Watergate: All roads lead to the White House

LABOR MUST FORCE NIXON OUT

What we think

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The replacement of the Marshall Plan by the Kissinger Plan means that from a period dominated by the tendency toward compromise, the United States now turns toward the actual preparation of world war for the reconquest of the workers' states and, at the same time, civil war against the industrial working class of the advanced capitalist countries.

Furthermore, while the policies of compromise necessary for the preservation of capitalism after World War Two required the Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of Europe as a source of investment for American business and a bulwark against the Soviet Union, the defense of American capitalism in this period requires the Kissinger Plan for the destruction of every vestige of European capitalism's political and economic independence.

Kissinger stated that the US "cannot ignore the fact that Europe's economic success and its transformation from a recipient of our aid to a strong competitor has produced a certain amount of friction. There has been turbulence and a sense of rivalry in international monetary relations."

Noting that the US "has global interests and responsibilities" as opposed to the "regional interests" of Europe, Kissinger said that a problem of the Marshall Plan was that it "assumed, perhaps too uncritically, that our common interests would be assured by our long history of cooperation."

(Continued On Page 8)
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(Continued On Page 8)

GE Plans To Bust Unions See Page 4
Italy Tense After Fascist Bombing

BY JOHN SPENCER

Two youths, both members of the fascist movement Avanguardia Nazionale (National Vanguard), have been arrested in Milan in connection with the murder of a politician on April 12.

The police man was blown up by a hand grenade thrown from a crowd of fascists who were defying a ban on demonstrations and attempting to stage a rally in the center of Milan.

Avanguardia Nazionale is one of the most extremist fascist organizations, closely linked to the Italian Social Movement, the parent fascist body which has 36 MPs. Members of Avanguardia Nazionale have been banned in Greece and at special para-military camps in the Italian Alps.

The murder has created a situation of extreme tension in Italy, with clashes in parliament and warnings from veteran reformists about the imminent risk of civil war.

The funeral of the fascist victim was attended by 100,000 people, with the Stalinsts proclaiming it a martyr. The CP denounces the fascists in parliament as assassins and there were bloodbaths between the two sides of the chamber.

Pietro Nenni, the Socialist Party leader, warned of a renaissance of squadismo, the organized bands of thugs which brought Mussolini to power in the years after World War One. "Enough of conventional lies," he said, who has told far more than his share in the past, "the power vacuum we talk about so often is not a menacing risk any more but the reality which has us in its grip.

There is every reason that the Andreotti government will fall very shortly. It narrowly survived a confidence vote last week but was outvoted on aspects of policy for the 11th time.

There is talk of a new attempt to form a center-left coalition of (Continued On Page 14)

Young Black workers at Rich's Department Store in Atlanta on strike against wages of $2.00 an hour. Workers have won the support of white workers as the labor movement in the South seeks unionization.

CP: End Renault Strike

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Failing in strenuous efforts over the past few weeks to stifle the tremendous strike movement among Renault workers, the Stalinst leadership of France's largest trade union federation (the CFTC) has called upon the capitalist, Pompidou regime to intervene.

A union delegation last week paid a visit to Georges Gorse, Minister of Labor in the new Meissonier cabinet, to plead the Stalinsts' case for government intervention to force a return to work.

SPREAD

About 30,000 workers are now out at three Renault plants, and the Stalinsts fear the strike wave will spread and spill into other sections of the work where unrest has been growing among the ranks.

The betrayal of the CGT leadership comes at a point when the bosses and the Pompidou government are determined to smash the movement of workers. Sym pathy strikes at two Renault plants were met by lockouts, and a sit-in strike at a Peugeot factory was broken up by a squad of armed thugs.

Nationalists Divert Fight At Caribbean Conference

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

NEW YORK—The "Puerto Rico and Caribbean" conference held at Queens College on April 14 and 15 brought to a new height the compromising character of Stalinstism and the political bankruptcy of middle class nationalism. Attended by many forces from Jamaica, Santo Domingo, Haiti and other British West Indians, who came together on the basis of regional struggle, it offered an impressive appearance.

The more than 500 workers and youth who came looking for a political alternative to the crisis ridden capitalist system were served with an array of anti-Marxist, anti- working class positions which were never exposed as such by any tendency present at the conference. Gordon K. Lewis, a well-known sociologist, open the Saturday session by saying that Karl Marx never considered the race question. It is simplistic to analyze the struggles of the colonial countries in terms of the theory of the class struggle. It is more complex than that, it is a racial one.

The Jamaican representative, Sylvia Winter Carew, who made a fraudulent intervention in defense of the theory of the class (Continued On Page 14)

The Workers League and young CP - Stalinists invite you to a series of classes.

Japanese Dockers Reject Pay Offer

BY FRED MUELLER

The trade war was developing between the US, Western Europe and Japan is beginning to have a big impact. The two huge revaluation of the yen forced upon the Japanese capitalists in the last few weeks is making this inevitable.

The March balance of payments figures show an $1.0 billion deficit for Japan, the first deficit in three years and by far the largest ever.

The Japanese capitalist class is now confronted in the crisis with a tremendous wage offensive by workers. At the center of it is the fight of the Japanese dockers.

As of April 19 the negotiators for the National Council of Port and Harbor Workers had failed to reach agreement with the employers.

The union is demanding an average monthly wage increase of $75, except for $94 in the ports of Kobe and Osaka. The best management offer of $60.54 has been rejected out of hand and the union has made plain their intention to go ahead with a 72 hour strike of 30,000 workers at 16 ports, starting April 26.

The negotiations have been complicated by the agreement of the Japanese shippers in March to a union demand that workers would no longer be obligated to work after 9:30 p.m. or on Sun-

days. This removal of compulsory night work would drastically increase the costs for foreign shippers in turn around time.

There have been protests to the Transport Ministry and the government in Tokyo is now thought to be intervening in the negotiations to reverse this concession.

The foreign shippers have threatened to impose a surcharge on all freight which enters and leaves Japanese ports.

One of the leading spokesmen of the foreign shippers, demanding that their Japanese counterparts make no concessions to the dockers, is Helen Dalchek Bentley, the head of the Federal Maritime Commission.

Bentley is saying to the Japan ese shippers what her boss Nixon is saying to all the US capitalist counterparts make no concessions to the dockers, is Helen Dalchek Bentley, the head of the Federal Maritime Commission.

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The US capitalists have no choice but to provoke huge class battles in the major capitalist countries.
**Watergate Reaches White House**

**BY BRUCE MCKAY**

Nixon can no longer escape responsibility for the break-in at the Democratic Party's Watergate headquarters. According to the latest disclosures in the newspaper press, edited transcripts of phone conversations intercepted by wiretaps installed by Nixon's campaign committee were sent directly to the White House.

The Nixon government is now fighting for its political life. It faces not only a tremendous political crisis created by the continuing Watergate scandal but an internal, moral, economic crisis, which is out of control.

The trade union movement must use this crisis to launch a political offensive which can defeat Nixon's asset and the working class. This means taking the call for Congress of Labor to prepare strike action against Phase Three and construct a Labor party to throw out all the gangsters of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Nixon's official White House Attorney, two of his closest aides and his former attorney general and law partner are now those facing possible indictment for their role in the planting and execution of the Watergate spy mission.

