

From  
zealot

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

HOOVER

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INSTITUTION

VOLUME NINE NUMBER SIXTEEN 291

APRIL 23, 1973



FIFTEEN CENTS

As Democrats Vote New Wage Controls

# AFL-CIO Must Call Congress Of Labor

BY THE EDITORS

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This vote exposes the utter bankruptcy of the AFL-CIO leadership and its paralysis in the face of the government's offensive against the working class.

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(Continued On Page 8)



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## Bombing Fails Against Offensive

BY DAVID NORTH

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Confronted with the impending collapse of the Lon Nol regime, the American imperialists have no intention of being bound to the treaties that were hailed by the

Stalinists in Moscow and Peking.

The bombing of Laos with B-52's and F-111's amount to an open threat by Nixon to begin another bloody chapter of air assaults over North

Vietnam.

All of Nixon's actions over the past week betray increasing desperation within Washington and Saigon over the powerful offensive being launched by the workers and peasants of Indochina.

In the face of savage B-52 bombings, the liberation forces of the Khmer Rouge have tightened their siege of the Cambodian capital city, Phnom Penh.

One official of the Lon Nol government admitted that "The Americans are throwing air support around like a mad woman. They don't know what effect it's having."

Bombing raids by the imperialists, which are taking a

heavy toll in civilian deaths, have increased the anger of the masses against the puppet regime. Even within the city, the Khmer Rouge enjoy overwhelming support. All reports have indicated that the Cambodian liberation army has been fighting without the assistance of regulars from North Vietnam.

### INVASION

It is clear that the Lon Nol regime cannot be maintained without direct intervention by troops from South Vietnam or Thailand. Reliable sources state that preparations for an invasion across the borders of South Vietnam were discussed by Nixon.

(Continued On Page 16)

## Bulletin Expansion Drive

We are happy to announce that as we reach the half way mark in our Spring \$50,000 Bulletin Expansion Drive we have gone over the half way in funds received with \$25,555.06.

Minneapolis has reached its half way point with \$509 sent in Brownsville raised \$230 last week while trade unionists at the New York TUALP meeting contributed \$241.45. All told \$2,851.60 came in.

Each branch must meet its fund drive obligation each week and have all special activities scheduled for now until June 1. We must now raise \$33,000 by May 1.

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A section of the audience at the British Young Socialists Blackpool conference.

## Arab Masses Demand War Against Zionist Killers

BY BRUCE MCKAY

Over 100,000 Arab workers and peasants—many of them armed—virtually took over Lebanon's capital city of Beirut Thursday as they marched through the streets in a funeral procession held for three Palestinian leaders murdered by CIA-backed Israeli commandos.

The marchers provided a dramatic display of the powerful movement developing among the Arab masses to fight the wave of terror unleashed against the Palestinian liberation forces by a desperate Zionist ruling class in preparation for a new imperialist war against the surrounding Arab countries.

The open provocations of the Israeli government have made it clear that there is no room for compromise in the Middle East. They reflect the profound crisis developing within Israeli capitalism itself which impels its Zionist rulers toward yet another expansionist war.

The funeral march in Beirut was not simply an anti-Zionist demonstration. It reflected in the sharpest manner the tremendous crisis which the bourgeois nationalist Arab regimes

now confront in the face of the Zionist provocations on the one hand and the growing movement of the working class and peasantry on the other.

Chanting slogans like "Full Freedom for the Revolution," the marchers expressed the hostility toward the reactionary governments which have refused even to defend the working class and peasantry against the vicious Israeli commando attacks.

### CRUSH

These regimes have at every point sought to compromise with US and Israeli imperialism, serving imperialist aims by holding back any real movement of the working masses and actually moving to crush the Palestinian guerrilla movement.

As the march so clearly demonstrated, the movement of the Arab masses against Zionist expansionism must increasingly

come into direct conflict with these reactionary national capitalist regimes.

Marchers were led by large contingents of liberation fighters armed to the teeth who exercised complete control over the city for the duration of the procession. The police and army were nowhere to be found. It was a rehearsal for revolution.

# Workers Tell Labourites To Fight Tories

BY DIANNE ISAACS

The political nature of the offensive of the British working class against the Tories found its first electoral expression in the council (regional) vote on Friday, April 13, where the Labour Party regained control of the greater London area and seven key industrial centers.

This means the question of workers' political power is squarely on the agenda as more than half of England will be under Labour Party control at a local level when the councils, reconstructed by new electoral procedure, begin work next year.

At the very point where Labour is in a position to win massive victories, there is a sharp turn to the right within the Labour Party. The position of the Labour Party against the Tory entry into the reactionary Common Market has started to break down, evidenced by increasing participation of the Labour Party in the Common Market's Council of Europe and the Western European Union. The sole purpose of these organizations is to incorporate European social democracy into the plans of the capitalists to further attack the working class.

That only 37 percent of the voters went to the polls is a sure sign that British workers are conscious of the traitors in the Labour Party and are looking for a new leadership.

The betrayals in the Labour Party are coupled with even crasser betrayals by the "lefts" in the trade union bureaucracy, most notably Hugh Scanlon of the Engineers' Union, who has assumed what the Tories term a more "realistic" attitude toward the Common Market, that is, he proposes that the trade union movement accept it.

### PEACE

He has moved over the past month to make his peace with the Tories on the domestic front also, advocating acceptance of the principles of the Industrial Relations Act and state control of wages. The engineers' policy making conference, concluded

(Continued On Page 16)

## Labor Frees Farinas

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DANBURY, Conn., April 16—Juan P. Farinas was released on parole from the Federal Penitentiary here today after serving half of a two year sentence for allegedly violating the Selective Service Act.

Juan was the victim of a government frame-up for his opposition to the Vietnam War as a war waged in the interests of the American ruling class against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. The incident used by the government as a pretext for his arrest occurred in 1968, when he was passing out leaflets at his induction center.

Juan told the *Bulletin* after his release: "The main reason why I was released was precisely the way we saw our case and conducted a defense based on the trade unions. Our defense was based on the perspective that it is only through the strength of the working class that someone like myself can be defended, and it is only through its own strength that the working class can defend itself against the attacks of the

government.

"It was the campaign we waged in the trade unions; it was the many men in the trade union movement and the many individual workers who expressed their support that really made the difference."

He said the importance of his case and the defense that was built by the Workers League and Juan Farinas Defense Committee lie in the seriousness of the international crisis and the sharpening of Nixon's attacks on the trade unions and every basic right they have won.

During his stay at Danbury, Juan said he received a very good education in how the American system of "justice" really operates.

"I had the opportunity—not a very pleasant one—to see Gordon Liddy (one of the convicted Watergate defendants). Even though he's gotten a very stiff

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**MAY DAY 73**

TRADE UNION ALLIANCE FOR A LABOR PARTY

WORKERS LEAGUE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

The May Day Rally will:

- Focus on the history of the American working class' bitter struggle to organize its unions at a time when Nixon's Phase Three denies the basic rights of unions to negotiate wages.
- Support the international struggle of all workers against Nixon's attempts to pit workers of nation or race against another.
- Carry forward Trotsky's struggle for Marxism against the betrayals of Stalinism and reestablish the real traditions of Union Square.
- Demand that the trade unions answer Nixon's attacks with a Congress of Labor which will call a general strike and launch a labor party pledged to socialist policies.

**RALLY**

**UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK**

**SAT. APRIL 28 NOON-3PM**



A section of the audience at the British Young Socialists Blackpool conference.

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Vinnie Woodford, candidate of the ILA Caucus of TUALP taking up the only campaign to oust the Scotto leadership.

# Japanese Hit By Trade War Crunch

BY BRUCE McKAY

The international monetary crisis and Nixon's trade war have already had major repercussions in Japan and Europe. The Japanese Finance Ministry, for example, revealed Monday that Japan suffered a \$1.1 billion deficit in its March balance of payments account.

Ministry officials said the sharp reversal of Japan's payments position was accompanied by a serious \$438 million plunge in its trade surplus over the month before. They attributed these developments to an unprecedented 64 percent increase in imports during March and a massive outflow of capital.

These are some of the direct effects of Nixon's devaluations of the dollar, the upward revaluations of the yen forced on the Japanese ruling class and Nixon's insistence that Japan open its markets to American exports, and they reflect the explosive crisis developing within capitalism's entire international financial system.

The Japanese balance of payments deficit demonstrates very clearly the real relationship of forces between Japan and Europe and the United States, and it exposes the real development of the monetary crisis, in which all paper currencies must now come under attack from gold as faith in the credit system evaporates.

BRANDT

At the very moment when Japanese capitalism is reeling under Nixon's trade war club, the German Social Democratic government of Willy Brandt is paralyzed in the face of an uncontrollable inflation as it desperately tries to stay within the eight nation European float against the dollar.

Brandt's policies came under sharp attack from five leading West German economic research institutes this week, reflecting a complete lack of any solution to the crisis in either government or academic circles.

The institutes' report called for replacing the "dirty" float with an "unadulterated" one in which the Bundesbank would no longer intervene to prevent the mark from floating too high against the dollar, further reducing German export potential. At the same time, it called for a sharp reduction of Common Market tariffs and stiff controls to curtail the rapid expansion of credit—even while interest rates in West Germany have risen as high as 20 percent.

COMMON MARKET

Supporting the government's policies, the German Institute for Economic Research in a dis-

senting report said absolutely nothing could be done to halt the inflation and that any attempt to do so would lead to the disintegration of any semblance of economic stability within the framework of the Common Market.

"The resulting repercussions in foreign and social policy spheres would be grave enough to more than offset the benefits of any successful economic stabilization effort," it said.

Both reports reveal the panic which is gripping the capitalist world in the face of the depth and contradictory nature of the crisis, which in Europe is making the continued existence of the Common Market more and more impossible.

CAPITULATION

While one report called for capitulation to Nixon's trade war and the implementation of credit policies which, while they would burst the inflationary bubble, would precipitate a severe liquidity crisis and a violent collapse of the shaky European currency market and the credit system as a whole, the other report simply echoes the paralysis of the Brandt government.

The worst is yet to come for Japanese and European capitalists. Nixon has called for Bonapartist legislation which would give him almost unlimited authority to wage trade war against his imperialist rivals and will ruthlessly pursue their destruction with the deepening of the economic crisis.

But American capital cannot escape the same fate. Both the post war boom in this country and the economic "miracles" in West Germany and Japan were constructed on the hundreds of billions of dollars of paper and credit which now have no ties to value whatsoever. With the collapse of this fraudulent base of credit, the productive system in every capitalist country must break down.

## ILA Caucus Battles Scotto In Local 1814 Election

BY DAVID NORTH

NEW YORK—Calling for an end to the "flexible" contract, the defense of the Guaranteed Annual Income, a 20 percent wage increase, and a political fight against Nixon through the building of a labor party, the ILA Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party has opened its campaign to defeat the Scotto leadership of Local 1814 in the May 16 election.

Two longshoremen, William "Vinnie" Woodford and Chatman Smith have challenged positions on the Executive Board and District Council to defend the jobs and living conditions of the membership against the betrayals of Scotto.

Frightened by the growing support for the ILA Caucus, the Scotto bureaucracy is seeking to disqualify Woodford on technicalities in the election procedure by-laws. But Woodford has appealed the disqualification ruling, protesting Scotto's attempt to "prevent the raising of opposition views in the union."

The election is being held at a time when the ILA ranks are in a position to smash the "flexible" contract. With the West Coast longshoremen's contract expiring on July 1, the ILA Caucus is demanding that the East Coast leadership prepare for strike action on the same date.

During the past weeks, the ILA Caucus has emerged as the only opposition within the union.

Many longshoremen are beginning to understand the reactionary role in the ILA played by a small circle of so-called militants led by Pete Bell, a supporter of the Communist Party.

At a meeting called by the ILA Caucus last month to form an opposition slate on the basis of a political program to fight for the reopening of the contract and the call for a labor party, a spokesman of the Bell group—Tom Webb—argued that political issues should not be raised in the ILA.

STALINISTS

Having absolutely no program for the ranks, Webb maintained that the central problem was not the contract but rather its implementation. In other words, the Bell group—following the policy of the Stalinists—support the very contract that is responsible for all the attacks on the GAI: the use of Prior Day Ordering, debiting and dismissals.

During the discussions held by the ILA Caucus with the Bell group, it became clear that

neither Bell nor Webb wanted to challenge Scotto in the election. At every point, Bell insisted that he was opposed to the question of the labor party. He covered his refusal to fight Nixon—who is spearheading the attacks on the ILA—with the claim that political issues have nothing to do with union struggles.

Webb maintained that the question of a program was not all that important. He maintained that longshoremen should simply run on the basis of their reputation.

"We told him that 'reputation' didn't commit him to anything," said Woodford. "Without being pledged to a real program that raised the main issue of the fight against Nixon, Scotto and the shippers, a candidate would simply carry out Scotto's policy after getting elected."

EXPOSED

The fact that Bell and the Communist Party have no intention of fighting Scotto was exposed when Tom Webb, who had been

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

### 20 Years Of The International Committee

- April 22: Vietnam: The SWP's Decade of Betrayal.
- April 29: Spartacist: Radicalism vs. International Marxism.
- May 6: The Defense of Dialectics: The Split with the OCI.
- May 13: The International Committee Today.

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135 West 14 St. 7th Floor  
call 924-0852 for info.

Lecturer: Tim Wohlforth



## El Diario Printers Stop Open Shop Move

BY A REPORTER

NEW YORK, April 13—Workers at El Diario-La Prensa won an important victory for the printing craft unions this week by smashing owner O. Roy Chalk's plans to move the paper's printing operation to a non-union shop outside the city.

After a one-week strike which effectively shut down the paper, Chalk was forced to grant the pressmen, stereotypers, mailers and paper handler a new two year contract which guarantees the printing plant will not be moved.

During the strike, Chalk tried to print the paper at non-union

plants in Brooklyn and Wayne, New Jersey, but drivers refused to deliver it.

In the new contract, Chalk was also forced to agree to pay workers whatever wage increases are negotiated between the four unions and the city's three major dailies.

Workers at the Times, the Daily News and the Post must now carry forward the fight to defend their jobs and win a wage increase which can defend their standard of living against Nixon's inflation. This requires a fight against the government in the struggle to convene a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party and prepare strike action against Phase Three.



Member of the Mechanics and Drivers for a Decent Contract, Local 3036 in taxi, speaking at the TUALP meeting held in New York last Friday.

## Reckoning Nears On 1199 Pay Increase

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The day of reckoning for New York hospital workers is not far off, in spite of all the attempts of Local 1199 President Leon Davis to avoid the fight against the Nixon government.

At the union delegates' meeting on April 12, Davis announced that the Cost of Living Council had finally seen fit to acknowledge the union's notice of appeal of the decision of last January to cut the 1199 increase back from 7.5 percent to 5.5 percent.

The appeal is expected to be decided in the next few weeks by the tripartite panel set up under Nixon's Phase Three, including

four union, four business and four so-called public members.

The stage is set for a fight by 50,000 hospital workers in New York against the vicious wage controls. The ranks of 1199 can give a lead to the whole labor movement in this situation.

Davis announced that the 1199 Executive Council is finally going to submit a motion on policy to the union delegate meetings scheduled for May 2 and 3. An

(Continued On Page 16)

## Condemn NCLC Attack

STATEMENT BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

The Workers League calls upon all working class organizations to condemn the recent physical attacks made by the National Caucus of Labor Committees against members of the Communist Party Young Workers Liberation League.

Continuing its policies of disruption within the workers movement, which were begun last spring when it set up a picket line outside the meeting of the Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy in Chicago, the Labor Committee has resorted to violence against members of the CP and YWLL in New York and Philadelphia after having been excluded from their meetings.

A spokesman of the NCLC told the Bulletin that it will continue its disruptive actions in order to force the Communist Party to call the police. This strategy, claims the NCLC, will expose the CP.

The activities of the NCLC are not merely gross violations of democratic procedures. They are anti-communist provocations by hysterical middle class elements hostile to the working class.

These provocations are doubly despicable because the Labor Committee parades as a "Trotskyist" tendency. It is no such thing. The leadership of the Labor Committee is composed of renegades from the Fourth International who long ago rejected Bolshevism and turned against the working class.

It should be emphasized that the NCLC has engaged frequently in the past in political collaboration with the Stalinists through fraudulent "labor support" committees and has consistently covered for the betrayals of the CP in the trade unions. Now, as all middle class radicals are thrown into a frenzy by the deepening economic and political crisis, the NCLC becomes the agent of anti-communist police elements and provocateurs.

The decision of the Communist Party to call on the police against the NCLC can only encourage these disruptive elements and do harm to all working class organizations.

Though the Workers League has been the victim of Stalinist hooliganism such as the attack on three comrades in 1971 by MPI members armed with knives and lead pipes—not to mention the historic crimes against the Fourth International including the murder of Leon Trotsky—we utterly repudiate the emulation of these tactics by the Labor Committee.

As Labor Committee has made clear that it intends to continue its physical attacks on members of the CP and YWLL, the Workers League has informed the Communist Party that we are prepared to organize joint defense of all working class meetings against such anti-communist disruptions.

## Job, Pay Cuts Hit Brooklyn Steel Plant

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BROOKLYN, April 16—The deadline for negotiating a new contract at the Williamsburg Steel Company is only a few months away. The company has been preparing with layoffs and pay cuts such as those that took place earlier in the year.

