NLF OFFENSIVE SHAKES NIXON GOVERNMENT

BY DAVID NORTH

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

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

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

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

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

500 Join Young Socialists Rally

See Page 14

Ballantine Workers Occupy Factory To Protest Shutdown

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK—"Either everybody works, or nobody works." That is how one worker expressed the sentiment which brewed behind the plant on March 31, the day it was supposed to be closed up permanently. The whole afternoon shift was solidly behind the move, and they remained until 10PM, when the union leaders talked the men into leaving.

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

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60 years of their lives to working in the brewery.

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

Wisconsin Vote Jolts Democrats

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

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

However, Governor George Wallace finished a strong second, and is now the candidate with the most consistent following among the middle class supporters of the Democratic Party. In almost every part of the state, he

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outran Senator Hubert Humphrey, who finished third.

With all the returns in, McGovern had 36% of the vote; Wallace had 22%; Humphrey 21%; Muskie had 10%; Jackson had 8%; and Lindsay only 7%.

The New York mayor announced his withdrawal from the campaign.

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

But that his victory was primarily a reflection of the disintegration of the Democratic Par-

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

Wallace used populist dema-
gogy to win the support of the panicky middle class. But he is actually the disingenuous voice of big business using these fears to salvage a decaying system.

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

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BY BOB MICHAELSON
NEWARK—"Either everybody works, or nobody works." That is how one worker expressed the sentiment which brewed behind in the U.S. since the 1930’s.

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

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All with the return almost in, McGovern had 30% of the vote; Wallace had 23%; Humphrey 21%; Muskie had 19%; Jackson had 8%; and Lindsay only 7%. The New York media erroneously said that the withdrawal of Humphrey from the campaign after the Illinois primary.

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But that his victory was primarily a reflection of the disintegration of the Democratic Party was expressed in the poor showings of Humphrey and Muskie, the Democratic presidential candidates in 1968. Underlying this collapse of the principle national party is the deep economic crisis and the movement of the working class.

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

"I'm not against people accumulating wealth," he said shortly before election day. "That's our system."
Allende Asks IMF to Run Chile Economy

BY ED SMITH

A meeting of representatives of Chile’s President Salvador Allende’s Popular Unity government and the sixteen member “Paris Club” of imperialist creditors of Chile has made it clear that the economic foundation of the “peaceful road to socialism” is beginning to crumble.

Chile owes three billion dollars in foreign debt and interest and finds itself utterly unable at this stage of the world crisis to come up with it. It is asking the “Paris Club” for a three-year moratorium on $1.3 billion of the debts, and a ten-year period to repay. In return it offers a strict austerity program to pay the debts and acceptance of the advice of the International Monetary Fund and imperialist “advisors.”

These proposals of the “peaceful road to socialism” have thus far offered to place the direction of their economic policy in the hands of the imperialists themselves.

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

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

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

After the ITT disclosures, the United Popular Action Movement, a constituent of Popular Unity, proposed “confiscation” of ITT’s $200 million properties in Chile. Allende said he was “personally agreed” with this.

The next step in these talks, however, the Chilean delegation promised that there will be nationalizations without full pay- ment, in order to secure the ter- ulation of imperialism a while longer.

What is most important is the recent discovery of the fascist “Fatherland and Liberty” organization together with former army officers in- cluding, in general, for a coup to oust Allende. “Fatherland and Liberty” has been recently en- gaged with close collaboration with the Christian Democrats and National Party.

Although the uncovered plot seems to have been more in the realm of a putch than a serious insurrection, it does indicate a serious warning that the Chilean bourgeoisie, if its economic and U.S. imperialism itself, is looking less towards a workers’ and parlia- mentary disruption and more and more to the Molotov cock- tail and napalm parties found in the “Fatherland and Liberty” apparatus.

Allende now moves on the offensive against the left wing, removing the Social Mayor of Santiago for using “excessive force” against the student demonstrations. He joins the witch- hunt against MIR-led peasant ac- tivity. He is afraid to take “ba- lance” the discovery of the fascist plot with the arrest of al- leged MIR members with a pick- up truck of stolen army wea- pons.

At the same time the MIR, for all its criticisms, remains sup- port for Allende and in the recent period has even entered into the management of the potato farms and the like.

The situation in Chile is not at all lost. The response to the ITT affair in the working class, as well as the continued struggle in factory and land occupations, means that the Chilean leftists have not succeeded in their task of breaking the resis- tance of the working class.

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

This reactionary measure— supported by almost every left-wing Labour, Republican, Nationalist and Unionist MP, as well as by a section of the Provisional IRA lea- dership—constitutes a fascist attack of Protestant and Catholic worker alike. We call on all workers, all Irish workers that the slightest support for direct rule is a vote of confidence in a regime that has tortured, interned and murdered hundreds of Irish workers in the last 20 months.

Support for direct rule has an IC Statement On North Ireland

mesorable and sinister logic. If the Tory government decides to suppress Protestant workers with the same means that were used in Derry by the parap, what will the Republican Na- tionalists, revisionists and Sta- tinists do then?

To ask the question is to answer it. It was not an accident that these opportunists sup- ported the defeat of British troops to Ulster in 1969.

What the imperialists could not preserve with baton, bullet CS gas and noise machines they could not keep by a negotiated politi- cal settlement, enacted under the mantle of “direct rule.”

Under the cautionable subter- fuge of replacing the hated British regime the Heath-Wilson gang is now waging war even under attack against Irish workers’ rights, through a coal- ition of Republican and Catholic leaders, backed by the armed forces of the South and Britain.

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

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

The only genuine Protestant and Catholic workers—a pre- condition for a successful struggle against British im- perialism—demands an un- compromising struggle to tear this section of workers from the reactionary influence of Oran- gism. This can be done only through political action, revolutionary policies which strike against the Irish working class in a common struggle to defend basic demo- cratic rights. The government of the Unionists, defence of Toryism and establish a so- cialist government throughout Ireland.

The nationalization of land, banks and industry under worker’s control and without compensation is the only way for- ward for the Irish working class.

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

In the same way as the miners’ leaders saved the Tory go- vernment from a political defeat at the hands of the miners, so, too, the Labour party and MIR must im- pedingly help the Tories in their moment of greatest disaster yet.

In the meantime the Tory press covers up, or plays down, the si- nister conspiracy, by exagger- ated and speculative reports of a possible “Protestant back- lash.”

Without Wilson and the Labour “lefts” direct rule won’t be possible, or at least ineffective. Wilson’s support for direct rule is in line with his sup- port for internment and the ghost- fish techniques of the army and MI5.

The International Committee of the Fourth International calls on all “left” MPs, as well as the Irish opposition MPs, to vote against this fascist act.

The silence of these MPs, or their equivocal attitude to “direct rule,” will only provide testimony to the bankruptcy of the Left, their fear of the Irish working class and their resis- tance to face up to the alter- nation.

We say that there is an alter- native to direct rule and that it rests on the continual and deep- seat struggle of the British and Irish workers to force the Tory government out of power and set up a Labour government which will nationalize, in the struggle for power and help secure self-de-
ITT Exposes Nixon Into A Panic

BY MELODY FABROW

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

Last week, Assistant Attorney General Charles R. Scott, in announcing that the Republicans would move for a vote to end the hearing which he denounced as a "lunatic farce," said that "nothing of this runaway was ever done directly by Nixon himself, but he had held a breakfast meeting with Scott prior to the announcement." On Tuesday, April 10, the ITT lobbyist was suddenly stricken with another heart attack after being questioned by the Senate Committee in the hospital. Her doctors claim she may never be able to testify in Washington and the Committee has been ordered "to go into the subpnoea.

Beard rewrote the key sentences of the memo and claimed that the whole thing was a "joke" by "someone" who wanted to "destroy" her. Mrs. Beard, who had vigorously proclaimed her desire to testify, yielded to requests of the Senate Committee not to "tangle" in any way by paying various analysts $1,000 a day to provide phony evidence that the Beard memo could not have been written in 1971 or in 1972.

PANIC

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

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

She testified that: "The one instance I specifically recall ... was a request from Senator Vance Hartke for a plane. Hartke was the so-called "liberal" and Senate Majority Leader by the time the Senate was in session and was forced to speak at an NCPAC conference two years ago.

The government has been sharply embarrassed by the steady stream of revelations on the ITT affair by the New York Times.