The disclosures of the past few weeks have come after a long and determined effort by Nixon to sweep the whole dirty mess under the rug, and they expose the weakness and corruption of the capitalist government in crisis.

During last year's election campaign, Nixon and every one of those now under investigation by the Grand Jury claimed any knowledge of the bugging of Democratic headquarters in advance. Nixon said the investigation conducted by F.B.I. special agent H. Haldeman, president of the Watergate buggers.

After previously denying any knowledge of the bugging operation prior to the arrest, Mitchell now admits he sat in at three meetings in February 1972 during which the plan was discussed—earlier testimony by convicted defendant James McCord.

Mitchell, however, claims he rejected the proposal, at the time the whole purpose of the meetings was to plan an extensive "intelligence" (Continued On Page 4).

**Labor Must Force Nixon Out**

**Fish, Poultry Prices Rise At 72% Clip**

**BY A REPORTER**

The latest government statistics on the cost of living confirm what every worker already knows: prices continued their mad upward rush during March.

The government's figures for March reveal that the so-called Consumer Price Index rose at an annual rate of 9.6 percent. Statistics for the first three months of this year combined show an annual rate of inflation of 8.8 percent, double that of 1972.

The actual purchasing power of production workers' wages are now falling at a yearly rate of 12 percent, according to the government figures.

**Hospital Defies 1199 Contract Vote**

**BY BRUCE MCKAY**

NEW YORK, April 18—Several hundred hospital picketers lined the streets and picketed Columbia Presbyterian Hospital today demanding a contract for all service employees.

Workers voted 872 to 507 on March 1 in favor of being represented by Drug and Hospital Workers Local 1199, but following its past tradition of union busting, the hospital administration refused to recognize the union.

Columbia Presbyterian is one of the 1199 Professional and Technical Unions, which is the most powerful corporations in the working class.

The victory in the vote count was only the beginning of the struggle to win a contract at Presbyterian, as workers have learned in past struggles. Two years after a half-a-year struggle, social workers at Presbyterian voted 872 to 469, but the hospital administration refused to recognize the union.

An arbitrator decided the dispute in favor of the union, setting wage, hour and benefit standards in accordance with 1199 standards. Presbyterian has arrogantly rejected all this by this decision by using the endless process of court appeals provided for under a 1963 amendment to the state's labor law, which has in the past been used by the union leadership for allowing hospital workers to work a dangerous—while hazing—job.

The 1199 leadership under Leon Davis has so far confined the struggle at Presbyterian to talks and demonstrations, pushing back the tremendous movement of the ranks. In a leaflet passed out Wednesday's demonstration, Davis said: "There is still time to turn this situation around and bring management to their senses."

In the meantime, workers at Presbyterian face some of the worst working conditions in the city.

"It's really terrible here, especially in food service where I work," one worker told the Bulletin. "It's just like a prison down there. They're always down on our backs, especially if they don't like you."

"We've got to put a stop to all this. I think the only way we can show them we're serious is to walk off the job," he said.

"I'm fighting for my job," said another worker.

"There's no discipline, no job security, and they don't respect anybody here. The administration sees racism to keep us down and divide everybody."

One worker told the Bulletin one of the central issues which must be taken up in the fight for a contract is wages.

"Here I am paying $175 a month rent and I have to save up two weeks to pay it on the money I make here," he said. "All I want is enough money to make a decent living."

"They should strike this Phase Three. Why should they freeze wages when food prices are going up and all your bills and everything else are going up too? You know, Nixon said prices were going to level off, but they're not. They're going to go up and up and up."

"The whole thing is a racket, man. Nixon has a real racket going. I think we have to fight it now. I feel it's going to be another depression—it's already a depression for me."
**Long Strike Seen At Cemetery**

**BY BRUCE McKay**

**NEW YORK, April 22—Cemetery workers are now on strike at three locations following the rejection by management of a "rock bottom" wage and benefit package proposed by the union leadership. The union proposal calls for a $12 per week wage increase in each year of the three year contract, an offer which union officials and job applicants feel is not enough in the face of the skyrocketing cost of living.**

The cemetery owners' association has offered the men only eight dollars per week more in wages, and there are also sharp differences between the owners and union on the question of benefits and job classifications.

The state has taken the side of the owners in the dispute, refusing to break the strike by setting up a three man "board of inquiry." The strike was called by Deputy Mayor Robert Sweet. In the face of a subpoena, Mr. Sweet said last week he is "ready to go to jail" rather than attend public hearings being held by the state panel. Management representatives have been excused from the hearings.

Cimiglia, however, has bowed to the state's threat of going to court to call out his men in a full scale strike, which could close five cemeteries or taking up a fight against Nixon for a wage increase which can meet the needs of the workers in the face of the rampant inflation.

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**Political Committee Statement**

**NCLC Hooliganism Attacks Trotskyism**

The National Caucus of Labor Committees has opened up a vicious campaign of hooliganism and physical attacks on the Communist Party. Last week an attempt was made also against the Socialist Workers Party. As we pointed out in the last issue of the Bulletin, these are anti-communist provocateurs and a threat to the workers movement.

**Trotskyism**

The Communist Party is now trying to use these attacks by the Labor Committee to attack Trotskyism. In the April 21 issue of the Daily Worker, in an article by Morris Davis entitled "May I and a proto-Brownshirts gang's chal- lenge to labor," the CP compares the activities of the Labor Committee to Trotskyism. "In the 40's the main gripes that the Trotskyites, followers of Leon Trotsky," Morris goes on to say, "were towards the World War Two as "acted as fifth columnist.""

First, it must be said that the Labor Committee has absolutely nothing to do with Trotskyism. The leadership of this organization is made up of renegades from the Fourth International who rejected Marxism and turned against the working class. Second, it is Stalinism and its Communist parties that began the use of hooliganism in the workers movement beginning in 1928 when the first issue of The Militant hit the streets. The origins of hooliganism lie in the Moscow trials in which Stalin framed up and murdered almost the entire leadership of Lenin's Bolshevik Party and the Russian revolution, including Leon Trotsky. The American Communist Party to this day has never repudiated these trials. The American CP itself was directly complicit in the assassinations that occurred during World War Two. The CP earned the hatred of millions of workers for their support to every attack by the government on the unions. This is the real history.

At the same time, and despite our deep political differences, the Workers League has made clear to the CP our willingness to organize a common defense against the Labor Committee's attacks. Last week we sent a letter to the CP which stated: "We wish to inform you that the Workers League endorses the recent attacks made by the National Caucus of Labor Committees against members of your organization. The facts that took place in Philadelphia and New York are blatantly anti-communist in character and represent a threat to all working class organizations.

As the NCLC has announced its intention to continue its policy of disrupting your meetings, the Workers League proposes a discussion between our organizations on the preparation of joint defense of all working class meetings against such disruptions."

We have also discussed with representatives of the SWP, who have also been attacked by the thugs of the Labor Committee, the question of defense. We wish to discuss with representatives of the SWP the demotion of these attacks and a discussion among the organiza- tion of our differences. We propose the holding of class meetings against these attacks.