The latest economy move of the company has been the discharge of the full time nurse. Previously, when workers complained of not feeling well or had an accident on the job, they were sent to the nurse, who often sent them home to see a doctor. Now the workers must go to the stock room for minimum first aid treatment for cuts or burns, and they get no professional medical attention.

Most workers think this move is an attempt to cut down on absenteeism by making it more difficult for those who become ill at work to leave. Employees have only three sick days per year.

This summer the workers at Williamsburg will come up against the vicious controls of the Nixon government and the so-called flexible 5.5 percent wage limit.

### DEMANDS

A caucus is being formed at Williamsburg around the following demands:

- \$1.00 an hour increase in each year of a two year contract. Previous contracts have lasted three years.

- Full cost of living protection in the contract, to allow for automatic increases in wages when prices rise.

- A guarantee of no layoffs, cut-backs or pay cuts. No speedup.

- Ten sick days per year. Three weeks vacation after three years, four weeks after six years. Big

# Taxi Ranks Gagged By 'Coalition'

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Over 1500 New York City Taxi Drivers poured into Manhattan Center last Wednesday and heard the Harry Van Arsdale leadership arrogantly proclaim the contract "one of the best contracts we have ever had."

This contract was settled in binding arbitration after a two year struggle on the part of cab drivers to get increases in wages and pensions. Under the guiding hand of the state mediator, none of the demands were met.

The Van Arsdale leadership sent the contract into binding arbitration in between general membership meetings which are held every six months. The bureaucracy was able to hand the ranks this deal at the general membership meeting primarily because of the role of the Rank and File Coalition played at the meeting.

The Rank and File Coalition, which is made of some trade union militants along with the Stalinist Communist Party and other groups like the International Socialists, Spartacist,

and Labor Committee, brought court observers to the meeting to "defend" their right to speak.

### DENOUNCED

Van Arsdale, before eagerly turning the floor over to the Rank and File Coalition, correctly denounced them for anti-unionism and called for solidarity of the ranks against this action. He then allowed the Rank and File Coalition to speak for 20 minutes about the need for democracy in the union and would not allow the real opposition tendency—Mechanics and Drivers for a Decent Contract—to address the meeting until much later.

Van Arsdale was able to divert the anger of the ranks from the rotten contract, and he played upon the drivers' feelings to defend the union against the garage owners who are in an all-out war to destroy the union.

### ANTI-UNIONISM

The complete anti-unionism of the Rank and File Coalition could be seen when they opposed the Van Arsdale motion that the union do the hiring of all new drivers instead of the bosses.

In the face of opposition from Van Arsdale and the Rank and File Coalition, Mechanics and Drivers for a Decent Contract put forward a motion that Van Arsdale take up a fight for 60 percent of the meter and \$150 per week for inside men.

"The cost of living in this city and throughout the country has risen tremendously. Food, housing, clothing have all gone up in the past four years yet during those years cab drivers in this city have not received one increase in wages," said the only speaker allowed to speak from the MDDC.

The MDDC handed out a motion to the ranks before and after the meetings calling for garage meetings to take the fight forward for 60 percent through the call for a Congress of Labor to beat back Nixon's attacks upon the drivers' standard of living and to launch a labor party. Many of the drivers freely discussed the garage meetings and some garage chairmen wanted MDDC at their garages.



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BY NANCY FIELDS

The Union Square April 28 May Day Rally, called by the Workers League, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party and the Young Socialists, will emphasize the internationalist traditions of the working class, the international character of capitalism and the need for an international strategy for the working class of all countries in the fight against their own governments.

The major theme of this section of the rally will center on the international character of May Day and the international strategy of the communist movement: a strategy which has been fought for since 1848. This understanding of the united interests of workers in all countries will be brought forward against all those, from the labor bureaucracy to the Stalinist Communist Parties who, in times of crises, have turned their backs on the international working class and fought to line up workers behind their own ruling classes to preserve the interests of capitalism.

The rally will return to the lessons first

May Day began in 1886 because of the response of workers all over the world to the frame-up of working class leaders of the eight hour day movement in the US. On the day these leaders were hung, millions of workers went out on strike in 26 countries to demonstrate their solidarity with the fight of the men of Haymarket. From its inception until the 1930s, it was never celebrated as a purely national holiday but rather it always marked the one day when the international working class rallied together in the fight against capitalism.

In fact, the very fight that led to the frame-up of the eight hour leaders was never a national movement but an international movement which was first led by socialists in each country who were

mediate cry for the eight hour day. These centered on the battles of workers in other countries: battles which, in essence, were political. One major theme, which was to be evoked in all subsequent May Day demonstrations, depicted the heroic struggle of the French workers in 1871 when they established the Paris Commune and, if only briefly, power passed into the hands of the working class. In fact, all the early May Day parades were led by bands playing the Marseillaise, which had been the battle song of the Communards.

In each country, May Day demonstrations were seen not simply as propaganda exercises to demonstrate working class solidarity, but as rallying points for the "irrepressible struggle for the political liberation of the working class and its open struggle for socialism." It was in Russia that these demonstrations were developed to their highest point to actually bring the working class forward politically on the road to revolution. Thus, the May 1, 1917 demonstration, held while World War One still raged, served as a dress rehearsal for the October Revolution. Trotsky, in the *History of the Russian*

world—needed to halt the developing revolutionary movement of the American working class. Above all, it feared the militant May Day demonstrations and set out to destroy them. Thus, between 1919 and 1927, May Day rallies were turned into pitched battles between the working class and the armed agents of the capitalist state.

In 1928, the capitalists, having failed to crush the revolutionary fervor of the May Day demonstrations through violence, decided to alter their tactics. They sought to strip May 1 of its revolutionary meaning. Herbert Hoover, with the support of the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy, rushed a resolution through Congress in April which declared that:

"Hereafter May 1 will be known as Child Health Day. The object is to create sentiment for year-round protection of the health of children. It is a most worthy purpose. At the same time, May 1 will no longer be known as either strike day or Communist Labor Day."

However, in spite of these efforts by the government, millions of workers continued to hold militant strikes and rally

MAY DAY '73

# Internationalism The Only Road



Lenin addressing working class in Red Square on May Day on international tasks of communist movement.

stressed by Marx and Engels in 1848 in the *Communist Manifesto* that "the working men have no country" and that "the united action of the working class, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat." The development of this understanding is urgent today as Nixon, with the aid of the labor bureaucracy, tries to line up the American workers against their class brothers in order to carry out a vicious trade war against Europe and Japan while at the same time, preparing for an all-out assault on the American labor movement.

As the American government now goes back to the reactionary concepts of the nation-state, with its vicious, protectionist tariff measures, to try to save their own profit system, it is critical for the survival of workers both here and in all countries to return to international unity which was brought forward in all the early May Day demonstrations.

Above all, the May Day 1973 Rally will emphasize that the defense of the international working class against the attacks of Nixon requires that the American working class break decisively with the parties of capitalism and construct a labor party pledged to socialist policies. At the same time, the rally will stress that the fight for a labor party can only be taken forward on the basis of an international perspective and an international strategy for the world working class. It will reassert Trotsky's understanding of the international character of capitalism and therefore, that socialism could only be victorious through the development of an international movement which would fight to bring the working class to power in all the advanced capitalist countries.

members of the First International. The eight hour movement began simultaneously in the US and internationally with resolutions passed both in Baltimore, at the General Congress of Labor, and in Geneva, at the First Congress of the First International. These resolutions held that "the legal limitation of the working day is a preliminary condition without which all further attempts at improvements and emancipation of the working class must prove abortive."

Marx noted, in *Capital*, that these resolutions, passed concurrently on two continents, indicated "the growing solidarity of workers internationally": a solidarity and unity of purpose which flowed from the objective development of capitalism itself.

The May Day strikes were organized in all countries by parties of the Second International between 1890 and 1914. The 1890 demonstration marked a decisive point in the development of the international unity of the working class in its fight for its common interests. Engels, who was writing the German Preface to the *Communist Manifesto* on May 1, 1890, noted that the:

"European and American proletariat is reviewing its fighting forces, mobilized for the first time, as one army, for one immediate aim: the standard eight hour working day, to be established by legal enactment, as proclaimed by the Geneva Congress of the International in 1866, and again by the Paris Workers' Congress in 1889. And today's spectacle will open the eyes of capitalists and landlords of all countries to the fact that today the workmen of all countries are united indeed."

The Union Square rally of 1890 focused on themes that went far beyond the im-

Revolution, vividly described the revolutionary fervor of the demonstration and its international character:

"All the cities of Russia were drowned in meetings and demonstrations. Not only the industrial enterprises, but the state, city and rural public institutions were closed. In both capitals and in the industrial centers, the workers dominated the celebration, and amid them the strong nuclei of Bolshevism stood out distinctly with banners, placards, speeches and shouts. Across the immense facade of the Mariinsky Palace, refuge of the Provisional Government, was stretched a bold red streamer with the words: 'Long live the Third International!'"

"So far as it could, the army at the front celebrated. News came of meetings, speeches, banners, and revolutionary songs in the trenches, and there were responses from the German side.

"The war had not yet come to an end. Yet meanwhile throughout Russia, side by side with soldiers, war-prisoners were taking part in the processions under the same banners, sometimes singing the same song in different languages."

Following the victory of the Russian Revolution, the leaders of the May Day demonstrations internationally centered on the lessons of the victorious Russian working class and fought to bring those lessons to life in their own countries. In the US, the 1919 demonstrations were held as celebrations of the October Revolution. Speeches of Lenin's were read at all the rallies and a sea of red flags dominated at each gathering point throughout the country.

During this period, the American capitalist class—bent on consolidating its imperialist domination over the entire

around the revolutionary slogans which had become the tradition of May Day until 1930. Then, faced with the depression, the capitalists turned to its agents within the working class movement to accomplish the task it had been unable to carry out: to stop the working class from moving to revolutionary policies. The Stalinist American Communist Party became the willing ally of Roosevelt and the labor leaders in this task and by 1933, workers on May Day were exhorted by middle class liberals to pressure the government for token reforms.

At the same time, the policies of Stalinism internationally led to the devastating defeat of the working class throughout Europe in the 1930s. Thus, the May Day rallies there were turned into forced marches in support of the national governments. In Germany, from 1933 onwards, workers were forced to demonstrate at gunpoint in support of the "national socialism" of Hitler. Thus, the international, revolutionary movement of the working class was crushed under the grip of fascism until the end of World War Two.

The early international traditions of May Day were never revived on a mass scale following the war. However, the Workers League May Day Rally will re-establish those traditions at a time of the most acute crisis of capitalism internationally. The rally will return to the understanding of capitalism developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky in order to pose concretely the need for the international unity of all workers against a capitalist class now absolutely desperate to preserve its profit system.

TO BE CONTINUED

# Builders' Speedup Causes 5 Deaths

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO—While the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee seeks to destroy the powerful construction unions and drive down wages, ruthless speedup on building sites threatens the very lives of every construction worker.

In the last week five men died here at the Sears Tower, tallest building in the world.

On Wednesday, April 11, four men were burnt to death in the worst single construction accident in recent Chicago history. The men, members of the International Union of Elevator Constructors, were trapped by a flash fire as they cleaned the rails of an express elevator shaft.

When fellow workers heard screams from inside the blind shaft, they broke through the brick walls with sledge hammers. Three bodies were found where the men had jumped to the bottom of the shaft from the 33 floor level. The other worker died at the point of the fire, on the 42 floor.

### OFFICIALS

On Friday night, an ironworker fell from near the top of the tower, now 106 stories high. While officials blamed the "unpredictable updrafts" around the structure, his fellow workers quickly pointed out that they were being asked to work long hours of overtime at a height never before worked.

The early iron framing of Sears Tower was halted by the months long strike of Wisconsin steel workers at the Ryerson steel plant. Late last summer, all activity was halted by the joint picket line of the Chicago Building Trades Council. Throughout the fall months, striking elevator workers closed the site.

With the warmer weather, construction lights burn long into the night as workers are being pushed to finish the structure by the original date of October 1, 1973.

# Midwest News



IAM out over wages, speedup, working conditions.

# Stenvig Supports Job Cuts

BY

A BULLETIN REPORTER  
MINNEAPOLIS—By July 1974, the axe of the federal government will have fallen on some 200,000 city employees as the Emergency Employment Act expires. This will affect 160 workers in Minneapolis.

An appropriation necessary to keep EEA going passed Congress last year but was vetoed by President Nixon. "It's too bad it's going down the drain," was the best defense those employed under EEA could get from Minnesota director Frank Adams.

City officials here continue to hold out the false hope that at least half of the job cuts here will be cushioned by absorption into the regular city payroll. And this is almost a year after Mayor Charles Stenvig announced his intention to remove 150 from the regular civil service rolls.

By their continued support for Stenvig, the labor bureaucrats leading the city employees in the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and craftsmen (building trades) have left the EEA workers as well as their own members open for these attacks.

# National Vending: 5.5% Is Too Much

BY JOHN DUNN

ST. LOUIS, April 15—Six hundred workers, members of the International Association of Machinists District 9 are on strike for a new three year contract against the National Vending Company.

The company refuses to talk with the union which is asking for raises of 22 cents the first year, and 21 cents for each of the next two years. The union is also asking for five days sick leave, one floating holiday and more money on their pensions.

### LAI D OFF

The machinists are striking at the plants in St. Louis and Barnhardt, Missouri. It was reported that at the company's third plant in St. Louis all but about 15 workers have been laid off. One striker said that he expected the strike to last "at least three weeks."

Another worker told the Bulletin: "We're fighting over working conditions as well. The line speed was raised 13 seconds on the minute. It used to go 8 feet

in one minute, now it goes 8 feet in 47 seconds."

The proposed contract ties the workers to Nixon's five percent guidelines. The workers last week at Wagner Electric Company (Wagner-Lockheed), members of Local 1109 of the International Union of Electrical Workers, ratified a three year contract under which they will receive raises of 15 cents the first year, 15 cents the second and 20 cents the third year.

They also won a cost of living escalator which gives them a penny more an hour every time the cost of living indicator goes up .04 of 1 percent. Pensions were also increased from five dollars a month for every year worked to seven dollars which the company claims will cost them two million dollars a year extra.

# MEETINGS TO CELEBRATE MAY DAY '73

**St. Louis** APRIL 27 7:30 PM  
SSEU Hall 760 Chestnut

\$1.50 contribution,  
75¢ HS Students & unemployed  
Speaker: David North, Labor Editor of the Bulletin  
Film: "3 Years of Workers Press"

## Dayton

**SATURDAY APRIL 28 7:30PM**  
Downtown YMCA 117 W. Monument  
Triangle Room

Speaker: David North, Labor Editor of the Bulletin  
Film: "3 Years of Workers Press"

## Detroit

**APRIL 29**  
Wayne State University  
University Center Building Room 261  
Speaker: David North, Labor Editor of the Bulletin  
Film: "3 Years of Workers Press"  
\$1 contribution 50¢ HS students & unemployed

## Minneapolis

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

**Chicago** Sun. May 6 4pm  
Labor Center 1325 So. Wabash, 3rd Fl.  
Speaker: Jean Brust \$2 contribution  
\$1 for students & unemployed (Includes supper)

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# Dayton Auto Caucus Shakes Bureaucrats

BY A LOCAL 696 MEMBER

DAYTON, Ohio—At a special meeting called to nominate members of the executive board of Local 696 United Auto Workers, President Elmo Parrish attacked and threatened representatives of the National Auto Caucus of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

"We know who you are and will be watching every move you make," he said. This came after a 10 minute lecture on the evils of socialism and communism during which the following comments were made.

"There is a new element spreading throughout our local and the issue facing us is not Black or white: it's Red."

Could it be that Parrish is upset the issue is not Black against white?

"Their purpose is to bring outside influences into the union," he said. "They are trying to take over by saying we don't fight for our members. As Walter Reuther drove the Communists out of the union years ago, I'm sure 99 percent of you (that is, the bureaucrats) will not let them infiltrate again."

## PARRISH

Parrish went on to tell how he saw a member of Local 696 at the special bargaining convention in Detroit wearing a press pass representing the Bulletin, and that this member was going to speak at a meeting of delegates denouncing the whole convention.

"The member I saw has been nominated as an officer in this local (Jim Lawrence, for the position of first vice president)," said Parrish. "There is a newspaper called the Bulletin being sold outside the plant. Well, I had the UAW research department look into it and they reported this Bulletin is put out by the Workers League, a Trotskyist organization. Do you know who Trotsky was? He was one of the leaders of the Russian Revolution and the Workers League is part of an international socialist movement."

## GM Axes 1700 Quebec Jobs

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

One thousand seven hundred GM workers at the St. Therese, Quebec plant, laid off temporarily several months ago, have been informed by the company that their jobs are gone permanently.

The St. Therese plant produces two compact models, the Vega and the Astre. At this point, 1100 men work at the plant and only one shift is operating. The company says it has no plans at the moment to expand to two shifts.

St. Therese workers have been kept in the dark for two years as to the fate of their jobs. Now they know. The local union leadership has simply expressed surprise and disappointment. They have no plans for action against the attacks.

These attacks are part of the international strategy of GM aimed at auto workers, aimed at separating Quebec and Ontario workers, aimed at dividing American and Canadian workers. The international leadership has served these intentions. Dennis McDermott, Canadian chief of the United Auto Workers, has proposed no alternative to Woodcock's betrayals at the recent UAW special bargaining convention. Nixon's wage freeze will



John Austin, UAW Local 696

It became clear to the caucus members that Parrish meant to adjourn the meeting when his lecture was over so Jim Lawrence took up the defense of the Bulletin. Members of the National Auto Caucus of the TUALP made it clear to the local bureaucracy that it would not tolerate attacks on Bulletin salesmen.