On March 31, the Times reported: "The charges of high-level fixing in the ITT case have already shaken public confidence in the integrity and impartiality of the Justice Department, while presently over by Mr. Nixon's campaign manager, John Mitchell, and now by Mrs. Beard."" An even more explicit editorial on March 15th states: "What the case has already shown, however, is erosion of government credibility as a wall between law enforcement and politics criminals. This is a contempt of cynicism about the system and its institutions.

The New York Times has been forced to hint at perjury by leading members of the Nixon administration and is warning of a possible "white- wash" and "cover-up," saying that all sections of the bourgeoisie which the Times represents, is that the scandal will break down the illusions the Nixon regime is now trying to sell the country for what it is, the instrument of the big corporations.

The government is under the most tremendous power and control the huge corporations have within the government. These corporations report to private oligarchic interests whose exprts determine every decision that the state.

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UAW To Strike Norwood GM

By A BULLETIN REPORTER

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

The workers at Flint had to strike 130 days against this laboring pack of GM thugs in 1958 for the longest strike in GM auto history. After the strike, they moved this "team" to Norwood.

Since August, the plant has been put under the same name as the Flint General Motors Assembly Division (GMA) which was renamed after one decades a Fisher Body and Chevy plant with two local agreements.

No new local agreement has been negotiated since Flint. GMAD has let out all stops on speed shop, making it the worst January 14th to make so-called needed assembly line changes. Two work stoppages in strike authorization vote was taken and carried by a 90% majority.

After GMAD reopened the plant, five weeks later on Feb. 21st, a vicious attack was unchaused against the assembly workers as the company attempted to force 3,000 workers to build the same number of cars (close to 3,050 built last year. The shop chairman re- sealed that the number of disciplinary layoffs has reached 700 workers and there are 250 grievances against unfair labor standards.

But more decisive is the determin- ing solidarity of the workers to resist the GM. The unfinished and repair work is so massive that since February the workers have had to work from one to four hours early. This is done so that the repair crew can finish and repair the cars. The Norwood shop chairman said that the production workers have only averaged around five and one-half hours a day since the plant reopened Feb. 21st. This entitles them to supplement- ary unemployment compensation according to the National Agreement. GM refuses to pay it, claiming it does not have to because it is due to a "labor dispute." Young states that the workers should receive 90 percent of their normal wages for the hourly shorts of (less than 40) hours in the seven weeks. The union has been authorized to strike this week until April 7th. When asked by the Bulletin whether there has been any movement toward a settlement by GM, the union spokesman said: "No movement at all. The way things stand now...with the attitude displayed by them (GM)."

When asked about the need for a labor dispute settlement, the chairman said: "I think we’re going to have to come to it if we are going to retain our health insurance. There’s more to strip union- ers. We’re going to see a Na- tional Right To Work Law in my opinion..."

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

Rockefeller Vows To Crush NY CSEA

By DAN FRIED

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

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

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

"Echoing the News" talk of "hostages." Assembly Speaker Perry Duryea called for enforce- ment of the Taylor Law "to the letter," and stated that: "Any lesser step...would serve as an open invitation...for continued nose-thumbing of this and other laws covering public employee activities."

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

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

In reaction to the return to work order, made with no proposals for amnesty, another worker at Williobrook said: "If they try to put anyone in jail, we should go out again."

The CSEA was supported two years ago by Rockefeller against District Council 50 of AFSCME in an attempt to keep the state labor force in a state of docility. But all was not completed.

In a situation of revolt against the Pay Board guidelines marked by Meany’s departure from the Board and the upward spiraling of prices, these workers are any- thing but docile. It was reported that before the strike CSEA lead- er Theodore Wenzel was deleg- ated by phone calls in Albany from state workers demanding the rejection of the tentative agreement which provided for a 4% increase effective only in 1973.

There was a tremendous spirit of militancy and solidarity among the pickets and their families who successfully turned away State Police “picket- line” scabs which the administra- tion tried to bring in.

One striker charged that: "These ‘volunteers’ don’t know anything about feeding these babies. Let me tell you, any time you go into one of those buildings you have a real job. The govern- ment is not concerned with the welfare of the parsonage or anyone. They are only concerned with Rockefeller, and those poli- ticians and their money.

“Scabs are a bunch of bums,” she continued, "and the Taylor Law is for the birds. Slavery times have gone out."

During the strike, Mayor Lind- say said that the New York City hospitals would make available 100,000 sheets, 50,000 diapers and 20,000 towels, “if it became necessary.” On the same side, Lieutenant Governor Malcolm praised the strikebreakers “who (Continued On Page 18)

Bell Tel Wildcat

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

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

Behind the wildcat was the workers’ under- standing, that it is through apparently minor measures like this one, that Bell will carry out a drastic cut- back in employees that has been threatening for the last few months. There have already cut- backs in the commercial department and the installers are determined to fight so that not one of their jobs is lost.
**Nixon Halts Penn Central Rail Strike**

By a Bulletin Reporter

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

Nixon's appointment of special three-man panels to arbitrate differences between the workers and a new transportation bill established compulsory arbitration is pushed through Congress.

The threat of a strike by the UTU against Penn Central's aim of cutting freight train crews in half—from 18,000 men to 12,000 and then to 9,000—was made by UTU President A. H. Chenoweth two weeks ago, if "it's a show-down, Penn Central will not only cut the train crews on two-long trains to four or five to two or three, but will set the pace for massive layoffs by all the nation's railroads. Penn Central hopes to save $150 million on wages alone.

In addition, they plan to abandon 10,000 to 11,000 miles of track as another maneuver to "solve" the corporation bankruptcy.

The national goal of cutbacks of workers will mean a loss of 25,000 jobs and a saving of $609 million for the company, in order to enrich the millionaire owners.

There has already been a reduction of the railroad force from 1.4 million in 1950 to 825,000. The assertion of the Pennsylvania Railroad that the bankruptcy is a deliberate and organized international official of the UTU told the Bulletin: "Well, if the Pennsylvania Railroad is bankrupt, we're bankrupt last year or the workers will try to get a new law passed through Congress I guess. What else is there to do?"

A UTU worker at the Trailway yards in Chicago told the Bulletin: "You don't know from one day to the next whether you're going to have a job or not. One guy with eight and a half years seniority just last week lost his whole pension and everything. At the Burlington yards here all the workers were told to move to Marine and another job."

"A buddy of mine moved his family out there, put a pawn money on a house and everything. The next week, they told him they were closing that yard and he'd have to go to Seattle or back to Chicago."

"Looks to me they're trying to make a kill. Conditions around here are terrible. They've cut back and it's almost no maintenance and they've taken all the latrines in the yard and the restrooms."

"I was supposed to get a raise last year, but they said they couldn't because it was my union's responsibility to say whether there was a raise or not."

Workers of AFL Local 1349 have struck Inland-Ryerson Products in Lockport since March 11 to defend job security. Company is trying to split union according to departments with only departmental seniority.
Sprawling for more than two miles along both sides of the Lehigh River, the huge complex of steel mills of the Bethlehem Steel Corp. dominates the landscape in the eastern Pennsylvania city of Bethlehem.

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

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

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

At the same time, there is a very strong tradition of unionism, the fruit of the bitter struggle to bring the steelworkers into the CIO which began in the 1930's. This is the tradition represented by the older generation of steelworkers like the old-timer who told the Bulletin reporter during the contract negotiations last year, "We've got to let them take away our standard of living and conditions. We fought too hard for that."

Bethlehem Steel Corporation, the nation’s second largest steel producer, along with the other major steel companies, is a “little Steel” group, has a long and justified reputation of unfair labor practices and tactics. In 1937 Bethlehem’s hired thugs and paid police terrorized and defeated the organizing efforts of the United Steelworkers Organizing Committee throughout the state of Pennsylvania.

Although the company still controls the city of Bethlehem, it was forced to yield to the union in 1941. But without a bitter and bloody struggle, the UAW won the Buffalo-Lackawanna wars where the pickets refused to be broken by police and scabs to break the picket line.

The workers in the plant in Bethlehem, the Mt. St. Peter Police station with the infamous coal and iron police, the Pennsylvania Cosacks, all knew what the struggle was like. Despite the treachery of the union leadership, the workers rebuilt their lines to more than 1,000 and forced the company to recognize the union.