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**EDITOR: Lucy St. John Labor Editor: David North Art Director: Robert Friedlich**

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Bulletin Trailblazers Welcomed By Detroit Workers

BY TERENCE CROSS

DAYTON—Today, the Bulletin has trailblazing teams working in the Pacific Northwest, the South, and the Midwest, marking a big step in the development of a paper which can give leadership today in the fight against Nixon. The work of the trailblazing teams is critical in the fight for the twice-weekly Bulletin.

In one week, a total of 682 subscriptions were added, 28 in Detroit, 51 in the Midwest and the rest throughout the Midwest have bought subscriptions to the Bulletin. Over 500 Bulletins, 200 VS papers, and $85 in literature have been sold.

The government’s policies of vicious speedup, layoffs, and budget cuts were very evident in the Kalamazoo, Michigan area. Here, the drive of the corporations for more profit has resulted in the Pioneer Paper Mill being closed, significant speedup at the Fisher Body Plant and large budget cuts at Western Michigan University. Widespread unemployment and the restlessness of the Fisher Body workers is tempered by Nixon’s move to cut all unemployment benefits and wipe out such benefits for striking workers. A tremendous response to the Bulletin.

The Bulletin’s headline: LAYOFFS BEGIN IN GENERAL MOTORS aroused much interest. The trailblazers entered Detroit only days after an auto workers strike had his head blown off in a stamping press. Describing this incident, one worker said: “Our safety officials came in and shut down seven unsafe presses, the company turned the presses back on immediately after the officials left.”

The murder and the arrogant disregard for any safety conditions by the companies show their determination to turn back the times to the days of merciless sweatshops. The brutal speedups and the intolerable plant conditions, along with wages, are explosive issues.

“It is impossible to defend the gains already made by the working class was a claim recently at the Dodge Main Plant, forcing the local leadership to promise a strike package. The betrayal of Local 3 President Joe Hardy, in refusing to carry this through, has resulted in a situation where Hardy cannot move in the plant without fearing for his safety. The militancy of the auto workers, however, is not enough. Many workers are Woodcock as immovable. One Chrysler worker said, “I try to do what I can, because we know that Woodcock will do what he wants to anyway.”

The alternative of a labor party, to go beyond militancy, was fought for by the trailblazers. One hundred-fifty-six subs and an additional 246 papers were sold in Detroit in three days.

The complete treachery of the unions bureaucrats, who are attempting to hand-cuff the working class, was discussed with the new subscribers. A young steel worker in Dayton, facing speedup in his foundry, spoke against I.W. Abel’s “no strike” pledge.

“Now Abel has signed this ‘no strike’ thing and we all know we have to have a strike. And something else we’re mad about is that Abel has said there will be no support from the International for local strikes.”

Unemployment soaring in the Dayton area and inflation skyrocketing, the government’s attacks are met with the determination of the working class to defend themselves. One worker, an organizer for United Electrical Workers in Dayton, spoke about inflation. “Nine dollars an hour seems like a lot for skilled workers, but in six months it will be nothing. There can be no bargaining with Nixon.” Over 48 subs have been sold at this point in the Dayton area, and in the Cincinnati-Newark area 45 subs were sold in a single day.

In Cincinnati, one worker told the Bulletin that his entire shift at the Fisher Body Plant has been laid off. His new job at Wayfarer Mobile Home builders is non-union. The worker reported that: “We use Dodge frames and the company told us that when the Dodge workers got a raise, we will too, but we haven’t received it. They make $30,000 off each van and I can’t see why we can’t get a raise.”

The campaign against education has been seen in all areas. At Detroit’s Wayne State campus, there has been a drop in enrollment from 1972, and several students reported a 200 percent tuition increase from last year. On Wayfarer campus, 45 VS papers were sold in a morning in a fight to defend education. This was posed in a fight to construct a VS branch there against the middle class protest of the Young Socialist Alliance and its allies in the Socialist League.

At Western Michigan University, as a result of an enrollment drop of 3000 from 1972, 70 teachers have been laid off.

In Yellow Springs, Ohio, at Antioch College literature table, between dollars plus 51 VS papers were recorded within a few hours. The enthusiastic response given the VS comes at a time when Nixon’s budget cuts begin to squeeze small schools such as Antioch. One student reported that “One to three million dollars will be cut if budget cuts go through.”

The success of the subscriptions drive here has been precisely because of the movement of the working class against Nixon. The fight now to construct a Marxist leadership and the fight to build a labor party, reflected here in large sales of the labor party Manifesto, is led by the Bulletin.

Discussion at Young Socialist literature table at Boston Univer. set up by trailblazers to build for a meeting against the budget cuts.

Trailblazers Tour Boston’s Black and White Ghettos

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

BOSTON—Young Socialists from New York, Connecticut, Bethlehem and Baltimore have become part of a trailblazing team going throughout the New England area selling subscriptions to the Bulletin. Roxbury, Somerville, Charlestown, Cambridge, Boston University, and Brandeis University are some of the areas in which the trailblazers sold over 180 subs and 300 Bulletins in four days.

Every day the trailblazers went out to auto plants, factories and communities. A table was set up at Boston University nearly every day selling a great deal of Marxist literature and Bulletins.

Workers from different unions, unemployed and youth bought subscriptions to the Bulletin excreting their sharp hatred for the policies of the government and Nixon. The team spoke to hundreds of workers and youth who were completely disgusted with the government, its two parties and protesting. One unemployed man stated in response to the fight for the labor party: “This state didn’t vote for Nixon, maybe that’s why Nixon is in such a hard time here. But I see that the Democrats aren’t doing anything about it either. They’re all in it together.”

A youth from a high school in Somerville stated that “The schools can’t get any worse here. The walls are falling in.”

The attacks that the government has launched in Boston pose the urgency now to get a wide readership of the Bulletin and construct a leadership which can take forward the struggles of workers and youth. Unemployment in Massachusetts was recorded at 7.2 percent in the month of February. The shipbuilding industry has already begun a cutback of 13,000 jobs. The Boston city hospital is laying off 600 workers. This is just the beginning of what older workers will face in the New England area.

Clerical conditions, decrepit buildings, filth and rampant disease can depict these areas. The ghettos, all of which the extremely rotten and generated, are separated into white, black, and new immigrants. Racial tension has been whipping up to keep Black and white “voo”ers and youth fighting each other and the government.

Young people, living under the worst conditions, have become extremely frustrated with the life they are forced to live in and many turn to drugs. The school system in Boston alone is the worst in the nation. Recreation for thousands of youth in these areas is nothing more than hazardous playgrounds and the nearby streets.

The universities and colleges are forcing students to pay tuition increases of hundreds of dollars. Boston University is raising tuition by $400 while it is laying off 90 professors. Financial aid programs are being slashed by half and even more in other universities.

MEETING

A meeting was held at Boston University for April 25 to prepare the fight that has to be conducted in New England against the policies of the government; to build the leadership which can fight all the way against Nixon to defend the rights and gains of the working class.

