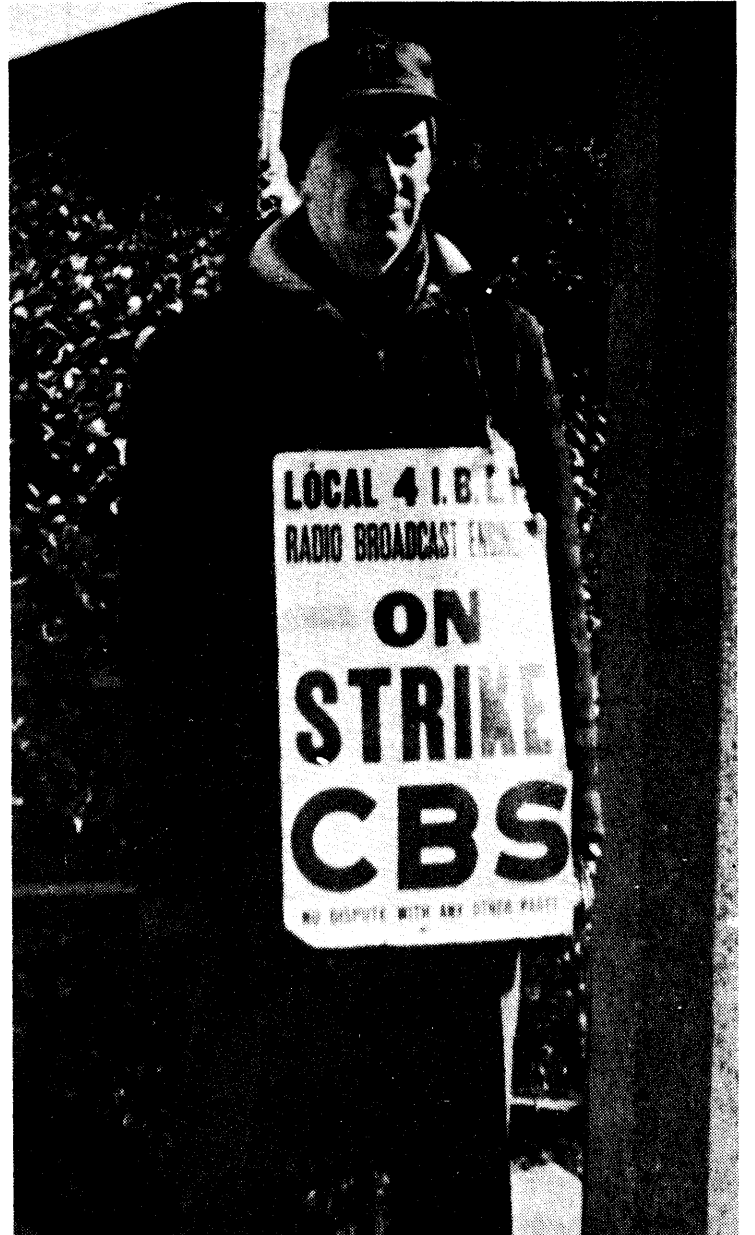
week, the Brussels Commission announced that it had approved draft proposals for creating the new European Monetary Cooperation Fund that is supposed to pave the way for economic and monetary unity by 1980.

However, the immediate problem facing the fund is that Britain cannot participate because the pound continues to float.

Furthermore, both Britain and Italy have flatly refused to repay their debts to other European countries in gold. This decision violates the basic rules on repayment drawn up by the Common Market last April.

In the midst of these deepening divisions within Europe, resentment against the United States has reached the boiling point. As the scheduled talks on trade matters draw nearer, the Common Market revealed its

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An IBEW picket from St. Louis before the contract vote.

## New York CBS Ranks Vote Against Sellout On Job Rights

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK, Dec. 28—The eight week nationwide strike by the International Brotherhood of Electrical workers (IBEW) Local 1212 against Columbia Broadcasting System ended today with a settlement which threatens hundreds of Local 1212 technicians with layoffs.

The central dispute in the strike was jurisdiction over new automated equipment not yet installed or just coming into use. The Local 1212 leadership voted not to oppose the new computerized devices. CBS has won the right to cut its supervising film editor technicians from 41 to 31, and to have non-union men operate most of the new equipment.

The nationwide vote was 561 to 509 to accept CBS's offer,

although New York voted it down 364 to 209. Business Manager Arthur Korff recommended rejection at the New York meeting held to "explain" the contract.

One Local 1212 member told the **Bulletin** in New York:

"There's still a lot of stuff we haven't seen. We're still discussing what we walked out on. Since a lot of this equipment has not even been installed, there's some 'equipment like such-and-such' wording."

This deliberately vague wording prepares the way for massive layoffs.

"The major issue was a computerized editing device. You don't need a technically qualified person to operate it. By eliminating us—the manpower and the union—you're cutting costs down substantially. You can bring someone in for half the pay and if business is good you keep him and if business is bad you fire him. The settlement does weaken the union—period!"

"The union has no choice when they are trying to take away jobs. If you give in, it's suicide. So there was no place for compromise. I've heard figures of 100 to 200 to 500 jobs at stake."

The concessions wrung out of Local 1212 will now be used to attack AFTRA (Actor's union) and IATSE (stage hands) as well as other IBEW members at NBC and ABC.

Despite growing trade union support, and the demonstration of over 2000 workers in front of CBS headquarters in Manhattan, the Local 1212 negotiators voted to accept the first company offer. The local leadership never specifically asked for strike action against CBS from any other union or local and instead of taking up the fight against the Nixon Administration and its Pay Board, entered into mediation with the government and the company.

The ranks of Local 1212 must repudiate this rotten contract and unite the working class against the Pay Board, unemployment, and all other attacks of the government and CBS.



### 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

# Steel Layoffs Multiply As Plants Pull Out Of Pittsburgh

BY MARK McCONNELL

PITTSBURGH—In the past three months, plant after plant has closed and thousands of jobs have been lost here. The series of closures began with a staggering 10,000 workers at the Southside Plant of Jones and Laughlin Steel, recently purchased by the huge conglomerate, LTV.

Only 5000 of these Steel Works Local 1843 men were ever recalled. At the same time, United States Steel began its plans to scrap the gigantic 100 year old Edgar Thompson works in nearby Braddock. Already, production there has been drastically cut, with most young workers thrown off the job.

These layoffs, based on the notorious productivity clause in the 1971 Steelworkers contract,

## Shanker Backs Down On Paras Pay

BY A UFT DELEGATE

NEW YORK—For the second time this year, UFT President Albert Shanker is attempting to capitulate in the most cowardly way to the demands of the NYC Board of Education, totally denying the needs of the 9300 paraprofessionals (mostly mothers supporting families) for a decent standard of living.

After only a few days of negotiation, he has accepted a contract which provides an increase in the starting annual salary from \$3850 to \$4900, and this measly amount will only be received in the third year of the contract. This settlement, which would keep paras at below poverty wages, is not even up to the 5.5% Pay Board guidelines.

On top of this, one of the most important demands, an annual salary instead of hourly wages was not met although the work year was extended from 42 to 44 weeks.

This is an attempt by the leadership to negate the unanimous vote by the Delegates Assembly of the Teachers in support of the para's demands and for cooperation in strike action to get them.

The UFT Committee for New Leadership calls upon the paras to reject this miserable settlement and demands that Shanker close down the city schools with a strike until the paras gain their demand for a starting wage of \$6500 on an annual, not hourly basis; equal sick pay, job security, and fringe benefits with teachers. This requires the full support of the Central Labor Council of New York City since the Board has made it clear that it intends to give no concessions whatsoever due to its budget crisis.

are only the first step in the potential elimination of all steel production in the Monongahela Valley, home of mills which are among the most outdated and dilapidated in the country.

Already the layoffs have threatened to spread to the Hazelwood works of J.&L. and the speedup is being applied at the U.S. Steel works all down the Valley, from Homestead to Clairton.

Other companies have begun to pull out of the Pittsburgh area in response to the decaying picture in steel. The largest of these so far has been the Duquesne Brewing Company, which was sold to Schmidts Brewing this fall. Production in Pittsburgh was halted permanently several weeks ago.

Perhaps the most vicious aspect of this particular closing was the way in which Duquesne officials prepared for the sale. When the brewery workers' contracts came up this summer, Duquesne workers were warned by company leaders that if a decent wage increase were won the company would go out of business. Based on this blackmail, the Duke workers accepted a contract well below the standard set by the workers at Pittsburgh Brewing, the makers of Iron City.

After a few months further profit, based on these low wages, Duquesne officials announced the closure, which put hundreds of men, with an average age of 54, on the pavements. Few of these men were given pensions or any assistance. As one 25 year veteran with the company put it: "There's nothing left for us but starvation or welfare."

The layoffs and plant closures have extended into other areas. Del Farms supermarkets folded this summer and despite their contract, left hundreds of workers unemployed. Sealtest recently announced that its two local plants would be closed without provision for the employment of its staff.

The county commissioners and other local politicians have remained paralyzed throughout this entire crisis. Staisey and Foerster have launched an absurd campaign to ban Duke Beer for sporting events, an idea which they do not even pretend could bring back the lost jobs or stop further closures.

Their own anti-labor position has come out in the negotiations with the newly-organized county employees. It is only by a sharp break with the Republicans and Democrats that the working class can put a stop to the closures and the speedup.



Workers at the Harvard Coop department store have been fighting for six months to unionize with the Retail Clerks. Management has retaliated with paid company spies, discriminatory hiring and firing, legal action and threats. Boston has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country.

## HEW Orders 13% Cut At Gouverneur Hospital

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

The Health and Hospitals Corporation has been ordered by HEW to make a 13 percent cutback (or \$260,000) in ambulatory care services at the new Gouverneur Hospital on the Lower East Side.

The new building was opened last July to replace the old Gouverneur, the ancient brick structure that was totally inadequate to serve the health needs of a community as large as the entire Lower East Side. Since its opening patient loads have soared by 40 percent.

The new Gouverneur was billed as a "community hospital." In an issue of the Gouverneur Newsletter, alongside the news of the cutbacks, Dr. Gustavo DeVelasco's philosophy is summed up as follows: "We are all here dedicated and committed to make Gouverneur the model care institution within the municipal system; to serve as a prototype for the rest of the city and even our nation."

### COMMUNITY CONTROL

The community control which DeVelasco boasts about turns out to consist of a community board which must be approved by DeVelasco and the Health and Hospitals Corporation.

The 13 percent cut comes at a time when the hospital is barely functioning. One Gouverneur employee stated: "We have a shortage of employees now. This hospital is supposed to very concerned about patient care. The cut is only going to make it worse."

A young Housekeeping Aide told the Bulletin:

"They'd like to fire us and hire people who don't know what they're doing. But if they really do have a cutback, we'll really strike..."

This worker also said that out of twelve floors in the hospital only two are in use. The Dieticians are forced to do Housekeeping work in the kitchen. "You got guys working 8 to 10 weeks without getting a dime. I haven't been paid in eight weeks," he said.

The fraud of community control and so-called "dedication"

to patient care is deliberately being pushed by the DeVelasco and the Corporation to force workers to accept any job and thus cut back jobs and prepare layoffs.

Both unions at Gouverneur, Local 1199 and the city union DC 37, have not lifted a finger against these threats.

The 1199 leadership is consciously preparing a deal with the hospitals on the issue of workloads and working conditions. This is the meaning of the 1199 sponsored "Health Care Conferences" at various hospitals at which delegates have been told they should see that the members do their work.

At the last 1199 Guild Delegates meeting in December, Davis openly stated he disagreed with any strike action if the con-

tract was cut from 7.5 to 5 percent by the Pay Board.

A majority of delegates from Mount Sinai Hospital sent a strongly worded petition to Davis demanding that his do-nothing policy end and some action be taken to win the contract negotiated last July.

It is clear that these attacks are political. It is the government which is slashing health care and the hospitals who are implementing it. Hospital workers must demand of their union leaders that they prepare strike action against any cuts in services or layoffs. This is part of the fight that all 1199 and District Council 37 members must take up against Nixon's Pay Board and against the destruction of health care.

## Van Arsdale Signs Blank Contract

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Last week the Van Arsdale leadership of Taxi Local 3036 signed a blank contract, the details of which are to be filled in by the decisions of the State arbitrators.

The entire Executive Council which is made up of all garage chairmen signed this contract despite the fact that none of the fundamental questions facing the drivers had been resolved.

As the Bulletin warned last month, the state arbitrators are not neutral but in fact will rule in the interest of the garage owners, and any concessions made at all will be in order to keep binding arbitration for all future contracts. Thus, the owners now have a contract which will dictate what they have wanted since the contract fight began two years ago.

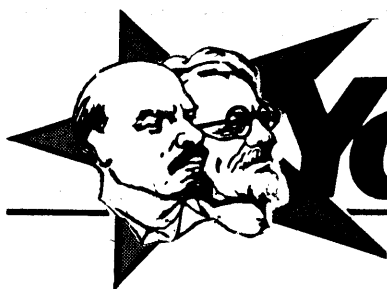
The drivers are now faced with a situation where the leadership has signed a blank contract in order to circumvent the hatred of the ranks to the contract they have fought for two years.

This rotten sellout must be fought. Mechanics and Drivers for a Decent Contract is calling for garage meetings to condemn this latest move of Van Arsdale and the garage chairmen and demand renegotiation of the contract or strike.

MDDC calls for:

- 60 percent commissions to all drivers;
- Return the dime and 7 percent retroactively to all 42 centers;
- \$150 to all inside men;
- Restore garage elections;
- Call a Congress of Labor to defend the rights of all working men.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John  
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# Young Socialist®

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## YSA Caves In To Stalinist Treaty

On January 20, the Young Socialists across the country will intervene at demonstrations called by the National Peace Action Coalition, an anti-war group dominated by the revisionist Young Socialist Alliance.

The YS will defend the Vietnamese revolution by demanding that in the face of the barbaric bombing of workers, peasants and youth, the American working class must demand that the trade unions directly intervene with a general strike to end the war, and build a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans.

This is the only answer to Nixon and to the Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking on which he is depending to pressure the Vietnamese into signing an agreement that will leave the imperialists on the throne.

The Stalinist American Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League, their youth movement, have campaigned furiously for this sellout.

The revisionist YSA is moving closer to the Stalinists, unable to mount even the slightest offensive against these counterrevolutionaries.

It is this Stalinist offensive against the Vietnamese revolution which totally dominated the NPAC meeting held last week. The criminal character of the renegades from Trotskyism in the YSA lies in their flat refusal to take up any fight against the Stalinist traitors through a struggle to mobilize the American working class.

In November at their convention, on the basis of their middle class impressions, the YSA voted to junk the anti-war movement entirely. They insisted that the war was over and that the Vietnamese revolution had been defeated. Now this has all exploded.

Precisely at the point when the defense of the Vietnamese revolution is critical, the YSA deserts any kind of alliance with the Vietnamese workers and peasants. At their convention they would not even call a protest action against the war.

Now, without any assessment of how they came to the false conclusion that the revolution had already been defeated, the YSA, through Jerry Gordon of NPAC, came forward at the meeting with proposals that demonstrations be held in Washington and around the country on January 20—in alliance with the Stalinists in the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), with whom they said agreement had been reached. They proposed that these demonstrations be held on the basis of the slogan: "Stop the Bombing, End the War Now." They insisted that this slogan would not offend anyone and was one under which everyone could march together.

This all blew up right in the faces of Gordon and the YSAers when the Stalinists who were at the meeting in force insisted that the demonstrations had to be based in a fight to force the U.S. to "SIGN NOW"—sign the Paris treaty. What was behind their call for the signing of the treaty, and all their disruptions at the meeting was their own determination to help Nixon smash the Vietnamese revolution as quickly as possible. That is the role of Stalinism in Vietnam.

The YSA refused to fight the Stalinists at the meeting. They insisted that their slogan of "Out Now!" was "better in that they could not determine or decide for the Vietnamese what treaty to sign."

At no point did the YSA denounce the "Sign Now" campaign of the Stalinists for the lackeys of U.S. imperialism that they are.

The fact is that the Vietnamese people are not being defeated. It is their very strength that forces Nixon to order desperate bombing. It is the Stalinists who are seeking to tie the Vietnamese revolution to a stake—to sell it out precisely at the time when the Stalinists have emerged from the election campaign during which they directed all their efforts to keep the American working class from building its own political party—a labor party.

The revisionists are responsible for opening the door to the Stalinists, who intend to disorientate youth and workers as to what the events in Vietnam mean.

The YSA has abandoned every principle of Marxism to stand in the middle of the road between Trotskyism and Stalinism. All their statements at the meeting were based on their own pessimism and hostility to the movement of the working class. They refused to raise the real role of Stalinism and refused to take up the fight to mobilize American workers and youth in defense of the Vietnamese revolution and in defense of their own rights under attack from the Nixon government.

That is the logic of the method of the YSA—of Pabloism—which starts from a rejection of Marxist theory and ends in adaptations to Stalinism and in attempts to construct bankrupt middle class protests, which are in opposition to the tremendous movement of the international working class and youth today.

## YS Steering Committee Opens Fight For National Conference

BY THE YS STEERING COMMITTEE

JANUARY 1, 1973—The national steering committee of the Young Socialists met this weekend to discuss the perspectives of the launching of the YS nationally at the May 26 conference in New York.

Representatives of branches from the Midwest, East and West Coasts met to discuss the Preliminary Draft Program which will be the basis for discussion at the conference.