DEPRESSION

Perhaps more than any other industry, the steel industry is in a chronic state of depression since the late 1950’s. For many steelworkers this has meant unemployment compensation and SUB payments for those with two years seniority or more. For the companies it has meant a continual drive for profits through technological innovation—productivity, automation, rationalization and speed-up has meant that, in the words of a USWA spokesman, "under the added levels (of steelmaking expected in 1975) you're not going to get above depression levels of employment." At the Bethlehem mill, many workers are not even aware of the union pension. One basic oxygen furnace in 1973 will further decimate the workforce. But workers know that as long as the plant is under private ownership, many workers who have been laid off since last August's contract—some with up to seven years seniority, will never work in the mill again.

LAYOFF

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

In the months after the contract, more than 6,500 men at the mill were laid off. Many of them are still not back although some have recently been recalled.

The system utilizes the conditions of unemployment to create friction between the young and older workers. Many young workers complain that they are more subject to layoffs and "use" the older men who "refuse to take retirement under the union pension plan. One young worker from the coke ovens told the Bulletin: "There are 25 young people here who could go on pension. There are guys here who are 50-55. A couple of guys even died on the job. These old guys are down there and they don't want to go out." We spoke to one of the younger workers in the electrical division, who had 6 years seniority. He had just been recalled three weeks earlier. One third of the men in his division had been laid off following the contract. We asked him what he thought about the friction between the younger men and the older timers who refuse to get out. "I can't blame them," he said. "Many of them have 40 years seniority. The pension isn't much. Only about $500 a month or less. They don't want to live on it. That would have been better if Abel had really gone for the 4 day week in the last contract like he said. That would have made more jobs. You can't blame the older guys for the unemployment. It's really rough now for young guys coming out of high school now. There's no jobs. I'll be 18 in May and I wouldn't want to be getting out now."

During the boom, the mill provided jobs for the young, but now, the massive layoffs that followed the mill's largest statement have thrown thousands of men out of work. The vast majority of these steelworkers have not been rehired, and the company isn’t planning to hire anyone off the street. This situation, compounded by the decline in jobs in other industries, notably garment and construction, has placed the youth in a desperate situation.

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

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

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

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

The crisis in capitalism which is forcing the plant closings and layoffs in basic industry now threatens the lives of Bethlehem’s youth. Police harassment and beatings as well as drug and racism increase as the youth are forced out onto the streets. On Fourth Street, an old firehouse pool table, a jake box and a television is all the city has to offer, but now, the city administration is threatening to close even this down. Alleged complaints about “under age drinking and sexual activities on or near the premises” are cited as being responsible. But it is clear that the city fathers are afraid of more than this.

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

According to the president of United Steelworkers Local 259, there are still 2,000 workers at the Bethlehem mill laid off. He told the Bulletin that the expectations that the union formerly had for full rehiring “were pretty bleak.” He blamed Nixon for the seriousness of unemployment in the steel industry and in the rest of the country.

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

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

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

“We’re getting into another depression,” he said. “If a man is willing to work then he should have a job and a living wage. But the Pay Board tells us how much you should get when the cost of living keeps going up. We tell an impasse. There should be a complete break with the Pay Board and from the Democratic and Republican parties and labor set up its own party. Workers don’t have their own party and we have to fight for it.”
YS Launches Fight For April 22 Rallies

BY A YS REPORTER

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

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

SAN FRANCISCO

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

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

The WL-YS has called upon the SWP-YSAs to join in this demonstration with the most important events in the history of the working class and America. The leadership of James P. Cannon and Victor Deupree, Teamster Local 534 mobilized the entire working class in Minneapolis in a strike that shook the foundations of capitalism in this country.

LEADERSHIP

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

In its independent demonstrations throughout the country, the WL-YS will rally the working class on the basis of Marxist principles and recall the traditions of the 1919 Minneapolis general strike.

Against the treachery of the Stalinists who are planning to turn April 22 into a demonstration of collaboration with capitalism, its role in the 1963 Conference of Revolutionary Youth, which was held in Minneapolis on March 11th and on the proposed demonstration to be held in that city on April 22nd, against the war, unemployment and repression calling on the unions to take up a political fight against the government. Paul then proposed a similar conference be held in St. Louis on May 6th, to launch the Y.S. in this area and that all the youth present take up a fight to build this conference.

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

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

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

He pointed out that the building of the revolutionary youth conference in this city was the only way forward. A number of other youth agreed to join in this work after the meeting broke up.
Nixon Boosts Drugs To Stifle Struggle Of Youth

BY GIL GONZALEZ

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

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

Because he fears the power of the youth, Nixon would like nothing more than to have youth believe that their intellectual and capitalistic motives are nothing but a reflection of capitalist society, and that capitalism can be resolved by drugs rather than a battle for power.

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

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

Drugs take a section of the youth who are fed up with the degrading conditions of capitalism and turn them into the important lifeless slaves of capitalism.

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

The only solution is the overthrow of capitalism and its diseases and the establishment of a socialist order. This is the fight that the Young Socialists are leading.

State Drops Charges Against Feliciano

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

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

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

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

The Frame-Up Of Jeff Fort

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

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

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

The lawyer for Jeff Fort and the other gang members called the frame-up a conspiracy against the Black P. Stone Nation. But the conviction was more than that. It was part of a conspiracy by the dying capitalist state against all those who dare to fight back in any way.

The City tried to buy off Jeff Fort and the rest of the leadership in 1967-68 precisely because they were leaders of a large section of south side youth. The $977,000 OEO grant was for a job training program to be headed by the gang leadership.

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

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

The biggest threat is from those in the ranks of these groups who are turning toward Marxist theory as a weapon in the fight to change society.

In the face of this threat, the government is forced to jail or murder those who are in the leadership, in an attempt to smash the organizations completely.

The vicious nature of the charges against Fort and the others is a sign of their determination to do this. In the face of the fact that this means breaking up the gang system that has played such a major role in deepening the youth of Chicago and other large cities divided.

Only the construction of the Young Socialists can carry forward the fight of the youth.

Players Shut Down Baseball

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

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

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

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

The owners have offered to pay an additional $400,000 to $500,000 to players’ health care plan, but they steadfastly refuse to even consider the players’ demand for a $1.7 million increase in their pension fund.

Actually, $1.7 million of that increase is already in the fund, but the owners refuse to allow the players to use it rightfully ther.

"We’ve come to a point where the owners have to put up just $11,000 each to meet what we’re asking, and they still refuse," said Montreal Expo player representative, Bob Bailey.

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

But this grumbling at the feet of the ruling class is nothing but a kick in the face from the owners, who are interested only in the total humiliation and defeat of the Players’ Association.

At this arm wrestling armament, the players united in their strike by a vote of 32 to 10, realizing that giving in to the owners would lead to the destruction of all the gains won by the Association.

"We were forced into doing what we did," said Boston player representative, Gary Peters. "If we had gone any other way it would have ruined our association.

We would like to think that the owners will believe we are serious.

The owners now hope to place the blame for the strike on the "greedy" players and crush the union with the wrath of baseball fans.

Already, 300 fans, including many workers, have vented their anger at the players, after being turned away from their last exhibition game.

They see only the large lazier made by a few players.

"They can’t do any worse than they deserve already," said a General Electric pensioner who said he got a 15-foot haircut from GE aft 28 years of service for the owners.

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

Letters to the Young Socialist

Dear Editor,

I would like to be accepted into your party. My name is Julio Raymond Lebron. I am 15 years old and I come from a small but a very beautiful island called Puerto Rico. I have been in this concentration camp for over seven months. I am a cousin of our revolutionary Sister, Lolita Lebron. I have been charged with an infamous crime of murder and robbery, and because some of my family are revolutionaries, they took the racket that they had put on my body (in my case).

Give my love to all my (ours) Revolutionary Sisters and Brothers in the university.

"Power Then Peace"

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

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

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

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

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

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

This is expressed above all on the docks.

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

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

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

This is the line of the Communist Party which not only refuses to take up the fight for a general strike, but is completely silent on the criminal role of Harry Bridges, head of the West Coast longshoremen, who refused, thus far, to call a strike.

President Meany for non-mobilizing support for the ILWU, George Morris in the Daily World continues to strengthen Bridges' alibi that he cannot strike because of "lack of support" from the ILA and the AFL-CIO.

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

The elections occur in a period of intense struggle between the American working class and the American political parties.