Antioch College literature table, where over $11 of literature was sold.
Docker Fight>

Job Cutbacks

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

CHICAGO—As the 1973 Great Lakes shipping season starts, it has been exposed that the Sykes leadership has absolutely no intention of fighting to defend jobs on the Chicago docks. In fact, a key provision of last year’s contract which is just going into effect actually prepares the breaking up of Local 19 for fighting for our own men to get the jobs.

"Don’t get me wrong—I think these guys should work, I think they should be in the union. I fought against closing the books. There should be work for everyone—Chicago is the biggest port on the lakes.

Increasing use of container equipment at Calumet Harbor threatens to halve the number of jobs, and may even lead to the closing of Navy Pier. The first ship of the season, for instance, docked at Navy Pier near the loop for welcoming ceremonies with Mayor Daley, and then left unloading. The Sykes boss invited us to look at it, much less load it. It just came in and then disappeared. We don’t even know who handled it; none of us did.

Many dockers think that the ship was loaded at Burns Harbor in Indiana, where the local leadership has accepted the four man gang size. Local 19 is in urgent pressure to get their own gang size from eight men.

DANGER

This is the real danger of the new hiring plan—it would not be possible to locally break up a definitely union and non-union men are hired for the day according to seniority. Then gangs are filled out as needed from the "extra men." Who pay for a union that can’t get work, get full contract benefits and are also hired according to their seniority on the docks.

CLAUSE

The new contract creates 14 weeks rather than 7, and was supposed to eliminate the standard remaining chances for favoritism, rather than strict seniority. The dockers determined hiring. But when the men reported to be reassigned, they were finally told the real meaning of the clause—that union and extra men would be pooled together for hiring.

The result is this: just as bad as what Abe did at the mills,” another docker said. “Look, jobs are going to be tight this year. The union isn’t really fighting the cuts, and now they’re not even

Midwest News

UM Takes Hard Line On Union

BY AN AFSCME 1164 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS—After nearly two months, negotiations for a first collective bargaining agreement have now resumed in American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 1164 of the University of Minnesota Workers. At this negotiation meeting, the University administration announced that it had only hardness its opposition and hostility to the union and its fight for a contract.

The administration denied in person and “could not understand the difference” between a six month probationary period now in effect under the union rules and the union’s contract demands for 30 days probation. In answer to the demand for more frequent negotiation sessions, the administration only offered to come back in 14 days, only two days in the next month when it was available to do so. In the face of the bosses’ arrogant hostility, members of the Caucus for a Better Contract again demanded a date be set in May, after which the striking workers would not accept it in a session with any information, they are absolutely opposed to setting a concrete date, only saying that it is in the future, some time in the future.

PREVENT

In order to prevent a strike, the Stabilists are pressing phony charges that two leading members of the Caucus have violated the union’s constitution and should be expelled. They are doing a job not only for the hospital administration and the local but also for the CPSU and Joe Robinson and the bureaucracy of Council 6 of the Minnesota State College.

Only the CDC has fought to expose the charges, not only to the Council 6 bureaucracy and the Democratic Party. The Caucus has been trying to reach a break with Governor Anderson to save the money and their budget cuts through the construction of a labor party.

RAILROAD

Before the trial even begins, Charles Williams, President of Local 1164, has made it clear that he intends to railroad through a labor

As the strike enters its fourteenth week...

CBS Strike

Hit by Scabs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MADISON—Under pressure from the CBS national and the Federal Communications Commission, WISC-TV (Channel 3) in Madison has agreed to submit seven items of a proposed contract with striking Communications Workers of America Local 5530, to arbitration.

The items include: charge and grievance procedures, seniority and union representatives and activities. Disciplinary measures are now being taken against a worker for saying something derogatory about the station even in his off hours.

Now entering the fourteenth week of a strike against Channel 3, Manager George Santos continues his vigorous campaign to drive the strikers out. In the meantime, the inside the station have filed for a decertification vote which, if approved, could close it down.

It is suspected there has been payoffs to lead the workers away from the vote away from unionization.

DEFENSE

Picketer Barry Baum was hit and carried 100 feet into the parking lot on the hood of a scab’s car. Fearing the driver would swear around a corner, Baum clutched the windshield wiper to keep his picket sign tracked the car’s windshield. Now the driver wants to sue Baum. The overzealousness of the situation for the workers clear is.

The company and its agents are using every force at their disposal to break the strike. Oak-Centron guards, the company security forces, have thrown strikes signs off the lot into the street and even stomped them.

Instead of fighting to win with the strength and funds of the International CWA membership, the present leadership seems to be using a local fight unrelated to CWA in other areas. The only way to win is to bring out the entire union membership in support of the strike.

The present methods can only lead to demoralization and disillusionment.

NAME

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15 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011
KKK On Trial in Detroit

BY KEN WESTON

DETROIT—Five men on trial in Detroit for the dynamite bombing of two Pontiac school buses in 1971, including former Michigan Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon Robert Miles, have waived their right to a jury trial claiming that it would be impossible to draw fair jurors from the Detroit area.

Their lawyer, James Wells, in a blatant attempt to whip up a racist atmosphere at the trial stated: "There is a deep-seated prejudice in the work of the Klan. When a witness in this case appeared before the (federal) grand jury, jurors identified as a Klansman, the four black jurors sat there bug-eyed. They couldn't ask any questions."

Wells went on: "The white person just had never realized there was a KKK in the twentieth century. No, not since the 1920s. Not like a clandestine organization. It disturbs people and causes im- agey."

TESTIMONY

The testimony of the government's key witness, Jerome Lavinger, leaves no doubt as to what kind of organization the modern day Klan is. The five men have been charged by the federal government threatening and intimidating black students in Pontiac and overturning a federal court order for Pontiac schools to integrate through the busing of students.

Lavinger, a Pontiac fireman who informed on the Klan's activities to the FBI, testified that on many occasions the Klan was "fraternal" to him, not a cause for mistrust. But even he suggested that 5000 to 6000 Klan members were active in the area.

Local 65 of the South Works plant in Chicago mobilized unanimously to reject the deal at their membership meeting on April 11. The present contract does not end until August 1974, but Able is anxious to reach an agreement with the companies now in order to prevent the workers from taking strike action. In fact this is the "justification" he uses for his deal.

He says that the steel companies stockpiled steel in 1971 to prepare for a long strike. The strike did not happen but the companies' goal no longer needed to be achieved. Able now proceeds to lay off more than 10,000 of the then 53,000 steel workers. Able's argument is that by assuring the companies that the union will not go on strike then the steel companies will not stockpile and so, of course, there will be no layoffs.

This argument fails to piece in the reality of the situation. The companies are ordering steel in vast quantities today in order to stockpile their own supply of steel before the price goes up as it will later this year.

US Steel has already consciously prepared for this by hiring new workers under the provisions that they can be laid off at any time. The new workers are being told there is no job security in the steel plants and this is in warning to all the workers in the plants.

The Gary Post-Tribune's headline on April 21 was "No US Steel Layoffs." The article went on to say that the No. 3 open hearth plant was being prepared to begin production, which is contrary to the vicious anti-steel and anti-labor KKK, seek revenge from a jury trial, preferring judgment by a US District Judge, because it is the federal government which requires the services of these men to carry on for its anti-social work class policies.