Abby Rodriguez, editor of the Young Socialist, delivered the perspective report, stating:

"The turn in events in Vietnam as well as the attacks in the advanced capitalist countries and the re-election of President Nixon pose the urgent necessity for the construction of the Young Socialists as a revolutionary youth movement in the U.S.

### ATTACKS

"The attacks on the youth have continued to increase as this crisis deepens; therefore, the campaign that has been waged by the YS, calling on the trade unions to intervene by convening a Congress of Labor and the building of a labor party is the only strategy that will defend the youth in this period."

The Steering Committee pointed out the necessity to turn the YS into the fight against the Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League and the revisionist Young Socialist Alliance.

The sharp movement to the right revealed in the collaboration of Nixon and the Kremlin has been totally supported by the YWLL.

At the same time, the YSA has refused to expose these traitors and again calls for more protest with these forces. At every point they have attempted to sabotage the mobilization of youth to demand that the war be ended by mobilizing the trade unions against the Democrats and Republicans.

Central to the discussion was the Preliminary Draft Program of the YS.

"This program," stated the report, "is the first developed since the 1920s to defend the rights of the youth."

The program includes demands to organize youth in a fight against the attacks on jobs, education, racism, and all the major questions which must be confronted.

The committee voted to publish the finished program in a pamphlet to be used for the building of the YS conference.

Further plans will be laid out for a national speaking tour that will wind up at the conference.

The publication of the Young Socialist as an independent paper is scheduled for the fall of this year. Critical to this will be the growth of YS branches and expansion of the Bulletin.

The YS Steering Committee urges every youth to participate in the building of this conference in order to provide revolutionary leadership for the working class.

## Tennessee Waitresses Get \$35 For 53 Hours

BY A YS REPORTER

MANCHESTER, Tenn.—The plans of the Nixon government and its big business backers for replacing welfare, unemployment compensation and union contracts alike with slave labor was graphically demonstrated by a group of waitresses here.

Working in a restaurant frequented mainly by travelers on Interstate 24, they showed the Young Socialist how Nixon's packing of the courts and labor boards with political hacks had put them in a position near slavery.

### FIRED

One waitress said that she thought she might be fired the day our reporter talked to her for coming in half an hour late. The sole supporter of two children, this woman had to come in late to

take care of her child, who was home sick.

These waitresses were paid 80 cents an hour. The legal minimum wage for this type of work is \$1.30, but even this legalized poverty is systematically violated by thousands of employers. In this particular case, the manager claims that the tips left by the customers are part of wages, and that this makes the total hourly rate \$1.30.

### UNION

These waitresses, mainly young women, are averaging a take home pay of \$35 for a 53 hour week. The manager has threatened to fire everybody repeatedly for even talking about a union.

This is what the youth in this country face today: work at slave wages and conditions or starve. The Young Socialists will be built in a fight to mobilize the labor movement to make sure that this does not happen.

**Young Socialists  
 1st National  
 Conference  
 NEW YORK, May 26-27**

**Hunter College Playhouse,  
 68th St. & Lexington Ave., New York City**  
 \$2.50 includes registration and Saturday night dance.

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# Young Garment Worker No Security, No Union In The Sweatshops

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

NEW YORK—New York's garment district is one of the major centers for the exploitation of young workers in the city. Loading and pushing racks of clothes through rain, snow, and burning summer heat, for miserable wages, has been the trademark of this industry. The inflationary policies which are cutting into even these wages has increased the determination of young workers to establish a union.

In speaking to the *Young Socialist*, Gus, a young Spanish worker, spoke of his experiences in the garment district.

"I didn't choose this job but there wasn't much around. It is really a lousy job. I don't make good money. We tried to get a union here but they sold out. The boss gave them a little money and bought them out. Three times we tried to get a union but nothing happened.

"We tried getting one recently but the boss said that he didn't want no trouble. We would have gotten fired if we had tried. All the guys want a union but they are scared they might have gotten fired so we had no choice. That's a chance no man wants to take. Most of the guys have

families so they have to stay out of trouble. It's hard to get a job now.

"I've been working here for four years and make \$120 as a machine operator for 40 hours work. I know for a fact that this company makes \$7000 a week from what I do. I started out as a delivery boy making \$90. Three years ago was when I got a good raise. It was then that there was a big fight to get time and a half for overtime work. It's against the law not to pay time and a half for overtime. They must have some racket or something going on.

## SECURITY

"Many of the workers here have had accidents. The boss just tells them to go home and take

care of themselves, that's all. We have to work here with ammonia in the air. In the summer those three little air conditioners blow out some of the ammonia smell into the street and people can't even walk by the place. There is no security for my job. If the boss has another guy waiting for the job, he fires one of these workers for being absent or late and hires the other guy.

"They can lay you off today and not pay you for that day. They'll just send you home and call you back the next day or whenever they want. If we had a union we wouldn't have to lose a day's pay.

"I think we do need a party with socialist ideas. They can't be doing all these things and get away with it."

## Teachers, Aid Funds Cut Back At Stonybrook

BY A YS REPORTER  
STONY BROOK,  
L.I.—The elimination of HEP, the High School Equivalency Program which enabled a number of children of migrant farmworkers to study at SUNY Stony Brook, is the latest in a series of moves phasing out higher educational opportunities for working class youth at the State Universities.

The raising of the already high academic requirements for admission to Stony Brook comes at a time when there has been deepening deterioration in the public high schools in working class areas, particularly in New York City.

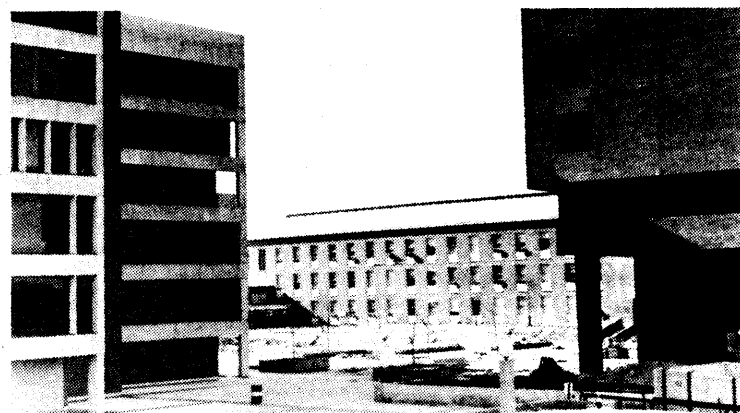
## FRESHMEN

The freshman class has been reduced by these measures and more emphasis has been placed on admissions of transfer students from the suburban communities of Suffolk County.

This shift will cut the number of students entering on Regents Scholarships and Scholar Incentive Awards.

The actual cost of attending SUNY Stony Brook has increased by 40 percent over the last year. This year the increased room fee no longer includes telephone service.

Under Rockefeller's austerity budget there has been substantial cutbacks in almost all aspects of University operations. The custodial staff has been severely



Stony Brook campus

cut adding to the overall physical deterioration of conditions in the dormitories, as well as the academic facilities. The library is understaffed, has a poor selection of books and materials and has had its hours shortened.

Nor is the understaffed campus infirmary any longer open 24 hours a day. This year the evening hours and weekends have been cut.

Along with this there is a freeze in the hiring of professors. Graduate students are forced to take many of the responsibilities of teachers at very little pay as so-called "Teachers Assistants."

At this point it is virtually impossible for students to find any jobs on campus to offset the high costs of their education. Hiring has supposedly been done according to financial need by the Financial Aid Office. The *Young Socialist* spoke to students who were told by that office that hiring was done by the individual departments which in turn disclaimed having anything to do with employment.

## HARSH

Those people who have managed to find employment on campus often are subjected to very harsh conditions. A student working in the library told the *Young Socialist* that there was a continuous effort to cut hours, increase the work load, and eliminate positions.

Grimmest of all is what awaits students upon graduation. Those students pursuing a career in

education have been told by their department that there will be no jobs for graduates as long as the statewide hiring freeze lasts. The attacks on the right to a free higher education for working class youth go hand in hand with the attacks on the youth's right to decent employment.

## German Police Invade University

BY ALAN BERENSON

On December 6, 1100 German police invaded the University of Heidelberg and sealed off the area surrounding the university in an attempt to prevent a demonstration planned by the students.

The demonstration had been called in defense of a professor who was suspended due to his alleged affiliation with the terrorist Baader-Meinhof Group.

The Christian Democrats, the leading capitalist party in Germany, which controls Heidelberg, called on the police to make sure that "the university would not be disturbed by groups with a terrorist character."

The police invasion was answered by a strike of 5000 students which lasted five days. The government then set up a special police force which is to be used in the future to, in their own words, "fight the guerilla tactics of leftists."

All the government's talk about "protecting the university" is a complete fraud. The government has tried to create a

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## Pittsburgh Cops Beat Oakland Football Player

BY JORGE PABON

PITTSBURGH—On December 24, 1972 Bob Moore of the Oakland Raiders football team was brutally attacked by Pittsburgh cops.

This attack took place in front of his hotel where policemen were stationed under the pretext of protecting the team from "unruly fans."

Moore is a young football player with long hair. After walking through the crowd which was provoked by the police into fights, Moore was punched, kicked in the kidneys, and beaten

with clubs. Then on the way to the hospital in a police van he was beaten again.

## ERUPTIONS

The incident, involving hundreds of workers and youth, was almost a replay of the events after the Pittsburgh Pirates won the World Series of baseball in 1971. Masses of people stormed the streets overturning police cars and breaking into stores.

These spontaneous eruptions are becoming more and more frequent. They are the expression of the growing discontent and anger of workers and youth against the deterioration in living conditions. This movement is being expressed in every way, even the most unexpected situation.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

Pittsburgh, which is a major industrial steel center, has one of the highest unemployment rates on the entire East Coast. Many plants have closed down entirely, throwing hundreds of thousands of workers onto the unemployment lines.

The police are answering the fight of youth against the miserable conditions imposed upon them with brutal and violent attacks.

## MASS MOVEMENTS

This is what lies behind these sporadic movements of masses of youth.

At the same time the incident revealed the brutal character of the government and the new kind of repression which the working class will face in this period.

## REFUSED

The Social Democrats have refused to take a direct stand defending the rights of these youth in the universities. As the German Young Socialists, our comrades in Germany, wrote in their paper *Der Funke*:

"These attacks on all democratic rights and the provocations of the police can only be defeated by the struggle of the working class. Because of this, the construction of a disciplined Marxist leadership to lead the working class in all the struggles against the bourgeoisie is necessary."

# Young Socialists Draft Program

The election of President Nixon comes at a time when there is a decisive change in the entire economic and political situation in the U.S. and the world. The economic crisis of capitalism requires new attacks on the basic rights of the working class.

Nixon's statements and the consolidation of his new administration show that preparations are in the making for a showdown with the working class.

Receiving the brunt of the attacks on the working class is the youth. The growing unemployment coupled with the attacks on education cut into the very rights of the youth.

The only defense is the building of a revolutionary leadership within the working class. The youth have a critical role to play in building this leadership. They must turn thousands of youth towards the trade unions, calling on them to defend these rights.

The Young Socialists will launch such a movement on May 26 nationwide in New York. In preparation for this we have begun developing a program for the youth to meet Nixon's attacks. This preliminary draft is being published for the purpose of discussion in Young Socialists branches and for all youth interested.

We are encouraging suggestions for the purpose of developing this program. In addition, a constitution for the conference and a preamble will be published in the coming weeks which will deal with the questions of Stalinism, revisionism, and other theoretical questions. This will then be combined and published as a Young Socialists pamphlet which will be instrumental in building the spring conference and also serve as the basis for discussion.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment is the greatest danger to the very survival of the youth. The closure of plants and the massive layoffs throughout the country show that there are no jobs for youth.

Unemployment under the Nixon Administration has doubled and has now catapulted beyond the five million mark. Among teenagers, the unemployment rate is staggering. Youth unemployment is now at 17 percent and rising and these are the government's own figures. Among minority youth, 35 percent are out of work and in the industrial cities like Detroit, Newark and Los Angeles the rate has skyrocketed to 55 percent.

The government, through budget cuts, destroyed programs which developed jobs for the youth. During the summer even the pitiful part-time jobs of the Neighborhood Youth Corps program were cut. These jobs only paid \$41 for 27 hours. This salary disappeared instantly because of the rising prices. This conscious policy of unemployment is aimed at weakening the working class, demoralizing it, and destroying the trade unions.

The attacks being waged on the youth today show the future that Nixon is preparing for the working class. The move toward trade war with Europe and Japan can only mean the implementation of massive unemployment in these countries as well as in the U.S. This unemployment will go way beyond that of the 1930s when 15 million workers were unemployed.

The very existence of the youth is called into question when Nixon and the government eliminate the jobs which the working class depend on for their survival.

Every youth must now turn toward the labor movement and demand that these rights be defended through a political struggle against the government.

We call for:

- The trade unions to take up a fight against unemployment.
- Real training in school under union and student control. On the job training at union wages. We demand that all youth have the right to learn a meaningful trade.
- Unemployment benefits upon leaving school. We demand that the government must pay us until we find a job.
- The thirty hour week at forty hours pay to provide full employment.

## YOUNG WORKERS

With the growing destruction of jobs throughout the country, young workers today face an intolerable situation.

Youth who finish school or are forced to drop out must accept jobs at the lowest possible salaries. The types of jobs and the conditions that young workers must work in are among the worst.

Those jobs available to youth are the ones that older workers leave because of retirement. In this way, big corporations lower the wages for these jobs as much as possible to reap more profits.

Not only do the salaries decrease when young workers replace the older workers, but the amount of work that is required is sharply increased. In this way, businesses use the labor of these young workers as a way of threatening the older workers. By pitting young workers against old workers, the corporations can continue to attack both sections.

Because of the scarcity of jobs, the government is now consciously creating non-union programs for young workers. While doing the same job as unionized workers, these youth do not have the same pay scale or the security of the unions. Also, this can be used as a tool in pitting union labor against non-union labor to break any movement to change the con-



Conditions the youth face under capitalism. Above: young farm workers in Connecticut are forced into virtual slave labor. Below: students from New York University, which faces massive budget cuts. Thousands of students will have to drop out of college this year because of tuition hikes, budget cuts and the high cost of living.

## Young Socialist

ditions in these jobs.

The president of the MacDonald Hamburger corporation, Ray Kroc, contributed a quarter of a million dollars to Nixon's re-election campaign to ensure the passage of a proposed bill to lower the minimum wage for youth.

The sharpest attacks by the government are aimed at the youth. Not only do young workers get the worst jobs and lowest pay but they are the first to get fired.

It is the young workers who are the first to move. The young workers are the ones who will lead the struggles inside the industries and factories against the rotten conditions and attacks of the government. The fight at Lordstown, the first plant to come out against the tremendous speedup conditions, was led by young workers.

Young workers in the coming period will play a crucial role in changing the thinking of the older workers and in bringing the movement of the working class politically against the Democrats and Republicans, who are responsible for the measures that are taking away the living standard of every worker and youth.

We demand:

- Equal pay for equal work. No discrimination because of age.
- Apprenticeship programs in every industry under union and youth control.
- Seniority rights for young workers.
- All young workers to have the right to join a union.
- No speedup in the plants.
- Hands off the trade unions.

## EDUCATION

While Nixon continues his assault on jobs, a vicious campaign has been launched against public education. Throughout every section of the country, the government has implemented budget cuts which have caused the layoff of thousands of teachers, teachers aides and para-professionals. These layoffs have created overcrowded conditions, making it impossible for youth to learn.

Public education, a right won by the working class through a long and bitter battle against this government, is rapidly becoming a privilege for those who can afford it.

At the same time, the attacks on higher education have intensified with the attempt to eliminate open enrollment which has enabled thousands of working class youth to attend college.

Enrollment in nearly all the colleges has dropped sharply because of the hikes in tuition and the high cost of living.

The slashes by the government in funds for education are now going beyond just cutbacks and threaten the actual shutdown of schools and universities.

With the rationalization and automatization of industry, the capitalist system sees no reason to spend money to educate youth for the kind of menial and backbreaking jobs they will get.

The brutal murder of two students in



Baton Rouge was a reaction by the government against the growing movement of students who are fighting the decay in living conditions.

Along with this the academic level itself has degenerated. Universities are used by the government to train youth in the bourgeois thinking of this society—thinking that justifies capitalism and stifles the ability of students to fight this system.

The universities are incapable of explaining this crisis and attribute it to the most absurd theories like overpopulation and permissiveness.

At Stanford University, Professor Shockley, who is financed by the big corporations, has developed the most reactionary theories to justify racism. He seeks to prove with scientific data the inferiority of Blacks just as the Nazis in the 1930s rewrote history and science books to justify the persecution of the Jews.

Marxism is taught in order to attack it as a dogma or form of religion. Stalinism and the degeneration of the workers state is said to be the inevitable outcome of the socialist revolution, while the struggle that Trotsky waged against Stalin is ignored, minimized, or completely distorted.

Students must play an important role by turning to the struggles of the working class and building a revolutionary leadership against the radicalism of bankrupt student protest encouraged on the campuses.

The fight for the right to an education becomes a central part of the struggle to defend the working class. The fight must be for:

- A meaningful education which prepares us for a job.
- Smaller class sizes and more activities.
- Support to the teachers in their fight for union wages and working conditions.
- Students must be guaranteed all democratic rights to hold meetings, form organizations, distribute leaflets and petitions, be properly funded on the campuses without official harassment.
- No cops in the schools.
- Free higher education for all.