The following exchange took place:

Lawrence: The Bulletin at all times defends the rights of the working class.

Parrish: Tell me my report isn't true.

Lawrence: It is full of half truths, lies and distortions.

Parrish: What do you mean?

Lawrence: You are red-baiting to cover up for the fact that this year's contract is not worth a damn and you bureaucrats have sold the ranks out.

Parrish: This man has only been to a few meetings and he thinks he knows more than we do.

Lawrence: You talked about retired workers today, but you know damn well \$650 per month

the way prices are rising will not protect them. There must be a full cost of living escalator for retirees.

Parrish: Keep your opinions to yourself.

Lawrence: You want to deny us our democratic rights to speak in opposition.

Parrish: Who are you people to go around informing members?

Lawrence: Someone must. You don't.

Parrish: You come here and sit in "our" meetings and disrupt things; you should be barred.

Lawrence: It is because you can't provide leadership that we will.

Parrish: Meeting adjourned.

## ATTACK

The attack on the Local 696 section of the National Auto Caucus of the TUALP began to increase after the historic betrayal in Detroit by Woodcock. Union officials gave the general foreman a copy of the interview with Jim Lawrence and John Austin which was written by a Bulletin reporter. This happened one day after Parrish bought a copy and said to the Bulletin supporter:

"I'll use this."

There have been reports of a letter from Woodcock to Parrish plus a visit to the local by him where he raved like a madman about the caucus.

The Caucus nominees are:

John Austin: President  
 Jim Lawrence: First Vice President  
 William Pollard: Chairman Shop Committee  
 Jesse Moore: Trustee  
 Morton Hunt: Trustee  
 Mike Schmitt: Trustee  
 Wilbert Wright: Sergeant at Arms  
 William Brock: Second Vice President

## Midwest News



A fund raising fair for the Bulletin in Minnesota.

## UAW Local 25 On Mini-Strike

BY HOWARD WEST

ST. LOUIS—United Auto Workers Local 25 will strike the GM plant for two days in the near future in a continuation of the mini-strike strategy. This was the tactic proposed by the local leadership and passed by the ranks to combat the massive attacks on jobs and working conditions facing auto workers here.

The work force has been reduced from 9200 to a present figure of 7100 workers. Well over 5000 grievances, mostly concerning job overloading, have accumulated.

Now management is talking about reducing the workforce by laying off all workers hired since 1964, that is, those with nine years seniority. This will mean cutting production of passenger cars to 38 per hour. At present, production is nowhere near this figure as workers are still facing nine to ten hour work weeks.

The mini-strike is just a protest to GM over these attacks. The union leadership claimed a success for the last series of mini-strikes because 11,000 grievances were settled. But this

is obviously a fraud because the same situation has developed now.

All management did with the grievances was to shuffle them around and reintroduce the same conditions a week later, often on the same worker who originally filed the grievance.

Today the mini-strike will again have no effect on GM production but is being used by the local bureaucracy to appease and divert the militancy of the ranks. Only a national strike against GM can fight back against these attacks.

The St. Louis ranks must fight for a total strike demanding that the International call out all other GM workers until all workers are rehired and speedups are rolled back.

## NOW OPEN! LABOR BOOK STORES

NEW YORK (note new hours)  
 135 W. 14 St. 7th Floor  
 Mon.-Fri.: 5:30 pm-8 pm  
 Sat.: 11 am-5 pm

CHICAGO  
 1325 So. Wabash, Room 305  
 Mon., Wed., Fri.: 6-9 pm  
 Sat.: 10 am-6 pm

MINNEAPOLIS (note new address)  
 Labor Book Center  
 924 So. 2nd Ave.  
 Weekdays: 6:30 pm-10 pm  
 Tues. and Sat.: 10:30 am-5:30 pm

BALTIMORE  
 2202 Maryland Ave.  
 Wed.-Fri.: 4 pm-9 pm  
 Sat.: 10 am-8 pm  
 (301) 338-0777

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## AFL-CIO Must Call Congress Of Labor

(Continued From Page 1)

working class against the government. Even after the vote was announced, the AFL-CIO released a statement which leaves no doubt that it accepts the continuation of Phase Three.

"The great majority in America will have to pay the price," declared the AFL-CIO, in reference to the Congressional vote, "and it is certain to be high."

An AFL-CIO spokesman told the Bulletin that no further action was planned, and that if any union plans to challenge the Phase Three guidelines, "It will have to fight on its own, because the AFL-CIO cannot involve itself in the affairs of individual unions."

Never before was it so clear that Nixon is able to carry out his attacks on the working class only because the trade union bureaucracy refuses to put forward a fighting policy.

The Nixon government is now at its weakest as it confronts a powerful working class in the midst of a deepening political and economic crisis.

Because of Nixon's weakness, which represents the weakness of the ruling class, the Congress of big business has given him the power to control wages.

Within a few weeks, this Congress of big business will give Nixon the power to control trade tariffs so that he will be able to launch the most brutal attacks on workers in every part of the world.

As big business demands that its Congress support every measure Nixon takes against the working class, the trade union movement must prepare its own Congress of Labor to carry out policies to defeat the Nixon government.

When the AFL-CIO Executive Council meets on May 8 in Washington, the first item on its agenda must be the calling of such a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party that will spearhead the fight of the working class against Phase Three.

Created out of and based upon the strength of the working class, the Congress must put forward the independent solution of the working class to the present crisis, adopting a program that calls for an end to wage controls, layoffs, speedups, anti-union laws and the nationalization of industry under workers control.

It is to build the leadership within the working class to fight for the Congress of Labor that the Workers League, Young Socialists, and Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is preparing for the historic May Day rally in New York's Union Square on April 28, and May Day meetings in the Midwest and West Coast.

### Trailblazers Doing Well

With four teams trailblazing in four corners of America, the Bulletin achieved its largest press run in history with the last issue—25,000! Trailblazing teams are now simultaneously gathering subs in New England, Ohio, the Pacific Northwest and the South. These teams accounted for 547 subs pushing this week's total to 926, the highest in the drive.

We now have a grand total of 6,178, over half way to our goal of 12,000. However, the branch totals fell this week to 379. This is partially because of members going on trailblazing teams. However, with the better weather and the sharp turn in the political situation this can and must be reversed by next week.

Next week we must have the trailblazing teams going full blast along with a real turn in the work of each branch. The trailblazers have shown that a team of six or seven people can get as many as 80 subs in a single day and sell 150 papers as well.

Beginning next week we will be running feature reports on the four trailblazing teams, the political situation in the areas they have been working in, and the response to the Bulletin.



YOU'RE RIGHT JOE! A GREAT BIG NEW MOVEMENT!!

## What we think SWP's Road To Liberalism

The Socialist Workers Party has gone all-out for the meat boycott. The April 20 Militant hails the "Consumers Congress" and announces the support of Linda Jenness, the SMC and NPAC for its proposed May 5 protests. This so-called "Consumers Congress" was actually a meeting of 200 people in a hearing room of the House of Representatives hosted by Democratic Representative Rosenthal and chaired by Betty Furness of Westinghouse and Mayor Lindsay fame.

The meat boycott is, as we have assessed in past issues, a complete fraud. It even received the support of Mrs. Virginia Knauer, Nixon's consumer affairs adviser who said it had "an illuminating effect." It is a diversion from a wage fight which confronts the Nixon freeze with the general strike action of the labor movement and which lays the basis for constructing a labor party. Only when labor has its own political party can it pose any alternative to high prices and other attacks on the working class.

There is, however, more involved in this action of the SWP. It is one more step into the camp of the capitalist class. Once again the SWP finds itself involved in common committees and common action with a leading section of the capitalist class and its political representatives. This time the action even has the blessing of Nixon. This is the SWP's road into the camp of the opponent class right at the moment when that class, headed by Nixon, plans brutal repression of the working class at home and abroad.

This action has been prepared. It is the result of a 15 year evolution away from Marxism and into the camp of the middle class liberals. It all began when the SWP in 1953, after breaking with the Pabloite revisionists, refused to take up a fight for Marxism and leadership of the Fourth International.

Between 1957 and 1959 the Socialist Workers Party turned its face towards the middle class "progressive" circles formerly around the Communist Party. These circles were shattered by the movement of the working class in Hungary against Stalinism. But, instead of turning toward the working class by embracing Trotskyism, they were seeking a road into the camp of the liberal bourgeoisie. This culminated in the SWP's creation of the Independent Socialist Party which ran millionaire Stalinist Corliss Lamont for Governor of New York State in 1958. Lamont ran on a liberal program of support to the United Nations.

In this same period, confronted with the first movement of the American working class in the form of the massive school integration battles that swept the South, the SWP reacted in a liberal way. It urged that federal troops be sent to the South to enforce integration, the very same troops which carried on a murderous

war in Vietnam and slaughtered Black militants in the great ghetto uprisings of the next period.

The Cuban Revolution became the next vehicle for the SWP's adaptation to the radical and liberal sections of the American middle class. The SWP became the greatest and most uncritical advocates of the Cuban leadership. It dominated the Fair Play for Cuba Committees here. It supported guerrilla warfare as the new road to socialism which did not require constructing Marxist working class parties. But the SWP did not itself form guerrilla bands in the Rockies. It used Cuba to develop a working relationship with middle class elements here. Revolution was something that happened elsewhere. Here "fair play" was sufficient.

In 1963, when President Kennedy was assassinated, the man who had launched the Bay of Pigs imperialist adventure against Cuba and who escalated the Vietnam War, Farrell Dobbs of the SWP sent Mrs. Kennedy, the present wife of millionaire Greek junta supporter Onassis, his and his party's condolences. It also welcomed Earl Warren as a "voice of sanity." This expressed the real relationship which had developed between the SWP and the American ruling class.

The Vietnam War was to play a role for the SWP similar to Cuba. Never did the SWP begin with the defense of the Vietnam Revolution. Never did it advocate and fight for victory to the NLF. Instead, Vietnam became a vehicle for moving closer to the liberal and radical sections of the American middle class. Now, for the first time, the SWP shared common committees and platforms with representatives of the capitalist parties like Hartke of the Democrats and McClosky of the Republicans.

During the same period, the SWP developed a position in support of Black nationalism and became an advocate of community control and Black political parties. This was the SWP's reaction to the next great movement forward of American workers which took the form of a movement among the Black masses of the North in Watts, Detroit, Newark, etc. Black nationalism was a convenient cover for open support to capitalist agents among the Blacks who sought to hold back the movement of the Black workers, to turn it against white workers, and to personally profit off of it. So the SWP could work closely with "community" politicians and labor haters like Fuentes and hold back from even openly fighting men who joined the Democratic Party like Leroy Jones.

By the time the women's liberation movement came along, the SWP moved naturally into it, insisting upon common organizations with women of the ruling class and the ruling class parties. The day to day lives of many party members became accustomed to working with this strata, speaking on the same platforms with

the Democratic Party politicians, sharing committee posts and the like. It had become a way of political life.

All the time, the SWP maintained socialist electoral activities. These activities not only acted as a cover for the actual day to day working relations in the National Peace Action Coalition, the Women's National Abortion Coalition, Community Councils, etc., but became more and more liberal and social democratic themselves. The present SWP New York Mayoral election campaign is nothing but a string of reform demands on drug addiction, mass transit, etc. with socialism tacked on the end. For instance, a "substantial" increase in corporate tax is called for but at the end of the program the demand for expropriation of the major corporations included. Clearly this is self-contradictory and can only lead to the conclusion that the SWP sees socialism as a goal for the distant future but perhaps a little taxation reform now.

Then we have the article in the March 23 Militant by Linda Jenness entitled "What A Socialist Would Say In Congress." A revolutionist would say in Congress clearly and openly, as did Lenin's deputies in the Czarist Duma, that Congress is a fraud and that there is no way to socialism through Congress. Jenness says the exact opposite, going openly over to social democracy: "Now I know that many of you are convinced that such radical legislation as I have described will never get anywhere because it won't get the support. Well, it may not get the support from capitalist politicians. But when the American people compare my proposals for solving problems with the refusal of the Democrats and the Republicans to seriously confront these issues, I believe that this program will gain substantial support."

The road which has led the Socialist Workers Party into the camp of the capitalist class began with a rejection of the fight for the Marxist method and taking responsibility in constructing the Fourth International. Today, as the Workers League prepares the first Trotskyist May Day Rally in Union Square, we will build that rally on the firm internationalist ground of the fight for Marxism. This is the only way to construct the necessary leadership in the trade unions to defeat Nixon and his class.

This will not be a matter of electing Linda Jenness to Congress. It will mean the struggle to develop a political leadership of the working class through the battle for a labor party dedicated to socialist policies. This in turn will be part of constructing the revolutionary party itself. We have already seen the disdain with which Nixon treats the present capitalist Congress. We know what we would do to a socialist congress and we prepare workers in the light of that knowledge.



Bela Tampoe, right, general secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary). A report in 1969 at the World Congress of the revisionists' Unified Secretariat made serious admissions about Tampoe's behavior.

# A RECORD OF TREACHERY

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

**The International Marxist Group—British section of the revisionist Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International—has attempted to answer our serious charges against their Ceylonese section, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary), and its general secretary, Bala Tampoe.**

Our charges were based upon the report of the United Secretariat's Commission on Ceylon which was read out at their Ninth World Congress held in Europe from April 11-19, 1969, and translated into the languages of all the delegates there.

## Serious admissions

The Commission was set up to inquire into allegations against Tampoe by Edmund Samarakkody, of Ceylon, who attended the 1969 World Congress as a member of the revisionists' International Executive Committee.

Its report made the follow-

ing serious admissions about Tampoe's behaviour:

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

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

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

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

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

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

letter is included in bulletin March 17, 1969.)

(c) Comrade Bala's policy in regard to the struggle against devaluation of the rupee in November - December 1967. The CMU did not support the strike that took place at that time in the private sector. Serious questions are raised concerning why the LSSP(R) did not take the lead in fighting for united action by all the trade unions and working-class parties

These were unprecedented admissions about a leading member of an organization claiming to be Trotskyist—particularly since the Asia Foundation is a well-known front organization financed by the American CIA, and Kiesinger is a former member of Hitler's Nazi Party.

Accordingly, we published a series of articles exposing Tampoe and his protectors in the Unified Secretariat in Workers Press of October 18, 19, 20 and 21, 1972 (soon to be republished in pamphlet form).

These provoked a statement of the Unified Secretariat, dated October 29, 1972, and carried in 'Intercontinental Press' on November 20.

In reply to this statement we published a further series on Ceylon in Workers Press of December 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8.

We published in full the report of their Ceylon Commission on December 4 and we printed the minority report of the Indian member of the Commission on December 5.

Now the revisionists—in a pamphlet called 'Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification', published in January,

1973—seek not only to defend Tampoe, but to justify their entire record in Ceylon.

This pamphlet is nothing but a collection of deliberate lies and miserable evasions from beginning to end.

## Wholehearted support

In June 1964 the Lanka Sama Samaja Party—then the Unified Secretariat's official Ceylonese section—joined the bourgeois coalition government of Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Since then it has supported wholeheartedly every reactionary measure of that government—including the ferocious repressions launched in 1971.

Nevertheless, the author of this IMG pamphlet—one Jaya Vithana—blandly proclaims: 'I do not propose to deal with the absurd charge that the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International is responsible for the betrayal of the LSSP in 1964!'

The LSSP was your Ceylonese section Mr Vithana! People jumped straight from your International Executive Committee into Mrs Bandaranaike's Cabinet!

The leadership of the Pabloite International would not be able to evade responsibility for that political crime, even if it had not known what was going on.

But it did know what was going on!

The reason Vithana does not want to answer this 'absurd charge' is that in our issue of October 19 we quoted a letter from the LSSP outlining a programme for joining

such a bourgeois government—and sent to the Unified Secretariat in Paris four years before the LSSP joined the government.

This letter, written by N. M. Perera—now Finance Minister in the repressive Bandaranaike government—listed: (1) an agreement not to contest certain election areas against Mrs Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), (2) support for the formation of an SLFP government 'not hedged about with conditions', and (3) steps to bring about a programmatic agreement with the SLFP with a view to forming a joint government.

No action was taken by the Pabloite International on this letter—yet Vithana claims that they were 'not responsible' for the defection of Perera and his accomplices.

No fight was ever taken up with the LSSP leaders by the present leaders of the Unified Secretariat.

**It is a deliberate, despicable lie for Jaya Vithana to say in the International Marxist Group's pamphlet 'Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification' that 'Healy raised no criticism of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party [LSSP] at this time' (i.e. before the split with Pablo in 1953).**

National secretary Gerry Healy and other comrades in the present leadership of the Socialist Labour League raised the sharpest criticisms of

N. M. Perera and the other LSSP leaders long before the Pablo split in one committee meeting after another for their preparation to join a government with Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). This they finally achieved in June 1964.

It is the present leaders of the Unified Secretariat who consistently defended the future Ceylonese renegades particularly in the period from 1953 to 1964.

In Workers Press of October 18, 1972, we showed how the LSSP's characterization of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party as a centrist organization paved the way, not only for the 1964 betrayal, but for a deal with Pablo.