Midwest Steel Ranks: No To Able's Sellout!

BY JACQUES JANNSEN

CHICAGO—Three percent! They can't do that! I can't go backwards that fast—I'll break my damn neck!"

But the reason this steel contract deal will make the steel companies over the crucial questions of wages and working conditions has been met by massive resistance by rank and file members.

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Portec Strikers Attacked

BY KATHLEEN RICK

MINNEAPOLIS—Portec incorporated has returned to vicious union-busting tactics as the 400 workers at the Pioneer Division entered their first day of strike. Portec workers, organized into an international group of Electrical Workers Local 1140 produce asphalt plants and for railroad construction. On the afternoon of the strike, one worker was knocked down by the company car when the plant superintendent drove it into the picket line.

"We want this to be a peaceful strike," one of the angry workers said, "but Kimbillion (plant superintendent) is putting a strangle on a peaceful thing." The eleven men at the gate pick- ed up the front end of thelaghion wagon and threw it back into the parking lot after Don Broysted was hit in the leg. He had to carry a cane for the next day and a half after the incident.

"What I'm thinking isn't print- able," Broysted told the Bulletin. "Broysted has had to deal with not only the company's annuities, but the arrogance of the city attorney as well. "I went in to file a complaint, and the city attorney said, it wasn't 'big enough' to go to court because I didn't file it in time. Then he told me I should have gotten out of the way. 'What if I had been in a car accident? You know I would have run him over!' I told him, 'I said the city attorney didn't say a thing. I don't think Kimbillion should be super- intendent,' he added.

The rest of the workers are trying to do the best we can out of six months cost of living and get out of it for next year," one worker said. The company is offering a combined wage increase-cost of living package. But the net even Nixon's 5.5 percent guidelines. The combined wage increase of the pro- posed would take away the cost of living that had been in the old contract. But, with the way the food prices are going, you can just spread out. We have our cost of living now, not nine months from now," another worker said.

As one Portec worker said, "Even the 5.5 percent wage in- crease isn't enough."

MEETINGS TO CELEBRATE

Minneapolis

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

Madison

May 5 2PM Labor Temple, 1602 S. Park
$1 contribution 75% HS Students & unemployed

Chicago

Sun. May 6 3PM
Labor Center 1325 So. Wabash, 3rd Fl.
Speaker: Jean Brust
$2 contribution $1 for students & unemployed (includes supper)
Call Congress Of Labor
To Defend GE Ranks

Nixon is now girding for an attack on the electrical workers contract expiring less than a month from now. Through the General Electric workers, Nixon plans to force the implementation of Phase Three to slash the living standards of American workers and to defeat the union. GE has already stated that it will enforce the guidelines and at the same time is demanding new work rules which will mean layoffs for thousands of workers.

Through GE Nixon is trying to break the back of the wage offensive and to use a settlement on his grounds to attack the United Auto Workers and the five million other workers who now face Phase Three. Nixon hopes to isolate the GE struggle and to then push the unions back one at a time. The structure of GE makes every trade unionist and the future of the unions themselves.

The leadership of the UE and the IUE have said that they will not accept Nixon’s guidelines. But it is not enough to simply raise demands—the question is to win them. This is the question now before the ranks of the UE and IUE that must now be faced up to.

Nixon and GE can only be defeated if the power of the whole labor movement is mobilized in support of the GE workers which are the first to challenge Phase Three and preparations are made now for the collision with Nixon and the government.

This is why the urgent question now is the conversion of the labor movement which will have to prepare general strike action by the entire labor movement not only to defeat the GE workers, but all of the five million workers whose contracts expire this year. Such a Congress will have to initiate the building of a labor party to take up a political fight against Nixon and the Democrats to put an end to the wage freeze and all the attacks the government has launched against the working people.

The calling of this Congress of Labor is posed immediately before the May 8 meeting of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. But it is clear from all the recent moves by the labor leaders that they will not call a Congress of Labor. They will now want to openly discuss a policy before such a Congress of thousands of workers who come to fight Nixon.

The only force in the labor movement that will carry out this fight is the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party.

The fight for the Congress of Labor means a collision not only with the present leadership of the unions but with the Communist Party. Out of one of its mouth it talks about fighting the freeze and the need for the “political independence of the trade union movement.” Out of the other side they applaud the leadership of the UE and IUE for refusing to fight for a program which can defeat Nixon and GE.

It is impossible to defeat Nixon’s Phase Three and GE without a general strike of the entire labor movement. It is impossible to defeat the unions against the government’s attacks without building a labor party. It is impossible to carry through this fight without a struggle against the present leadership of the unions from the Meany’s to the so-called lefts in the leadership of the UE.

This is the fight which is now being taken up by the Workers Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party and will be at the center of the rally in Union Square this Saturday and in meetings throughout the country.

We need a grand total of 7,272 towards our goal of 12,000 by June 1st. The great difficulty now is that branch sub work continues to pay its dues. By today 797 subs report to us this week. This means that we must immediately be reverse if we are to reach our two thirds mark of 8,000 subs by next week. We must actually go beyond this mark to ensure we will achieve our goal of 10,000 subs by the 20th of June. This can only be done by the rank and file without the aid of the Bulletin campaigns.

If you are a subscriber and you still hold 100 subs, or even one single day longer than May 3rd has any excuse in not fulfilling its goal through politically led full and complete canvassing with the bulletins. The problem is clear: The Nixon regime, Nixon’s open threats on Europe, and his preparations on the electrical and other unions require this and make it possible.

What we think
The Kissingler Plan

(Continued From Page 1)

Because these expectations are not being fulfilled,” Kissinger admitted, “the unthinkable notion outlined in Nixon’s recent trade bill is the guide for the United States future relations with Europe. Of course, these comments were decorated with all the diplomatic references to “partnership” and “statesmanship,” etc. But Kissinger’s speech made it clear that the assessment of the role of American imperialism developed by Leon Trotsky nearly 30 years ago has lost nothing of its historical force.

Rather, the fact that the world crisis is entering a new phase in the United States today—which was not the case in 1929—proves the necessity of understanding Trotsky’s speeches on Europe and American more critical than ever before for the development of a revolutionary perspective for the United States.

“If we wish to give a clear and precise answer to the question of what American imperialism wants,” declared Trotsky in 1933, “we must say: It wants to put capitalism on an ass! In 1973, dubbed by Nixon, “The Year of Europe,” Kissinger will be forced to abandon his policy of containing the European logic of American imperialism for Europe.

The report of the Marshall Plan by the Kissingler Plan is rooted in the real logic of the present crisis. As the Second World War was won, the two basic alternatives were posed to American imperialism. Either there could be an immediate launching of war against the Soviet Union coupled with civil war against European workers as well as against working classes struggling in American plants; or there could be a compromise with the working class—arranged through the agency of Stalinism—based upon the re-evaluation of Europe financed with a massive infusion of credits. Facing the consequences of the first alternative which would have invited American imperialism and a progressive European bourgeoisie against the victorious Red Army, armed partisans in every Western European country, and rebellion troops within Eisenhower’s army; Nixon’s predecessors closed the second course.