The crisis of capitalism is now raising immediately all the political questions of the American working class. Meany's walk off from the Pay Board and the failure to keep up the traditional relation of class to party, the split between the labor bureaucracy and the capitalist class, and the growing split between the Communist Party which is breaking up under the impact of the crisis and the movement of the working class. Through the collaboration of the trade union leadership American workers have been tied to the editors in the Democratic Party.

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

With the tremendous thrust posed to the labor movement by the victory of the Wallace campaign in Wisconsin and Michigan and with other unions have taken upon a campaign against Wallace ex-

posing the dangers his campaign poses to labor. The campaign by the unions against Wallace is of critical importance. The only way this campaign can be taken forward is through the fight for a labor party.

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

The CP attacks the labor leaders for "failing to impose its demands on the candidates and to make those de-

mands the central issues in the elec-
tion of the shares a confrontation be-

tween the workers and the leaders of war budget and racist discrimina-
tion and capitulation in history, the

supporting the Democrats and above all refuse to raise the question of a fight for a labor party.

Instead the CP uses the threat of Wallace to feed the idea that the working class tied to the capitalist parties is divided and that the only way to defend the McGovern, Chisholm, Stokely and Ab-

rogation of workers' rights is the failure to fight the Wallace move.

The key to the unleashing of the power of the AFL-CIO in a general strike that can close down the whole country.

The real danger of this situation is that we think CP Fuels Dying Democrats.

The CP Fuels Dying Democrats.

Big Drive In Next 2 Weeks

With the end of the Bulletin subscription drive less than two weeks off, the areas have a major drive ahead. The total received so far in the drive is 3,724 with 362 received this week.

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

NOTICE TO ALL SUBSCRIBERS: Because of the growth of this subscription drive and the increased demand for affixing equipment for mailing the Bulletin, this means we will no longer mail the Bulletin in a wraper to anyone specifically requesting this service at an extra charge of $1.50 per year or $6 per six months and introduc-

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

From the very beginning of the Popular Unity government, the Trotskist movement, organized in the International Committee of the Fourth International, which the Workers League supports, warned against any illusions whatever in Allende and his government. Based on the long and tragic experience with Stalinism and Popular Frontism of the working class in general and the Chilean workers in particular, we took the position that the road to socialism in Chile lay not through the Popular Unity coalition but from it. In particular we pointed out that the Chilean workers must demand that the leaders of the Socialist and Communist Parties must break free from Russian-style allies in the government and form a government of workers' parties to carry out socialist policies. Only this way the Chilean working class could be brought through an experience that would clarify and expose the role of the Stalinists and reformists.

To us, there is no "left" without the Trotskyists, radicals, Maoists, Pabloites and other centrists denouncing the MIR who provide a "left" cover for them.

ALLENDE AND THE TASKS OF IMPERIALISM

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

The peaceful "Chilean road to socialism" that has been made possible, Allende has said, "because the congress road has been in existence for 100 years, because the people right of self-expression and the armed forces have been called to be." This is a dangerous deception. The Chilean congress is controlled by reactionaries and in no way represents a road toward an absolutely "legal" way to the implementation of the program of the people himself. The army leaders would like nothing better than to "enforce the law" in removing Allende to crush ruthlessly the restive sectors of the workers and peasants to this "legal" order.

But we must approach the question on a deeper level even than this. The work of the workers and peasants of the world in the tasks imperialism must carry out in Chile and everywhere in the international world if it is to survive internationally.

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

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

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

It is also possible to extract two primary sources of value—nitrates (essential for large-scale agriculture) and copper (for industry). The crux of this process of super-exploitation falling other industries were laid by the "land reform" and the beginnings of nationalization in the copper and nitrates fields by the Frei regime. But this was accomplished by tying Chile in fact even closer to capitalism through loans, grants, and credits granted through such institutions as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as well as the banks and even the mining companies themselves.

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

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

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

This process is illustrated quite clearly in relation to the copper mine industry. At one time the copper mines were the largest industry in Chile. When these miners threatened with a strike for a big increase in 1968, the Chilean capitalists flared up while the advanced capitalist countries were relatively quiescent. Now, however, the restoration of value must move on to a qualitatively new stage, with a tremendous increase in the exploitation of labor on the one hand and the destruction of the huge quantities of the product "Revolution and Counter-Revolutions in Chile" by, Ed Smith

industry lasting sixty or thirty days is a strike which no Government can tolerate, because this would be a terrible blow to Chile, and it would be a loss of revenue to the State..." ("Vintagie Edition"

In Peru, in contrast to Chile, the government shows it will not tolerate wage increases for the miners. It is massacring them. We must add that Castro appeared as the other side of the same "revolutionary process." To understand this it must be seen not as the assumption of political power by the working class against the capitalist system but as the attempt in the colonial countries as in Cuba to develop the productive force against the power and measures by the nationalist bourgeoisie or the bourgeoisie with the aid of Stalinism.

In this sense it is true that both Chile and Peru and Cuba were two sides of the same "revolutionary process." It is now only necessary to add that the so-called "popular" Stalinist sellouts of Allende to cease to have effect the bourgeoisie turns to throw out Allende in favor of those who can carry through the job on the basis of mass movements.

This is why the Nixon Administration cooled off sections of the capitalist class like T.T. Doe who supported Allende through a coup right at the start, and why the Christian Democrats actually voted for Allende's power in Congress and passed his programs through Parliament at the beginning of his administration. This is also why officials like Nixon's press secretary now state Allende "hasn't lasted long at all" and call for the end in Chile now mobilizing more and more openly through parliamentary maneuver, court decisions, street demonstrations and calls like that made recently by the fascist "Fatherland and Workers" organization for the armed forces "not to allow the left to go beyond their limits." Meanwhile a leader of the National Party proclaims, "constitutional guarantees are not enough to define the democracy of Marxism"—what is needed is a mobilization of the forces of the world. This process can only be the overthrow of Allende and the installation of a nacked dictatorship.

The essence of the question is that in Chile, confronted with the large scale disorganization of the working class, the bourgeoisie felt it could not defeat this class head on. It drafted the traitorous leaderships of this class to make it impotent through the Popular Unity government. The bourgeoisie felt that in its social." It could move in later for the kill when the class was suitably demoralized and disarmed by Stalinism and re-formism.

ALLENDISM AND CASTROISM

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

They both proposed a completely nationalistic and anti-internationalist base. This nationalistic perspective is the basis of the development of a "peaceful road" completely outside of international links which rules out the start any "peaceful road." This is why Castro has never seen fit to support a single country for the United States, itself outside of which any Latin American"socialism" is doomed from the start.

It is precisely these characteristics of nationalistic policy which have brought the bureaucracy and opposition to the working class to it must be nationalistic and Castroism must cooperate with each other despite the superficial contradiction of construction of a parliamentarian power or parliamantary power to power. This is why both popular frontist and Castroism are supported by the same bourgeoisie. Castro had such an appeal to revisionists of all the shades, particular to the Pabstite renegades from Marxism.

As we shall Castro was the vehicle which the SWP used to abandon Trot-
skynism in the split with the International Committee in 1963 and opened the way for its most 'bureaucratic' and the at height of the revolui-tionist hysteria over guerillaism, one of the daughters of OLAS. As long as the international Castroite organization, was none other than Salvador Allende. At no time did Al- lende take up his position on the peaceful road to socialism in Chile. He merely con- ceded that in countries where no parlia- mentary road was available, guerilla warfare much be useful in establishing progressive 'anti-imperialist' re- gimes.

At no point did Allende or Castro see guerillaism as the road to working class power. They were in fact opposed to such a role. This position is what is behind the vicious, Stalinist-style slanders Castro has leveled against Allende—his fear of the independent working class.

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

This is why Castro endorses whole- heartedly not only Allende but the regime of Gen. Torre in Bolivia before it falls and the Peruvian junta. This is why the MIH of Chile went through Castro in its latest posture of 'crucial support' to Allende. This is why the Tupamaros, the urban guerrillas of Uruguay, suspended their operations in endorsement of the campaign of the Broad Front, a Popular Unity, and why the Bolivian POR of Moscoso, affiliated to the United Secretariat of the Secretariat, cut off concentration with guerillaism and Castroism to the "anti-imperialist front" which the masses not only the Stalinists and nationalists but even General Torres.

CASTROISM AND REVISIONISM

Castroism presented itself to the revisionist movement around the necessity for the Trotskyists to fight it out and not to use it as a weapon in the working class. Just as in the old days of Pablo, a new revolutionary leadership outside- side of Stalinism could achieve "by objective circum- stances" was on the rise and it was best that the Trotskyists bring in their expe- rtise to help develop these foundations from the inside.