Although the LSSP National Committee had unanimously rejected Pablo's 'Rise and Decline of Stalinism' in 1954, the Ceylonese delegates at the revisionists' International Conference in June of that year accepted Pablo's resolution with only minor amendments.

## Why no challenge?

This was a deal in which each side agreed to ignore the opportunism of the other. If, as Vithana claims, the LSSP was still characterizing the SLFP as a bourgeois party right up until 1963, on what basis did they announce a policy of 'responsible co-operation' with the SLFP when it became the government of Ceylon in 1956?

Why was this not challenged by the Pabloite International?

Indeed, as late as 1964 the present leaders of that International were still protecting Perera, Gunawardena and company. When there was a demand inside their organization, early in 1964, for a discussion on Ceylon, they replied:

'It would be wrong for us as a body representing the movement as a whole to brush aside the deliberations of the majority of the LSSP leadership and refuse to grant them the time needed to prove in action the sincerity of their stand in relation to the United Left Front and the good faith of their assurances.

'It would mean first of all to deliberately heat up the atmosphere in the LSSP by injecting the sharpest kind of factionalism. A divisive policy of this kind would put in jeopardy, if not destroy, fraternal relations between the Unified Secretariat and the leadership of the LSSP.

'The end result could be highly injurious to the Fourth International, including its left wing, which has absolutely no interest to put in question the unity of the party through the creation of undue internal friction and tension from any source.' (See Workers Press, October 19, 1972.)

In June of 1964, the LSSP leaders showed their 'sincerity and good faith' by joining the Bandaranaike government!

Vithana is completely incapable of explaining this part of history because it reveals the corruption and degeneration of his International.

Vithana cannot refute these facts, nor can he refute the letter which we reprinted on October 19 in which—two months before they entered the government—the LSSP leaders received a letter from the Unified Secretariat supporting the United Left Front strategy—i.e. unity with the Stalinists and Mrs Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

Vithana has to keep off all

this—except to deny our statement that those people who broke from the LSSP did so without assistance from the Unified Secretariat. They were, he says, 'assisted and advised' by Pierre Frank at the time of the LSSP special conference in 1964.

But this was too little and too late. The International Executive Committee of the Unified Secretariat had held a meeting in December 1963. Between then and the LSSP conference, nothing was done. Instead of sending a delegation to work with the Ceylonese comrades who were opposing Perera and company, the Secretariat's leaders did nothing except hope that the problem would go away.

All discussions of the intentions of the LSSP leaders had been suppressed and a minority statement written the previous year had been filed away without action in the interests of 'unity'.

Perera's critics were advised to break when the split was already a fact.

Vithana sneers at what he calls the Socialist Labour League's 'raiding operations' at the time of the LSSP special conference in 1964. This is a slander.

## Principled questions

The SLL was not—and is not—interested in 'raids'. What we called for was a serious examination of the principled questions involved in the degeneration of an entire section of the revisionists' International. We warned those who correctly broke from the LSSP in 1964 that unless such an examination was carried out, they would go the same way.

We said: 'One cannot separate the problems of the LSSP Revolutionary Wing from this degeneration. These comrades are aware that a lot of discussion has to take place about what happened in the International movement since 1953.

'Many comrades who support the minority are only now beginning to realize the relations between the international and national degeneration of the Fourth International founded by Trotsky in 1938.

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

The unprincipled Vithana presents this call for a serious study of the history of the Fourth International as 'raiding operations'.

It was because the Unified Secretariat could not bear a serious examination of its own history that the Ceylonese LSSP(R) learned no lesson from the betrayal of 1964.

Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank and Joseph Hansen of the Unified Secretariat established precisely the same unprincipled relationship with Bala Tampoe—leader of the LSSP(R) breakaway—as they had previously had with Perera and Gunawardena. The result was the degeneration of yet another 'section'.

**The complete political bankruptcy of Jaya Vithana is shown by the way he scratches around desperately for bits of 'dirt' to put in the International Marxist Group's pamphlet 'Ceylon and Healy School of Falsification' and which he thinks he can use against the Socialist**



Tampoe's Ceylon Mercantile Union. Tampoe refused to support the 1967 st

## Labour League.

He comes up with the shattering fact that in 1964 the League's national secretary, Gerry Healy, stayed at a hotel in Ceylon, which had previously been patronized by Central Intelligence Agency men.

This after nine years! He cannot, of course, establish any shadow of connection between our secretary and such agents. He knows very well that Comrade Healy went to Ceylon as a party member doing party work—and that the trip was paid for by the Socialist Labour League.

By sharp contrast, Vithana's Unified Secretariat is forced to admit that the secretary of its Ceylonese section, Bala Tampoe, made a trip to the United States that was paid for by the CIA!

Any one of the actions which the Secretariat's Ceylon Commission established had been committed by Tampoe would merit expulsion from a genuine Trotskyist organization.

Vithana has to admit that Edmund Samarakkody laid these serious charges against Tampoe and demanded that the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) be disaffiliated

from the International. And he tells us that the Ninth World Congress decided not to disaffiliate Tampoe's group.

But, according to him, such serious charges were not even investigated! And this he considers to be a defence!

He claims there was no Ceylon Commission, no investigations and no reports. But, in doing this, he conflicts not only with us—but with the Unified Secretariat's own publication 'Intercontinental Press'.

This journal—edited by Joseph Hansen and with Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest



1967 strike against devaluation. At left, Mrs. Bandaranaike, Perrera in the center, and Robert McNamara at the right.

Mandel and George Novack as contributing editors—carried on November 20, 1972, an official statement of the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International dated October 29.

We published this statement—'Healyites Smear Bala Tampoe'—in full in Workers Press on December 7, 1972. It declared: 'The author of the articles [i.e. the articles in Workers Press in October 1972] 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.'

We showed, in Workers Press of December 7, that our sources were not only Samarakkody, but official documents of the Unified Secretariat released by him.

We also showed that Samarakkody was not just a 'factional opponent of Tampoe', but a member of the revisionists' International Executive Committee who attended their World Congress.

The point here, however, is

that in attempting to answer our charges, Vithana denies the existence of documents which every leading member of the Unified Secretariat and of IMG knows do in fact exist and which have been publicly acknowledged by their highest international body.

In quoting this statement from the 'Intercontinental Press', we have shown Vithana to be a liar and the leadership of IMG to be a collective body of liars.

They know, as we know, that the members of the Ceylon Commission included Therese, Abel, Kailas, Pia, Peng and

Okatini. They know, as we know, that a motion from Pia asking to be removed from the Commission was defeated. They know, as we know, that a resolution from Abel, following the report of the Ceylon Commission, called for a further investigation by the International Control Commission and was defeated by 14 votes to 28 with eight abstentions.

They know, as we know, that Bala Tampoe was then nominated for the International Executive Committee by 'Walter' and elected unanimously.

We printed the extracts from the proceedings of their Ninth World Congress dealing with all these matters in Workers Press on December 6.

Any honest IMG member knows that this is the truth. They know that the majority report, referring to the charges mentioned above, said: 'In none of these instances is there any evidence that the party [i.e. the LSSP(R)] took what the Commission considered a policy consistent with revolutionary Marxism.' (Workers Press, December 4.)

And they know that the minority report of the Indian member of the Commission argued that the LSSP(R) had placed itself 'in the camp of the enemy as opposed to workers in action'. (Workers Press, December 5.)

## Deliberate lie

Every serious member of IMG—and of any other section of the Unified Secretariat—knows that our report was the truth and that Vithana's pamphlet is a deliberate and clumsy lie which clashes even with the official statements of their own International Executive Committee.

Their own Commission found Tampoe guilty of travelling to the United States on CIA funds, scabbing on strikes and honouring British imperialism and ex-Nazis—as we showed in the detailed quotations from their documents.

Any self-respecting organization in the labour movement—and certainly one claiming to be Trotskyist—would have instantly expelled such a man from its ranks.

But your International, IMG members, re-elected this scab and renegade to its Executive Committee!

**Bala Tampoe's paid visit to the United States is admitted by Jaya Vithana in the International Marxist Group's recent pamphlet 'Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification'.**

But it is excused on the grounds that it was 'a study project on trade unionism' organized by Harvard University, and that it was useful for 'making contacts, learning about trade union movements in other countries and putting across our views regarding the problems of trade unionism'.

This garbage is an insult to everyone who reads it, but particularly to IMG members who are required to peddle it around.

May we point out to Vithana that United States imperialism is not in the habit of organizing international meetings in order to enable revolutionaries to make contacts and put across their views?

## American corruption

Every worker who has been in politics five minutes knows

that one of the major activities of the Central Intelligence Agency is to corrupt trade union leaders, particularly in colonial and former colonial countries.

It is only that kind of international trade union 'seminar' that Robert McNamara would attend.

Do we have to inform the leaders of IMG, who claim to be Trotskyists, that the American ruling class is not interested in assisting the trade union movement, but only in making it safe from revolutionaries, in corrupting it and in smashing it?

The CIA expends money through institutions like the Asia Foundation precisely to organize such seminars. Vithana twists and turns this way and that, but one little matter he omits—who paid for Tampoe's trip to the United States?

Who paid, Mr Vithana?

Let us quote again from the Ceylon Commission's statement. Referring to actions by Tampoe which 'compromised the Fourth International', they list as number one: 'A trip to the US in the summer of 1967, financed by the Asia Foundation.'

The Indian member of the Commission was more explicit:

'The Commission cannot but take a dim view of the manner in which Comrade Bala got himself invited to the USA ostensibly under a project sponsored by the Harvard University.'

Although Comrade Bala maintains that he had kept the Unified Secretariat and Socialist Workers' Party (US) informed about his trip, some of his activities in Washington like his interview with McNamara have not been fully explained.' (See Workers Press, December 5, 1972.)

Vithana avoids altogether the delicate matter of who paid for the trip, because he knows, as we know, as the Unified Secretariat knows, as the IMG knows, that it was paid for by the CIA.

This means that Bala Tampoe associated with the CIA.

(We have not accused Tampoe of being 'a CIA agent', as Vithana maintains. What we have said is that Tampoe 'associated with' the CIA by taking a trip to the United States, paid for by an organization—the Asia Foundation—which he knew was financed by the CIA.)

Those who protect a man who associates with the CIA, who place him on their leading political bodies, disgrace the name of Trotskyism, a name which they have no right to claim.

It is almost embarrassing to explain to these self-styled Trotskyists that when Tampoe sat politely through the seminar conducted by Robert McNamara he was listening to the man who at that time was US Secretary of State in charge of the mass murders being carried out by American imperialism in Vietnam, a man with the blood of thousands of innocent workers and peasants on his hands.

How could a man with even the slightest feeling for the oppressed masses of Asia, for the heroic fighters of the Vietnamese revolution, have sat quietly listening to this leading spokesman of world imperialism? Yet this was a member of the International Executive Committee of the Unified Secretariat!

This is the man the IMG leaders defend.

But there is more.

Vithana has to admit that Bala Tampoe did attend receptions at the British and West German embassies.

One is the embassy of the colonial power responsible for some of the worst brutalities

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that one of the major activities of the Central Intelligence Agency is to corrupt trade union leaders, particularly in colonial and former colonial countries.

It is only that kind of international trade union 'seminar' that Robert McNamara would attend.

Do we have to inform the leaders of IMG, who claim to be Trotskyists, that the American ruling class is not interested in assisting the trade union movement, but only in making it safe from revolutionaries, in corrupting it and in smashing it?

The CIA expends money through institutions like the Asia Foundation precisely to organize such seminars. Vithana twists and turns this way and that, but one little matter he omits—who paid for Tampoe's trip to the United States?

Who paid, Mr Vithana? Let us quote again from the Ceylon Commission's statement. Referring to actions by Tampoe which 'compromised the Fourth International', they list as number one: 'A trip to the US in the summer of 1967, financed by the Asia Foundation.'

The Indian member of the Commission was more explicit: 'The Commission cannot but take a dim view of the manner in which Comrade Bala got himself invited to the USA ostensibly under a project sponsored by the Harvard University.'

Although Comrade Bala maintains that he had kept the Unified Secretariat and Socialist Workers' Party (US) informed about his trip, some of his activities in Washington like his interview with McNamara have not been fully explained.' (See Workers Press, December 5, 1972.)

Vithana avoids altogether the delicate matter of who paid for the trip, because he knows, as we know, as the Unified Secretariat knows, as the IMG knows, that it was paid for by the CIA.

This means that Bala Tampoe associated with the CIA. (We have not accused Tampoe of being a CIA agent', as Vithana maintains. What we have said is that Tampoe 'associated with' the CIA by taking a trip to the United States, paid for by an organization—the Asia Foundation—which he knew was financed by the CIA.)

Those who protect a man who associates with the CIA, who place him on their leading political bodies, disgrace the name of Trotskyism, a name which they have no right to claim.

It is almost embarrassing to explain to these self-styled Trotskyists that when Tampoe sat politely through the seminar conducted by Robert McNamara he was listening to the man who at that time was US Secretary of State in charge of the mass murders being carried out by American imperialism in Vietnam, a man with the blood of thousands of innocent workers and peasants on his hands.

How could a man with even the slightest feeling for the oppressed masses of Asia, for the heroic fighters of the Vietnamese revolution, have sat quietly listening to this leading spokesman of world imperialism? Yet this was a member of the International Executive Committee of the Unified Secretariat!

This is the man the IMG leaders defend.

But there is more. Vithana has to admit that Bala Tampoe did attend receptions at the British and West German embassies.

One is the embassy of the colonial power responsible for some of the worst brutalities

the world has ever seen on the Indian continent. The other was in honour of an ex-Nazi.

Ah well, says our apologist, 'it is the normal practice of trade unions representing workers of foreign-owned companies to send representatives to such functions'.

It may be. But is it 'normal practice' for members of International Executive Committees claiming to be Trotskyist to honour British imperialism and swill champagne with ex-Nazis? This is the issue, Vithana!

Let us ask IMG members one question. If one of your members attended a function in London in honour of an ex-Nazi, would you or would you not propose that that member be instantly expelled? Would you accept as a reasonable excuse that it was 'normal practice' for trade union officials to attend such functions?

Because, on the basis of Vithana's argument, only one conclusion can be drawn—that the leaders of the IMG would be prepared to attend such a function. That is precisely the behaviour they are condoning in Ceylon. And not only condoning, but rewarding with unanimous re-election to the highest body of their international organization.

The man who honoured a former leading member of Hitler's Nazi Party—the party which tortured and murdered millions upon millions of workers—is himself honoured and defended by the Unified Secretariat. The entire leadership of the Unified Secretariat—and Vithana himself—acknowledge that Tampoe did this, but say it was 'a mistake'.

We say it was not 'a mistake'. We say it was an unprincipled, degrading and politically filthy act.

That act alone should make Bala Tampoe a political leper.

These are your leaders, members of the International Marxist Group!

And, as if that were not enough, Vithana proceeds to justify scabbing.

**Bala Tampoe and the Ceylon Mercantile Union did not support the 1967 devaluation strike, the International Marxist Group tells us, because the leaders of the strike 'had no serious perspective for a struggle'.**

Presumably, therefore, the IMG tells workers in Britain that if a strike is called by people who have 'no serious perspective for a struggle', they should scab on it.

If limited actions are called by trade union leaders against the Tory state pay laws, will IMG urge workers not to take part because their leaders have 'no perspective for a struggle'? Yet that—and exactly that—is the excuse put forward in the IMG pamphlet 'Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification' for Tampoe's conduct in 1967.

## Complete freedom

There is another difficult problem to get round for its author Mr Jaya Vithana. At the height of the 1971 repressions when some 16,000 people were arrested (note: 16,000 not 3,000 as Vithana claims) Bala Tampoe was allowed complete freedom of movement. Only one leading member of his Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) was arrested.

The IMG pamphlet claims that not only Tampoe but other leading trade unionists were left free because the Bandara-



Edmund Samarakkody, who laid the charges against Tampoe.

naike government was afraid to take on the working class.

It names, however, only three: Watson Fernando, Senviratne and Prins Rajasooriya.

What are the facts?

Of the three named, one—Rajasooriya—is the assistant-secretary of the LSSP(R), so his freedom strengthens our argument and not Vithana's, and another—Watson Fernando, a leader of the pro-Chinese Communist Party—was arrested.

Vithana cannot be ignorant of these facts. His claim is a miserable, lying evasion that does not stand up to five minutes' serious examination.

We are also accused by the IMG of saying nothing about our own co-thinkers in Ceylon.

But we say a great deal about them. The Ceylonese Section of the International Committee of the Fourth International is the Revolutionary Communist League and its youth organization is the Revolutionary Communist Youth. Unlike Messrs Tampoe and Rajasooriya, four leading members of the RCL—Wakkumbura, Sisira Jayasuriya, Kirthi Balasuriya and Wilfred Pereira—were arrested and released only after working-class demonstrations.

While not a single LSSP(R) journal was touched by the Bandaranaike regime, nine other newspapers were banned. These included 'Kamkura Parath', 'Tho'lilar Seydi' and 'Virodhaya' published by the RCL, and the 'Tharuna Satana' published by the RCY.

Many RCY members were jailed in a witch-hunt which, far from leaving trade union leaders alone, jailed over 4,000 of them.

Even members of the coalition parties were jailed—like Vasudeva Nanayakkara of the LSSP. N. Sanmagathan—the leader of the pro-Peking Communist Party—was also arrested and many, many more. But not, repeat not, Bala Tampoe.