But the price for this compromise is that the breakthrough of the international system constructed in Brest Litovsk Woods means that Nixon must continue this crisis with the international working class enormously strengthened.

At the same time, European capitalism is considerably stronger than it was in 1929. But this fact can not be correctly understood in isolation from the enormous social power of the European working class.

For the heart of Trotsky’s speeches on Europe and America is that the attempt to bend Europe is the will of American imperialism will drive Europe onto the road of the socialist revolution. Trotsky saw the reactionary policies of American imperialism as an influence for the explosive disruption of class relations in Europe. He declared:

“Today out of our own capitalist considerations and driven by the logic of imperialist rapacity, America is making the experiment with riots on a gigantic scale and the falsification of so many plans. The plan will not go through without meeting a struggle; the workers will be compelled to struggle along class lines and in their masses.” The weight of American imperialism leads to the beginning of a new transformation of political self-assurance—and this process is picking up tempo, the more American capitalism expands internationally, the more it commands the American bankers issue to the governments of Europe, all the greater, all the more centralised, all the more ruthless will be the resistance of the broad masses of Europe, not only among the proletariat but also among the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry. Because American, America is to see at all in all a simple task, so you deem, to transfer Europe to a colonial position.

It is even far more difficult today to accomplish that, when Nixon cannot even take on Europe without attacking millions of workers in this country. Trade war, the breakup of the Common Market, and the manipulation of currencies must find their American translation in terms of unemployment, wage cutting and laws against the trade unions—workers must be attacked by Nixon at the very moment when the entire ruling class confronts is expressed most drastically in the move around Waldheim.

The clear fact is that the Trotsky’s assessment of Europe and America. It becomes clear that the Kissinger Plan must create the conditions for the political struggle of the working class against Nixon against the background of revolutionary developments in Europe.

Within the context of this objective situation, the subjective factor—the revolutionary leadership of the working class assumes the greatest significance. Internationally, Stalinist collaboration with the imperialists, betrays the working class movements and weakens the foundations of the Soviet Union and China.

In the United States, the trade union bureaucracy—supported by the so-called “reform” wings of the Communist Party—have entered into an alliance with the split faction of the United Automobile Workers union. This trade union warfare measure proposed a new contract for the workers at Harrick mill—while remaining tied to the monopoly of monopolist workers politically against Phase Three in defense of their trade unions and living conditions.

The light of the Workers League, Young Socialists League and the Workers Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party for the Congress of Labor and the labor party is bound to the struggle to develop workers in the trade unions and all sections of youth as Marxists.

As contradiction is the source of development, we see the contradiction between the objective tasks of the trade union and its present thinking and bureaucratic leadership. We see the opportunities for the development of a new generation of Marxist leaders in the United States.

It is with this confidence that we rally in Union Square in celebration of May Day and democracy. Moreover, we fight for Trotskyism deep into the labor movement.

CORRECTION
In last week’s issue of the Bulletin, a typographical error crept into the last paragraph on page 6. The correct sentence should have read: “We know what he would do to a socialist congress and we are prepared to give him the light of that knowledge.”
A RECORD OF TREACHERY

The following is the second part of the Hour series by Jack Gale, reprinted from Workers Press, which answers the Pabisets' "Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification." It argues that the youth movement has been betrayed by those it trusted.

Jaya Vithana, in the International Marxist Group pamphlet "Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification," says that several letters sent by Bala Tamppoe to Prime Minister Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike during the Ceylon "emergency" in 1971, were "soft.

But he also thinks they 'laid the basis for the reawakening of the working class and reorienting it on a perspective of struggle.' We will quote again what these letters actually said.

On May 14 Tamppoe's Ceylon Mercantile Union wrote to Mrs Bandaranaike: "We think it necessary to draw your attention to certain emergency regulations that have opened the door to police and military terrorism against the people."

"It is a widespread belief that 'excesses' and even atrocities have been committed by police officers and members of the armed forces."

A further letter declared: "Does it serve no useful purpose to regard the rebels as criminals, those who have kidnapped and murdered innocent people, raped and looted and indulged in kidnappings and murder, even if some of them may be proved to have committed such acts" (See Workers Press, October 20, 1972.)

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

"The basis for reawakening the working class and reorienting it on a perspective of struggle was laid," according to Vithana, by letters which (1) Appealed to the head of a ruling government to stop the oppression on the grounds that they may not be aware of the 'excesses' taking place. (2) Conceded the bourgeois leadership that the young rebels were murderers, rapists and looters. (3) Appealed to that well-known revolutionary source, the 'all-mighty Buddha.'

"Little wonder that Vithana fails to back up his claims as to the revolutionary content of Tamppoe's letters by quoting from any of them.

Not taking a position

But, if that were not enough, two leading IMG members—Taring Ali and Robin Blackburn—published a letter to Mrs Bandaranaike, together with Ernest Mandel, Alain Krivine and others which begins: "Without wanting to take a position with regard to the armed clashes which recently occurred in Ceylon . . . the undersigned are profoundly perturbed."

Can the IMG leaders tell us of one instance in which the leaders of a genuine revolutionary tendency issued a public statement saying that they were 'not taking a position' on the mass murder of workers and peasants by bourgeois armed forces? A further lie and distortion deserves some attention. Vithana alleges that after the repression had begun, the Revolutionary Communist League wrote a letter to the Prime Minister pleading with her to lift the ban on their newspaper and citing as a reason the fact that they were the only ones who had consistently attacked the JVP's politics. "Given the situation, there was nothing wrong in using the tactic of writing letters to Bandaranaike in order to reach the masses. But Healy's Ceylon friends were more concerned about their own sect and driving a nail into the JVP coffin rather than the mass movement.

"IMG leaders ought to note that when we refer to Unified Secretariat statements, CML letters, etc, we quote verbatim from them. All the IMG has to do, if it wishes to refute our charges, is to reprint the original documents."

Vithana, by contrast, refers to our statements only in the most general terms. He never quotes literally from them—because if he did so his likes could not be maintained. Let us examine his claim that our comrades 'pleaded with Bandaranaike, etc.'

The letter he refers to was printed in full in Workers Press on May 29, 1971. We specifically stated that "This appeal is made by Wilfred Pereira, residing at No 27, Asethia Lane, Colombo 6, who is the registered proprietor, printer and publisher of the following newspapers which have been banned by the C o m p e t e n t A u t h o r i t y under the Emergency Regulations: "Karako Puvath," "Virohaya" and "Thahila Sahai"—organs of the Revolutionary Communist League and "Tharuwa Satana"—organ of the Revolutionary Communist Youth."

"Unfortunately Vithana and his IMG mentors, we will now reproduce extracts from this statement. We invite Vithana, the IMG, the Unified Secretariat, or anyone else to challenge this statement—or, indeed, to compare it with Bala Tamppoe's references to the venerable Buddha:"

"It should be abundantly clear to any political literate who has followed our press that our policies can be no stretch of the most-fertile police imagination be put in the same category as the politics of the JVP which is purported to be the government's main enemy at the moment and similar Guvarti or Maoist organisations.