The natural upshot was the end of the struggle to construct Trotskyist parties in the Latin-American countries in the post-International. In the "new world reality" such parties could only be sectarian irre- levances at best and "reactions against the historic process" at worst. As so we shall see the United Secretariat which used to pontificate in Latin America into getting in with Cas- troism, integrating it with its own "revolutionary current of OLAS." The real content of such an orientation was very much that of Cuban and Clark's SWP of 1953—"junk the old Trotskyism." In November of the same year of the reuni- fication congress of the SWP and the Pa- thetique, the following appearance: "The probable variant in the next few years is...the following: the colonial revolution in the new countries and deepening its social char- acter as more workers states appear. It will be the process of the overthrow of capitalism in the imperialist centers but it will be in the form of new world revolutionary leadership as is already clear from the emergence of Castroism in Cuba.

Later on it is stated. 

"In the new countries, the Inte- rnational can perform crucial services on behalf of revolutions in the colonial countries.

And the final conclusion is that revolu- tionism is the 'anti-imperialist' revolu- tionary party; even workers states may be established in such situations.

"But the participation of the SWP in such sit- uations face extremely difficult ques- tions. In the initial period it is to them to be participated completely in the most heartedly in the revolution and to build the party in the course of the revolution itself."

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

tants of the only weapon that could lead them forward. Trotskyism, even when it became into the disaster of guerillaism and pre- pared the way for capitalization to popular- frontism—its roots in the analysis of the Pahlinois that Castro's Cuba was a workers state.

Since this state was established by imperialists to every junta's convenience, it was hostile to Trotskyism, through an "un- conscious process" in response to "ob- jections." What they refused to take up, and what had to be taken forward by the Inter- national Committee, was of what rela- tion of classes between these facts and cri- teria were a manifestation.

Castroism was a middle class tendency completely outside the working class in rebellion against the stifling role played by U.S. monopoly. Its accessional 'power represented in no way a social re- volution and was not the foundation of rather a coup d'etat." At the same time, Castroism was crucial in Cuba was that when imperilment stepped in to crush this re- belion the Castro regime found support from Stalinism. This was the basis for all the nationalizations and other "socialist" measures.

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

It is thus no accident that Castroism even at its most "revolutionary," i.e., at the "guerillaist" stage, put forward policies that would leave Stalinoid domination of the party. The interna- tional was in turn particularly suited to the revisionists whose whole course of move- ment was away from Trotskyism in the di- rection of Stalinism. As we shall see, the logical conclusion of the internal factionally joining the Stalinist camp, just as in the time of Pablo himself...

In short, the SWP of 1953 was not the perspective of the revisionists. It was well be he would be the position of Trots- kyism on these questions.

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

dividual countries, the realization of the revolutionary alliance between the pro- letariat and the peasantry is conceivable only under the political leadership of the proletariat vanguard, organized in the Communist Party. This in turn means that the whole the proletarian revolution is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat which holds in hands the alliance with the peasantry and solves first of all the tasks of the democratic re- volution." (Permanent holds the "re- volutionary process" and Castroism as a new revolutionary leadership they were thus in fact turning away from Trotsky's perspective which had at its center the construction of parties of the Fourth In- ternational. The heart of their position was not really even Castro per se but the use of Castroism to turn away from the what of their fight against Stalinism. As we shall see such a perspective could only, as it did, the depredation as Trotskyists of those pursuing it.

TROTSKYISM IN CHILE

Now we can turn to the working out of these tendencies in Chile itself. Pablo, as a result of his liquidationist conceptions, sought to liquidate the Trotskyist movement in Chile just as he had attempted to do all over the world. On his in- structions in the early 30's the great major- ity of the Chilean Trotskyists entered the reformist Socialist Party, led by none other than the present head of the Po- lar Unity government, Salvador Allende. Pablo's theory was that the SP would develop into a rival, Stalinist party that could be pushed from within the left, eventually leading to the es- tablishment of socialism.

It was in resistance to liquidation of Trotskyism into these forces of betrayal by Pablo that the International Com- mittee was formed. On the basis of a report at the conference of the working class the POR led by Luis Vitale, linked with the International Committee. This gave a principled foundation to the Chilean Trotskyist movement and opened up favorable possibilities for its develop- ment. In fact in its years after its formation and adherence to the ICC the POR did make important gains while the followers of Pablo, as happened all over the world, liquidated the position com- pletely and left the scene.

However, the development of the ICC and the POR did not proceed in a straight line or in a vacuum. Just as After World War II the responsibility for leading the ICC fell on its founders the SWP. Once again the SWP drew back from its responsibility. This was presented a decision to abandon any fight for dialectical materialism, which can only proceed objectively, on an in- ternational scale. Instead the SWP took up the "superior thought stream" towards Ame- rican pragmatism. The SWP figured it would take care of itself and the international in general.

TROTSKYISM IN ARGENTINA

The change in orientation of the SWP, now to put it in its simplest form, was the abandonment of the fight against Stalinism and liquidationist leadership in the SWP.

The change in orientation of 1953, both of its own theoreti- cal weaknesses reinforced by the weak- ness of the IC internationally in the 50's, was of course bound to be affected by the growth of Castroism and it was to be ex- pected that it would be susceptible to Pa- blonio illusions on the nature of Cas- troism. But this did not exhaust the problem. In fact at the time of the dispute between the SWP and the SLL over Castro, Vitala and other leaders of the POR were evolving very quickly, using Castroism as a cover, to the support of Al- lende. The SWP aided and abetted them in this.

No matter how the SWP may protest today it will become clear that behind the orientation of the SWP and POR to Cas- troism was Pablonism and the logical out- come of support to Castroism was sup- port to the Pablonist Stalinist band.

In short, the SWP's mistake was their failure to see the strength of Stalinism and reformism over the working class.

The "reunification" of 1963 between the SWP and the Pahlinois was an anti-Tro- ckyist group. In making this decision the SWP abandoned its tradition of struggle against the struggle, and of the struggle against Stalinism and reformism over the working class.

In an article justifying the reunification with SWP leader Joseph Hansen ("The Test of the International Socialis- tic Review, Winter, 1965,). It was made quite clear that the perspective of the reunification was a Pahlinois one.
Copper miners go to work in class because of the central point of view: the appearance in Cuba of a leadership whose origins was com- pletely outside the Communist movement but which evolved in the course of the rev- olution itself toward Marxist positions. Thus dawned the bright perspective for which the Trotskyist movement has strug- gled since its inception.

This of course was fully in line with the perspective of the reunification congress resolution itself, "Dynamics of World Re- volution" (adopted in 1962), which stated:

"The emergence of mass revolutionary forces led by parties of tendencies which have developed outside the regime of Stal- inist control (Cuba, Algeria) has introdu- ced a most powerful disintegrating ele- ment into international Stalinism, fa- voring the development of a re- volutionary left wing."

From this the natural conclusion is drawn:

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

In his article Hansen then brings this perspective into his analysis in an attempt to use it against the International Com- mittee:

"During the period leading up to the reunification congress, the Chilean section of the PUEC was in crisis.

Healy that his position on the Cuban Re- solution would signify political hari-kari for anyone who clung to it.

"Healy paid no attention."

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

It was none other than the whole per- spective of constructing the Fourth In- ternational in struggle against the spon- taneous (bourgeois) consciousness of the masses and the bureaucracies that rest on this backward consciousness. At the Trans- formation Program of the Fourth Interna- tional states:

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

"The building of national revolutionary parties as sections of the Fourth In- ternational is the central task of the trans- formational period."

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

The Chilean POIB supported the SWP en- thusiastically. All the more so, in fact, be- cause through adaptation to Castroism, which was the SWP's main concern, one could move to the main pole of liquidation in Chile, with its large, well-organized working class and powerful bu- chile's Eli Teniente mine. Miners play character of the copper and mining reac- tority—Alendines. This is how it was seen from the start by the POR.

In the December 12, 1963 issue of World Outlook (forerunner of International Press) a short article appears reporting the exiles of the Trotskyist newspaper "El Tiempo" and "one of the main leaders of the Chilean Trotskyist movement" for distributing a leaflet favorable to Cuba and advocating Marxist-Leninist posi- tions.