The Bala Tampoe who took money from the CIA, the Bala Tampoe who organized scabbing on a strike, the Bala Tampoe who honoured British imperialism and an ex-Nazi, the Bala Tampoe who sits on the International Executive of the IMG's parent body, the Unified Secretariat—is the Bala Tampoe who was allowed to speak and move freely by the Bandaranaike regime when the leaders of other working-class tendencies were jailed and witch-hunted.

No amount of IMG white-wash will cover that stark fact. That is the incontrovertible truth beneath Vithana's lies.

Now we come to some real slanders—directed at the genuine Trotskyists by Vithana.

Workers Press, says the IMG pamphlet, depicted the JVP movement, which bore the brunt of the Bandaranaike repressions, as a 'petty bourgeois' organization and blamed it for the repressions.

We defy Vithana, Joseph Hansen (who has maintained a prudent silence since the Unified Secretariat's official statement) or any other revisionist distorter to show us one single line from Workers Press which blamed the JVP for the repressions.

When the full-scale war against the JVP was launched by Mrs Bandaranaike and her Stalinist and ex-Pabloite allies in April 1971, Workers Press carried a Political Committee statement which declared:

'The task of British labour (lies in) intensifying its struggle against Stalinism and frustrating every attempt to supply arms to the reactionary regime of blood, lies, hunger and misery which masquerades as a socialist united front.

'Despite our differences with the petty-bourgeois, Guevarist policies of the JVP, we appeal to the trade union and labour movement everywhere to demand of the Soviet government that its planes and pilots be withdrawn and that Mrs Bandaranaike's regime release all political prisoners and stop all executions immediately.' (Workers Press, April 21, 1971.)

## 'Death and repression'

In a series of articles which began on April 22 we denounced the 'death without trial and bloody repression of the workers' and peasants' movement' in Ceylon.

We declared: 'The students and peasant youth who have taken up arms against the coalition's betrayals are stubbornly continuing their fight—they have widespread popular support against the regime.'

Example after example can be quoted. On May 21, 1971, we carried an editorial 'Free All Prisoners And Press in Ceylon.'

Our record is there for all

to see.

It is a deliberate, cynical lie to say we placed the blame for the suppressions on the JVP—a lie that any IMG member can check out by consulting our Press.

Yes, we did politically characterize the JVP as a petty-bourgeois organization. That is not to detract from their courage nor from the support they must be given inside the British labour movement against the Bandaranaike government.

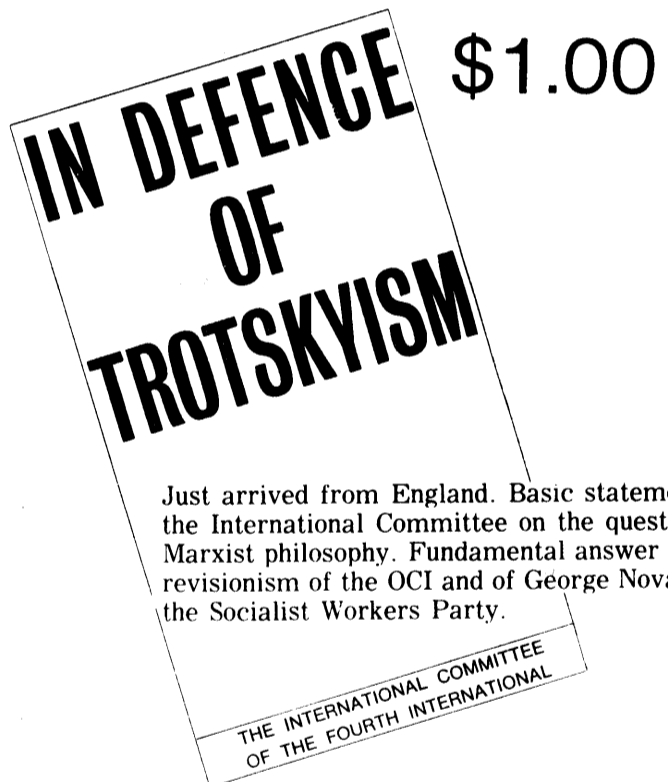
Should we avoid insisting on Marxist analysis of a tendency that is in struggle? Or should we, as the Unified Secretariat did, pronounce the JVP to be a Marxist-Leninist organization?

Without the construction of a Trotskyist Party in Ceylon, as part of a Trotskyist International, there can be no victory of the workers, peasants and students of Ceylon.

It is not only our right, but our duty, to analyse all political tendencies from that standpoint, to support those who fight imperialism and its agencies, but to support them critically, insisting at all times on the construction of the independent revolutionary party.

This is what the youth of Ceylon need and deserve. They certainly deserve much more than they got from Bala Tampoe.

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK



## The Spanish Revolution \$3.95

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## David North Film

**STATE OF SIEGE.** Directed by Costa-Gavras; written by Franco Solinas; produced by Jacques Perrin. Starring Yves Montand.

On July 31, 1970, the Tupamaros kidnapped Dan A. Mitrione and executed him several days later after the Uruguayan dictatorship refused to release its political prisoners. "Public Opinion"—orchestrated by the editorial mouthpieces of every capitalist government—was horrified. Dan Mitrione, declared American spokesman, had simply gone to Uruguay as a representative of the US Agency for International Development in order to help out with traffic control. Naturally, the press made a great deal of noise about his nine children.

It is to the credit of Costa-Gavras that he has directed *State of Siege* which not only documents the real nature of Mitrione's work in Uruguay but also exposes the barbaric role of imperialism in South America.

Mitrione, as Costa-Gavras shows, was nothing less than the special adviser to the Uruguayan police on all matters relating to the suppression of the working class. Specifically, he trained the police in such practices as torture, surveillance, and the auxiliary use of fascist "death squads."

### EVENTS

In this film, Mitrione is represented through the character of Philip Michael Santore—played by Yves Montand—because the film could not have been made without altering names. But with that exception, the details of the film correspond with actual events. The film is based on the tapes made by the Tupamaros during their interrogation of Mitrione, who, before coming to Uruguay, had served in similar capacities for the dictatorships of the Dominican Republic and Brazil.

As is made clear in *State of Siege*, individuals like Mitrione—a former Indiana police chief—were sent into Latin America in order to retrain the military and police forces in that area following the turn of US foreign policy away from compromise with the working class in the colonial countries to out-and-out repression.

### CIA

Therefore, Mitrione played a covert but not unimportant role in the overthrow of nationalist leaders like Bosch and Goulart. Since the armed forces of Latin America did not have the technical capacity—let alone the political strength—to defeat insurgent forces, the CIA took on the responsibility of organizing the terror against popular movements.

In *State of Siege*, Costa-Gavras wishes above all to focus upon what American imperialism does on a daily basis to defend capitalism in the backward countries; and in the process of setting one brutal fact upon another, his artist's eye permits him to strip away the degeneracy of a social class whose privileges rest upon murder and torture.

The film begins with the discovery of Santore's body in Montevideo as thousands of soldiers patrol the streets, pulling workers and students out of cars and lining them against walls. As the camera slowly pans the avenues of the city, the screen becomes a canvass upon which thousands of isolated but interconnected indignities are recorded: children are thrown to the ground, workers are handcuffed, students are kicked and countless



Santore-Mitrione, below, being kidnapped by Tupamaros. Above, Death Squad, trained by the CIA, take a victim to the beach to murder him.

individuals are being arrested while the police search for the Tupamaros.

Then there is a cut into the ornate cathedral where Santore-Mitrione's funeral is in progress. The Papal Nuncio, one of the richest men in Uruguay, mourns the death of this "innocent sacrificial victim" and even compares him to Jesus Christ. Through a series of flashbacks—a time-worn technique that has been rediscovered and perfected by Costa-Gavras—we become better acquainted with this so-called "innocent."

### HORROR

With offices in police headquarters, Santore directed the regime's counterinsurgency operations. Under his command were Latin American officers he had trained in Washington. Costa-Gavras captures the horror of modern torture practices as they have been developed by the CIA—and taught by Santore-Mitrione.

In one instance, the Tupamaros confront Santore with evidence proving that he played a key role in the introduction of torture into Brazil following Goulart's ouster. There is a fast cut to a large auditorium filled with government officials, officers and soldiers. Seated on the stage are naked political prisoners who are being subjected to the application of electrical currents to their gums, eyeballs and genitals. One young recruit is overcome by the spectacle of slow death and regurgitates as he flees from the hall.

Santore-Mitrione's activities were not confined to torture. He had also been instrumental with establishing links with fascist elements who were then provided with ample funds for weapons as well as immunity from the police. In a series of short sequences, Costa-Gavras shows how three death squads financed by the CIA organized the assassination of student and trade union leaders and—as is depicted in one scene—the machine gunning of the entire membership of a trade union local.

There are weaknesses in the film which flow from the director's tendency to retreat into objective commentary on events. But, contrary to the suggestion made in a number of reviews, Costa-Gavras did not make *State of Siege* to pontificate on the equal evil of the terror applied by the regime and the execution of Santore-Mitrione by the Tupamaros. While Costa-Gavras points to the inability of terrorism to defeat American imperialism, there is not a hint of vulgar moralizing.





## 20 Years of the International Committee

# Meeting Discusses Break

### SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

**NEW YORK**—Over 125 people attended the first of an important class lecture series marking the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the International Committee of the Fourth International. Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, gave a presentation on "The Rise of Pabloism and the Open Letter of 1953," which was followed by a lively discussion. The basic questions facing the revolutionary movement today dominated the talk and the discussion.

Wohlforth began by explaining the purpose of the class series. He stated that the past 20 year struggle of the International Committee against revisionism was a preparation for the period we are now entering. This new period is characterized by an ever deepening capitalist crisis which is impelling the two classes into fundamental conflict. The experience of the past period, particularly the struggle for Marxism against revisionism, must now be negated into the new experiences of the movement. The aim of this is to break decisively with radicalism. Wohlforth defined radicalism as a tendency to transform Marxism into mere commentary while a middle class circle life is preserved.

Wohlforth noted that the Fourth International was founded in a bitter battle against Stalinism. This was a battle in defense of the Soviet workers' state and for the continuity of the policies of Bolshevism, which is the Marxism of our time. He explained that this is where we still stand. We are partisans of the October Revolution, continuators of Bolshevism, and bitter, bitter enemies of Stalinism which acts to prop up capitalism internationally.

At the same time, Trotsky had to devote much of his effort to the internal struggle against revisionist tendencies which developed within the Fourth International itself. Without this struggle, the struggle against Stalinism for revolutionary policies could not proceed. Trotsky's recently republished writings on the Spanish Revolution are particularly helpful in understanding this internal struggle, Wohlforth stated.

Much of Trotsky's writings on Spain were devoted to a polemic against Andres Nin, a supporter of Trotsky who broke with him to form the centrist POUM. The POUM ended up in the Popular Front government. It thus contributed to the defeat of the Spanish Revolution. He characterized Nin's position as essentially passive. Everything he did was to avoid contradiction. He would not place himself at the center of the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class by battling to construct the revolutionary party. He wanted to remain a commentator, a middle class propagandist. With Nin this in one period meant opportunist amalgams with centrists and in another period sectarian opposition to entry into the Socialist Party youth movement.

For a number of years, Wohlforth stated, we have been the only ones who have concerned ourselves with the origins of Pabloism and the meaning of the split in the Fourth International in 1953 which gave rise to the International Committee. The SWP, which had contributed to the original formation of the IC, based its reunification with the Pabloites in 1963 on a common agreement not to discuss this question. Today everyone is forced into a discussion of Pabloism and the 1953 split.

### DEEP SPLIT

The United Secretariat is being wrenched apart by a deep split between the SWP and remnants of the original Pabloite group around Mandel and Frank. These forces are finding it increasingly difficult to postpone a discussion of 1953 any longer. The French OCI group, which recently broke with the International Committee, basically abstained from the discussion with the Pabloites in the period from 1961 to 1963 which probed the question of the roots of Pabloism. Now they

are engaged in a discussion and split with the Varga East European group in which the question of the roots of Pabloism plays a prominent role. The various factions which have recently broken from the SWP, like Passan and Fender, have also returned to a discussion of this period—only to oppose the original formation of the International Committee.

There is, Wohlforth concluded, an objective basis for this discussion of Pabloism. The basic questions involved in the break with Pablo are the basic questions facing our movement today if we are to fulfill our tasks of constructing mass parties to lead the working class to power. These are the questions of the nature of the capitalist crisis, perspectives for constructing the revolutionary party, the nature of Stalinism, and above all the Marxist method itself.

Wohlforth quoted Michel Pablo's positions in 1950. Pablo held that a "new world reality" existed, making the Transitional Program no longer pertinent. He saw imminent "war-revolution" between the Stalinist countries and the imperialist countries. He stated that objective conditions would force the Stalinist parties to carry through revolutions. Therefore Pablo proposed that the Trotskyists enter the Stalinist parties "sui generis" hoping to create centrist currents within them which in turn would make the revolution.

This position was later expanded to include entry into the social democratic parties, Wohlforth noted. He explained the tremendous devastation this view brought about within the ranks of the Fourth International as Pablo factionally intervened in party after party, splitting the movement over these issues and liquidating whole sections into other parties. Pablo's liquidationism did more to disperse the Trotskyist cadres than did the repression of the Stalinists and imperialists in the war period, Wohlforth noted.

### OPEN LETTER OF 1953

Wohlforth also assessed the role of the Socialist Workers Party in this situation. He explained how the SWP had set up Pablo and his supporters as the international leadership after the war because the SWP did not wish to take this political responsibility itself. It wished to retreat into American affairs. Only when Pablo factionally intervened in the internal affairs of the SWP did the SWP take Pablo up. At the same time the issuing of the "Open Letter of 1953" by the SWP—the basis for the founding of the International Committee—was a critically important step in establishing the continuity of Trotskyism. It came from out of the past strengths of the SWP, from what it learned from collaborations with Trotsky.

It is clear, Wohlforth stated, that Pabloism developed as an adaptation to the temporary capitalist boom. This in turn took place because Pablo refused to begin at all times from the actual life and development of the working class in struggle against capitalism and our work in constructing parties in that way. This means a break with the Marxist method in favor of the impressionistic school of idealism.

Pablo did not assess the cause of the change in class relations in the actual development of capitalism. If he had, he would have seen the temporary character of the relative stability of the capitalist nations and devoted his efforts to work in the working class, preparing for the period we are now entering. Instead he developed impressions of the expansion of Stalinism and subordinated the Trotskyist cadres to those impressions. Pabloism is thus a development symmetrical to Shacht-



Tim Wohlforth, above, discussing problem of radicalism in early days of Fourth International. Discussion following the lecture, right, took up questions of method in a sharp fight against the Spartacist League.

manism in 1940, which likewise capitulated to the pressures of the period through the abandonment of the Marxist method.

Wohlforth noted that the SWP refused to carry through the fight in 1953 or after to the point of uncovering the causes of Pabloism and in this manner educating its own cadres in a battle against impressionism and American pragmatism.

He then discussed the assessment made of Pabloism recently by the French OCI organization. It claims that the roots of Pabloism lie in its breaking with the world unity of the working class and with errors on the relation of the objective to the subjective.

The French pose the unity of the working class in a completely abstract and lifeless fashion. The crisis of capitalism is at the heart of all development in the world and it is this which requires the unity of the working class in struggle.

But at the same time there does exist an underdeveloped or colonial sector of the world. This is not separate from capitalism, but it does stand in a special relation to the imperialist countries. There exists the imperialist oppression of colonial countries and we defend colonial countries in battles against imperialism even when led by the native capitalist class. At the same time, while the workers states are not independent of the world capitalist economy, they are not capitalist nations.

The difficulty with Pabloism lies not in its recognition of different sectors of the world but in a refusal to concretely assess the development of the world capi-

talist system with the method of Marxism. The actual unity of workers in the colonial countries with those in the advanced countries and with those in the workers states can only be established in this way.

### ABSTRACT METHOD

This same abstract method, Wohlforth explained, allows the OCI to avoid the meaning of the capitalist crisis today. They have never paid any attention to questions of capitalist economy. Now they state that we are in a period of "imminent revolution," just as Pablo in the past talked of a period of "war-revolution." Then they add that this period could last for five or more years and that revolution could occur or not occur here, there or anywhere during that time span. This way they avoid studying the development of the capitalist crisis and the urgent necessity to construct revolutionary parties now.

They discuss the relation of the objective to the subjective and then sneer at us for insisting on a discussion of the Marxist method and philosophy. What else is the Marxist theory of knowledge if it is not a discussion of the subjective and the objective—how our consciousness changes under objective conditions and how we change objective conditions consciously.

We insist, Wohlforth went on, on the objective character of the subjective. This means that the development of the conscious party is the central element in the objective situation itself. At the same time the relation of the subjective to the objective is a unity—but a unity of opposites, of conflict, of struggle. Thus

# With Radicalism & Passivity



Marxist consciousness changes as it conflicts with new developments in the working class and as it conflicts with the current thinking of the class. It is this question of contradiction and conflict that all the revisionist tendencies run away from. This is why they are hostile to the Marxist method. They wish to remain out of conflict, to remain passive. To be passive today is to betray.

## DISCUSSION

Following the lecture, the floor was opened up for discussion. Members of the Spartacist League immediately proceeded to launch accusations against the Workers League, refusing at all times to address themselves to the topic of the lecture: "Pabloism and the Open Letter."