"Between our politics and the politics of those other organisations—as also between ourselves and the 'leftist' leaderships—there lies the unbridgeable gulf that exists between Marxism and the several varieties or petty-bourgeois reformism.

"The putchism or conspiratorial adventurism of such organisations isolated from the working class is only the lower side of the counterfeit coin of parliamentary reformist opportunism, which the petty-bourgeois agents of the bourgeois try to palm off on the working class as genuine Marxism.

"When we differentiate ourselves from those other organisations and parties, we do not for one moment imply that we condone the suppression of their newspapers. Nor do we demand that the press of our political opponents be suppressed.

On the contrary, we stand for the democratic rights of all political parties and organisations that base themselves on the workers and peasants and speak in their name and for the socialist transformation of society, irrespective of the means they advocate . . . Prose, incisive prose are, above all, a means of suppression resorted to by governments which cannot find the time to present other answer to the political arguments of their critics and opponents.

As this appeal will show, we are justified in believing that herein lies the reason for banning our newspapers.

In this appeal, however, we are only permitted to plead on behalf of our democratic rights. If and when those rights are restored to us, we shall take up once again for public agitation the question of general democratic rights in defence of which we have always been in the forefront. As Marxists, we believe that the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can be won for the struggle for socialism only if the youth can acquire faith in the ability of the working class to lead society onto a new road.

The working class can inspire this faith only by its strength, the firmness and determination of its actions and the clarity of its perspective. The propaganda and agitation carried on by our newspapers was always inspired by this unshakable belief in the leading role of the working class.

Our newspapers, with their emphasis on Marxist theory and method for ideological arming of the working class, were not only vanguards of propaganda and agitation; they were above all a school of Marxism. And for us Marxism is the distilled essence of the historical experience of the international working class . . .

In the name of humanity, whose fate today is threatened by the forces of international reaction, and in the name of the international working class who alone can fight and overcome those forces, we appeal against the banning of our
newspapers and for the restoration of our democratic rights in order to allow us to resume our work for the building of the revolutionary party in Ceylon and a part of the international party of the socialist revolution, the Fourth International, which is a sine qua non for the building of a new world.

On behalf of the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League

We can rip the cover off Jaya Vithana's baseless lie that Workers Press did nothing to 'break the curtain of silence about Ceylon'. He also claims—wrongly—that we spent 'most of our time slanderer and vilifying the JVP'—the young Guevarist guerilla group so brutally crushed by Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's government.

In particular, Vithana specifically states in the International Marxist Group's pamphlet 'Ceylon and the Healy School of False ideology':

'In April-May 1971 the theoreticians in Ceylon made a total of 200 persons at risk for the JVP for the April massacre. A year and a half later, without making any self-criticism of this position, the Workers Press admit that the massacre was actually initiated by the Ceylonese government.'

We will now prove in detail that Vithana is just an impudent liar. We will quote and we will go back further than April-May 1971.

We invite any supporter of the United Secretariat to compare Vithana's statement with the following extracts from Workers Press:

On November 9, 1978, we wrote: 'If the choice before Mrs Bandaranaike in 1964 was to withdraw from the JVP or to mount the mass conspiracy, she would have chosen the former. Nevertheless, the bluster of the left groups has not left a large space for the working class to act.'

On December 26, 1978, we wrote: 'The government is acting in the spirit of the United National Party (UNP) regime, which launched a witch-hunt against the working class in the latter part of its role. The only difference is that the Bandaranaike regime is carrying out this same policy on a wider and more open scale.'

On January 7, 1971, referring to the strike wave of December 1970-January 1971, we stated: 'While the revisionist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Stalinist Communist Party have accepted positions in the coalition cabinet, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's government is using brutal repressive measures to hide the causes of the strike wave.'

On March 9, 1971, we reported: 'Cruel-hit Ceylon's United Left Front coalition yesterday as it was prepared action against alleged threats of a left-wing armed uprising. Recent police reports have led to the Ministry of Justice recommending new laws to deal with "subversive" organizations and greater powers for the police.'

The proposals mark a sharp turn towards open dictatorship in Ceylon.'

On March 15, 1971, we headlined: 'Coalition is Counter-Revolutionary' and declared: 'The state of emergency declared in Ceylon... indicated the treacherous objectives of the counter-revolutionary coalition government.'

On March 18, 1971, we said that the Ceylon government's second set of emergency regulations constituted a threat to the entire Ceylonese labour movement. We reported that Mrs Bandaranaike was attempting to link food shortages with the activities of "secret bands of youths" who, she claimed, were "trying to create confusion by terrorizing people with bombs and other lethal weapons".

We commented: 'Faced by a growing economic crisis and chronic shortages of basic commodities, the United Left Front coalition is bungling for support.'

On March 24, 1971, under the headline 'Mrs Bandaranaike widens her net', we reported that the excuse of having "positive proof" of left-wing extremists 'the government had introduced severe penalties, including death, for crime, looting, trespass and the use of explosives and heavy arms, and jail for distributing leaflets.'

We warned: 'Ceylon is fast heading towards dictatorship.'

On April 3, 1971, we said that the leaders of the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the LSSP were 'heading premier Mrs Bandaranaike's repressions against the left'.

We said: 'Recent emergency measures and repressions are directed against rising militancy in the working class', and we concluded: 'We deplore the witch-hunting played by the leaders of the Communist Party and demand the immediate release of all political prisoners.'

On April 14, 1971, we reported: 'Mrs Bandaranaike's terror campaign is supported by her coalition partners, the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the ex-revisionist Lanka Sama Samaja Party.'

The United Left Front government has abandoned its attacks on the workers and peasants. British and international labour must demand the immediate release of all political prisoners.'

The following day we wrote, in fact, carrying daily reports on Ceylon (so much for Vithana's 'curtain of silence')—we reported: 'Ceylon's 'factions' are armed at guerillas'.

In that report we placed the blame squarely where it belonged: 'The blood of these young fighters is not only on the hands of Prime Minister Mrs Bandaranaike and her imperialist backers, but the pro-Moscow Stalinists and the traitors to Trotskyism who serve in her United Left Front coalition.'

'Veir policies of class-collaboration have created the conditions which lead frustrated young fighters into adventurerist actions.'

So much for Vithana's slander that we got the total blame on the JVP!'

On April 26, 1971, Workers Press declared: 'We denounce as traitors to the working class and socialism the Stalinists of the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the ex-revisionists of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party who serve the counter-revolutionary regime while Mrs Bandaranaike's troops shot down, without trial, young workers and students fighting for a socialist Ceylon.'

On April 21, 1971, in a special statement on Ceylon, issued by the Political Committee of the Socialist Labour League and published in Workers Press we stated: 'Mrs Bandaranaike's coalition regime is brutally suppressing the uprising of unemployed rural youth and workers in Ceylon.'

We denounced the offensive
of imperialism and Stalinism against the defenceless youth and peasants," and the "treacherous and unscrupulous support" given to imperialism by the LSSP.

On April 21, 1971, we began a socialist series on the Ceylon emergency which we introduced with the words: "Death without trial and bloody repressions of the workers' and peasants' movement revealed the true face of the Ceylon coalition..."