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

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

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

In the same issue, we find an account of the origin of the MRC, with the heading "Pro-Chinese Wing Advances in the POIB." It says:

"The group has published two issues of a bulletin, "Workers and Peasants," which advocates Marxist-Leninist posi- tions and maintains a correct line in relation to the national sit- uation...The Trotskyists (in Chile, including the Partido Obrero Re- volucionario, which has supported the MRC), have receiving support from the pro-Chinese wing, giving support to the increasingly revolutionary po- sitions but without making any con- cessions to the errors of the Chinese Com- mittee Party."

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

The answer to this was not long in coming. The March 6, 1966 issue of World Outlook contained a report on the uni- fication of the POR with a group of ex- Trotskyists around the journal Polemica and the MRC continuing under the same name MRC. This group was in a group around Clotario Blitz "the out- standing leader of the Chilean Trotskyist working class" and of a group called Movimiento de Fuerzas Revolucionarias, a Castredite formation to which the POR had long ad- journed itself politically.

The new party supports the most re- volutionary and progressive Chinese posi- tions in the Chinese-Soviet conflict...As for the Trotskyist movement itself, the party is struggling for...supporting with revolutionary methods the Al-
anywhere else in Chile. In 1966 it was reported that Masson later became a Chilean politician, Elias Iturralde and Consuelo (New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations). The 1974 Fourteenth Congress of the Chilean trade union federation held in Santiago in 1965, 1% of the delegates to the conference were from the MIR. In the SWP publication 50 Years of the Communist Party in the United States, the leader of the POR, Vatile, is identified as a "well-known Chilean revolutionary Marxist and a proponent of the "Luis Guzmán" (MIR). The MIR's strike lasted from 1964 from direct support of Allende to ultra-leftist, confrontational adventures very much in the line of the 1968 student protests in Castron which were popular internationalist appeals to the student movements in Latin America are given in the Sept. 23, 1968 issue of Internationalist Press, in which it says, "We are publishing a resolution organized by the MIR had marched on the U.S. embassy and in protest of the Vietnam War. The students marched under the NLF flag.

"It may be reported that the police were seeking (Vatile) for deportation as an Argentine citizen. He was identified as a "veteran Trotskyist" and as one of the ideologues of the MIR. This is the last mentions of Vatile.

"In 1969 there was an extensive discussion of guerrilla warfare in the Popular Revolutionary Party and the ultra-leftist in the Chinese Communist Party. Niall G. Mooney, writing in this discussion was Joseph V. Scipione. A paper on "The Experience of the Popular Revolutionary Movement in China."

"...On behalf of these comrade..." is from the Popular Revolutionary Party'sliquidation line of the Pchabie's majority beheaded by Mandel and Malagón against the SWP's minority.

"Valdes particularly liked the concept of liquidation. His presentation was the most current, stating that it wasn't like Pablo's earlier because it was going to be integrated into "a revolutionary situation"..." ("Allende, the MIR, and the SWP," Bulletin, Vol. 8, No. 20, Jan. 24, 1972). Once again Pablo liquidated Trotskyism from the MIR which was another way to square as it has from the beginning on Allende's, just as Pablo liquidated the old Trotskyist group of the Socialist Party itself. In the liquidation of Chile's radical political movement is the fruition of the reunification of 1963.

SWP ON CHILE

It is precisely to cover up these fruits that the Pchabie's have now moved to a new turn in their strategy in Chile. This is typified in the article "Chile: The Coming Confrontation," by Camejo and Lee Evans in the February 1972 International Socialist Review as well as the various reports from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International at the end of December 1971. "The MIR--The Coming Confrontation," published in the February 21, 1972 International Socialist Review.

In the Camejo-Evans article, we are advised:

"What is tragically missing in Chile is a mass revolutionary-socialist party capable of leading the MIR. In this regard the MIR has never given a clear indication of what kind of party it is. It is full of illusions" (or "of the MIR's greatest promise is the MIR... it too has been seriously compromised by the position of the Chilean government... although it has been involved in the arrest of the "Marxist President" in recent months.

"The MIR is further handicapped by its ultra-leftist past in which it advocated a strategy of guerrilla warfare with a small elite rather than the construction of a mass revolutionary party."

The most shocking is the "mass revolutionary socialist party" that is being built in Chile. The MIR, however, is a Trotskyist organization, and the so-called "Fourth International" is no better. Its first point, the revolution states:

"The People's triumph over the counter-revolution is an important part of the political process in Chile. But the many Latin American and Caribbean revolutionaries--even if they do not take part in the struggle--cannot be reduced to a minor role in the revolutionary process."

The article continues:

"...In any case, it is necessary to reject the "mistake" made by Castro..." (ibid. 1963) and "The Jackson-Humphrey style of democracy in the United States... it is essential that Cuba..."

The article concludes:

"As for Cuba, its influence takes con-

"...It is essential that Cuba..."

It is essential that Cuba..."

"...It is essential that Cuba..."

"...It is essential that Cuba..."

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"...It is essential that Cuba..."
"We Do All The Work... Why Don't We Get The Profit"

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

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

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

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

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

Devlin argued that it was impossible to discuss violence when it was the ruling class that determined what the laws should be. She pointed out that the Tories will change the laws governing “effective nicking” in order to prevent the repetition of the type of strike support that prevented the English government from moving the coal supplies during the miners’ strike.

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

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

“What is that?” asked an aroused Buckley.

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

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

“Whose economy?” asked Devlin. “We do all the work. Why don’t we get the profit?”

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

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

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

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

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

The camera briefly focused on Buckley during this exchange, who was pre-tending to be asleep.

FIRING LINE: William Buckley interviews Bernadette Devlin in London. WNET-TV, Sunday, March 28–10 p.m.

The notorious right-winger William Buckley enjoys nothing more than jousting with befuddled do-gooders who plead for capitalism to show mercy to the poor of the world. Libertarians, pacifists, and humanitarians of all persuasions amuse him to no end. As a staunch defender of capitalism, he has nothing but disdain for all those who piously beg the ruling class to make concessions it obviously cannot afford.

Buckley has won a debate more often by pointing to an enthusiastic reformist that his reforms

TV
DAVE NORTH

FILMS
JEAN CAMERON


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

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

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

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

She arrives in Germany and quickly immerses herself in an affair with a young English student, Michael York. Soon she meets a German baron (Helmut Griem) as well, and makes a threesome of the affair.

Sally Bowles wants a career in singing and in acting, and she likes a good time. Also, she is not concerned with the political developments in Germany. She noticeably bored when on an outing in the country with her two lovers her motor car is detained at the scene of recent fascist terror. A public speaking platform is her coming into the cabaret, tin can in hand, collecting for the cause. He is un-

Ruling Class decadence
Before the Third Reich

Portion of 1932 watercolor "Soiree" by Goya shows corruption of German bourgeoisie.

Partly ceremoniously booted out by the head waiter as "scum" beneath contempt. Delays the next few nights for you and I to band of uniformed fascists beat the waiter to a pulp in the alley behind the club. Prolonging these episodes throughout the film the growing strength of the Nazis is shown as more and more join the audience. At film’s end the audience is heavily peppered with Nazi uniforms and Adolf Hitler holds a roving seat.

The song and dance routines take on a raunchier tone as the film progresses. One of the final numbers is in the poorest imitating beaute and in open capitulation to a changed audience. The master of ceremonies, played by Joel Grey, wafts into the stage with an age in lidded finery, singing a song of star-crossed lovers, "Why Don’t They Leave Us Alone." While the audience laughs at the preposterous combination of man and age, to a very special section is directed the punch line, "Can I help it if you’re Jewish."
Five hundred working class youth and students from all parts of the East Coast participated in last Wednesday's historic demonstration called by the Young Socialists against unemployment, budget cuts and repression.

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

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

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

At the very heart of the fight for this demonstration was the fight of the Young Socialists to build a revolutionary youth movement among broad layers of youth. This is central in the construction of a Marxist leadership in the trade unions.

Demonstrators marched around Foley Square for 45 minutes before beginning the rally. The youth waved red flags and carried banners with the likenesses of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Chants called for: "Smash Wallace—Build a Labor Party," "Fight Unemployment—Join the Young Socialists," among other slogans.

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

BLOW

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The March 4 riot at Birken occurred because of the conditions. We had 28 demands the day of the riot. Afterwards they beat up everyone.

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

STRUGGLE

Kiki Mendez spoke on the struggle in the high schools against the brutal attacks.