This is not accidental. Spartacist rejects the continuity of the Trotskyist movement and stands in opposition to the Open Letter which saved the Fourth International from liquidation by Pablo. Spartacist will not speak on historical issues because the Robertson tendency has always based itself upon revisionism.

The importance of the Spartacist participation in the discussion was precisely that they presented most openly the central positions of all revisionist groups, especially the SWP. Their role today, as in the past, is to be the battering arm for revisionism against the Fourth International. Wohlforth explained that while we usually do not have Spartacist at our activities because they are hostile to our aims, precisely for these reasons their presence at this class series would be helpful. The issues raised in the 20 years of the International Committee are of concern to all working class forces. A discussion of our differences with other tendencies over these issues is a necessary preparation for a full break with past radicalism, a preparation for the revolutionary tasks ahead.

The Spartacist speakers—one of whom was a member of the Buffalo Marxist Collective which "fused" last year with Spartacist on the basis of a common hatred of the International Committee—attacked the Workers League for its fight within the trade unions. They claimed that the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, industrial arm of the Workers League, is a reformist organization because it raises demands around such issues as speedup, layoffs and wages.

One of their speakers, without giving Spartacist's assessment of the economic developments, attacked the perspectives of the Workers League as "crisis mongering."

They also denounced the *Bulletin*, calling members of the Workers League and Young Socialists "newspaper vendors."

All the speakers from Spartacist attacked Wohlforth for claiming that the rejection of the Marxist method was at the heart of Pabloism.

"Talking about the Marxist method doesn't explain anything," said one Spartacist.

Another added: "Marx was profoundly anti-philosophical. That's why Marx wrote a book called *The Poverty of Philosophy*."

In his summary, Wohlforth pointed out that Spartacist exposed at every point its own hostility to the working class and Marxism. "For the sake of decorum," he said, "I will simply say that calling Marx anti-philosophical because he wrote a book entitled *The Poverty of Philosophy* is a profoundly stupid remark. Anyone who gets past the cover of the book will know that in *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Marx devoted several hundred pages to a critique of the idealist philosophy of Proudhon and to a defense of materialism."

Referring to Spartacist's attack on the TUALP, Wohlforth explained that circle radicals wish above all to keep their distance to the working class and do nothing; that is, to remain a propaganda circle. At the same time, they do not confront the crisis and therefore do not understand that the working class comes into collision with the government over wages, hours and jobs.

"Why doesn't a member of Spartacist try asking for a 20 percent increase if he thinks it's such a minor reform? He'll get reformed right into jail because Nixon is out to destroy unions and drive down wages. You can't reform your way around Phase Three."

Wohlforth went on to say that Spartacist will not raise these fundamental questions in the labor movement because they want to stay out of the fight. He said that middle class radicals joined that tendency in much the same spirit that old men sit in sauna rooms or whirlpool baths—for soothing relaxation.

"You all take one look at the Workers League and the International Committee and you're horrified. All that talk of crisis, of strikes, of economic upheavals, of civil war conditions. You are terrified to hear that members of our movement have to sell newspapers in fantastic quantities to workers! That's not for you.

"No, you want a Fourth International for the mild mannered and reasonable man. Something that lets you change your

suit but remain the same man. So you get into the whirlpool bath—Spartacist. It lets you take off the academic robes and put on workers overalls. But you don't have to change."

Wohlforth also answered the statement of the Buffalo Spartacist to the effect that after all, the Fourth International under Trotsky was basically a propaganda circle, so that to call today for a break with propagandism to really to attack that history while Spartacist stands in continuity to that history.

"It was nothing like that. It was a struggle." Wohlforth said that Trotsky never stood outside the class struggle as an observer. He considered the last years of his life to be the most important. Wohlforth noted that Trotsky recognized that the period of defeats for the working class that marked the 1930s imposed terrible limits on the revolutionary movement—limits which might not be overcome. Wohlforth declared:

"But he proceeded every minute of his life with the determination to build the revolutionary party that would break through the limits, because the fate of the working class was involved."

"Therefore, he constantly engaged in discussions and correspondence with groups from every part of the world. Again and again he pushed them forward: intervene in the left socialist organizations, win over the best forces, expose the Stalinists, explain our program, never lower the banner—struggle, struggle and never give in. That's what Trotsky was all about."

## PROPAGANDA

One can say that in the 1930s the Trotskyist movement could not avoid being confined most of its time to a position outside the working class and to be limited to purely propaganda activities. But we can also say that Trotsky and the real fighting cadres of the early movement never rested content with this situation and constantly sought to break beyond this limit. This is the meaning of Trotsky's constant warnings and calls to action in the German, French, and Spanish events. This is the meaning of Trotsky's bitter battles with those who not only accepted the limits of propaganda circle life, but used these limits as a battering ram against Marxism.

But there is another side to this question, Wohlforth remarked. Whatever is necessary in one period becomes an obstacle in the next. Over much of the period of the 20 year struggle of the International Committee there was a necessary

limit on what could be built in the labor movement because the capitalist boom was still with us. Today the very same economic factors which allowed for a certain level of compromise between classes now pit them at each others' throats. What Spartacist is really saying is there is no basic change today from the 1950s or even the days of defeat of the 1930s and thus we must act the same as in the past. This shows clearly how Spartacist defends the fundamental outlook of Pabloism and stands with the SWP on basic questions.

## BULLETIN

Wohlforth described the important step that the Workers League and Young Socialists have taken recently to prepare for the coming struggles by the working class. He said that the new press had already produced the first issue of the *Young Socialist* and several issues of the *Bulletin*. Early in the fall, he added, the *Bulletin* would be published twice-weekly.

It is through selling the paper, said Wohlforth, that members of the Workers League and YS confront the working class and fight for a development of its thinking.

"When Spartacist calls us newspaper vendors," Wohlforth said in conclusion, "we consider that a compliment. There are certain streets in Brooklyn where every family reads our paper."

Wohlforth said that it was the *Bulletin* which was the vehicle through which Marxist principles are fought for through the building of caucuses in the trade unions to lead the working class into struggle against Nixon and to construct a labor party.

Only the *Bulletin*, he declared, is showing the way forward for workers. The Abels and the Meanys have made a deal with Nixon. Our fight, he stated, has won great support.

"So we're going to vend you into the ground," Wohlforth declared, pointing at the Spartacist members, "and we're going to print you into the ground."

Because Spartacist bases itself on the revision of Trotskyism through its opposition to the Open Letter of 1953—which, for all of James Cannon's weaknesses, defended the Fourth International against liquidation—it exists today only in order to cover for the SWP's unprincipled reunification with the Pabloites in 1963. The hysterical attacks on the Workers League and Young Socialists—through such anti-communist tactics as setting up picket lines outside our meetings—represents the fear of middle class radicals of the development of a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

## Editor's Notebook

### The CP Makes Robeson 'Presentable'

Paul Robeson, one of the greatest singers of this century, was honored on Sunday night at a concert held on his 75 birthday.

Robeson was not only a world famous singer and actor but was openly a supporter of the Communist Party. Because of this, and because he was Black, Robeson was viciously hounded and attacked by the capitalist government, denied his right to perform and to even leave the country.

In the late 1940s and 1950s he became a victim of the racist and anti-communist witch-hunt of the capitalists. An outdoor concert in Peekskill, New York in 1949, where Robeson was performing, was broken up by an armed gang of racists and fascists. The police stood by as these forces did their work.

A second concert was organized and was successfully held when unions in New York and hundreds of rank and file trade unionists organized a defense guard for the concert.

But all of this was pushed aside at the concert on Sunday which the CP itself helped to

organize. Representatives of the same class who were responsible for the brutal persecution of Robeson were not only present but spoke on the stage.

One of the speakers was Ramsey Clark, Kennedy aid, who sought to portray Robeson as the man who embodied Kennedy's vision of America. Robert Kennedy, it must be recalled, was one of the main henchmen for McCarthy during the witch-hunt of the 1950s.

It was Clark himself who initiated the charges and trial of the Chicago Seven and the charges against Benjamin Spock for antiwar activities.

Ted Kennedy, a great friend of Clark's, has recently accepted an invitation to speak at a Fourth of July patriotism rally in Alabama honoring George Wallace.

Angela Davis was the only one who mentioned that Robeson was a "partisan of the Socialist World" and "above all, a revolutionary." When she said this there was barely any applause from the largely upper middle class audience.

## Martha's Got Something To Say

James McCord, the former head of security for the Committee to Re-elect Nixon, is not the only one who is willing to spill some beans over Watergate. Now it appears Martha Mitchell, who is not known for her silence, is anxious to add her bit to prevent her husband, John, from, as she puts it, becoming "Sherman Adams No. 2."

Mrs. Mitchell announced this week that she wants to appear before the Senate's committee that is investigating Watergate. "I'd tell the Senators some things they never heard in their life." She

added, "I spent four years fighting the little boys in the White House."

But it wasn't just the "little boys" who were Martha's targets last week. Virtually accusing Nixon of being a liar, Mrs. Mitchell said that the White House's denial that her husband met with Nixon at the White House on Saturday was a "God-blessed lie."

While the Senate investigating committee is keeping much of its reports secret, one thing is for sure, there is a lot more to come out of the Watergate conspiracy.

## FARINAS . . .

(Continued From Page 2) sentence, he will get a quick parole and will have to serve very little of his sentence.

"From my own experience there, I have seen that the so-called white collar criminals and the politicians—anyone with any connections to the ruling class at all—are given very lenient treatment, whereas the working class—mostly Black and Puerto Rican guys from the ghettos—don't get any breaks at all. They are harassed and discriminated against in every possible way. Racism is consciously pushed to divide the inmates and prevent any kind of opposition. Racism is one of their main weapons.

"I had a first hand experience of how the prison system—and Danbury is not one of the tough prisons—is wholly designed to dehumanize and demoralize the prisoners. But instead of achieving that purpose, it makes them even more frustrated and angry at society. The question is to politically direct this anger and these feelings to a Marxist under-

standing of what this oppression is and what it really means and what has to be done to get out of the situation."

## ILA . . .

(Continued From Page 3) nominated to run for president against Scotto, withdrew from the election.

"It's obvious that Bell and the Communist Party, along with Webb, made a deal with Scotto," Woodford told the *Bulletin*. "A lot of men were really angry when they saw Webb pull out without a fight."

Woodford and Chatman are preparing public campaign meetings to rally longshoremen against Scotto. The growing support for the ILA Caucus is reflected in the statement of an Italian American dockerman who told Woodford: "You guys can go all the way. If the men on the docks see a real opposition to Scotto, they'll support it."

The ILA Caucus calls on all longshoremen to support Woodford for Delegate "A," and Chat-

## INDOCHINA . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

on and Thieu during the latter's visit to the United States, and then reported to Lon Nol during General Haig's trip to Cambodia.

However, even American military experts admit that there is widespread fear within the Pentagon that a South Vietnamese invasion would result in a crushing defeat for the puppet army.

In spite of the betrayals of the Stalinist bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and China, a border crossing into Cambodia from South Vietnam would not be simply a repetition of the 1970 action.

A vast social revolution has developed in Cambodia while the Thieu regime, which is being told to commit its army to Cambodia, is unable to deal with the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam.

The scope of the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam, which controls large portions of the country, is reflected in the report of a correspondent from the *Christian Science Monitor* who spent some time with the NLF. He wrote:

"We saw children who went to school in the Front zone and learned songs about the birds and the mountains. But we also saw lads of 14 or 15 who were entrusted with hand grenades and the latest AK-47 automatic rifles. "Children who appeared to be 8

to 12 years of age were used to run handwritten messages back and forth between cadres."

The situation for the imperialists in Cambodia is even more desperate; for there virtually all the land is controlled by the Khmer Rouge.

The most important factor is that the movement of the Indochinese masses coincides with the movement of the working class in the metropolitan countries—above all, in the United States—against their capitalist governments.

These developments confirm the perspectives of the International Committee of the Fourth International which at all points placed the struggle in Vietnam within the context of the international capitalist crisis.

It is for this reason that the International Committee saw the defense of the Indochina revolution accomplished through the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the advanced countries to prepare for the struggle for power by the industrial working class.

The Pabloite revisionists, who saw only the strength of American imperialism and turned their backs on the working class in the advanced countries, were always resigned to the defeat of the Vietnamese revolution. The Socialist Workers Party considered it impossible to do

the war while adapting to the criminal policies of the Stalinists.

The new upsurge in Indochina poses the international tasks of the Trotskyist movement with the greatest urgency. Precisely because the workers and peasants can conquer Cambodia and prepare the way for the fall of Thieu in Saigon, the Stalinists are preparing new betrayals.

It has been reported that both Peking and Moscow, anxious to maintain the imperialists in Indochina, have given Henry Kissinger—who is once again in Paris—their private assurances that they will not object to an invasion of Cambodia by South Vietnam and Thailand.

The defense of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian revolutions against American imperialism and the betrayals of international Stalinism requires the political mobilization of the working class in the United States against Nixon.

Under these conditions, the Workers League, Young Socialists, and the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party is organizing the first Trotskyist May Day rally in Union Square to carry forward the campaign for a Congress of Labor to build the labor party and create the political and industrial circumstances which will prevent Nixon from implementing his attacks against the working class in the US as well as Indochina.

## 1199 . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

emergency meeting of last year's negotiating committee is also scheduled for April 18.

1199 members must demand that a strike be mandated without further delay, if the full provisions of the contract are not restored. The clear and unambiguous call for all-out action and the mobilization of labor support is what must come from the delegates and chapter meetings which will be held in the next few weeks.

The dissatisfaction of the 1199 membership exploded at the April Guild Delegates meeting. The union leaders tried to get the delegates approval on a series of motions on procedure to prevent "disruption" at meetings. However, they failed.

One proposal to end meetings at 8:45 p.m. was passed over substantial opposition. The next proposal, to provide for a 15 minute question period on union functioning and policy at the be-

ginning of all meetings, was amended over Davis' strong opposition, to set a time limit of two minutes on Davis' replies to the questions. Three other proposals were tabled and many delegates felt that the first two proposals would have to be reconsidered.

Behind the rebellion of the delegates on these proposals is the tremendous crisis facing 1199 today. As delegates pointed out, the members they represent want to know now exactly what the union leaders intend to do about all the attacks they face.

The rollback crisis was also discussed at this meeting. Nearly a thousand social workers in the city hospitals who are members of 1199 are going to be transferred into District Council 37 by the Health and Hospitals Corporation, which now runs the municipal institutions.

These workers stand to lose more than seniority and the right to choose union representation.

A supporter of the Rank and File Committee of 1199, part of the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party, pointed out that the rollback could not be fought isolated from the attacks facing all hospital workers on wages and working conditions. The hospital bosses and Nixon would not respond to pleading or to antics which only display frustration and weakness. Both the rollback and the pay cut must be fought through strike action mobilizing the entire union.

Strike action by hospital workers can and must lead to general strike action and the building of a Congress of Labor to stop Nixon. This is the real situation facing all workers today.

## BRITAIN . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

the very day workers went to the polls to vote for the Labour Party, gave Scanlon the green light to enter new talks with the Tory government, which is intent on dictating wages to the working class, destroying the unions and establishing a corporate state.

Scanlon—with the full support of the Communist Party—is so determined to hold back a political struggle against the Tories that he has openly proclaimed Heath to have won a "victory" over the trade unions. It is this treachery that has led to a settlement for the hospital workers totally within the Tory Phase Two wage limits.

The one day protest called by the Trades Union Congress for May 1 must take up a campaign for a general strike to force the Tories out of office and put into office a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

The building of a revolutionary leadership in the working class and the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party are now among the most urgent tasks facing the British working class.

man Smith for Executive Board on the basis of the following program:

To call on the ILA to reopen the contract to struggle for the following demands alongside the ILWU, whose present contract expires July 1:

- No "flexible" contract—right to strike over all contract violations.

- A 20 percent wage increase in the first year with an equity clause for all minor ports. A 100 percent cost of living escalator clause covering each year of the contract, and the retroactive payment of all wage increase cuts made by the Pay Board.

- No compulsory overtime.
- Guaranteed Annual Income must be defended:

- Full 40 hour guarantee for all longshoremen with no restrictions for 30 hour week.

- All longshoremen eligible for GAI payments after two weeks.

- Abolish Prior Day Ordering. No assignment out of area, and job assignment according to seniority. No debitting.

- No reduction in gang size—back to 21 men.

- Unlimited sick leave with full pay.

- Twenty and out at \$650 per month with 100 percent cost of living escalator. Years must be counted cumulatively.

The ILA and ILWU must call for a Congress of Labor that will mobilize American workers in general strike action against Phase Three; and construct a labor party—pledged to the nationalization of the docks under workers control—that will defend longshoremen against attacks on their jobs, living standards, and democratic rights.

BY MELODY FARROW

Less than a month after the French legislative elections a situation is developing in the working class that is already being compared to the May-June General Strike days of 1968.

Since March 21, 200 immigrant workers have led a determined strike at the giant Paris Renault auto plant that is rapidly turning into a rallying point for the entire French working class in its fight for decent wages and against the oppressive conditions and speedup inside the plants.

From the beginning this struggle was launched in direct defiance of the union leaders of the Stalinist-led trade union federation (CGT), who are bending over backwards to maintain peaceful relations with President Pompidou.