TO BE CONTINUED



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Nixon Prepares For 1973

Arthur Burns, head of the Federal Reserve Board, opened the new year by saying that what is required to meet the world crisis of capitalism is "shock therapy" for the working class. Burns said that this treatment must start with a freeze on all Federal funds, a lowering of wages, and the destruction of the unions. Nixon, only days before Burns spoke, announced that there would be no more funds for public housing and that the wage controls would be tightened.

At the beginning of 1972 we said: "1972 will bring even more vicious attacks on the American working class. The effects of Nixon's August 15th measures and the devaluation of the dollar have hardly begun." In 1972 wages have been cut by the Pay Board and by soaring inflation. Millions of workers have been thrown onto the unemployment lines by the closing of plants and the employers' ruthless drive for productivity.

Funds have been slashed for education and housing. Nixon through the Pay Board and preparations for anti-strike laws has moved to bring the unions under the control of the government.

Nixon has moved towards establishing dictatorial measures of rule and destroying all democratic rights. This is the meaning of Watergate and his recent statements that he has the right to control what is said on television.

But as Burns and Nixon have made clear, this is just the beginning. Since 1972 the crisis of world capitalism unleashed by Nixon on August 15, 1971 has intensified. Every attempt made by Nixon and the leaders of world capitalism to patch up their system has failed. It is this crisis which must now dominate every political development as compromise today becomes impossible and as the capitalist class now seeks the destruction of every single right and gain the working class has won.

Richard Nixon, the leader of world imperialism and the counterrevolutionary war against the working class, has opened 1973 with the massive bombing of North Vietnam. This marks a new stage in the crisis and the international class struggle.

Driven by the crisis the ruling class must now reduce the working class to mass unemployment and poverty, to conditions unparalleled even in the 1930s. Nixon and the class he represents will now do everything in its power, using its armed bodies of men, to maintain profits.

It is in this new situation that the leaders of the trade unions perpetuate the illusion of reforms and compromise by talking of entering into new negotiations with Nixon over the Pay Board and productivity and refusing to mobilize the unions politically against Nixon.

Nixon's "shock therapy" will produce shock waves inside the American working class which will create conditions for the building of a labor party and the bringing down of the Nixon government. The first task before the labor movement in 1973 is to call a Congress of Labor to answer Nixon.

This struggle above all requires the construction of an alternative leadership, a Marxist leadership, in the trade unions, which can take the working class to power.

This is a task which has now acquired the utmost urgency for the whole working class. It is for this purpose that the Continuations Committee is calling an emergency meeting in St. Louis on February 18. We urge all trade unionists in every industry to make plans immediately to attend this conference.



## What we think

### Behind The CP 'Sign Now' Betrayal

The American Communist Party's frantic "Sign Now" campaign exposes the determination of Stalinism to serve the interests of imperialism by betraying the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

During the critical months of November and December, when Nixon engaged in fraudulent "peace talks" to ensure his own re-election and to prepare for the annihilation of revolutionary forces in Vietnam, the CP played an active and conscious role in helping the leader of American imperialism to achieve his objectives.

While the Soviet Stalinists applied relentless pressure upon Hanoi for a political settlement with Nixon that would dangerously weaken the National Liberation Front, the Communist Party supported the 9-point sell-out and encouraged every illusion within the working class about the secret talks between Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho.

Because the Vietnamese revolution is the highest point in the international class struggle, the counter-revolutionary policies of the Stalinists find their sharpest expression in relation to the defense of the revolution.

The "Sign Now" campaign is a reactionary diversion designed by the Stalinists to cover up the real character and lessons of the struggle in Vietnam. At a time when the saturation bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong demonstrates that there can be no compromise with imperialism, the Stalinists put forward policies in the name of "peaceful co-existence."

Instead of warning the working class that the genocidal bombing of the Vietnamese reveals the outlines of the class struggle as it will develop in every country, the American Communist Party seeks to lull the working class into believing that the bombing will stop and the war will end without throwing the imperialists out of Vietnam lock, stock and barrel.

Above all, they oppose the political mobilization of the American work-

ing class against the Nixon government: over the issue of the war as well as the attacks on its trade unions, living conditions and democratic rights.

During the past weeks, the "Sign Now" campaign has reached the lowest depths of class collaborationism. The CP has developed the campaign into a full-blown attempt to line the American working class up behind the capitalist politicians responsible for the war against the Vietnamese revolution and the attacks on the labor movement in this country.

"End-War Drive Target: New Congress January 3" reads the headline of the December 30 issue of the Daily World.

The same issue carries an editorial that chides Hubert Humphrey for not being among the "people" against the bombing. The editorial ends by urging that workers prepare a "telephone barrage...to bring the voices of his constituents to the Congressmen and Senators, reminding them of their duty to peace and America..."

One issue of the Daily World steps so deeply into the filth of nationalism that it calls for an end to the bombing in order to "Save America's honor"—implying, of course, that the bombing is not the ruthless policy of the capitalist class but of all "Americans," including the working class.

On a scale unprecedented since the 1930s, the Stalinists are attempting to disorient the working class and to disarm it. It was the Stalinists who strangled the Spanish Revolution and paved the way for the Second World War by denying the class battle that was at the heart of these events. Instead, they used abstract terms like "Democracy" and "Dictatorship" to justify the treacherous alliances of Stalin with the likes of Hitler, Roosevelt or Churchill.

Today, as the use of B-52's against Hanoi raises the danger that the American imperialists are testing out their military hardware for nuclear war against the Soviet

Union—just as Hitler used the Spanish Civil War to prepare for World War II—the Stalinists reject the only policy that can meet the crisis: the political struggle of the working class to overthrow the capitalist governments in every country.

The American Communist Party has no interest in defending the Vietnamese revolution or the working class in this country. It is the spokesmen within the labor movement of the Kremlin bureaucracy, determined to sacrifice the interests of the international working class for the privileges of Brezhnev and Kosygin.

In the midst of the bombing of North Vietnam, CP General Secretary Gus Hall was in Moscow. He was in the audience of Stalinists from every part of the world who applauded Brezhnev when he said: "The negotiations held with President Nixon in Moscow this spring were a big step forward in the development of Soviet-American relations."

In fact, it was at this meeting—held just one week after the mining of Haiphong harbor—that Nixon received warm assurances from Brezhnev that the Kremlin bureaucracy would do nothing to stop the destruction of Vietnam.

When Gus Hall did speak, he raised no objections to the policies of the Kremlin but rather pledged his loyalty "to you, dear comrade, Leonid Brezhnev." He went on to promise that the CP would give no thought to mobilizing the American working class against Nixon.

The American Communist Party is up to its neck in the betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution. It is fighting to paralyze the American working class in the face of Nixon's attacks.

All the lessons of the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism must now be drawn. The policy of "peaceful co-existence"—or what Stalin called "Socialism in one country"—is counterrevolutionary to the core.

Only the Trotskyist movement—the International Committee of the Fourth International—can defend the Vietnamese revolution. The task of establishing the unity of the American and Vietnamese workers must be accomplished by the massive political mobilization of the trade unions against Nixon.

The Workers League calls on the American working class to begin general strike action against Nixon's attacks on the Vietnamese revolution and the trade unions in this country. We call for a break with all the capitalist politicians of the Democratic and Republican Parties, and the convocation of a Congress of Labor to build a labor party that will fight for a workers government that will renounce the imperialist policies of the capitalists.

### Way Over On Sub Drive

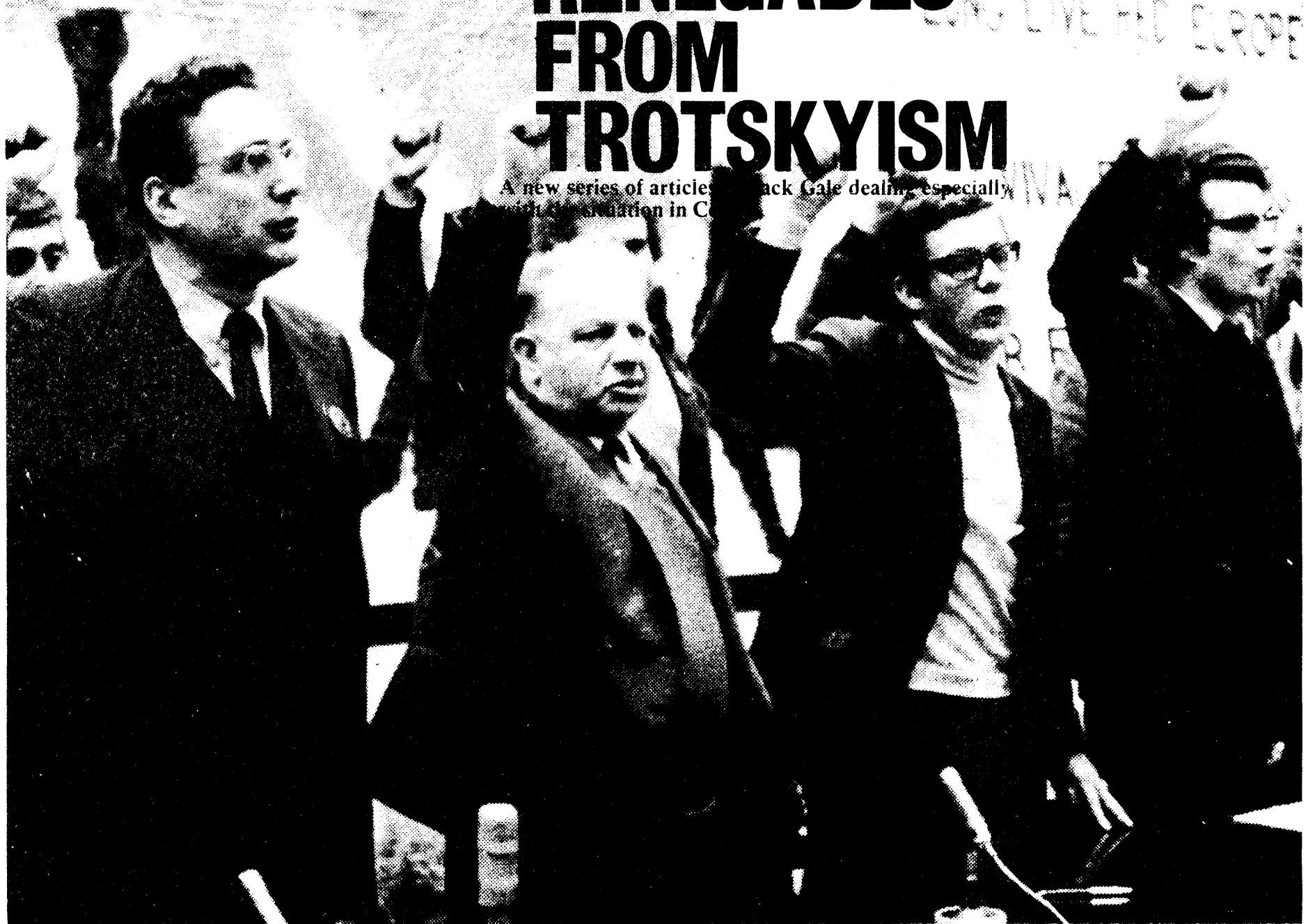
We have gone over the top in our drive to get 6500 subscriptions to the Bulletin and expand our circulation to 20,000 by December 31. Since the last issue of the paper we have received 1396 subscriptions bringing our total to 6729. This is already 229 over our goal.

Twenty branches have made their quotas. Los Angeles, Palo Alto, San Jose, Northfield, Fort Greene, Upper West Side and Bronx have gone way over. Over the weekend Minneapolis got a tremendous 63 new subs, Chelsea 60, Chicago 58, and St. Louis 57.

Even though we have gone well over our goal nationally we are extending the drive through to January 10 because of difficulties during the holiday period. The branches which have not yet met their quotas should send subs in immediately. We will announce the grand total in the next issue.

# RENEGADES FROM TROTSKYISM

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



Leaders of the Unified Secretariat, whose policies of liquidation led to the formation of the coalition government in Ceylon. Left: Ernest Mandel. Second from left: Pierre Frank. Right: Alain Krivine.

Just as the revisionists' world leaders covered up for de Silva, Perera and company, when they joined Mrs Bandaranaike's government in 1964, even though they were well aware of where they were going, so now they seek even more desperately to cover up for Bala Tampoe and the LSSP(R).

This total retreat from all honest politics is spelled out in the minutes of their Third World Congress since reunification. The LSSP(R) is to remain the official Unified Secretariat in Ceylon. All political questions are avoided. A resolution that the next meeting of the IEC should have the activity of the Ceylon section on its agenda is defeated.

Finally, Bala Tampoe is unanimously re-elected to the IEC of the Unified Secretariat.

Here are the minutes of the World Congress:

**'Minutes of the Third World Congress since reunification (Ninth World Congress) of the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution.'**

(Extracts dealing with Ceylon)

## I. ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS

Procedural motions from the outgoing Unified Secretariat:

d. That the following commissions be constituted with the following members:

3. Ceylon Commission — Therese, Abel, Kailas, Pia, Peng, Okatani (if he arrives). Bala raises question as to

the basis for constitution of the Ceylon Commission.

Clarification by Livio for the outgoing Unified Secretariat that the Ceylon Commission was constituted to review an appeal and charges made by Comrade Edmund, a member of the outgoing IEC.

Pia requests that he not be a member of the Ceylon Commission.

**Amendment by Pia:** That Pia be removed from the Ceylon Commission.

**Amendment by Fia defeated.**

**Motion by Therese:** To approve the composition of all commissions as amended.

**Motion carried.**

## XI. REPORT FROM THE CEYLON COMMISSION BY PIA.

Motions from Ceylon Commission:

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

3. That until the IEC decides otherwise, the LSSP(R) remains the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, 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 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 proclaimed loyalty to the Fourth International in renouncing at once the pretension of being the recognized section, by retracting the above-mentioned unacceptable attacks upon Comrade Bala, by renouncing further attacks of a factional nature upon the LSSP(R) and its leadership, and by this means prepare the eventual regrouping of the Trotskyist forces of Ceylon in a united section.

**Motion by Pia:** That Bala and Edmund be given each one-half hour to explain their positions.

**Motion carried.**

Discussion on Ceylon Commission report: Edmund, Bala, Pierre.

**Motion by Pierre:** That the only question to be discussed now is the recognition of the Ceylon section.

Discussion.

**Motion carried.**

Continuation of discussion on Ceylon Commission report: Walter, Abel.

**Motion by Abel:** That the International Executive Committee investigate with the full power of the World Congress the allegations made by the comrades from Ceylon and that the incoming IEC have the power to disaffiliate the

Ceylon section pending the results of the investigation.

Continuation of discussion on Ceylon Commission report: Lewis, Walter, Abel, Gulam, Pierre.

Summary of Ceylon Commission report by Pia.

## XIII. VOTING ON RESOLUTIONS AND COMMISSION REPORTS.

5. **Motion by Abel:**

a. That this World Congress rejects the request that the LSSP(R) be disaffiliated and that the RSP of Comrade Edmund be recognized as the Ceylon section.

b. The LSSP(R) is and remains the Ceylon section of the Fourth International.

c. That in view of the charges levelled, we instruct the International Control Commission to carry out a thorough investigation and to submit a report containing its findings and its recommendations for action to the coming meeting of the IEC.

**Motion by Pierre:**

a. The World Congress rejects the request by Comrade Edmund for disaffiliation of the LSSP(R).

b. The LSSP(R) is and remains the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.

c. The next session of the IEC will have on its agenda the activity of the Ceylon section.

**Points a. and b. of both motions carried unanimously.**

Roll call vote on point c. of Abel's motion.

Full delegates: 14 for, 28 against, 8 abstentions.

Fraternal delegates: 8 for, 8 against, no abstentions.

**Motion defeated.**

Voice vote on point c. of Pierre's motion.

**Motion carried unanimously.**

## XIV. ELECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

**Motion by Walter:** That the following comrades make up the IEC: ... Bala ...

**Motion by Walter:** To accept slate as amended by inclusion of [two additional nominees] as full members.

**Motion carried unanimously.**

Today we are printing in full the Unified Secretariat's statement 'Healyites Smear Bala Tampoe' which appeared in 'Intercontinental Press', edited by Joseph Hansen, on November 20, 1972.

This is a lying statement, avoiding every issue involved in Ceylon and internationally, and abandoning all principles of political honesty.

## Healyites Smear Bala Tampoe

The following statement was issued October 29 by the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The October 21, 1972, issue of the 'Workers Press' the official organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League, carried a slanderous attack on Bala Tampoe, the general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union. The author of the article, one Jack Gale, asserts that Tampoe is 'known to have associated with the CIA.'

Why should the imperialist spy agency want to associate

with Bala Tampoe? Washington is certainly not preparing to overthrow the Bandaranaike regime—at least from the left. Gale offers no explanation. Nor does he explain what interest Bala Tampoe, who opposes both imperialism and the Bandaranaike regime, could conceivably have in associating with the CIA.

The author of the article indicates as his source of information only Edmund Samarakkody, a former factional opponent of Tampoe. An investigation undertaken by us in 1969 showed that the slander was cooked up and put into circulation originally by the former Trotskyists in Ceylon who betrayed the movement and accepted posts offered them by Bandaranaike, and who were under heavy fire for this from Bala Tampoe.

How did this bit of ancient garbage happen to finally end up gracing the pages of the 'Workers Press', which makes a great show of its repugnance for the former Trotskyists in Ceylon and all their works?