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

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

"My husband is now in a federal penitentiary in Connecticut. This is part of the whole attack of the ruling class against the working class. This is not a matter of civil liberties. My husband's case was that he was not against the war in Vietnam."

Lury St. John, editor of the Bulletin, spoke on the proposal of having a mass meeting on May Day, the day of International
solidarity of the working class.

"The struggle for an eight hour day was a bitter one. At Haymarket Square in 1886 strikers were shot down by the police. The leaders were framed and some were executed. But the working class internationally rallied to their defense and this was the beginning of May Day."

"The YS must carry forward this tradition through the construction of the revolutionary party. All the gains that workers died for are being threatened today, and the only defense is through the socialist revolution. This is the central lesson for May Day 1972."

CRITICAL

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

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

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

POLITICAL

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

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

Labourites Applaud Tory Takeover Of Ulster

BY DAVID FORTH

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

With its wage stabilization program in a shambles and with three million unemployed workers fighting for a showdown battle with the Government, the Tories are now trying to make up for losses suffered during the last economic crisis with civil war, repression, and fascism in both Ireland and Ulster.

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

In the Ulster situation that has torn the mask off "Opposition" leader Harold Wilson’s active cabal of the Prime Minister. Heath knows, as little more than a shadow deputy to Harold Wilson, that the Tories are not only better funded but also have more organizational skill and is beginning to turn the TOG against their "incompetence" in the streets.

TREACHERY

The full extent of Labour Party treachery was expressed minutes after Heath presented the direct rule legislation to Parliament. Like a well-rehearsed dog, Harold Wilson jumped to the support of the Tories, declaring that the Labourites were "the only party capable of getting the legislation through."

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

The same spirit of collaboration was demonstrated by the Labour leadership, with the members of Parliament rose to their feet in the House of Commons to enthusiastic the new Tory budget.

Little does it matter to the Wilson crew, who were locked out of their jobs during the miners strike, that unemployment now has reached 400,000. The TUC leader Vic Feather promises that it is "the lowest road to the Tory plans for industrial development."

What Feather and the Labourites refuse to admit is that every Tory budget is aimed at crushing the working class. The depth of the capitalist crisis does not allow the Tories to refuel the economic recovery through fiscal policies. As Heath himself admitted in 1970, it could during the Macmillan era when the price of the economy was backed in gold by the U.S. Treasury. "August 15" measures by Nixon does any efficiency to the economy on this basis: and it is for this reason that the British working class and the TUC leadership are skeptical about the long-term effects of the "golden rule."

The Guardian newspaper of British liberals, reminded its readers that "the last two budgets, which were similarly welcomed by industry, have failed so far to bring about a significant increase in capital expenditures."

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

But to bring Britain into the Common Market requires the sharpest attack on the working class. At this critical point, the Tories have moved against their own workers to implement the Industrial Relations Act and make trade unionism illegal in Britain.

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

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

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

The possibility of defeating this Government is now raised as angry working class seeking to win their pay claims against the stabilization program.

In spite of the attempt by the leadership of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers to restrict the struggle to the local level, a nationwide unity is developing. The militancy of the workers, who are determined to win no less than the miners, was indicated last week when 1,000 men occupied a steel factory in Cheshire a week earlier than strike action was planned after learning that the company was moving its stocks in preparation for the strike.

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

POWER

The workers in the plant realize that their action is giving a lead to all the engineering workers throughout the country. In their fight for a 2½% wage increase (including 25-hour week holidays), the Bredbury workers are generating a struggle that could destroy the efforts of the AUEW bureaucracy to avert a nationwide strike.

DEFEASE

One Bredbury worker stated: “This dispute does not only involve Bredbury steel workers, but all steel workers in the Manchester district, but all fellow-workers throughout the country. If we win here they will win. The defense of the working class now requires that the Tory Government be brought down without delay. The activities of the Tory reactionaries in Ireland prove that they are prepared for mass murder. And in their recent actions against left-wing parties, the Tories have shown that they are pitted for an assault on all democratic rights.

Germany

Brandt Paves The Way For Fascism

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

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

The growing of the SPD is expected to continue most sharply in the social democratic party, the Free-Democratic Party (FDP). Fearing a rupture with this bourgeois party, the SPD has abandoned its long-lived program of tax reform.

Although the Brandt leadership had committed itself to the establishment of taxes on wealth and capital gains, it has now announced that the program would not be brought before the German parliament during this legislative period. This decision openly reveals the total bankruptcy of Brandt’s reformist perspective. Because of the drastic reversal of the post-war economy since the August 15 measures of Richard Nixon, the reform program of Brandt—in spite of its shallow character—has become unacceptable to big business.

The tax reform program, which would have required the capitalists to pay an additional $3 billion by 1974, is the stiffest resistance not only within the CDU, but also among the capitalist supporters of the F.D.P. It is before this opposition that Brandt is in full-scale retreat.

HITLER

Besides the retreat on the tax program, the SPD has actually taken decisive measures to break the living conditions of the working class. Brandt’s bourgeois coalition government has created unemployment programs that is approaching the half-million mark.

ANTICOMMUNIST

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

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

This is cowardly retreat of the SPD that is opening the way for the CDU to return to power. Under conditions of crisis, a government led by CDU boss Helmut Kohl would naturalize the capitalist preparations for a fascist dictatorship.

TREATIES

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

Futhermore, the Moscow treaties serve to enhance the influence of Stalinism within the working class of West Germany. As the Past master of the Tretyaskyi League of Socialist Workers stated in the issue of March 15: "The Moscow Treaties...as the last treacherous measure in the pacification of the working class by the "social-liberal" coalition, serves directly to disarm the working class before the counter-offensive of the working class..."
Curran's Sellout Threatens NMU Jobs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

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

A union spokesman told the Bulletin that the new contract is still in the process of being ratified, that in a week or ten days, and when the union had received the vote from enough ships to complete the tally. According to union figures, the vote at the New York port meeting was 226 for and 50 against, and from the all the U.S. ports is 3167 for, 128 opposed.

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

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

UNEMPLOYMENT

Backed up by an agreement with the union strike which was taken in the unorganized United Steel Workers, the Longshoremen have taken over the contract which determines their fate.

The National Maritime Union has never been able to organize a longshoremen's union in New York.

Ballast Looms At Taxi Meeting

BY A LOCAL 308 MEMBER

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

Assault and battery from the drivers has forced the Van Arsdale Syndicate to drop its contract for a "limited number of men at 40c." and, launch a midnight and through selective strikes, including the arrest of "gypers." The Syndicate also poisons the wiping out of every owner driver's entire mortgaged investment.

COALITION

The Rank and File Coalition continues to tail-end even the Van Arsdale leadership during these attacks. It has still taken no public position on Bill 738. By abstaining from "selective strikes," they leave drivers demoralized against the sellout of the Van Arsdale leadership.

It is within this context that Drivers for a Decent Contract call for a city-wide strike vote at the Van Arsdale syndicate meeting, no contract is concluded around 400 of the men. If Van Arsdale leadership leaves the strike vote, a massive city-wide shutdown would come on March 14.

SHUT-DOWN

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

CLICK HERE TO READ THE ENTIRE DOCUMENT.
IC STATEMENT

For the second time in 50 years, the Roosevelt administration has rejected the declaration of war made by the United States against Germany, leading to the outbreak of war in Europe. This decision has caused a great deal of consternation among the people of the United States, many of whom feel that the United States is being forced to bear the burden of the war. The United States must take action to prevent a repeat of this situation in the future.

CSEA

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

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

A Bulletin reporter, who visited New York yesterday, said, "A Strike on Monday to speak to workers, ensured in building conditions reminiscent of the terrible years of the 20th century."

The tremendous power of the workers is being reflected in the tremendous leadership of Theodore Wenzel, who not only succeeded in winning a union contract, but also in getting a higher wage offer, but by returning to work without amnesty strengthened the hand of the State and the Wallacites in their attempts to smash the union.

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

Vietnam

The conflict in Vietnam continues to escalate, with both sides using increased tactics of force and propaganda. The United States, under the leadership of President Johnson, has increased its military and economic aid to South Vietnam, while North Vietnam has received support from China and the Soviet Union. The situation remains tense and volatile, with the possibility of a full-scale war increasing.