When the immigrant workers struck, other workers in the Boulogne-Billancourt plant marched to their section in solidarity and held one hour sympathy strikes. Despite the threats of the management to send 50 foremen and armed thugs in to re-start the assembly line while the men were sitting there, the strike has become more hardened than ever.

CGT leaders attempted to halt the strike by agreeing to a deal with Renault that would give the strikers a wage increase but not the special classification they are demanding. The offer was unanimously rejected by the workers.

When Renault threatened to lay off 7000 Renault workers in retaliation, 300 pressmen in the Flins plant and 75 pressmen at Sandouville immediately went out and still have not gone back. On April 3 at a mass meeting in the plant, the workers voted overwhelmingly to continue their strike.

Last week, for the first time, the struggle spread outside Renault. Two thousand steel workers with a similar grievance went on strike at the Le Sollac steel works in Lorraine.

The demand for a classification according to skill is being fiercely resisted by Renault because in their own words, "it would oblige us to grant it to everyone and upset the structures and jobs of the plant." Auto workers are paid according to a grading scale that is determined not by the skill which many workers have in common, but by the machine one works on. This scheme, which the CGT has long accepted, enables Renault to divide the workers and keep the wages down. If this demand is won, it will set off a wave of strikes throughout Renault and break the entire system down.

While this was taking place in Renault, a mass strike of students broke out for the first time since 1968 over the new draft law which forces youth to

# FRANCE HEADS TOWARD NEW GENERAL STRIKE



Massive demonstration of striking French workers. Experience of May-June '68 will bring forward new level of struggle. Banner states "United As In May."

drop their education and enter the army at age 18.

On April 2, 100,000 students marched in Paris and 200,000 in the provinces under slogans that are becoming increasingly political. Instead of the Stalinist demands of extending the deferment and for the right to choose the time of entry into the Army, which dominated the first week of the strike, the students chanted: "Renault on Strike, Solidarity," "To Hell with Deferments, We Don't Want any Army at all," and "Down With the Army, Strikebreakers."

In Strasbourg, 74 people were injured, 54 of them police, when they were called in to eject students from the Faculty of Sciences. One student was in critical condition after being hit in the chest with a tear gas canister.

## REBUFFED

The CGT and the Communist Party are trying to take a different tact that they did in the 1968 student struggles when they branded the youth as "sons of the bourgeoisie" and "provocateurs." The CGT has invited the students to join its May Day march and even attempted to march up front at the April 2 demonstration before being rebuffed by the students.

The Stalinists are desperately seeking to maintain control over the Renault strike and among youth for fear that an alternative revolutionary leadership will develop. At Renault, the Stalinists are walking a precarious tight rope, declaring their solidarity and appearing to take the initiative, while behind the scenes they are frantically

seeking a way to end the strike. In the words of a CGT leader at Renault, Roger Sylvain: "All unions at Renault want to avoid a major confrontation."

The lack of confidence of the Renault workers in their leadership, especially since 1968, was expressed by several strikers interviewed by the Paris paper *Le Monde*. One said:

"We're sick of the delegates. They are never there to begin an action. They are always there to hold us back or tell us to go back to work." Another revealed:

"When a dispute broke out in department 38 before the elections, the strikers went to department 12. We all went out but a delegate told us: 'Wait for the application of the Common Program.' So we returned to work. The elections passed and the CGT didn't propose a strike. March 21, when the CGT organized a national day of action...we declared for a 24 hour strike. And when we saw the unity in the struggle, well the strike became indefinite."

The aim of the Stalinists is to prevent the strike from becoming a political fight against the government. Now that the elections are over, the Communist Party seeks to settle down to being a loyal opposition in Parliament, content to work for a few reforms. It accepts the continued existence of Pompidou as President for the next three years.

The CP leaders have now concluded from the election that even the Common Program on which they united with the Socialist Party and the Radical Party is too extreme. George Marchais, General Secretary of the Communist Party, in a special report to the Central

Committee attributed the Gaullist majority in the Assembly not to gerrymandering, but to the success of Pompidou's anti-communist tirades, which he said frightened away the middle classes. He warned that the party should be "prudent" in dealing with the Socialist Party and not alienate them. In line with this, Marchais proposed the party return to the 1968 slogan of "Advanced Democracy." Putting forward the bankrupt policies of the Popular Front, he said: "The policy of democratic anti-monopoly reforms is the only real solution to the crisis of French society."

What Marchais wants is to drop even lip service to socialism and restrict the struggle for workers demands to parliamentary bills. The main "priority" of the Stalinists, improving wages and conditions, is mentioned only in the most vague way.

## POMPIDOU

The Stalinists lost no time in proving their subservience to the Gaullists. After the elections, Pompidou's first measure in an opening speech to the Assembly was to ask approval for a reduction of the President's term from seven to five years. He emphasized that no amendments or conditions could be added. The Radicals and Socialist Party immediately assured their support and the CP's newspaper, *L'Humanite*, was cautiously optimistic that this move meant Pompidou was responding to the "will of the people."

Pompidou's proposal is nothing of the kind. It is a calculated attempt not only to disarm the opposition but to strengthen the powers of the President. Pom-

pidou knows that he must confront the working class head on to drive down their wages and destroy the trade unions. In preparation for this battle he must shake up the old state inherited from General De Gaulle. He seeks to pull the Stalinists into the trap by lulling them with conciliatory talk of "participation" and "distribution of the fruits of economic expansion," while strengthening right wing and fascist forces like "New Order" and the "National Front."

The decision of Nixon to launch an all-out trade war against Europe will have immediate consequences for French workers. The French capitalists' drive to save their own industry will rapidly lead to ruthless cost cutting, mergers and rationalizations, sacrificing thousands of workers' jobs, and fierce resistance to wage demands. At the same time the ruling class prepares for dictatorship, creating the conditions for civil war throughout Europe.

In a period when French workers have gone through the 1968 General Strike and have experienced the betrayals of Stalinism, the conditions have never been greater for the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party in France. All the revisionists like the Pabloite Ligue Communiste and the International Communist Organization (OCI), which deserted the International Communist Committee, today join in crying "unity" to cover for the Stalinists. The fight to build a new leadership in the French working class must go forward in a struggle against all those who have abandoned their responsibilities on the eve of historic battles.

# Equity Funding Fall & The Collapse of The Dollar

BY MARTY MORAN

The crash of Equity Funding Corporation has shaken the financial and insurance world as nothing has since the beginning of the postwar boom. Many investment insiders fear that the mutual fund market is irrevocably dead as public confidence can never be restored.

The Wall Street Journal and the Journal of Commerce have run story after story detailing the massive fraud and the hectic dumping of Equity stock once word went around. But they are unable to make any sense out of the manufacturing of over one billion dollars in phony insurance policies.

The Journal reflects the panic and demoralization in the top financial circles, where there is growing understanding that inflation is completely out of control and the economy is plunging toward catastrophe. After 30 years of putting off the economic crisis, they are shocked and amazed when it stares them in the face.

Equity Funding Corporation was built from a \$100,000 company into the fastest growing American insurance company which claimed assets around \$500 million because a man named Stanley Goldblum thought of combining two different pieces of paper, mutual fund shares and insurance policies, into a single deal.

The two were packaged in such a way that an investor could

purchase both with a relatively small initial investment, evading the Security Exchange Commission's 80 percent margin required on all securities transactions since the 1929 crash.

## DEVICE

As long as mutual fund shares went up in value, the premiums on the insurance would be paid, the investor would get richer, and Equity would take a hefty cut, all on a shoestring.

Thus, this was a perfect device for the booming stock market of the 1960s, where mutual funds topped the market average 84 percent of the time.

In fact, Equity made so much money selling other peoples' mutual funds and insurance that Goldblum decided to enter those fields himself. Three Equity mutual funds were established, with assets now totalling over \$200 million. On the strength of Equity's reputation as the biggest of boom companies, Goldblum borrowed freely from the big banks to buy up insurance companies, including one which he renamed Equity Funding Life.

At the height of the boom, mutual funds became the plaything of the big speculators. In a few short years, Bernard Cornfeld built up a two billion dollar empire in the international mutual Investors Overseas Services (IOS), drawing in speculators from Europe and America with his slogan "Do you sincerely want to be rich."

Goldblum was on the same

path. An admiring two page interview in the business magazine Forbes in March 1969 praised him for piling up a personal fortune of \$25 million on an initial \$3500 and concluded "Bernie Cornfeld look out."

Less than a year later, Cornfeld was ousted from the board of IOS, which crashed in what was labelled "the greatest swindle in history." In the mutual fund market as a whole, the bottom was dropping out. In 1968, \$6.8 billion in mutual fund shares were sold and only \$3.8 billion redeemed. By 1972, the plunge was so severe that sales were less than \$5 billion while redemptions shot up to \$6.6 billion.

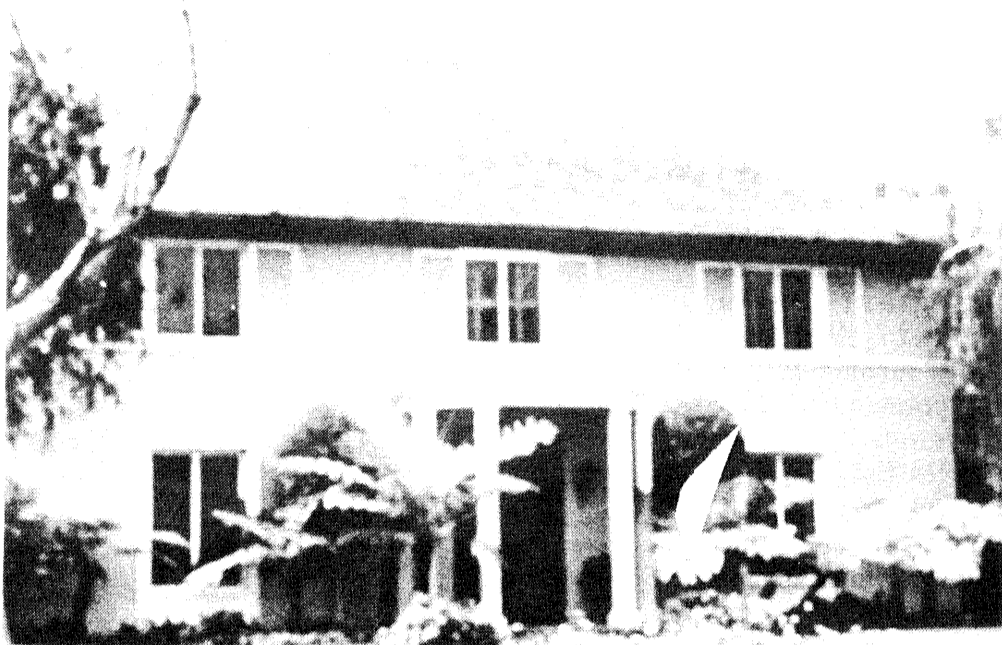
Equity's own mutual funds skidded 25 percent, and many others did worse. With the market for mutual funds shares shrinking absolutely, companies like Equity which based themselves on a constantly expanding and even accelerating market, were in an impossible position. Premiums had to be paid on insurance, but the dividends and capital gains from the mutual funds were no longer coming in. Equity officers solved their cash problem by creating a fictitious boom in insurance, manufacturing phony policies, then selling them to reinsurers for cash.

In spite of the general recession, Equity continued to have boom-time sales of insurance, doubling its business in 1970 alone. It was the wonder of the industry, continuing to buy up other companies. As late as June 1972, four big banks loaned it \$75 million to acquire Northern Life Insurance of Seattle.

There is no doubt that Equity could have risen to be one of the top 10 or 20 insurance companies in the country by continuing to dummy up masses of new policies. With the financial picture otherwise so bleak, the banks smiled on this child of the boom that had not gone sour.

## CONNECTIONS

This confidence existed despite the close connections between Cornfeld's operation and Equity. When Goldblum established Equity Growth Fund as his leading mutual fund, he hired



Goldblum's modest California residence.

Yura Arkus-Duntov from Dreyfus Fund to run it. Dreyfus was where Cornfeld received his early training.

In 1969, Equity bought one of Cornfeld's key US subsidiaries, Investors Planning Corporation (IPC) for \$12.5 million. Two years later, Cornfeld, Goldblum, and Equity were sued by a stockholder of the Fund of America, another Equity-managed fund, for diverting over seven million dollars from Fund of America into IPC. At the same time, Goldblum was named to the President's Council of the National Association of Securities Dealers, the industry spokesmen. He holds this position today.

Equity has had a whole string of shady dealings that were considered par for the course in the financial world. As early as 1967 the state of Minnesota suspended Equity's license.

## NIXON

The state of Pennsylvania concluded in 1971 that Equity was the highest cost insurer in the state and threatened to bar it from business. Equity was represented in this case by the law firm of Mudge, Rose, Guthrie, and Alexander, which Nixon was a partner in before becoming President. A spokesman for the firm admitted they had regularly represented Equity's New York subsidiary.

In August 1971, two former officers of Equity's Southern California real estate subsidiary were indicted for land swindling. Equity sold the company a few months later.

Equity has close connections with a number of the top corporations. Most intriguing are its ties to ICI America, the US subsidiary of the three billion dollar British chemical monopoly for ICI Ltd. Nelson Loud, a director of ICI America, sits on the board both of Equity and Equity Growth Fund. Joining him on Equity Growth Fund is the vice president and treasurer of ICI America, Robert J. Reilly.

Two companies, Loew's Corporation and Fidelity Corporation, are stuck with more than a million shares of Equity stock, one-eighth of the total. Wall Street has seen a vicious game of

hot potato played out over the last two weeks.

Boston Company, a large investment house, unloaded almost a million shares, realizing \$15 million for shares now rated worthless. Loew's, which bought many of these, is refusing to go through with the deal and wants to stick its broker with the stock.

## SELLERS

The most interesting sellers of Equity stock have been the company's own officials. Goldblum reportedly placed a sell order for 50,000 shares of stock on the last day of trading. Jeffries and Company, a large broker, has obtained a court order freezing payment on \$500,000 in checks made out to Yura Arkus-Duntov, vice president of the company, who unloaded 25,000 shares to them on the last day. Goldblum had been selling off his stock in small pieces to avoid attracting attention since last August.

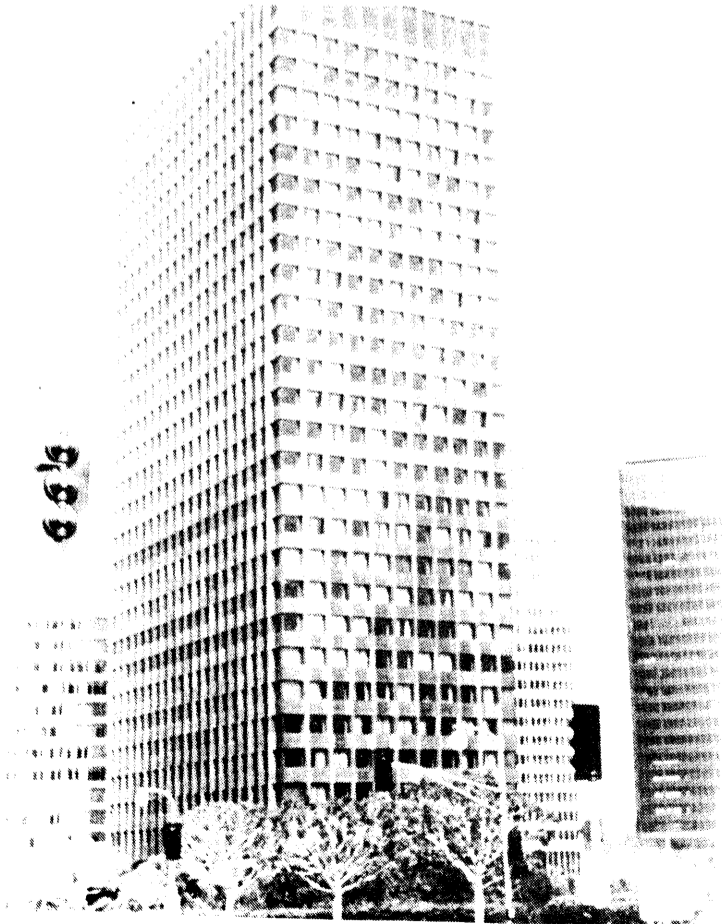
It is characteristic of capitalism in decay that it rewards most lavishly the speculators and financial operators, the men who invent a new piece of paper or a new way of shuffling the old paper around so the books can show a profit.

Everything Goldblum did to build up Equity and to postpone its fall involved the manipulation of paper assets whose foundation is the grossly inflated dollar.

The collapse of the dollar means a decline in credit throughout the economy. Already a high treasury official has warned the major banks that they are in great danger from borrowing heavily on the short term market to lend on the long term. Any contraction will have a swift chain-reaction effect.

The production of the basic necessities which people must have to live will be openly subordinated to the profit requirements of the financial parasites. The Equity crash points the way to wholesale collapses of industrial as well as financial concerns, with mass unemployment and the destruction of the real wealth built up by the sweat of workers over 30 years.

Production must be put in the hands of the working class by the building of a labor party pledged to nationalize the banks and basic industry.



Equity, whose collapse has international ramifications.

## West Coast News



The ILWU shut down West Coast ports last week against a proposed ban on log exports. These longshoremen came 250 miles from Eureka to San Francisco to demonstrate in defense of their jobs.

# Worker Is Killed But BART Rolls On

BY MARTY MORAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The criminal profit hunger of the big companies which built the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system claimed its first life last week with the killing of a track foreman at BART's Hayward yard.