First of all because the technique of the 'big lie' has been utilized with increasing frequency in recent years by the leaders of the SLL under the guidance of their general secretary, Gerry Healy, and this item looked particularly suitable for such use.

The smearing of Bala Tampoe, a leading Ceylonese Trotskyist, in this way is on par with the beating that stewards of the SLL inflicted on Ernest Tate, a leading British Trotskyist, while Healy looked on. Tate was 'guilty' of hawking Trotskyist literature in front of an SLL public meeting. Tampoe scorned inducements to line up with the SLL.

These are signs, among others, of the deep degeneration of the SLL. Incapable of meeting criticism with reasoned arguments, the leaders of the SLL borrow from the arsenal of Stalinism—which also calls for labelling political opponents as 'spies' and 'agents' of foreign powers and subjecting them to physical assault.

The timing of the attack on Bala Tampoe is worth noting. Tampoe is one of the main attorneys for the defence of the young revolutionists of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, who are now being processed in the courts by the repressive Bandaranaike regime. Coinciding with this defence, various unions (among them the Ceylon Mercantile Union) initiated the first big action by the toiling masses of Sri Lanka since the 'state of emergency' was decreed by Bandaranaike a year ago. This action was a nationwide, 24-hour hunger strike.

And the bank workers, in defence of their wage standards, called a strike in defiance of the coalition government composed of the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the reformist Lanka Sama Samaja Party, and the pro-Moscow Communist Party.

All the reactionary supporters of the treacherous coalition regime rallied in support of its efforts to railroad the JVP revolutionists to long terms in prison, to smash the bank workers' strike, and to keep the masses cowed.

This was when the Healyites found it necessary to make their contribution. They did not solidarize with the Trotskyist-led bank workers' strike. They did not solidarize with the legal defence of the young revolutionists of the JVP against the frame-up charges of the coalition regime. They did not solidarize with the hunger strike taken as a step toward arousing mass resistance to the abrogation of democratic rights in Sri Lanka. Instead, the Healyites sin-

gled out the 'main enemy' for their bucket of mud.

What does Healy hope to gain from this? Something of great importance to him. In view of the latest developments in Sri Lanka, curiosity in the ranks of the SLL over his real reasons for splitting from the world Trotskyist movement might become troublesome. A fast prophylaxis was required. Hence the poisonous article against Bala Tampoe and the Fourth International.

## TAMPOE'S 'CLOSE RELATIONS'

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He is also general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union.

The Unified Secretariat statement says: 'An investigation undertaken by us in 1969 showed that the slander was cooked up and put into circulation by the former Trotskyists in Ceylon who betrayed the movement and accepted posts offered them by Bandaranaike, and who were under heavy fire for this from Bala Tampoe'.

Let us be a little more specific than Mr Hansen and his friends wish to be. What the Unified Secretariat's 1969 investigation actually found was: 'A series of incidents which together constitute compromisingly close relations between Comrade Bala and the Ceylonese embassies or missions of the imperialist countries.'

The details of these 'compromisingly close relations' were as follows:

1. Tampoe went to the United States in the summer of 1967 on a trip financed by the Asia Foundation. The Asia Foundation is known to receive money from the CIA.
2. He accepted 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 strike-breaking role against the plantation workers.
3. He attended a small dinner party at the West German Embassy for visiting Chancellor Kiesinger. Kiesinger is a former member of the Nazi Party.
4. On January 22, 1966, he sent a letter to Prime Minister Mrs Bandaranaike in his capacity as general secretary of the CMU implying support for the imposition of a curfew as part of the state of emergency in response to the 'violence' in Colombo.
5. Tampoe's union did not support the strike that followed the devaluation of the rupee at the end of 1967.
6. While in Washington, Tampoe held a meeting with Defence Secretary McNamara (later to be President of the World Bank)—the man with direct responsibility for conducting the war in Vietnam, when that war was at its height.

Neither the Unified Secretariat nor 'Intercontinental Press' can deny any of this. Indeed, they do not dare to do so. They can only imply that our sources are inadequate.

They say: 'Gale . . . indicates as his source of information only Edmund Samarakkody, a former factional opponent of Tampoe'.

But, as we have shown in the previous articles, the source of our information was not only Samarakkody.



Above left: Edmund Samarakkody, who brought charges against Bela Tampoe. Above right: Ernest Mandel, who now co-

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The source of our information, published in Workers Press in the last two days, was the report of the Commission on Ceylon set up by the Unified Secretariat itself in 1969. This report was published last summer in 'Spartacist'.

Messrs Mandel, Maitan, Frank and Hansen cannot challenge the authenticity of these documents. So what they do is mention only Samarakkody and ignore the fact that Samarakkody released their own documents.

These desperate men are forced, by the crisis in their own ranks, to issue a 'repudiation' of our October articles. But they can only hope that readers of 'Intercontinental Press' and their own members are not aware of the existence of the report of their own Commission of Inquiry. They therefore dishonestly ignore all reference to their own report.

By making public this material, Samarakkody, himself a member of the Unified Secretariat's International Executive Committee when he raised the issue, has blown their pretence sky-high.

Members of the Unified Secretariat's sections should demand to know why, in their 'defence' of Tampoe, their international leaders made no mention of the very serious





Mandel, who now covers for Tampoe, a known CIA agent. Below: Youth from the JVP, arrested and murdered by the government.



allegations against him which were found proven by their own Commission.

One very good reason why the Unified Secretariat seeks to bury its Commission report is that the Commission itself was split.

The Indian member on it—a member of the International Executive Committee—demanded the total disaffiliation of the LSSP(R) from the Unified Secretariat! We quote again the relevant passage from his Minority Report:

'The Commission cannot but take a dim view of the manner in which Comrade Tampoe 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 [This means that Hansen and Mandel knew about it.—JG] 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 . . . and UK . . . do not befit a militant trade unionist and revolutionary Marxist belonging to the Fourth International . . . 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 . . . has been such as to place the party in the camp of the enemy as opposed to workers in action.

'It has even been 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.

'Further, the letter written by comrade Bala to the Prime Minister . . . 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 suspect in the eyes of the militant working-class movement in Ceylon.

'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) . . .

'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 the opportunist tactics pursued by the party on several trade union questions . . . 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.' (My emphasis. JG.)

### COVER UP FOR TAMPOE

The renegade ex-Trotskyist leaders of this 'international'

know that every word of this is true. Yet they not only immediately re-elected Tampoe to their International Executive Committee, they have continued to cover up for him ever since and now declare what they know to be true facts to be slanders!

We say unequivocally that if a leading trade unionist, let alone one who claims to be a Trotskyist, accepts a trip to the United States financed by an organization known to be in receipt of CIA funds, then this man has associated with the CIA.

Any novice in politics knows this. And every member of every section of the Unified Secretariat must know it as well.

For Mandel and Hansen to deny it simply reveals the depths of corruption and political dishonesty to which they have sunk. These 'leaders' are reduced to pathetic, desperate lying to their own members.

Bala Tampoe, a member of their International Executive Committee, went to the States on CIA money. That can be written in letters ten feet high.

And what about all the rest?

Hansen, Mandel, Maitan and Frank don't deny—or even mention—that Tampoe had private talks with McNamara, that his union scabbed in the 1967 strikes, that he was wine and dined in imperialist embassies (the traditional way of corrupting trade union leaders in former colonial countries, that he honoured an ex-Nazi, that he supported Bandaranaike's curfew in 1966.

They don't mention any of this, even though the majority report of their own Commission referred to them all as 'undisputed facts'!

Now, come on, gentlemen of the Unified Secretariat! Tell us exactly how this honoured member of the highest body in your organization—the International Executive—this 'leading Ceylonese Trotskyist' ('Intercontinental Press', November 20, 1972, p1286.) has been upholding the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Of course, they cannot do this. Tampoe is a renegade protected by worse renegades. They do not expel him from their midst because their entire 'international' is based upon the utmost contempt for principles, upon dishonest combinations, upon dirty manoeuvres in place of honest examination of political questions.

**The timing of our attack on Bala Tampoe, according to the Unified Secretariat and the 'Intercontinental Press,' is 'worth noting'. It comes, claim Joseph Hansen and his associates, when Bala Tampoe is one of the attorneys for members of the revolutionary Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, when the Ceylon Mercantile Union joined a 24-hour hunger strike and when the bank employees were in struggle against the government.**

To criticize a leader of a political tendency at such a time, it is clearly implied, is to assist the other side.

This is a very old and dishonest method of argument. For years, the Stalinists claimed that to oppose Stalin was to assist capitalism, to oppose the Popular Front in Spain was to assist Franco, to criticize Stalinist policies in Germany was to help Hitler etc, etc.

Trotskyists always replied

that to expose and attack the false leaders of the working class, far from assisting its enemies, was the only way to take the class forward. Does this now suddenly cease to be true?

Or is Hansen desperately seeking to use the struggles now under way in Ceylon to prevent his own members from taking up these questions?

The most the Unified Secretariat can claim for Bala Tampoe is that he is one of the legal attorneys for the JVP. What is particularly heroic about this? Colvin R de Silva—a leading Ceylon ex-United Secretariat man and one of the LSSP renegades who went over to Mrs Bandaranaike in 1964—was an attorney, who in his time also defended people against state prosecution.

The arch-Stalinist D. N. Pritt defended Jomo Kenyatta when the latter was on trial accused of leading the Mau Mau in Kenya. Did that make the Stalinists into defenders of the colonial revolution?

The more the youth, the workers and the rural poor come into conflict with the Bandaranaike regime, the more essential it is to fight for the principles of Trotskyism and expose the charlatans who masquerade under its name

In passing, let us deal with a real slander—that the Socialist Labour League did not solidarize itself with the struggle of the masses in Ceylon. We refer readers to the following issues of Workers' Press for one month only:

- March 23, 1972: 'Ceylon's Internment Jails still hold 14,000 Youth'.
- April 4: '1,000 Youth for Trial'.
- April 6: 'Ceylon Bill legalizes Repression'.
- April 10: 'US arms Ceylon'. 'Lift Press Ban in Ceylon'.
- April 14: 'Guerrilla Bill splits Ceylon coalition'.
- April 18: 'Ceylon Workers Resist Wages Freeze'.

When the trial of members of the JVP began last July, we reported it fully and declared ourselves clearly with the defendants. The same month we began an eight-part series on the background to the Ceylon crisis.

In this series, although we put forward frankly our differences with the JVP, we clearly defended them against the bloody repressions launched by Mrs Bandaranaike and supported by the Stalinists and the former close associates of Messrs Mandel and Hansen.

Yet Hansen, knowing full well that his allegations are a pack of lies, tells his readers we did not solidarize with these struggles.

### TAMPOE'S POSITION

Let us take up another point. Tampoe is presented in the Unified Secretariat statement as something of a hero, valiantly lining up with the JVP.

Yet the statement of the Indian member of the Unified Secretariat's Ceylon Commission referred significantly to Bala Tampoe's being allowed to hold meetings in Colombo when other tendencies were denied all right of expression.

We went into more detail on the same question in Workers Press on October 20—an article which Mandel and Hansen and company studiously avoid.

We pointed out that although 16,000 people were arrested—4,000 of them for attending political classes—and 4,000 trade union officials disappeared, Tampoe and his associates retained complete freedom of movement.

with Bala Tampoe? Washington is certainly not preparing to overthrow the Bandaranaike regime—at least from the left. Gale offers no explanation. Nor does he explain what interest Bala Tampoe, who opposes both imperialism and the Bandaranaike regime, could conceivably have in associating with the CIA.

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'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).

'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 the opportunist tactics pursued by the party on several trade union questions . . . 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.' (My emphasis. JG.)

## COVER UP FOR TAMPOE

The renegade ex-Trotskyist leaders of this 'international'

know that every word of this is true. Yet they not only immediately re-elected Tampoe to their International Executive Committee, they have continued to cover up for him ever since and now declare what they know to be true facts to be slanders!

We say unequivocally that if a leading trade unionist, let alone one who claims to be a Trotskyist, accepts a trip to the United States financed by an organization known to be in receipt of CIA funds, then this man has associated with the CIA.

Any novice in politics knows this. And every member of every section of the Unified Secretariat must know it as well.

For Mandel and Hansen to deny it simply reveals the depths of corruption and political dishonesty to which they have sunk. These 'leaders' are reduced to pathetic, desperate lying to their own members.

Bala Tampoe, a member of their International Executive Committee, went to the States on CIA money. That can be written in letters ten feet high.

And what about all the rest?

Hansen, Mandel, Maitan and Frank don't deny—or even mention—that Tampoe had private talks with McNamara, that his union scabbed in the 1967 strikes, that he was wine and dined in imperialist embassies (the traditional way of corrupting trade union leaders in former colonial countries, that he honoured an ex-Nazi, that he supported Bandaranaike's curfew in 1966.

They don't mention any of this, even though the majority report of their own Commission referred to them all as 'undisputed facts'!

Now, come on, gentlemen of the Unified Secretariat! Tell us exactly how this 'honoured member of the highest body in your organization—the International Executive—this 'leading Ceylonese Trotskyist' ('Intercontinental Press', November 20, 1972, p1286.) has been upholding the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Of course, they cannot do this. Tampoe is a renegade protected by worse renegades. They do not expel him from their midst because their entire 'international' is based upon the utmost contempt for principles, upon dishonest combinations, upon dirty manoeuvres in place of honest examination of political questions.

The timing of our attack on Bala Tampoe, according to the Unified Secretariat and the 'Intercontinental Press,' is 'worth noting'. It comes, claim Joseph Hansen and his associates, when Bala Tampoe is one of the attorneys for members of the revolutionary Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, when the Ceylon Mercantile Union joined a 24-hour hunger strike and when the bank employees were in struggle against the government.

To criticize a leader of a political tendency at such a time, is clearly implied, is to assist the other side.

This is a very old and dishonest method of argument. For years, the Stalinists claimed that to oppose Stalin was to assist capitalism, to oppose the Popular Front in Spain was to assist Franco, to criticize Stalinist policies in Germany was to help Hitler etc, etc.

Trotskyists always replied

that to expose and attack the false leaders of the working class, far from assisting its enemies, was the only way to take the class forward. Does this now suddenly cease to be true?

Or is Hansen desperately seeking to use the struggles now under way in Ceylon to prevent his own members from taking up these questions?

The most the Unified Secretariat can claim for Bala Tampoe is that he is one of the legal attorneys for the JVP. What is particularly heroic about this? Colvin de Silva—a leading Ceylon United Secretariat man and one of the LSSP renegades who went over to Mrs Bandaranaike in 1964—was an attorney, who in his time also defended people against state prosecution.

The arch-Stalinist D. N. Pritt defended Jomo Kenyatta when the latter was on trial accused of leading the Mau Mau in Kenya. Did that make the Stalinists into defenders of the colonial revolution?

The more the youth, the workers and the rural poor come into conflict with the Bandaranaike regime, the more essential it is to fight for the principles of Trotskyism and expose the charlatans who masquerade under its name.

In passing, let us deal with a real slander—that the Socialist Labour League did not solidarize itself with the struggle of the masses in Ceylon. We refer readers to the following issues of Workers' Press for one month only: March 23, 1972: 'Ceylon's Internment Jails still hold 14,000 Youth'.

April 4: '1,000 Youth for Trial'.

April 6: 'Ceylon Bill legalizes Repression'.

April 10: 'US arms Ceylon'.

April 14: 'Guerrilla Bill splits Ceylon coalition'.

April 18: 'Ceylon Workers Resist Wages Freeze'.

When the trial of members of the JVP began last July, we reported it fully and declared ourselves clearly with the defendants. The same month we began an eight-part series on the background to the Ceylon crisis.

In this series, although we put forward frankly our differences with the JVP, we clearly defended them against the bloody repressions launched by Mrs Bandaranaike and supported by the Stalinists and the former close associates of Messrs Mandel and Hansen.

Yet Hansen, knowing full well that his allegations are a pack of lies, tells his readers we did not solidarize with these struggles.

Let us take up another point. Tampoe is presented in the Unified Secretariat statement as something of a hero, valiantly lining up with the JVP.

Yet the statement of the Indian member of the Unified Secretariat's Ceylon Commission referred significantly to Bala Tampoe's being allowed to hold meetings in Colombo when other tendencies were denied all right of expression.

We went into more detail on the same question in Workers Press on October 20—an article which Mandel and Hansen and company studiously avoid.

We pointed out that although 16,000 people were arrested—4,000 of them for attending political classes—and 4,000 trade union officials disappeared, Tampoe and his associates retained complete freedom of movement.

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We also commented on the extremely mild nature of Tampoe's 'opposition' to Mrs Bandaranaike at that time.

We repeat what Tampoe's CMU statement actually said, remembering that the Unified Secretariat's Ceylon section has complete control of the leadership of this union:

'Does it serve any useful purpose to regard the rebels as criminals, who have intimidated and murdered innocent people, raped and looted and indulged in kidnappings and arson—even if some of them may be proved to have committed such acts?

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

At a time of enormous economic and political crisis, with thousands of youth taking up arms against the state, a sec-

tion of Mandel's International, led by a member of its International Executive Committee, appeals to the bourgeois Prime Minister to base her policies on divine teachings!

A far cry indeed, from the 'main defender' of the JVP presented to us in Mr Hansen's journal.

Why is the leadership of the Unified Secretariat and the Socialist Workers' Party so anxious to remain on good terms with, and to paint in totally false colours, a leader who, to put it mildly, is extremely dubious?

Because they are an opportunist revisionist tendency rejecting the very basis of Leninism and Trotskyism.