Wisconsin

The Wisconsin state government remains under pressure from both farmers and labor unions, as the state continues to grapple with economic issues. The labor unions are calling for higher wages and better working conditions, while the farmers are demanding lower prices for their goods. The state government must find a way to balance the interests of both groups.

Germany, Wallach et al.

Wallach et al. sit in a fervor that the U.S. can maintain its dominant military position. This could be the end of economic crisis.

Wallace reports ask unionists what they thought of the Wallace campaign and received this reply from Black workers: Inland-Ryerson: "It's a jest, a jest, a jest. We are better off with Nixon than with Wallace."

Wallace's support is built on the idea that the purely political can be a driving force. The Wallace movement represents the only real hope for change. Most of us are against busing.

To deal with unemployment, the government must change. The Wallace movement is a force for change. The Wallace movement represents the only real hope for change. Most of us are against busing.

I.T.T.

I.T.T. was founded in 1959 and transformed itself from its original telecommunication business into a conglomerate, diversifying into conglomerate divisions in every major country of the world. I.T.T. was priced at $100.00 over the years. In 1970, I.T.T. made over $200.00 in profits with assets worth over $1 billion. The profits of its subsidiaries are staggering.

Ownership

In addition to its domination of the telephone and telecommunication cable equipment industry, I.T.T. produces radios, TV sets, tape recorders, recorders and air conditioning. Its industrial products service such areas as rail, aviation, electronics, and chemicals. It has 20 component plants in 14 European countries. In Germany, I.T.T. has moved into the production of color TV tubes and is competing with the French car radio business.

It owns Aris Rent-a-Car, Levi's Construction Company and the Hamilton Life Insurance. Two of its big subsidiaries include the Sheraton Hotel Corporation and the Continental Baking Company. It controls Hayenor, the leading world producer of chemical, metal and the Pennsylvania Glass Sand Corpora.

The Hartford Fire Insurance Co. was the biggest of all with a net income of $87.5 million in 1970 alone.

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

Predictions

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

"None, there is no white man in Wisconsin. They have two major parties, and some people just get attached to the Demo-

The atmosphere of a Holy Family, where the workers are complete with Grand Ole Opry Music, prayers, and songs of support, and warm greetings from Cornelia and George Jr., Wallace's 3-year-old, is of the "average man," confused and insecure in the face of the strength of the Wallace movement, yet committed to defending the profit system.

In a speech before 2,000 resi-

The world that we haven't supported from Afghanistan to Spain to Vietnam, and now these countries turn around and tell us we're Imperialists and spit in our faces.

A long-time advocate of increased spending and increased taxes, boosts sentiment to "make Ame-

I.T.T. is more than a country in the world that we haven't supported from Afghanistan to Spain to Vietnam. And then these countries turn around and tell people we're Imperialists and spit in our faces.

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In the world, with all the great promises of the nationalistic superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, it would be a good party if you got the right people. It would be beautiful.
Seale Urges Support For Democrats

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

The crowds came in response to the Panthers’ promise to distribute 10,000 free bags of groceries and to listen to the Panthers and other “representatives of the Black community” speak on the question of survival.

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

UNEMPLOYMENT
Under conditions of mass unemployment and government preparation for dictatorship, Seale proposed a task force of unemployable persons to investigate the matter to establish how the survival program would work.

Seale, who less than a year ago called the United States “fascist,” today took the position that the federal government must operate a survival program for the whole country.

Seal said he was impressed by the United States “fascist,” today took the position that the federal government must operate a survival program for the whole country.

The deep crisis that this line is causing for the Panthers was expressed in the question and answer session with Wisconsin Democrat, Lloyd Barbee. Barbee, immediately got a modulation of the ruling class parties and both said that the committee to back through the back door of “Survival Programs.”

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Democrats who are elected to “representative know how you’re thinking.” In rapid succession after this, he was asked a series of questions about whether the Democratic Party could solve any of the problems facing the ruling class, and such as the educational cuts and unemployment.

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

It is clear that this reactionary position of the Democratic Party is not as popular as ever.

CRIMINAL
The criticism here of the power is revealed by the fact that the ILWU is for 18.9% in wages and fringe which is exactly equal to the pared down ILWU recommendation. Gleason is hoping that the Board will grant this amount and get him off the book.

President, as well, would like nothing better than to report that the ILWU cannot strike because Gleason will not support union. Thus he refuses to criticize Gleason and adds to his betrayal by禾ne of a part for mutual action.

The ILWU continues to back up Bridges, reprising anything he says that even hints at militancy, while being harsh and aggressive on Gleason. All this while Bridges is engaging in some of the most cynical maneuvering in the history of the labor movement.

There is now a very strong sentiment on the West Coast docks for unity with the East Coast for a joint walkout. Most dockers say that they believe this is the only way to win. The biggest danger is that this leads to an acceptance of Bridges’ will and see the question of socialism as the question for today, but rather that this system can be changed through “the influence of large numbers of people” and could slowly evolve toward socialism.

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

She consistently denies Albee, the murder of George Jackson, and the whole crime wracking this system, refusing to see that the capitalists, rather than allowing themselves to be pressed into freeing more prisoners, will turn instead against their own court system. By emphasizing the success of public opinion and pressure on the courts, she creates an extremely dangerous illusion, dangerous to herself and to the whole working class now coming under attack.

West Coast News

Bridges Gives Up Pay Board Fight

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN
SAN FRANCISCO—An editorial in the latest Dispatch by Harry Bridges entitled “We Lead Labor’s Battle.” is a warning to dockers of the betrayals being prepared by the ILWU leadership.

Bridges makes it absolutely clear that he intends to do everything he can to avoid a fight.

In other words, having exposed the Board, the task now is to take all legal action to make sure the audience about the Democrats comes to the surface.

One person asked how to tell politicians to trust and which not to. Barbee’s answer was “The way you see if you really have politicians you trust it if they run their own.”

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

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LA Welfare Clients Face Slave Labor

BY A CORRESPONDENT
Los Angeles—the campaign in California to turn welfare clients into an army of forced labor took a new and particularly vicious turn in L.A. County recently.

It just became public knowl-

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

Needless to say, some have worked as many as four weeks and then been declared ineligible. The new story is that the county gets work done for absolutely nothing.

“MISINTERPRETATION”
Local welfare administrators said that all such cases of slave labor had been a result of a “misinterpretation” of the law on the part of local welfare workers. The only mis-

interpretation involved for these swine was that their scheme was exposed.

The revelation of local slavery comes at a time when virtually all local welfare workers had been involved in a “stink-in” to protest wages and working condi-
tions. Some of the work pro-
jects for welfare clients involve things like office work.

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

City workers have not been the only targets for these labor schemes. Other welfare clients have been shipped to farming areas to do the work of the farmhands in an effort to weaken UWOC or-
ganizing drives as a part of the overall attack upon farm workers.
Deportation Threatens Mexicans

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

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

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

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

PERMITS

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

After years of issuing permits at San Ysidro at the rate of 15,000 to 20,000 per month, the Border Patrol has suddenly uncovered something that must be a vast fraud operation, that requires all things, even restriction on the issuance of crossing cards.

SELLING

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

It is obvious that the fraud is real. The proof is the attempt by the U.S. Government to pose outside restriction on border crossing as some kind of "attack on crime."

SNIPER

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

What it has done is to require documents that are not supplied by the applicant, and to restrict the time allowed for travel to the so-called "actual purpose" for which the permit is requested.

JUDGEMENT

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

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

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

DEPORTATION

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

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

RACIST

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

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

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

San Francisco Young Socialists held meeting to carry forward decisions made at West Coast Youth Conference. YS is preparing to organize demonstration on April 30 to demand Vietnamese resolution against Stalinist policies of betrayal which will be expressed in their rally the same day to attract youth to liberal politicians.

Jury Acquittal
Of Soledad Brothers
Enrages Reagan

BY STEVE SAYLOR

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

Their trial was the most vicious example of what the capitalists intend for the entire working class. The Brothers have been under constant harassment in prison and in their court appearances, they were shackled by chains to the table.

It was during their trial that spectators were pulled out of court for taking notes of the trial and the defendants' own lawyer was arrested for attempting to enter the court to represent them.

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

EXPLOSES

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

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

Another juror, Harry Diehl, an ex-soldier in the German Army during World War II
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These words hardly describe the beginning of what could become a wholesale restriction on immigration, and is another step taken to implementing a campaign of repression against Mexican nationals living in the United States.

PERMITS

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

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

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