Miguel Camposana was helping to repair a switching device in the yard when according to his fellow workers he made the wrong move and stepped into the path of a seventy mile per hour train.

A few days later the BART board of directors tabled a motion to tighten up safety procedures and establish shunts to divert trains from any track where work is being carried out.

### SHODDY

BART has been plagued with failure of equipment due to bad engineering and shoddy materials provided by Westinghouse and Rohr Corp., the

main contractors for the systems cars. Last fall, when the Oakland to Fremont line opened, a car ran off the tracks at the Fremont terminus.

The day before the fatal accident, a five car train on the Fremont run opened every door while roaring along its elevated railway at eighty miles an hour. Luckily none of the twenty five passengers fell out.

The train continued to open its doors between stations seven more times before it could be taken into the yard and checked. An investigation revealed that insulation of wiring on the train's controls was so thin that it was wearing out after only six

months.

BART general manager B.R. Stokes is determined to protect his cronies in the companies who have made a fortune building the system five years late with a cost overrun approaching \$800 million. Only a few days before the accidents, he announced that all problems revealed by the October crash were solved.

### CONSPIRING

Stokes and San Francisco mayor Joseph Alioto are conspiring to open the main BART run through the bay tube into San Francisco next fall. Alioto wants a splashy event to send off his campaign for governor.

With most of the technical difficulties still unresolved, Stokes nonetheless proposed to begin running trains through the eight mile tunnel under the bay where rescue operations would be nearly impossible. He will satisfy the big capitalist politicians regardless of the consequences to the workers who ride the system or work for it.

# Brotherhood Joins Schrade Fanclub

BY BARRY GREY

FREMONT—Like every other so-called rank and file formation in the United Auto Workers which refuses to begin with the political questions facing auto workers in the upcoming contract, the Brotherhood Caucus of Local 1364 here has capitulated on the central issue of wages.

The latest Brotherhood newspaper reports on the bargaining convention with militant sounding criticisms of Woodcock, but poses no specific wage demand to meet the skyrocketing cost of living, and no policy to overturn the sell-out being prepared by Woodcock.

### CENTRIST

The Brotherhood leadership lines up with Pete Kelly of the centrist United National Caucus and the Stalinist Communist Party in seeking to divert the inevitable wage offensive against Nixon's controls.

At the convention the UNC and

the CP put forward former West Coast regional director Paul Schrade as an alternative to Woodcock. Schrade made no fight against Woodcock's bargaining program.

### HATCHET

Schrade, as every auto worker in California knows, was Woodcock's hatchet man, who oversaw the elimination of hundreds of thousands of jobs in aerospace, the Pay Board cut in the aerospace contract, and the introduction of GMAD and its brutal speedups.

Now Brotherhood leader Earlie Mays is holding meetings in the plant and praising Schrade to the skies as a rank and file militant. This is the classic role of centrists—to cover for the "left" wing of the labor bureaucracy in order to prop up the bureaucracy as a whole.

The Committee for a Decent Contract of Local 1364 will take forward the fight to repudiate Woodcock's bargaining program in a ruthless battle against the centrists who stand in the way.

# Radicals Join To Smother Wages Fight

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—A Bay Area Domestic Action Conference called by a coalition of groups led by the Stalinist Communist Party drew three hundred people here last week.

With the Bay Area labor movement undertaking a campaign for a labor protest rally against Phase Three on April 28, the purpose of this conference was to divert workers from this question of wages.

Speakers from poverty organizations and middle class consumer protest groups advocated everything from cutting war profits to tax reforms to pressure on elected officials to fight inflation.

### NIXON

At the point that Nixon seeks to hold wages to 5.5 percent and to prepare with the aid of the Democratic Party a total freeze and a ban on strikes these middle class reformists come together to oppose a real fight by the labor movement.

Only a strike offensive determined to smash Phase Three and win immediate 20 percent increases along with a 100 percent cost-of-living escalator can defeat Nixon's inflationary attack. Such a fight means an all out confrontation with the government posing a fight for power through the construction of a labor party.

### COVER

For this reason the labor bureaucracy is lining up behind the controls and refusing to lead a wages offensive. The Stalinist organizers of this conference were determined to provide cover for this.

They were assisted in this dirty business by the Socialist Workers Party which went even farther in covering up for Stalinism than in the days of the peace protest movement.

For the SWP the fight against inflation is to be conducted not

through the unions using their strength to fight for wages but through consumer protest actions.

Their spokesmen even proclaimed the planned May 5 consumer protest demonstrations more important than the April 28 labor rally. Not even the Stalinists dared to put forward such a line.

In essence such a perspective amounts to telling the working class to abandon the fight in the unions to defeat the bureaucracy and turn the unions into instruments for an offensive against the capitalist state and instead to take up the struggle as isolated consumers.

### ABSTAINED

In the workshop on wage controls the SWP helped the Stalinists defeat a resolution calling for bringing a program of a wage offensive and the construction of a labor party into the April 28 rally. The SWP by abstaining enabled the Stalinists to carry the vote and prevent discussion of the labor party before the main body of the conference.

### LEAD

The April 28 protest will undoubtedly mobilize thousands of Bay Area trade unionists seeking a lead in the fight against the soaring cost of living. If the labor bureaucracy and its revisionist apologists have their way they will be subjected to a barrage of rubbish about consumer boycotts and price rollbacks.

The Workers League and the Young Socialists intend to see to it that an alternative policy for a wage offensive through a general strike against Phase Three and the calling of a Congress of Labor to construct a labor party is placed before these workers. We urge all trade unionists and youth to join us.

# RUBBER . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

prices. There is too much anti-labor in the government. Everything is against the working man today. When anything happens they blame labor, but they are causing the rise in prices, not us."

### SCABS

The company is backed to the hilt by the police, who are escorting 50 scabs into the plant and home again. Strikers have been thrown in jail for trying to take a gun away from a scab. Another scab from the night shift came out swinging an icepick at pickets.

An older striker said, "The law, it is not on our side. We get arrested for trying to defend ourselves and the real criminals run free."

The police have joined the

scabs in attacking pickets. One striker was run over by them when they claimed he was blocking a driveway. Last week, plainclothes policemen walked the picket lines claiming to be members of the United Auto Workers. They were chased off the line.

### OPEN SHOP

The likes of this vicious anti-union campaign have not been seen in decades here. Los Angeles was the center of the open shop movement in the 1920s and 1930s but this history has been obscured by the relative ease with which the labor movement was built up during the post-war boom.

Now the employers want to return to the days when industry flocked to Los Angeles to exploit cheap non-union labor. All the

methods of police attack developed against the farm-workers union are being brought into basic industry.

The Sloan strikers themselves look towards a strike by rubber workers against all the Big Four rubber companies to lend strength to their fight. But the URW leadership intends to strike only Firestone, while making no preparations to defend picket lines against the assaults which are sure to follow.

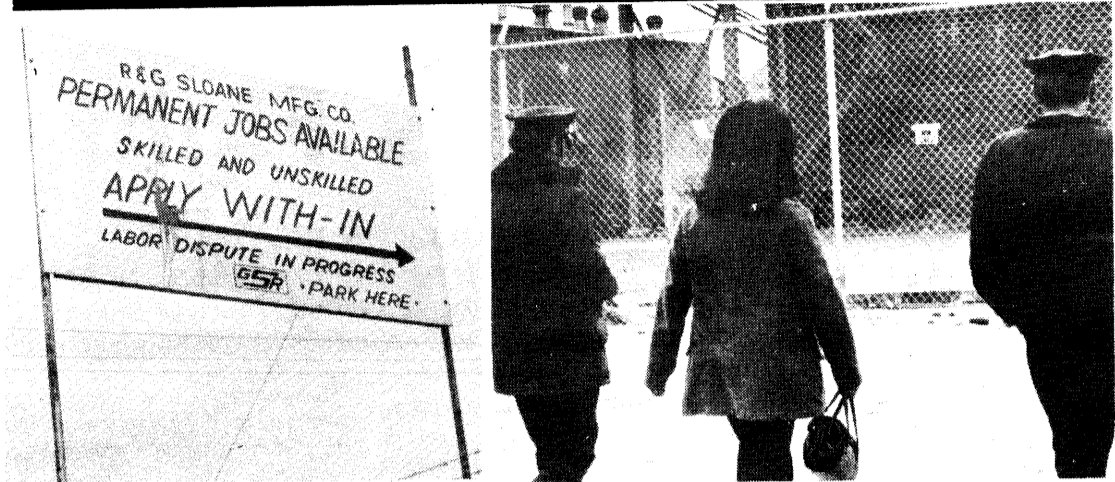
The financial crisis which is now ripping big business means that every demand for a decent wage requires a fight against the government. Mass picketing must be organized wherever picket lines are threatened. A Congress of Labor must be called to smash the wage freeze and Nixon's union-busting through general strike action.

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN

WEST COAST OFFICE: 3327 24th Street, San Francisco, Cal. 94110

Phone: 824-4096



Top right: Police escort scab. Top left: R&G Sloane is demanding an open shop. Above: United Rubber Workers Local 621 has been on strike six weeks in Los Angeles.

## Police, Scabs Lead Open Shop Drive

BY SHEILA BREHM

LOS ANGELES—Police in riot gear, plainclothes spies, and armed scabs have been mobilized against the six week old strike of the 750 members of United Rubber Workers, Local 621.

The whole rubber industry faces an April 20 contract expiration date with 90,000 rubber workers. R&G Sloan Company of North Hollywood has shown rubber workers what to expect by launching an all-out open shop campaign to break the union.

Sloan, which produces plastic pipefittings, plastic sprinklers, and irrigation fitters, originally offered a 16 cent raise, then one cent more, only to withdraw even that. The company is now insisting that an open shop clause be written into the contract, and is offering 40 cents to skilled tradesmen and 11 cents to production workers in order to divide the union.

The union has rejected this offer, demanding 75 cents and a cost-of-living escalator clause. One skilled tradesman said, "We just got a union shop three years ago, although we have had the union for ten years. We are not going to break this union up for 40 cents and an open shop. We would be at their mercy."

The majority of the workers

are Mexican-Americans. The company is openly provoking the strikers by issuing statements such as "Mexican can't do it; they'll be back in a few weeks for a bag of beans and a bag of potatoes."

Armando Lopez explained to the Bulletin: "We are not in-

involved in a racist business here. Let them do it. That has got nothing to do with it. We just want decent wages and cost of living to protect our wages. I don't care what Nixon says about our raising the economy. We're not to blame for the high food

(Continued On Page 19)

## Magee Faces Retrial

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The inability of the prosecution to get a conviction in the trial of Ruchell Magee reflected the tremendous hatred developing in the working class against the government.

Magee's heroic defense of his right to freedom won enormous support among workers and youth and the hung jury was a blow against the government.

Now after weeks of dithering about expenses and passing the buck the California Attorney General has announced there will be a retrial and a tentative date

of May 29 has been set.

Magee destroyed the government case despite enormous expenditure, outrageous trampling on his constitutional rights to defend himself and an atmosphere of hysterical terror.

CONVICTION

The state is determined that it must have a conviction against this one man to lay the basis for the all out assault it is preparing on the democratic rights of the working class.

It is urgent that the labor movement speak out not only to demand that there be no retrial but that Magee be granted his freedom unconditionally.

## Editorial

### Mass Unemployment Clubs Bay Area

The Department of Defense has just announced that on June 30, 1974, the huge Hunters Point Naval Shipyard will be closed down.

Over 5600 workers from this yard will find themselves on the street. Thousands more will lose their jobs in the small private shops which service the yard. Many of these workers live in the Hunters Point-Bayview section of San Francisco which is already being devastated by the huge cutbacks in social programs announced in Nixon's budget.

This is more than simply an economy measure. It is a conscious blow aimed at the Bay Area labor movement which is one of the most militant and powerful in the country. Out of 21,000 civilian jobs slashed in the nationwide cuts, 8000 altogether will be lost in the Bay Area.

It is in the Bay Area that the labor movement has begun to take the first steps to rally rank and file workers against Phase Three.

These measures are the sharpest warning to the trade unions that Nixon intends to use mass unemployment as a battering ram to break down the conditions built up by the labor movement here and clear the way for open union-busting.

It is no accident that this announcement comes right on the heels of revelations that the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee is seeking to establish virtual dictatorship over the construction unions with particular attention being paid to Northern California.

The crocodile tears of the politicians will not change a thing. Already Senator Tunney is asking what measures the government plans to ease the impact. Tunney's only objection to the shutting down of Hunters Point, which is the main aircraft carrier repair station on the West Coast, is that it might hamper Nixon's ability to launch air attacks against the workers and peasants of Asia.

The labor movement must declare that under no conditions will it allow a single job go at Hunters Point. There must be an immediate strike by all the unions at the shipyard backed up with full support by the labor movement until these cuts are rescinded.

Such a struggle can only be taken forward through preparing mass strike action against Phase Three and the calling of a Congress of Labor to launch a labor party committed to a policy of full employment.

## MAY DAY '73

### San Francisco

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

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

### Los Angeles

FRIDAY May 4 8PM  
Hall 201 Embassy Auditorium  
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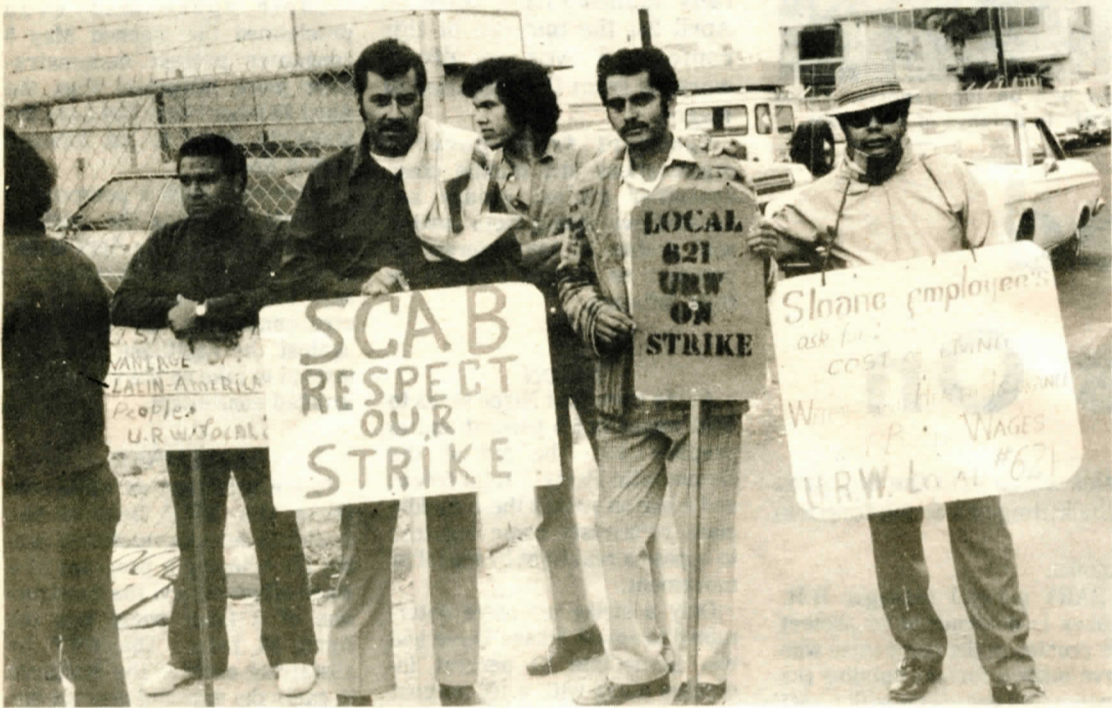
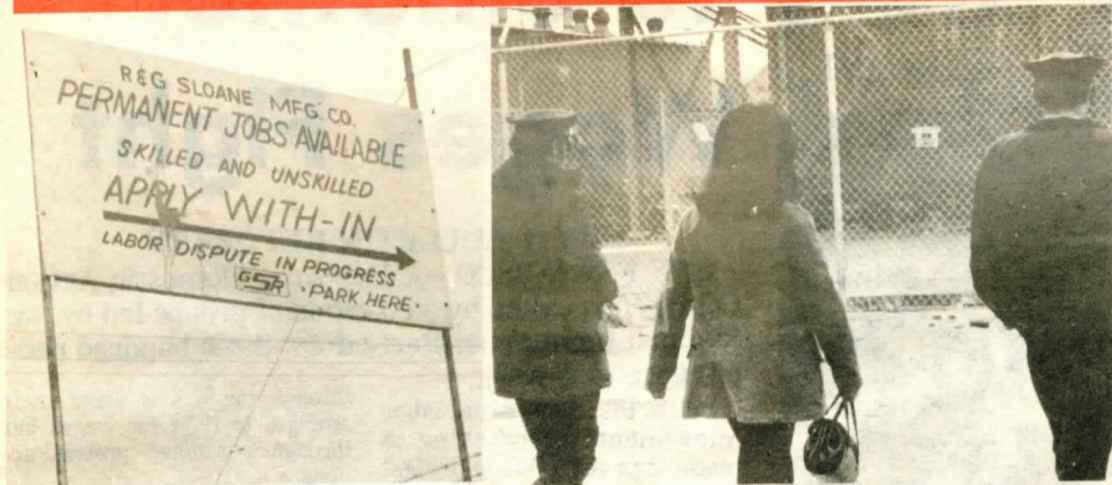
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