This basis is the insistence on principle above all else. If this leads to a split, then so be it—better a split than an unprincipled unity. This is the great historic lesson embodied in the construction of the Bolshevik Party. That Party

was not built by papering over cracks, hiding differences, running away from principles.

Only the petty-bourgeois behaves in that way. This is the basis of the split between Bolshevism and Menshevism.

In 'One Step Forward, Two Steps Back' (in which he is reviewing the disputes at the 1903 Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party where the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks split) Lenin recounts a conversation with one of the 'Centre' delegates.

"How oppressive the atmosphere is at our congress", he complained. "This bitter fighting, this agitation one against the other, this biting controversy, this uncomradely attitude".

"What a splendid, splendid thing our Congress is!" I replied. "A free and open struggle. Opinions have been stated. The shades have been revealed. The groups have taken shape. Hands have been raised. A decision has been

taken. A stage has been passed. Forward! That's the stuff for me! That's life!"

'The comrade from the Centre stared at me in perplexity . . . we were talking different languages.' ('Collected Works' Vol. 7, p.346.)

The petty-bourgeois, the 'centre', hates conflict. But the Unified Secretariat is turned towards the petty-bourgeois. And so, particularly, is Hansen's own Socialist Workers' Party.

That is why that Party disgraced itself by permitting its secretary Farrall Dobbs to send a message of condolence to President Kennedy's widow when that leader of world imperialism was struck down in 1963.

Mandel, Hansen and the rest of the gang know the charges against Tampoe are true. And so do their members—or at least, those who have been allowed to hear of them. Yet they conspire to keep up the fiction that Tampoe is an 'honest revolutionary'. Why?

Because in that way they hope to preserve a facade of a 'section' in Ceylon.

Their relationship to Tampoe is exactly the same as their relationship to his predecessors, the leaders of the LSSP. Hansen is now extremely hostile to 'the former Trotskyists who betrayed the movement and accepted posts in the Bandaranaike government'.

But we outlined in detail the relationship of the Unified Secretariat to these men in the Workers Press of October 18 and 19—articles which the Unified Secretariat is careful to ignore.

We established there, and we challenge Hansen to refute it, that the Unified Secretariat suppressed criticism of the leaders of the LSSP, refused demands within their organization for a discussion on Ceylon, endorsed the LSSP's position of 'critical support' for an SLFP (Bandaranaike) government and had in their possession for four years before the LSSP leaders entered the Bandaranaike government a letter which outlined proposals for a 'programmatic agreement' with Mrs Bandaranaike's party with a view to forming a joint government!

We printed the details of this letter in Workers Press on October 19—and Hansen and Mandel avoid all mention of it.

## SLP'S WARNING

In contrast, the position of the Socialist Labour League was entirely principled.

We warned: 'One cannot separate the problems of the LSSP revolutionary wing from this degeneration [of the Unified Secretariat] . . . many comrades who support the

minority are only now beginning to realize the relations between the international and national degeneration of the Fourth International.

'The future of the revolutionary wing depends mainly upon a serious study of this relationship.' ('Ceylon, the Great Betrayal'. G. Healy, 1964.)

This warning was disregarded, with the result that the LSSP(R) entered upon the road to degeneration. It did this sheltered by the same international leadership as had previously sheltered the leaders of the LSSP right up to the point where they entered a bourgeois government.

In 1963 an honest discussion on Ceylon would have torpedoed the reunification, organized without discussion of outstanding political questions, by the Pabloites with the SWP. (This could not be an organizational reunification, because the SWP is prevented by US law from having such connections.)

In the same way an honest discussion on Ceylon arising out of the 1969 allegations against Tampoe and his role since would blow sky-high the crisis-ridden Unified Secretariat today.

That is why the Ceylon Commission specifically avoided the political issues.

We quote from its majority report:

'The Commission did not feel it was in a position to fully examine the policies of Comrade Bala in his union.'

A member of the IEC, the secretary of his section, is also general secretary of his union. He is accused, among other things, of organizing scabbing by his members. Yet the Commission 'is not in a position to fully examine . . . !'

But more was to follow. The Commission reports that it 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.'

Or—to put it more succinctly—some members felt that honouring ex-Nazis, organizing scabbing and having your expenses paid by the CIA was somewhat deplorable. Others felt that in Ceylon anything goes.

Certainly, Bala Tampoe was re-elected to the IEC of the Unified Secretariat at its ninth congress in 1969 and remains there to this day.

It was at this same congress that Ernest Mandel presented a report laying down that the slogan 'Victory to the NLF' should be the slogan of all Unified Secretariat sections IN THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH DID NOT HAVE TROOPS IN VIETNAM.



The Unified Secretariat endorsed Bela Tampoe's role as general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union, seen here leading workers in a demonstration, despite knowledge of his connections with the World Bank, the Asia Foundation (which receives funds from the CIA) and the ex-Nazi Kiesinger.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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# George Anderson Books

**STRIKE!** By Jeremy Brecher. Straight Arrow Books, The Book Division of Rolling Stone. San Francisco, 1972. Paper, \$3.95.

Jeremy Brecher's book is a great contradiction, and a very revealing one. It is a magnificent, thorough, and partisan history of the great strike struggles of the American labor movement since its inception in the late 19th century. It is a chronicle of the giant strides made by the working class through bitter struggles against powerful combinations of capitalists at whose resources were placed the state, the courts, the army, and the press.

It is the story of the miniature civil wars and partial insurrections that mark the history of the modern United States. In these battles, masses of workers, without formal education, exhausted from long hours of work, under conditions of extreme hardship brought gigantic capitalist corporations to their knees in spite of the array of forces facing the workers every step of the way.

Yet Brecher introduces his book by saying "the greatest problem we face is our powerlessness." This outlook is the product of the method by which Brecher produced the book. He states his purpose: "We can grasp the process by which people discover how to rely on themselves and not on their superiors. And we can see the results of different forms of organization and action." He sees the history of the

labor movement as a struggle between "people" and their "superiors." And by seeing the results, we can then pick and choose the most successful methods of organization and action.

This is the pragmatic method, and it is, as Brecher unwittingly shows us in the book, the greatest enemy of the working class.

And this outlook, the pragmatic method, is the greatest curse, as Trotsky put it, of American thought, and he instructed the American Trotskyists to "innoculate" the party against this disease. The importance of this question in relation to Brecher's book will soon be seen.

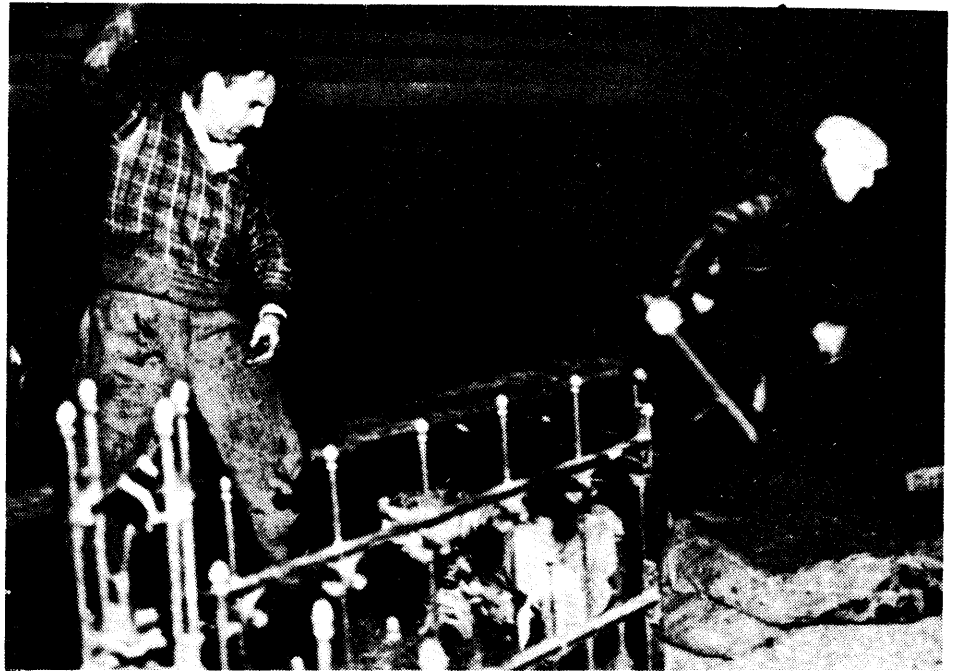
### STRUGGLE

From the great building trades strike of 1872, American workers have been engaged in continuous struggle for wages and conditions against the capitalists' drive for profit. The Homestead Steel strike, the Pullman strike, led by Eugene Debs, the Boston Police strike of 1919, during which the *Wall Street Journal* screamed, "Lenin and Trotsky are on the way!" the Seattle General Strike, in which the word "power!" was on the lips of every striker, and the strike press stated that "we are starting on a road that leads—NO ONE KNOWS WHERE!"—in these struggles were forged the foundation of the modern labor movement. And in these struggles, the limitations of strike action became clear, as strike situations time after time approached insurrection. In Seattle, the limits of the situation were stated by Anna Louise Strong:

"...As soon as any worker was made a leader he wanted to end that strike. A score of times in those five days I saw it happen. Workers in the ranks felt the thrill of massed power which they trusted their leaders to carry to victory. But as soon as one of these workers was put on a responsible committee, he also wished to stop 'before there is riot and blood.'"

This is not, as many historians would have it, because of a lack of ability to

# Strike Struggles That Shook The Country



Scenes from the Republic Steel Strike of 1937, which were just part of the conflicts between pickets and cops.

struggle or to lead on the part of the rank and file. It is because those workers, determined as they were, saw no resolute perspective for victory. They were held back by a lack of revolutionary Marxist leadership.

### AIR ASSAULT

Besides these well-known episodes of labor history, Brecher shows us many striking but little-known battles, for instance the military ground and air assault carried out by 1000 armed workers against National Guardsmen attempting to open up the struck Williamson County mines of the Southern Illinois Coal Company. The assault, with detachments of workers from Kansas, Indiana, and Ohio as well, was led by war veterans of World War I wearing trench helmets and armed with rifles seized from hardware stores and American Legion halls.

The assault was victorious, and the mine superintendent, the focus of bitter hatred from the entire labor movement, along with 19 other strikebreakers were executed by the workers and a crowd of sympathetic townspeople. Juries of local farmers (many farmers had fought alongside the miners) refused to convict a single person for the deaths of the strikebreakers.

A large part of the book is devoted to the great struggles of the 1930s that led to the formation of the CIO. Brecher's blow-by-blow account of the Flint sit-down strikes of 1936 and 1937 is an inspiring testament to the resources of the working class, their willingness to fight, and their tremendous power.

Although not a complete history of the labor movement, Brecher's book brings out many of the sharpest struggles of American workers. It shows the multitude of plant-level and localized struggles that are the grains of gun powder out of which the dynamite of mass strikes are born.

But the weakness of the book is in the last three chapters. Brecher here tries to make sense of the tumultuous events he has brought to life in the preceding pages. And it is here that his method fails him: on the question of the consciousness of the working class of the need for a social overturn.

### TROTSKY

He quotes Trotsky from *The Russian Revolution* that there is a "chronic lag of ideas and relations behind new objective conditions," so that the gaining of consciousness by the masses and the revolution itself "consists in the gradual comprehension by a class of the problems arising from the social crisis—the active orientation of the masses by a method of successive approximations." Brecher himself goes on to say: "Only the first stages of this process can be seen in U.S. history."

But the key word from Trotsky's quote is—active orientation—and this orientation takes place by a method of approximations. This active orientation is

the struggle of the most conscious workers through the revolutionary party to lead the masses.

### PRAGMATISM

This method of successive approximations is the dialectical method, which, by probing the class conflict at the heart of the social crisis, becomes a weapon for the party to lead and direct the masses to a revolutionary seizure of power. The party must be made up of workers—it is inseparable from the working class. It is a part of it, as Marxism is a part of the history of the international working class. And the revolutionary party, at the critical point in history in which millions of lives hang on a balance of power between the working class and the capitalist class, the party becomes the decisive factor—because it is the conscious factor.

Brecher sees that the masses move into a crisis situation with old methods of thought, with old ideas and habits. But Lenin and Trotsky saw the means of resolving that contradiction. It is a dialectical process. The struggle of the party to gain the leadership of the working class is the struggle against the old ideology, the old "ideas and relations" of the old situation.

For these ideas, this pragmatic way of thinking is the decisive limit on the working class. The acceptance of the immediate as the essential, the acceptance of the immediate moment as unconnected with other moments, the lack of historical understanding, these are the limits of the struggle of the working class.

By bringing the objective struggle into conflict with the consciousness of the working class, the gap between what the working class faces and its thinking can be bridged.

The conscious fight against pragmatism can turn a spontaneous mass movement into a conscious struggle for power.

### ANARCHIST

Brecher does not begin as a Marxist. He is an anarchist at heart—he believes that the unions are always and everywhere the bureaucratic oppressors of the rank and file. He does not grasp the contradiction in the trade unions, and therefore equates the union with its corrupt leadership. This leads him to stand with the revisionists, who see the workers as conservative, and who see the student movement as the modern version of the class battles of the 1930s. But Brecher does not have the complete hostility to the working class that the revisionists have, and that is why he could write such an inspiring book. He is a partisan of the workers, as were the anarchist leaders of the Spanish Revolution, with whom he sympathizes. But he stands with the revisionists on the question of consciousness, which is the quintessential question of the socialist revolution. And his stated task in writing the book, to find out what can "be of use today" has failed—he has no answer.



# Pompidou Crackdown After Election

BY MELODY FARROW

Recent French opinion polls have predicted that the Left Union, the coalition of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Left Radicals, have a strong chance of winning the national legislative elections next March. One poll says they may get 45 percent of the vote on the first ballot.

The news has sent a panic throughout the financial and business community. The rate of exchange of the franc plunged from 5.11 francs to the dollar to 5.08 francs. Today the French ruling class faces its deepest crisis since the General Strike of 1968 when the French working class nearly toppled the DeGaulle regime.

The polls confirm what was clearly revealed in last April's referendum on entry into the Common Market. Pompidou has not an ounce of support among trade unions and has lost his base among the petty bourgeoisie, the farmers, and small shopkeepers. These sections of the population are now turning to the organized working class for a lead to defend themselves against the government.

Despite its divisions, the Pompidou government enters this election with a policy. It is a clear policy of drawing the line against the unions, of offering no concessions or reforms to the working class. Its strategy is to churn out the most vicious anti-communist campaign to frighten the middle classes and at the same time use the desire of the French Communist Party for "social peace" during the electoral campaign to hit at and attempt to weaken important sections of the working class in struggle.

## SPELLED OUT

Michel Debre, Secretary of State spelled this out in an answer to critics of the government: "Here and there we hear crying about polarization, here and there we hear groans about the absence of a so-called intermediary force. But this is the reality, except to those who don't want to see anything or understand anything."

Recently, when Prime Minister Pierre Messmer was asked what would happen if the Left Union won a majority in Parliament in March, he replied:

"This new government will be formed according to the policies of the President of the Republic and on the policy that he wishes to pursue at the moment, and not according to this or that electoral combination."

In other words, the government has every intention of completely ignoring the election results and far from resigning will proceed with its plans to attack the working class. These are unmistakable warnings that the French capitalists are preparing a sharp crackdown on the unions after the elections and will establish a dictatorial regime to force a showdown with the working class.

The Communist Party and the Socialist Party are basing their joint program on respect for the very Constitution which Messmer has just thrown out the window. SP head Francois Mitterand complacently assures everyone that just as DeGaulle named CP members to Ministerial posts, Pompidou will do the same.

The greatest concern of the government is to break the back of the powerful French trade union movement. The kind of measures Pompidou seeks to implement can be seen in the prosecution of the nine shop stewards from the Berliet auto plant in Lyons for demonstrating inside the factory for a wage increase.

This case marked the first time the anti-riot bill passed in 1970 has been used against trade unionists in a wages

struggle. It has also been invoked in a trial of Alain Krivine, a leader of the Pabloite organization, Ligue Communiste. Krivine has been charged under the "collective responsibility" article of the Act for an incident that took place during an October 5 demonstration against the South Vietnamese elections. The prosecution is asking for a prison sentence if he is convicted.

## TROOPS

Berliet's attack on the nine shop stewards is a conscious carrying out of the government's policy. It means that Pompidou now seeks to declare the right to struggle for a decent wage equivalent to a crime.

In Paris, for the first time since 1968, troops were ordered to break a sanitation strike that began December 6. The regime is seeking to prepare for the confrontation with the working class and unlike 1968 it will have its army and police ready to strike back.

The Communist and Socialist Parties as well as the centrist tendencies in France refuse to warn the workers of the depth of the economic crisis and the dangers that this entails. All of these organizations create the illusion that nothing fundamental will change after the elections.

The recently concluded 20th Congress of the French Communist Party at which the Socialist Party and the Left Radicals spoke was a series of eulogies to bourgeois institutions and "the nation."

CP Secretary George Marchais in his main report to the conference appealed not to the working masses but to the middle classes. He deplored what he called the "degeneration of the morals and values of bourgeois society" expressed in psychological crisis, nervous breakdowns, the growth of crime. Nothing was said about the problems facing the working class.

He emphasized that the Communist Party did not seek to compete with the Radicals and Socialists in the elections and stated that he intended to carry his alliance with the bourgeoisie even further:

"We are for democracy to the end; a government of union of the democratic forces will include communists, socialists, radicals and eventually other republicans."

## COMMUNIST PARTY

Marchais concluded the conference by quoting from Maurice Thorez, the CP leader who symbolized total collaboration with capitalism: "We are not the party of the clenched fist, we are the party of the hand held out to the French people."

While Marchais was striving to appear as patriotic as possible the Soviet bureaucracy made it clear that it had little sympathy for the campaign of the Left Union and in fact would prefer to have Pompidou re-elected. Thus in the report on the French CP Congress in the Soviet press, every attack on Pompidou was carefully omitted and much more space was devoted to an article on a 50th anniversary celebration of the Soviet Union where the "French-Soviet friendship" was hailed.

The economic crisis has reached the point where the French capitalists cannot afford an electoral victory for the Left



The newly elected Politburo of the French Communist Party

Union. Despite the Stalinists willingness to co-exist, the French rulers must stamp out any organization which is based on the working class. While Pompidou may utilize the Stalinists to betray the industrial struggles and disarm the working class, he knows he cannot rely on the Communist Party to hold back an explosion.

The election offers the opportunity to intervene in the crisis within the Communist Party and to break the workers from the Stalinists by demanding that the CP break with the Radicals and fight for a socialist program.

It is in this situation when all the old forms of Gaullist rule are breaking down and revolutionary explosions are on the agenda that the revisionists in France are completely complacent and paralyzed without any clear policy towards the elections.

Both the Ligue Communiste, connected with the Pabloite United Secretariat and the OCI (Organization Communiste Internationaliste) which split from the International Committee last year and who claim to be Trotskyists approach the new stage of struggle in the same way. They see no fundamental change in the political and economic situation and consciously avoid confronting the Stalinists.

## ELECTIONS

Both organizations are taking a dual position in the elections. The Ligue Communiste will run its own candidates on the first ballot and urge a vote for the candidates of the Left Union in the second ballot. It is running joint candidates with Lutte Ouvriere (Workers Struggle).

The OCI is also running its own candidates on the first ballot (after denouncing the Pabloites for this policy in the 1969 elections) and on the second ballot urges a vote for the SP and CP candidates. The OCI's emphasis on the exclusion of the Radical Party from the Left Union is the only difference they have with the Pabloites.

In the documents for their Third Congress, the Ligue Communiste states that the government is "unfolding a subtle policy of intergration of the workers' movement" and that in "these conditions the most likely hypothesis is that there will be a period of prolonged political instability. In the immediate period, this in-

stability will favor the implanting of revolutionaries in the working class but if it is prolonged...it will also in time have the contradictory result of wearing out working class militancy."

The Ligue Communiste sees its main task as "regrouping" the "broad vanguard produced by the many radicalizing tendencies" and of "bypassing" the reformist organizations. The Ligue Communiste also states that the Left Union is not a new Popular Front but the "response of reformist organizations to the aspirations of the working class."

These revisionist movements are seeking to adapt to the Stalinist and reformist organizations by firstly an "ultra-left" policy of running their own candidates and secondly, by creating the illusion that these organizations can be forced under pressure to fight for the interests of the working class.

They speak of the working class as being demoralized and do not see a period of crisis and sharp moves to the right by the government, but a prolonged period of "instability."

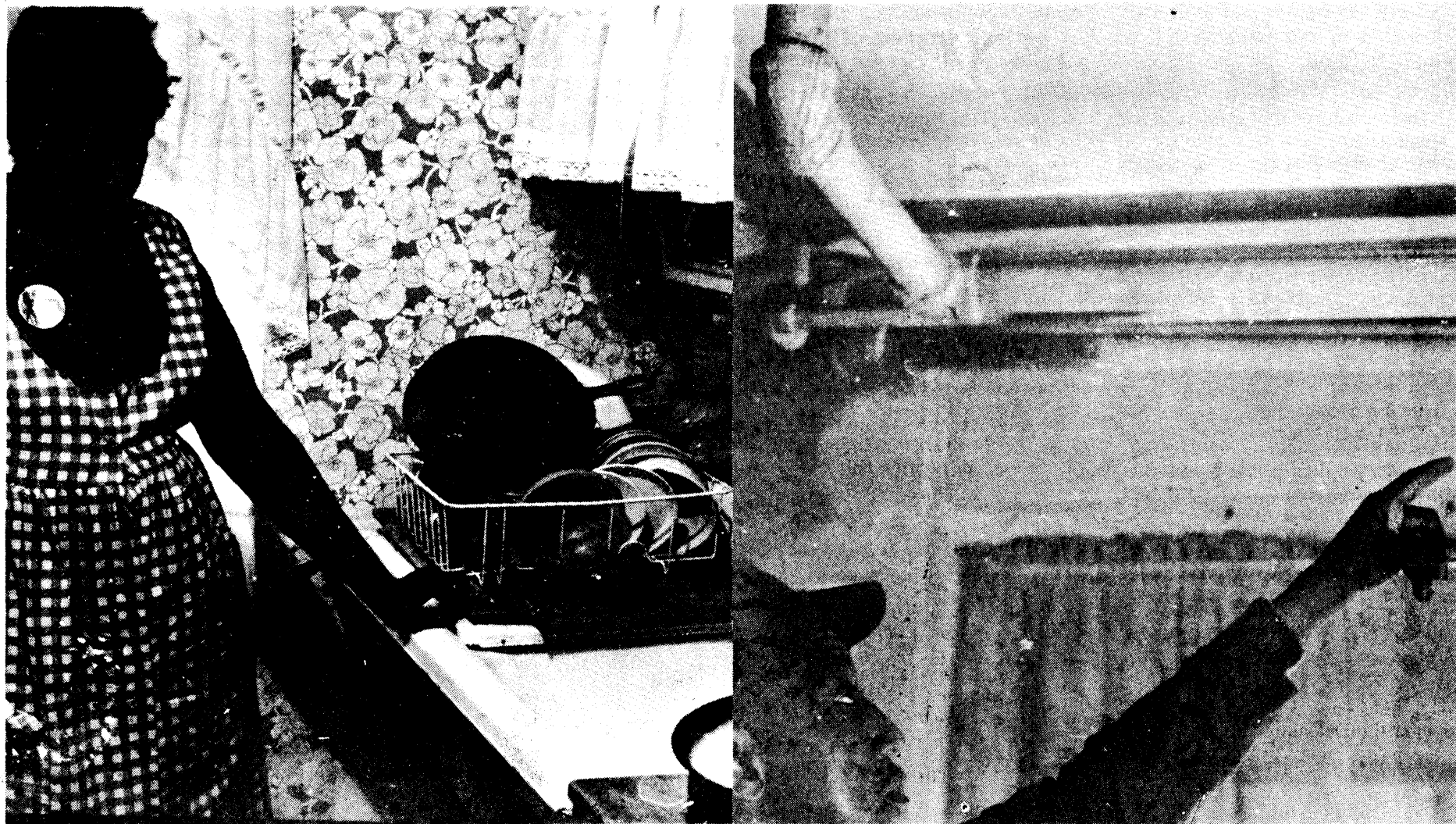
## LIQUIDATION

The liquidation of the OCI has now gone so far that they are reducing the size of their newspaper *Informations Ouvrieres* from 12 pages to eight because of financial problems. Clearly the members of the OCI do not fight for their paper because they see no need for an independent movement and program.

Above all they approach the elections by saying that it is necessary to support the Left Union but since the CP-SP program is rotten this support is only grudging and half-hearted. Thus their election campaign becomes completely passive and not a fight to mobilize the working class for power around a socialist program and to build in this struggle an alternative leadership against Stalinism and reformism.

A section of the Trotskyist movement as part of the International Committee of the Fourth International must be built in France that will fight for the CP and SP to break with the Radical Party and fight for a socialist program of full nationalization of industry under workers' control and a United Socialist States of Europe against the reactionary Common Market.





# Newark rent strikers refuse to give in

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

**NEWARK—“I can’t describe the conditions in this project because they are so bad. Sometimes I can’t believe I’m living here.”**

These are the words of Louise Fairley, who has spent the last 10 years of her life in Newark’s Stella Wright project. Like more than one thousand other tenants, she is participating in the rent strike against the Housing Authority.

“What else could I do,” she told the *Bulletin*, standing in a kitchen whose walls and ceiling are scarred by cracks. Long ago she stopped calling the Housing Authority about repairs.

Louise Fairley’s husband, a postal worker, told us with anger how the city officials would not even do anything about the rats in the project.

“The only way I keep the rats out of my apartment is by jamming a rubber mat under the door,” he explained.

For more than two years, the tenants of the Stella Wright project have been on a rent strike. They began this action after the Housing Authority ignored three years of protest against the inhuman living conditions.

Now the struggle has entered a critical stage. Mayor Kenneth Gibson and the Housing Authority have decided to smash the tenants’ rebellion for once and for all.

On January 3, rent strike leader Toby Henry, president of the Stella Wright Tenants Association, will be thrown in jail for refusing to turn over \$94,000 in back rent to the Housing Authority.

“Gibson thinks he will end the strike by throwing our leaders

into jail,” declared Dianne Weems, a tenant. “That shows how little he knows.”

She told us how she spent hours on the telephone trying to persuade the Housing Authority to repair leaking pipes which flooded the kitchen, bedrooms and bathroom.

“One day, some man came over but he wasn’t a plumber. He didn’t really know what to do. Finally, he twisted a pipe but that did nothing.

“I’ve been living in the project for years and I am sick of it. But there are no decent apartments in Newark that I can afford.

### HOUSING AUTHORITY

“I don’t think the Housing Authority cares about it being impossible for a mother to raise her children in these projects. Now it’s winter and I can’t let my children sleep in their rooms because all the windows are broken. And I can’t cook in this apartment because the oven doesn’t work.”

Dianne said that she would never give the Housing Authority one cent. “I figured that the only way you’ll get anything out of Housing is to hit them in their pocket. That’s what the strike is doing.”

The conditions described by Dianne are duplicated in every apartment in the project.

“I can’t tell you how many times I’ve complained about the situation here,” said Mary Flagg, who lives on the fourth floor of one building of the massive project complex.

“The Housing Authority doesn’t provide any service. I put in a request about some problems six months or a year ago but nothing was done.

“I blame it all on the management. Now, the tenants are trying to help themselves with the rent strike.

“I really have little feeling about Gibson and the politicians. He made a lot of promises but is not doing anything for the working people.

“I don’t believe that he ever thinks that people in these projects have a right to better housing. He doesn’t care that the elevators don’t work or that people fall over garbage on the stairways.

“But we are going to fight, because when working people come home they want to live in a halfway decent place.”

Two weeks ago, Mary Flagg was one of the tenants who attended a meeting called by the Workers League and supported a resolution calling for a general strike by New Jersey labor against the attacks on the Stella Wright tenants and on all working people and for a Congress of Labor.

“I believe this is a working class fight against Nixon. That’s why I support the labor party idea,” she said.

Last week, the government announced that no more public housing will be built in the United States. This means that workers in this country will be forced into the type of shacks that existed during the depression. As projects like Stella Wright become completely unliveable, there will be nothing else to replace them.

This is what Nixon is planning for the entire working class. The call by the Stella Wright tenants Association for a Congress of Labor to take action against Nixon’s attacks and build a labor party shows the way forward for the labor movement.



The decay in public housing services have met resistance from the tenants in Newark’s Stella Wright Project. Above: tenants show faulty plumbing and leaking pipes. Below: lobby in project.

BY ED SMITH AND JEAN BRUST

Harry Truman, labor-hating, red-baiting, machine politician; president of the notorious Cold War period; dropper of the atom bomb, is dead. The thousands of eulogies to his "great service to his nation" testify in truth to his great service to his class.

Nixon and Johnson, Democrats and Republicans, join with praise for his great statesmanship. They openly envy his use of the atomic bomb to strengthen his hand in the cold war against the working class both abroad and at home. Of course, Nixon has no more regard for workers' lives than Truman had—as he has demonstrated—but he faces a different period. Truman tackled the working class with the boom period ahead of him.

Nixon, on the other hand, goes into battle against a working class three decades stronger and more self-confident, and with his system so crisis ridden it can offer nothing. He must use naked force to take back the very gains Truman sought to prevent. Nixon is today taking some pages from Truman's book of war against the peoples of Southeast Asia, the workers states and the American working class.

Truman took office after the death of Roosevelt in April 1945. Within one month, he had ordered four strike-breaking plant and industry seizures. In June, he followed this up by refusing to alter the "Little Steel Formula," under which wages had been frozen throughout the war while prices reached previously undreamed of heights.

These acts set the character of his entire administration. He refused to declare the war ended, in order to continue the wartime controls over labor. The mass upsurge of the working class in 1945-46, in which five million workers were involved, was the face of the enemy Truman constantly battled and never defeated.

However he did use the power of his office to contain this movement and weaken its independence and tie it more closely to the power of the state. In October of 1945, he ordered the Navy to seize the struck oil refineries. Two months later he tried to force the GM workers back to work.

In April 1946, the railroads were seized to prevent a strike. When the workers went out anyway a month later, Truman went on the air with a vicious attack, threatening to use troops to run the trains. The next day he urged a joint session of Congress to "immediately authorize the President to draft into the armed forces all workers who are on strike against the government."

#### VICIOUS

On the legislative area, he demanded and got even more vicious anti-labor legislation. Phillip Murray, then president of the CIO, was forced to declare: "It has become self-evident that there is a deliberate and monstrous movement under way to cripple, if not destroy the labor movement in this country." This campaign eventually culminated in the notorious Taft-Hartley law, which is still on the books and is still used to hamstring the union movement.

Truman proceeded in foreign affairs the same way he did at home: as a hater of the working class, a president determined to bring all the vast powers of his office to bear on furthering the interests of American imperialism throughout the world.

In the foreign arena, Truman was an implacable opponent of the revolutionary movements that were sweeping the globe after World War II. He bent his energies to preventing the establishment of new workers' states and attempting to bring the ones established back into the orbit of imperialist exploitation.

Truman's real standpoint on these matters was concisely expressed in one of his Senate speeches in July, 1941, while the Red Army was fighting for survival against Hitler's invasion of Russia the month before: "If we see that Germany is winning the war we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany, and in that way let them kill as many as possible."

This is how the future president viewed what would be later glorified as "the war for democracy" against Nazism. In reality, Truman's interest in the war, as with all the capitalist class, was simply one of

obtaining greater markets and profits at the expense of its imperialist rivals. The U.S. entered into an alliance of convenience with the Soviet Union to beat off the aggressive challenge of Nazi Germany.

April 1945 saw the death of Roosevelt. It was obvious that the war against the Axis powers was virtually won. Truman turned his attention to staving off the threat of revolution and safeguarding the world for imperialism. This took the form first and foremost of an aggressive stance toward the Stalinist bureaucracy.

On April 23, 1945, when Truman had been in office all of 11 days, he summoned Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov to the White House. Using what columnist Drew Pearson described as "Missouri mule-drivers' language," he berated Molotov for what he described as Soviet violations



## TRUMAN: The Man who Slaughtered Millions to Save Capitalism

of the Yalta agreement in setting up a coalition government in Poland. At the end of the meeting, a shocked Molotov told Truman, "I have never been talked to like that in my life." The new president replied arrogantly: "Carry out your agreements and you won't be talked to like that."

There was a reason for Truman's arrogance: the development of the atomic bomb.

When Truman was informed of the development of the A-bomb, his first reaction was: "If it explodes, as I think it will, I'll certainly have a hammer on those boys." By "those boys" he meant not the Japanese, with which the U.S. was at war, but his "allies," the Soviet Union.

In fact, the subsequent use of atomic weapons on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was dictated not by any strategic necessity in the war against Japan but rather to end the Asian war as quickly as possible before the Soviet Union was involved. Truman and his advisors aimed to place Japan and its occupied territories firmly under American control before the Soviets could complete the cumbersome process of moving their armies from Europe across Siberia to fight the Japanese. To make Japan safe for capitalist exploitation, Truman needlessly took hundreds of thousands of lives. He used the mass slaughter of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to frighten the Soviet Union with the im-

perialists' new nuclear power.

According to the U.S. government's own Strategic Bombing Survey No. 4: "Certainly prior to 31 December 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated." But Truman continued to boast about his decision to massacre hundreds of thousands to the end of his days, using the lie it was to "preserve American lives."

#### THREATEN

With the massive destructive power of the A-bomb, the imperialists had the "master card" they had been looking for to threaten the Soviet Union and the revolutionary movements everywhere. No wonder Truman was described as "smiling and buoyantly happy" when he heard of the Hiroshima blast that snuffed out 200,000 lives. From September 1945, according to New York Times columnist and Truman confidant Arthur Krock, Truman was only looking for a suitable pretext to go into open hostility with the Soviets and

On March 12, 1947, he announced the "Truman doctrine" of military aid to Turkey and Greece to prevent "the spread of communism." Truman said: "Nearly every nation must choose between two worlds." Stalin, desiring not to "provoke" the imperialists, stood quietly by while the imperialists and Greek monarchists combined to break to resistance of the EAM.

Truman was not satisfied with this, however. The whole of postwar Europe was on the very brink of economic collapse. To stave off the threat of revolution, Truman announced the "Marshall Plan" of aid for economic construction. The Marshall Plan was tied to making Europe an American sphere of economic and political domination.

Following the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was set up. This was a counterrevolutionary military alliance which to this day united European and American capitalists in their ambition to bring the workers states of the Soviet Union and East Europe back into the orbit of imperialist profits.

Truman and the big businessmen he acted for could least of all resign themselves to the great Chinese Revolution of 1949 which swept the corrupt and decaying Chiang Kai-shek regime out and removed China from the realm of imperialist exploitation. It was here that the Cold War erupted into a shooting war against the world's workers and peasants—the Korean War.

The Korean War, which led to the commitment of hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops to defend the hated dictatorship of South Korean President Syngman Rhee, was the high point of Truman's reactionary anti-communist crusade.

The war was used not only to attempt the destruction of the workers state and the revolutionary gains of the North Korean workers and peasants but as a threat to the Chinese Revolution itself. Elements like MacArthur wanted to go over into an all-out nuclear war to restore China to capitalism.

#### RESISTANCE

The imperialist drive was finally contained by the heroic resistance of the Korean and Chinese workers, but at a cost of an estimated four million dead after the entire country of Korea, both North and South, was literally razed to the ground by American air and artillery strikes. Apologists for imperialism still like to try to fool the unwary by claiming that the intervention of the United Nations on behalf of the South made the war an international crusade against aggression.

The real basis of Truman's procedure in the Korean War was candidly revealed by his Secretary of the Navy, Matthews, who delivered a speech on August 29, 1950—less than three months after the start of the Korean War—that contained the following:

"We should boldly proclaim our undeniable objective to world peace. To have peace we should be willing and declare our intention to pay any price, even the price of instituting a war, to compel cooperation for peace. (This peace-keeping policy, though it would cast us in a character new to a true democracy—An initiation of a war of aggression—would earn for us a proud and popular title—we would become the first aggressors for peace." (our emphasis)

Matthews was reported by the New York Times to reflect the thinking of Defense Secretary Louis A. Johnson and Johnson of course reflected the thinking of Truman. Thus, Truman justified his counterrevolutionary and barbaric slaughter of the Korean workers as being a "war of aggression for peace." Even Hitler, in the days of Munich and the Sudetenland, did not dare strain the world's credulity that far.

After his departure from the presidency, Truman gave his unqualified support for all the counterrevolutionary activities of the Wall Street imperialists abroad. He was particularly warm in his approval of the great anti-communist crusade of the 1960s, begun and conducted by his Democratic Party friends and colleagues John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson—the Vietnam War.

The crest of the boom which Truman rode is over. The world working class will now have its reckoning with Truman and his successors in the White House.

open a counterrevolutionary offensive.

One trial balloon in this direction was the famous "an iron curtain is descending upon Europe" speech of ex-British Prime Minister Winston Churchill on March 5, 1946. The phrase "iron curtain" was first used by Hitler's propagandist Joseph Goebbels to describe the Nazi view of the U.S.-Soviet Yalta accords at the end of the war. Churchill's speech, which is widely viewed as marking the formal initiation of the Cold War, caused so much controversy that Truman had to repudiate advance knowledge of it.

#### OPPORTUNITY

In 1947, Truman saw the opportunity he had been waiting for. A civil war had broken out in Greece between the partisans of the National Liberation Front (EAM) and the forces of the Greek king, who were financed and backed by the British Army.

The EAM, which was dominated by the Stalinists, had led the underground fight against the Nazis and by 1944 had a membership of two million in a nation of seven and a half million. The forces of the king were largely made up of quislings and ex-Nazis who saw the civil war as an opportunity to pay off old scores from the days of the anti-Nazi resistance.

Nevertheless Truman announced that the Greek civil war was a conflict between "freedom" and "communist subversion."

# Abel Takes No Action To Halt Closure Of Car Foundry

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—The closing of the St. Louis Car Foundry sharply illustrates the crisis of employment which has developed over the last three years in this area.

Since 1969, reports from the Missouri Division of Employment Security show that over 50,000 jobs have been eliminated. The unemployment figure in St. Louis is over 6.4 percent on a seasonally adjusted basis, which is well above the national average.

The manufacturing industries have been the hardest hit with plant closures and job eliminations. Over 13.5 percent of manufacturing jobs were eliminated since 1969 in the St. Louis area.

The latest closure announcement involves the St. Louis Car division and the castings division in Granite City just across the Mississippi River in Illinois. Over 1450 steelworkers, members of USWA Local 1055, will be thrown out of work.

The number of men affected is really much higher because production had been cut drastically before this announcement. This figure only includes those involved in the final windup operation which will begin around February.

## CRISIS

The St. Louis Car Division has been involved in the manufacture of transit cars for commuter transport and has been running at a loss for the last three years. The lack of profits faced by this company underlines the crisis facing the cities.

There is a great need for cheap fast transport provided by the cars, formerly produced by this company, but the cities cannot obtain the funds to provide such services for their workers.

## SOLD

Dudley Bullock, one of the workers laid off from St. Louis Car, described to the Bulletin how in the 18 years he worked there, the company had been sold three times. Each time closure had been threatened previously, another company had come along to buy it out. Although rumors of another takeover were circulated through the work force, it is obvious that no such development will take place this time.

Employment prospects for many of these workers are virtually non-existent. Dudley said: "I was laid off in September and I've been looking around for almost anything. There are no prospects of another job for me."

## USWA

The United Steel Workers of America Local 1055 leadership, representing the workers at St. Louis Car, has raised no opposition to the destruction of these jobs. In this manner, they have faithfully followed the program of Abel and the International leadership in watching the abolition of hundreds of thousands of jobs, while calling for greater productivity from workers.

# Frigidaire Men Reverse Suspension

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—By an overwhelming vote, the Frigidaire workers voted to reinstate Hector Downing as vice president and committeeman of the Frigidaire Local 801 of the International Union of Electrical Workers, thus repudiating union president Arnold Thompson's attempted suspension.

When it was put to a vote by a "separation of the house," the workers voted by over four to one to reinstate Hector Downing "with no strings attached." As one worker noted: "About the only ones who supported Thompson were his relatives."

Thompson had convinced the fired workers that they should sign a statement putting the entire responsibility for the justifiable wildcat on Downing. The statement was in company style language stating: "The undersigned employees...give just legal cause in proclaiming Vice President Hector Downing in contributing and being the leading factor in the unauthorized strike...due to misinforming employees..."

One after another of the workers repudiated this rotten

sheet.

A week later Barrett, the committeeman from whose department the wildcat was sparked, and who signed the statement against Downing, dramatically repudiated the frame-up before the union trial committee. Their jaws dropped when instead of testifying against Downing, he said: "Thompson was the biggest liar of the lot."

General Motors has sought a permanent injunction in court that would prohibit Frigidaire workers from walking out against speedup. Barrett at the trial stated that:

"I had written a total of 97 grievances on unfair labor practices, the majority being speedup. These speedup grievances were all killed before the third step. In investigating this, I found the union officials and the company will not act upon the 99—this leaves the little people holding the bag. After fighting with the company and getting nowhere, there was no place to turn. Management is against you, and it seems like the union, that is, the main officials of the union, were against you."

"On the night of the wildcat I pleaded with the foreman to slow down the track. The track used to be timed at 23 seconds per job, and had been speeded up to 17 se-

# Midwest News



St. Louis unionists show their solidarity with Farah workers' seven month fight for unionization.

# Chicago Ranks See Threat In New Steel Machinery

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO—Major and extensive construction and repair work is being done at U.S. Steel South Works here, creating speedup and posing immediate job cuts.

Numerous helpers are being eliminated and the electrical power department is wiping out 15 jobs through the installation of electric doors.

The Bulletin interviewed Charley Hall, who works as a

shearman at South Works in the Universal Plate Mill.

"They are putting in more powerful, more forceful and faster machines. They are going to put in a new shear, a new flattener, a new straightener.

# IBT Sells-Out Duluth Bus Strike

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

DULUTH, Minn., Dec. 30—Striking bus drivers, members of Teamsters Local 346, today voted 79-16 to end their month long strike and resume driving Duluth-Superior Transit buses.

The settlement of 48 cents an hour over two years, averaging 5.5 percent, an additional holiday and some benefits improvements took the combined efforts of the Local 346 leadership, the Mayor of Duluth and Governor Anderson to push through. To force such settlements down the throats of the working class requires a gangup of the labor bureaucracy and the Republican and Democratic politicians.

Mayor Ben Boo had spent much of the strike threatening to have the bus lines shut down permanently to intimidate the strikers. Despite this, the drivers and mechanics several times rejected settlements that were less than the one finally accepted.

A break with this pattern of settlements, which accept the basis of the wage freeze and the Pay Board, can only come about through the creation of a labor party and a labor government.

"Normally, now, they are turning out in one day what they used to turn out in two or three days. They used to have three rolling shifts, now they have one. They wouldn't be putting in all that expensive machinery unless they had eliminations in store for labor. They make more in production than they pay out in labor.

"Like on my job, they have cut two guys off. They are supposed to have three shearman and three helpers. They been having just two helpers on. The other night they pulled off one more helper.

## ABEL

"I know one thing, Abel sold all our rights to the company. They have taken almost all our rights away. There is no one to speak up or fight for you. Even your grievance man, none of them, they are all bought out. It used to be that you had something. You had protection. Now, it's all promises from the union leaders and no protection.

"We've got to have a leadership. The case is the same all over. It would be real good if we could get a labor party. We have to expose Abel. All that is necessary."

# Nixon Slashes Farm Aid

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MADISON, WIS.—It was revealed this week that Nixon's unprecedented overriding of the Congressional bill for pollution abatement funds means the elimination of aid to almost one-half of Wisconsin's family farms.

White House planners expect to slash a total of \$1.5 billion from rural programs nationwide. Wisconsin farmers had been slated to receive \$3.5 million for the Rural Environmental Assistance Program which assisted in implementing animal waste storage, sod waterways, and long-term vegetative covers.

Another \$1.5 million will be cut off from the Water Bank Program in Wisconsin which helps in controlling nutrient runoffs. This particularly will mean the termination of funds to

the Lake Mendota watershed program which is considered a national model in controlling agricultural runoff.

Growing sections of farmers are being forced to look for part-time industrial jobs just to keep their farms. The future of the small farmer in Wisconsin and all across the country lies with the fight now to support the working class in building a labor party, so that the corporate farming and banking interests can be defeated.

## IC STATEMENT ON VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

of the working class in the advanced countries. It is in this brutal material form that the identity of interest of the workers of the advanced and colonial countries asserts itself.

Nor will the U.S. imperialists flinch from pursuing trade war to the point of military conflict, involving the deaths of millions of workers and wiping out of the means of production. They know no other way out of the crisis. The revisionist advocates of a "neo-capitalism," reputedly free of the old imperialist contradictions and not needing to solve its crises in war, are guilty of the most treacherous deception and betrayal of the working class. This is the criminal responsibility of the (Pabloite) Unified Secretariat of Mandel and of the Communists Party Stalinists.

Vietnam today is Europe and America tomorrow, unless the working class is mobilized to stop the imperialist attack and move through this struggle to the conquest of power.

There is no other way. None of the capitalist parties has any "compromise" alternative. McGovern, supported by reformists, Stalinists and "protesters" of all kinds as the "lesser evil" against Nixon, has spoken against the new attacks only on the ground that the loss of U.S. air crews is "excessive!" In Britain and the rest of Europe, the reformist and trade union leaders play the classic role of social-democracy.

Nothing could better exemplify the death of reformism than their utter failure to organize even the slightest opposition to the U.S. attacks. The severity of imperialism's crisis reveals them for what they are—its lackeys. They are indicating to the working class the hangman's role, which they will play against the working class in Europe itself in the new stage of the struggle.

World Stalinism bears the main responsibility for the fate of the people of Hanoi and Haiphong, and for the absolutely criminal refusal to mobilize the working class internationally against the new stage of imperialist attack.

Ever since Nixon's measures of August 1971, ending the convertibility of the dollar and

launching the trade war, everything has depended on preparation of the working class to challenge for state power: all possibility of reform has vanished. The only alternative to the revolutionary struggle for power was and remains a series of wars and counter-revolutionary dictatorships, the only method by which the imperialists can deal with the working class.

But Stalinism, both in Moscow and Peking, draws closer to imperialism. Having betrayed the French revolutionary struggle of 1968 and suppressed the Czechoslovak working class, with imperialist blessing, the Stalinist bureaucracy now accelerates its plans for the European Security Pact and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, all the time continuing to encourage the secret diplomacy over Vietnam.

New long-term Soviet agreements with U.S. imperialism, together with the new approaches of the Chinese bureaucracy, left Nixon free to enter the present bombing campaign. Thus the Vietnamese workers and peasants were sacrificed to the privileged interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and workers all over the world were politically disarmed.

In the advanced capitalist countries, the Stalinists isolate the Vietnamese revolution by confining the working class of Europe, America and Japan to purely trade union and opportunist types of struggle. The single-minded aim of the Stalinist parties, in alliance with the corrupt trade union bureaucracy, is to prevent the working class from confronting the capitalist class and its governments in a struggle that would lead to proletarian state power.

Successful revolutions in these countries would be the greatest blow of all against U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. Those who hold the working class back from these revolutions are deliberately isolating the people of Vietnam and condemning them to death. The numerically powerful Communist Party of France epitomizes this role in its "popular front" alliance with the reformists and bourgeois radicals.

All those revisionists, and par-

ticularly the Pabloite "Unified Secretariat," its sections like the British International Marxist Group and supporters like the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, who accepted the ideology of the "third world" as "epicenter of the world revolution" and consequently restricted the role of the working class in the advanced countries to that of middle class protest, share directly this responsibility of the Stalinists.

These revisionists propagated the lie that Stalinism had changed its nature and was no longer counter-revolutionary. But on the contrary, Stalinism was preparing its greatest betrayal. These Pabloite revisionists showed their bankruptcy by joining the liberals and Stalinists in announcing that Vietnamese "victory" was at hand in the period of the U.S. presidential election.

Only the International Committee, starting from the insoluble nature of the international capitalist crisis, could warn and prepare the working class for the new stage of the struggle. The only force which can stop U.S. imperialism in Vietnam is the organized strength of the international working class in solidarity with the heroic workers and peasants.

In every trade union, every factory, every socialist and working class organization, there must be a fight for immediate industrial action and mass demonstrations against the bombing and for total U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

Every working class action against the U.S. imperialist attack must be directed against the capitalist class within each country. Notwithstanding the grave inter-imperialist contradictions, the capitalists of Europe and Japan know that when Nixon attacks in Vietnam, it is the preparation against the working class everywhere. It is the inevitable outcome, if left unchecked, of their Common Market imperialist strategy, their attack on democratic rights, their anti-trade union laws, their counter-revolutionary preparations.

The fight against the U.S. in Vietnam is the same fight as that to mobilize and educate the force which can lead the working class to the overthrow of capitalist governments in every country.

To mobilize working class action in this way will mean a thorough struggle against the reformist and Stalinist leadership. Thus, in taking up our responsibilities of international working class solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution, we bring forward those forces which will have to build the alternative revolutionary leadership in the workers' movement. On the question of how to fight against imperialist war, how to unite the revolution in the colonial countries and the advanced countries, and how to build alternative leadership, the Marxist education of the youth and the most advanced workers proceeds.

The working class in the USSR, Eastern Europe and China now face an even greater threat of imperialist war to destroy the gains of their revolutions, because of the free hand given to Nixon in Vietnam by the betrayals of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The workers in these countries are taking up the fight against the bureaucracy on many questions.

But this bureaucracy seeks strength, against its "own" working class, from its imperialist alliances. Every step we take to weaken imperialism in Vietnam at the same time weakens the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, and opens the way for the workers of the USSR, Eastern Europe and China to restore their links with the international working class.

At the center of the struggle stands the working class of the United States. Independent working class action all over the world to stop the imperialist war, to bring down the capitalist governments, is the way to encourage the working class of the U.S. to take the road of independent political struggle, independent of the capitalist parties: in the first place, the formation of an American Labor Party.

This is what Nixon and the imperialists fear most of all. They are lying in wait, if they get away with the Vietnam outrage, bloodily to suppress the American working class. The anti-strike laws and the "Pay Board" are only the beginning.

Once again! The Vietnam bombing raids mark the imperialist response to the irreversible deepening of the crisis of their

economic system. They signal the preparation of historically unprecedented destruction of the productive forces, above all of the working class itself.

There must be an end to secret diplomacy. Just as the 1954 Geneva agreement was the formula for depriving the Vietnamese people of the fruits of military victory and the screen for U.S. intervention to reconquer Vietnam, so today the Stalinist support for these "peace" talks provides Nixon and Kissinger with the cover for the bloodiest counter-revolutionary war in history—and this is only the beginning of the attacks they must undertake all over the world.

Every revolutionary fighter in the international working class, every section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, must fight for the strength of the entire working class to be used in every way—industrial action and mass demonstrations in the first place—to stop the imperialists in Vietnam!

The essence of this struggle is to turn the working class all over the world, in answering every imperialist attack, to the preparation of the conquest of state power. What is at stake is the death-throes of the capitalist system, lashing out in self-defense to destroy everything that stands in its way. The whole future of the working class now depends on building in time the alternative leadership which can take the working class to the smashing of capitalist state power. It is to this end that the working class must rally with mass actions against the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam.

•Trade unionists in every country must stop the movement of all U.S. and other imperialist supplies to Vietnam!

•Strikes in every country in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution!

•Mass workers' demonstrations in every country against the bombing!

•Stop the bombing now! Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. land and air forces!

•Victory to the workers and peasants of Vietnam!

December 29, 1972

## TRADE WAR . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

bitterness last week by withdrawing trade concessions that it had granted back in 1967, citing American tariffs in the chemical industry as an excuse for the action.

The influential *Times*, which like Heath fears a trade war because of the vulnerable position of British capitalism, warned immediately: "No one should underestimate the impact of any threatening moves from Brussels (where action was taken)...With the world waiting on a friendly and reasonable attempt to build on America's thirty-five years of liberal trade reforms, this is surely not the time to sour relationships."

All the talks that are scheduled during the coming year will solve absolutely nothing. At the heart of the crisis is the law of value itself, which cannot be negotiated with.

When Nixon ended the convertibility of the dollar into gold on August 15, 1971, in order to prevent the total depletion of the United States' gold reserves, he smashed the stability of the world monetary system. With the dollar now nothing more than

paper, the value of every currency based on the dollar was immediately thrown into question.

Nixon has consistently refused to restore convertibility or has suggested that he would do so only if Europe agrees to drastically cut back its exports, reduce all its tariffs and open its markets wide for American goods.

There is no peaceful solution to the crisis. Not only must the United States, Europe and Japan prepare for war against each other—as they did in the 1930s—but they must head toward civil war with the working class.

It is only on the need for civil war that the capitalists of different countries can agree. In every European country, governments are openly preparing for battle.

Just before entering the Common Market, Heath ordered an end to all wage negotiations for the duration of the freeze and a top level report called for the establishment of dictatorship in Northern Ireland.

In France, Pompidou publicly stated that he would not allow the seating of a new government

should the candidates of the Communist Party and Socialist Party win a majority in the March elections. Police are arresting militant workers throughout the country.

In this country, conditions of trade war will require an unparalleled assault upon the living conditions of the American working class. Nixon's latest announcement that all public housing construction will cease shows that the period of even the slightest reforms has passed.

At the same time, Nixon must prepare to crush the trade unions and discipline the working class for the shooting war that must follow on the heels of a trade war.

It is from the objective economic crisis that the alternatives of fascist barbarism or socialism are posed. In every capitalist country, the burning task facing the working class is the construction of a revolutionary leadership. Only through the building of sections of the Fourth International in every country can the working class conquer power and prevent the very destruction of civilization.

## PAY BOARD . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

food prices. He noted cynically that profit margins for supermarkets were "very thin."

According to Nixon's arrogant officials in Washington the businessman whose profits have soared in the past year is under a crushing "burden" while the working man and his family will have wages frozen at 5 percent or less, while rents and food prices are given a free rein.

What the government is saying is that they know inflation cannot be controlled and they have no intention of trying. All pretense of any equity in the controls is being dropped.

### CHALLENGE

This is a deliberate challenge being thrown down to the working class. Nixon knows that the workers in the unions will fight any extension of wage controls. This is why he has a compulsory arbitration bill in the works and is seeking to line up labor leaders who will implement these attacks on their members.

Nixon's goal as revealed in the December 31st *New York Times*

is to place labor leaders in high positions in every Federal government department. This proposal was made to Fitzsimmons and George Meany, who sit on the National Productivity Committee.

The most ominous development is the report that the union leaders are seriously considering accepting this offer.

Such a move would be the greatest betrayal by the American labor leaders in their history. All the justification about being able to help the little man and pressuring Nixon to consider the interests of the workers is a cover for outright collaboration with a viciously anti-labor Administration which is bent on destroying the elementary rights of the working class.

A revolutionary leadership must be constructed in the unions to fight for a labor party and to mobilize the full strength of the unions to smash the Pay Board.

In light of Nixon's announced plans for the coming year we urge all trade unionists to launch a fight for a Congress of Labor to prepare this fight now.

# Steel Ranks Snag Kaiser Speedup

BY A USWA 2869 MEMBER  
FONTANA—The Coke Plant at Kaiser Steel Corporation was hit for the first time by vicious implementation of productivity schemes to reduce the number of workers in the plant.

The plan of Kaiser is to pool all laborers from the separate sub-departments into one common labor pool where workers are sent out as needed.

Immediate opposition from the ranks to the plans of Kaiser forced a retreat from bringing in the labor pools, but the company has made it clear that this is only a temporary delay and that Kaiser Steel has no intentions of backing away from their plans for speedup and layoffs.

The union leadership refuses to pose a real fight against this, saying that they want to take this speedup scheme to arbitration. At all costs, the leadership wants to defeat the strong opposition among rank and file steel workers to the labor pools.

Operators know well that they will be forced to take on work formerly done by laborers in their departments, and laborers will only be used to fill absences of regular employees.

The Coke Plant has stopped all meetings with the company over productivity. The entire union must support the workers at the Coke Plant and refuse to cooperate with the productivity moves by Kaiser Steel in any other area of their Fontana works.

# West Coast News



Pickets demand reinstatement with union representation at Chinatown restaurant.

## 10 Dockers Threatened With Jail

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Ten terminal warehousemen may face jail from a court intervention to halt their unauthorized picket against the loss of their jobs.

Moving swiftly to break the continued picket of 10 International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 13, the Pacific Maritime Association obtained a contempt citation on a court injunction issued December 14 and had the dockers as well as Local 13 President Curt Johnston hauled into court December 22.

The picket originated December 8 in a protest over lost

jobs resulting from Johnson Lines' transfer of its dock handling from Crescent Warehouse to the Overseas Shipping and the Metropolitan Stevedore Company.

The TW's were originally dispatched to Crescent and the transfer of Johnson Lines' activity to Overseas Shipping has resulted in the loss of their jobs to "A" men and thrown them back into the pool of unemployed TW's.

The 75 TW's in the Port of Los

Angeles have been especially hard hit for their status in the union affords them almost no protection. Registration of new "B" men was halted with the contract signed three years ago.

In the fight to defend their right to a job, the picketing TW's enlisted the support of Teamster Local 692. So effective was the combined action that the paralyzing loss of \$35,000 a day by Overseas Shipping resulted in immediate court action by the PMA.

## HELLS ANGELS.

(Continued From Page 20)

Late Friday the jury, obviously intimidated by the Angels' gangster reputation and revelations of their relations with the police, returned a verdict of not guilty. Barger and the others are still being held on narcotics charges.

The prosecution's weak effort to convict Barger ties in with his intimacy with the police. Barger testified in his own defense about his gun deals with the police and claimed that they made him the offer to release one Hells Angel for every dead Weatherman. This forced the prosecutor to call Hilliard to the stand to deny that charge and give out the details.

On one occasion, Hilliard said, he and the deputy DA went to see Judge William Hayes about a narcotics case involving Sergey Walton, one of Barger's co-defendants. Hilliard told the judge about the help given the police by the Angels. Walton was up on 23 counts, but 20 charges were dropped and he has not been sentenced on the others.

### CONSPIRACY

What this testimony exposes is a conspiracy among the courts, the district attorney's office, and the police department, to protect the Hells Angels and maintain them as an unofficial auxiliary force that can be relied on for the dirtiest kind of work.

The labor movement must be prepared to defend itself against these gangsters. Workers' defense guards must be readied for any threatened picket line, and a Congress of Labor must be convened to fight the biggest gangster of them all, Nixon.

# SF Dragnet Arrests 11 Radicals In Witchhunt

BY ANN LORE  
SAN FRANCISCO—Police have arrested nine members and associates of Venceremos this past week, bringing the total to eleven persons who have been charged in connection with the escape of convict Ronald Beaty from Chino prison.

Beaty, a convicted robber and kidnapper, was en route to a court appearance to appeal other escape charges on October 6. Two cars forced the guard's car off the road and released Beaty, killing one prison guard and wounding another. Beaty was recaptured on December 11, driving with Mrs. Jean Hobson in the Bay Area.

What has led to the mass arrests of Venceremos is that Beaty, who was recruited into the Bay-Area based radical organization while he was in prison, allegedly spelled out in minute detail the role he and eleven others played in his escape, as part of a deal with the police. Beaty has implicated top leaders in Venceremos including Bruce H. Franklin, a former Stanford University professor who was fired last summer for his radical activities.

The police and the FBI are using Beaty's affidavit, however it was obtained, to place a dragnet around Venceremos and eliminate as much of the organization as possible.

Four of those arrested are facing charges of murder: Jean Hobson, Robert Seabock, Andrea Holman and Benton Burt. Seven others, who are out on bail as high as \$10,000, will face Federal charges of harboring a fugitive.

Venceremos has denied any involvement in the escape and has charged that the arrests are all part of a frame-up to destroy their organization. They have declared Beaty an "enemy of the people," and disassociated themselves from Jean Hobson. Beaty has pleaded guilty to 1st degree murder and was immediately sentenced to life imprisonment in a Federal penitentiary.

To this point, Venceremos has refused to carry out any political defense of their own members. Prepared to rest their case with the courts, they have not gone beyond a denial of the charges. They refuse to see the seriousness of the case the government is drawing up around them and its implications for the working class, particularly the trade union movement.

The Workers League, while we have political differences with Venceremos, defend them from the government as a defense of the fundamental rights of the whole working class against Nixon.

# Company Swindles 40,000 But State Drops Charges

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The giant Boise-Cascade corporation agreed last month to a \$60 million out of court settlement of a suit charging the company with massive fraud in selling wilderness land for recreational subdivisions.

The billion dollar firm agreed to set aside \$24 million to refund purchasers who want their money back, \$21.5 million for administration and maintenance of the subdivisions, and \$13 million to complete work on some projects. In return, the state attorney's office dropped six class action suits on behalf of 40,000 Californians who bought over \$360 million worth of land from Boise-Cascade.

### YOUNGER

Attorney General Evelle Younger was at pains to justify the settlement, claiming it was the largest out of court settlement in California history. "We were potentially looking at a situation where we were going to be trying to get blood out of a turnip," his office reported.

Boise-Cascade has grown in the last 10 years from a middle sized Idaho lumber company to a two billion dollar a year conglomerate, but recently the company has begun to suffer severe

losses, mostly from its recreational developments. Last year the company lost \$37 million, and this year it has already written off a \$200 million fund set up to phase out its recreational land business.

Board Chairman R.V. Hansberger resigned in October after Boise-Cascade was forced to sell off \$100 million in assets to satisfy its creditors. Hansberger had built the company up so fast it was regarded as a wonder of the financial world, but the latest plunge into real estate has turned out disastrously. Company spokesmen now refer to this as "pouring good money after bad."

The state obtained an injunction against Boise-Cascade last April, because of 340 sworn affidavits from land buyers who claimed Boise salesmen systematically lied to them. Customers were promised that their lots could be subdivided and resold at 15 to 200 percent profit, that Boise would provide recreational facilities and roads in what was often virgin wilderness, and that Boise would repurchase the land if buyers were dissatisfied. All these promises were fraudulent.

At the same time, two individuals sued Boise-Cascade for fraud and won a half million dollars punitive damages awarded by a jury. This opened the possibility of thousands of such

suits and bankruptcy for the company.

At this point, the government intervened to protect the interests of the conglomerate. A superior court overturned the award of damages. The deputy attorney general handling the Boise suit, Neil Gendel, was forced to resign and a more pliable man put in charge of the case. Now a deal has been struck which absolves the company of criminal liability.

### PITTANCE

The offer of \$24 million for refunds is only a pittance. Boise-Cascade claims most land buyers are satisfied or will be satisfied by the additional \$34.5 million spent on facilities.

Actually most of the investors will be afraid to sell out because the refund money is to be prorated over the total number wanting out. This means that a rush of selling could leave investors with only a few cents on the dollar for their money.

Most of the buyers are middle class people looking for a place in the country and a "guaranteed" investment to guard against inflation. They were easy prey for salesmen playing on the boom psychology and now stand to have their savings wiped out.

The biggest "law and order" men in the state have led the cover up for this swindle.

# West Coast News

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## Committee Of Berkeley Labor To Run Slate In April Vote

BY TED BAKER

BERKELEY—A Labor Committee for Berkeley Politics has been formed to run labor candidates in the April city elections. The committee was formed by a section of the trade union movement angered at the 100 percent opposition of the city council to the strikes of University of California workers and city employees earlier this year.

In its first announcement, the committee stated that: "We learned that no one on the city council represents working people's needs—not the conservatives, not the moderates, not even the so-called radicals."

The announcement, circulated to union locals in Berkeley, called for two conferences, one on January 20 and one on February 3.

### IMPACT

Carl Jaramillo, director of Community Services for the labor council, revealed the tremendous impact that this development can have on the rest of the labor movement. He told the *Bulletin* that: "The labor council here is the strongest in the whole country. We've carried for every candidate we've ever backed." He said that the labor council would take no official position on the labor candidates until after the February 3 conference had decided on its program and nominated candidates.

### FEAR

Jaramillo showed the great fear that the labor leadership has for the movement to construct a labor party. "In order to form a labor party it would take some real strong leadership, and I just don't see it."

The great danger to the campaign lies in the present leadership of the committee, which is influenced by the Stalinist Communist Party. They are trying to divert the hostility of Berkeley workers away from the strikebreaking radicals.

This perspective was expressed by the temporary chairman of the committee, Lee Coe, a retired member of ILWU warehouse Local 6. Coe told the *Bulletin*: "Organized labor has not participated in Berkeley politics in the past; one objective

of the committee is, that, after setting our own policy, we'll be able to participate in any liberal-radical alliance that may arise in the next two or three months."

### CP

The Communist Party's West Coast paper, *People's World*, has completely covered up the rupture between the labor movement and the city council radicals. The latest issue of the *PW* carried a long article entitled: "Can Berkeley radicals get together?" which focused on splits among the middle class nationalists and women's liberationists in the April Coalition and said not a word about the labor committee meeting.

### EXTENSIVE

This is despite the fact that CP sympathizers attended the meeting and the meeting was extensively reported in the *East Bay Labor Journal*, organ of the labor council.

The Communist Party's hollow demagoguery in recent weeks about breaking from the two party system is simply part of their reactionary role in trying to patch over the irreconcilable conflict between the labor movement and the Democratic Party.

The Workers League and Young Socialists are rallying a section of Berkeley trade unionists at the Berkeley labor conferences to fight for a full slate of labor candidates independent of the radicals and liberals as part of a national campaign to form a labor party.

### DEMAND

Trade unionists who live or work in Berkeley must demand that their locals send delegates to the conferences of the Labor Committee for Berkeley Politics to pass a resolution calling for a Congress of Labor to form a labor party and to send delegates from this conference to the February 18 emergency meeting of the Continuations Committee of the National Conference for a Labor Party Now.



Restaurant workers in Chinatown set up the first picket line in this area in response to the worst working conditions in San Francisco. Youth were paid \$1.25 to \$1.75 per hour.

## FBI Continues Bugging Of Ellsberg Witnesses

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—The government is pressing ahead with the Pentagon Papers trial as the bugging and open harassment of defendants Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo continues to this day.



Daniel Ellsberg

## Oakland Trial Reveals Hells Angels-Police Link

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

OAKLAND—The recent murder-arson trial in Oakland has revealed the closest links between the Hells Angels motorcycle gang and the Oakland police department.

Edward Hilliard, former intelligence officer for the department, testified that Hells Angels president Ralph (Sonny) Barger had worked for the last five years as a police agent.

Barger bought guns and munitions of all kinds that might otherwise have fallen into the hands of "subversives" and turned them over to the police in return for favors for arrested members of the gang.

On several occasions, Barger personally loaded machine guns and cases of dynamite into police cars.

Hilliard also stated that Barger approached him during a series of bombings in 1971 and offered to kill one member of the underground terrorist group Weatherman for each Hells Angel released from prison.

Weatherman was being blamed

for the bombings, but the Oakland police were unable to produce any evidence or make any arrests. Hilliard claims he refused the offer as "out of the question."

Barger and three other gang members were on trial for the murder of Servio Agiero, a Texas drug dealer, who had brought more than \$100,000 worth of cocaine into the Bay Area in a suitcase to be broken down and retailed.

The prosecution produced two main witnesses, Richard Ivaldi, a former cocaine addict who witnessed the murder, and a jailhouse trustee who ran messages back and forth between the defendants while they were awaiting trial, and made 62 pages of notes for the benefit of police.

Defense lawyer Leonard Boudin revealed that FBI agents have visited persons whom the defendants have phoned. The telephone toll records of the defendants were turned over to the FBI through a grand jury subpoena.

### HARASS

Contrary to normal court procedure, these records were never returned to the grand jury. Rather, they were used by the FBI to harass perspective defense witnesses. These actions violate the First Amendment and the right to an effective defense.

Although the government is seeking to intimidate Ellsberg and Russo, the defendants have reaffirmed their intention to center the trial on the Vietnam War and expose the complicity of both Republican and Democrat administrations.

At a press conference called during the saturation bombing of Vietnam, Ellsberg, referring to a recent article by I.F. Stone, a well-known radical journalist, stated to the *Bulletin*:

"I think that I.F. Stone's comment is looking more and more plausible; that the Chinese and the Russians bought wheat at the price of blood of Idochinese allies.

"I think that the article recently by Daniel Yenkelovich reveals that the American people were so relieved at the reception Nixon got in Russia after the mining of Haiphong that they came to believe his statements that he would find an end to the war.

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Hilliard also stated that Barger approached him during a series of bombings in 1971 and offered to kill one member of the underground terrorist group Weatherman for each Hells Angel released from prison.

Weatherman was being blamed

At a recent pre-trial hearing, it was revealed that the government is not complying with a court order to hand over all "overhears"—material obtained through police surveillance. These "overhears" have been obtained when any members of the defense team call another person whose phone is tapped. The refusal of the government to cease these indirect taps indicates that it is continuing to carry out direct taps.

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