So much for Jaya Vithana's claim in the International Marxist Group's pamphlet 'Ceylon and the Healy School of Fascilitation' that we 'slandered and vilified' the JVP!

In this series of articles we raised serious political criticisms of the JVP, in particular its underestimation of the working class, which it claimed was 'crippled'. We sharply opposed the JVP's hostility to the immigrant Indian plantation workers.

We declared then, and we state today, that however much the sacrifices of the youth may be, they cannot by themselves overthrow the capitalist system if they are not disciplined and led by the revolutionary Marxist party.

We stand by these criticisms of the JVP. But we defy Vithana or any other revisers to show us one line from the many Workers Press articles on Ceylon which did not point out the JVP's capitulation to the United Left Front, which included the Moderate wing of the Communist Party and the ex-Trotskyists of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) in its Ministries.

We will refer to only one more of the many articles which we carried on Ceylon during the oppression and afterwards. In the Workers Press 'International Youth News' column on May 6, 1971, we published an article on the 'Isolation of guerillas'.

Here are some extracts from what we said in that article: 'The coalition government in Ceylon was paralysed when the struggles of the youth broke out on April 4. The forces, which made a considerable number of trained police personnel from their posts and brought capitalist law and order to a halt in many parts of the country, were mainly unemployed youth.

'Youth in these countries cannot expect any future other than starvation and pauperisation. In Ceylon almost half the adult population is unemployed or under-employed. Youth are convinced that the only solution to the problem lies in struggle against the capitalist system and its state apparatus.'

"That is why they have chosen to confront the state apparatus in many parts of the land."

Our article went on to outline the struggle of the unemployed youth and continued: 'The basic political weakness of the JVP which led to the rural insurgency, was that its leadership did not take measures to unite these struggles of the unemployed youth with the workers. The result was isolation of guerilla forces from the working class which helped the ruling class in crushing the uprising.'

These extracts from our reports and policy statements today and yesterday completely refute Vithana's allegations. They show him to be, in a liar, not once, but a hundred times over.

Our position was a principled Trotskyist one throughout—by contrast with Balaamp Tampoe who collaborated uncritically with the JVP leaders. For instance, Vithana makes much of the fact that the JVP comrades agreed to hold a joint rally with the YSP and the LSSP(R) to protest against the shooting of two plantation workers of Indian origin.

"Our task," says Vithana, "was to intervene in such a manner as to influence the best elements with the goal of winning them to revolutionary Marxist policies." Hard did Tampoe set about that task at the meeting when Vithana is so proud?

We issued a joint appeal with the JVP leaders asking Mrs Bandaranaike to introduce legislation to protect the workers from the estate owners and the police.

That is how these self-styled Trotskyists set about educating the inexperienced youth of the JVP.

This same Tampoe hailed the JVP leaders as "Marxist-Leninist"—while at the same time, never to be forgotten, writing to Mrs Bandaranaike granting that the JVP youth is "the prime mover of the Marxist-Leninist"—that she was the prime mover of the JVP.

Unlike Bala Tampoe and the revisionist LSSP(R), our comrades capitulated neither to the JVP nor to Mrs Bandaranaike.

Jaya Vithana tries to appear extremely 'revolutionary' by pouring scorn on our demand that the Communist Party and Lanka Sama Samaja Party be forced to break from the Bandaranaike coalition government.

It is, he says, 'a meaningless slogan' put forward because of the 'faddist opportunistic politics' which our Ceylonese comrades have 'copied from the mandarins of Calahan High Street'.

This from a member of an 'Internationalist' which has tail-ended behind every petty-bourgeois tendency from the Guerarwa to the Provisional IRA in the most opportunist fashion.

No one who has read Workers Press in Ceylon—or who even reads the extracts quoted in this series—can seriously believe that we tail-end the Ceylonese Stalinists or the LSSP.

We have said, and again and again, that these parties have spearheaded in the most despicable manner the oppressions launched by Bandaranaike. But unlike her Sri Lanka Freedom Party, they get their votes from the main ones Ceylonese workers and peasants.

It is therefore a correct demand to call on the Ceylonese masses to force these parties to break from the Bandaranaike 'United Left Front'.

It was not correct to call for support for the United Front candidates in the 1970 elections. It would have been correct to call for votes for the CP and LSSP candidates, while demanding that they break from the alliance with Mrs Bandaranaike.

The LSSP(R) Vithana tells us, called for a total boycott of the elections—that is, no opposition to the bourgeois parties at all.

It is correct to place demands on the leaders of parties who drew support from sections of the organised working class.

That is why, in Britain, we call for the return of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. That does not mean we have illusions in Wilson or taint of false democracy.

In France we call on workers to vote for Communist Party and Socialist Party candidates, but to demand that they break from the bourgeois Radical
newspapers and for the restoration of our democratic rights in order to allow us to resume our work for the building of a new Ceylon in the spirit of the Bandaranaike coalition government. We reiterate that Mrs. Bandaranaike must be held responsible for the actions of her party and the political formations which she supports. The political and economic situation in Ceylon is, therefore, critical and demands urgent action.

We are firmly convinced that the solution to the current crisis lies in a new constitution and a new administration. We believe that a coalition government, representing all political parties, is necessary to ensure a stable and democratic future for Ceylon. We call on all political parties to work together for the common good of the country.

We urge the international community to support our efforts and to pressure the government to take immediate action to restore democracy and human rights in Ceylon. We stand ready to do our part in this task.

Yaya Vimana and the Communist Party of Ceylon
Party and take the power. That does not mean we have illusions in or tail-end Stalinism.

There is, of course, one thing which Vithana leaves out.

The demand that the CP and the CPP break from the coalition has been made at the same time as our comrades in Ceylon fight to build up revolutionary cadres to lead the masses against reformism, Stalinism and revisionism and towards the socialist revolution.

Conditional support

Vithana also seeks to make capital out of the fact that the Socialist Labour League gave conditional support to the Indian Army when it invaded Bangla Desh in 1971. This, he claims, is another example of 'opportunist tendencies'.

We did give conditional support to the Indian army when the Indian bourgeoisie was forced to send it into Bangla Desh against the army of the murderous Yahya Khan.

A full statement of our position can be consulted in a series of articles by Michael Banda in Workers Press of January 3, 4 and 5, 1972.

The Unified Secretariat, in a statement of December 5, 1971, had claimed that these bankrupt classes (i.e., the Indian and Bengali bourgeoisie) have no right and no possibility of taking upon themselves the solution of the problems of the Bengal people.

The Bengal bourgeoisie had made a complete surrender to the imperialists. This was already the case when the genocide launched by Yahya Khan was being backed to the hilt not only by American imperialism, but also by Russian and Chinese Stalinism.

Trotskyists recognize that the bourgeoisie cannot carry through a democratic revolution — nevertheless they have the right to fight for national independence.

Would Vithana deny the right of the Egyptian bourgeoisie to nationalize the Suez canal — or to wage war against Israel?

In reality the native capitalist class can be forced into conflicts with imperialism and he forced sometimes to summon the masses to its support.

Marxists critically support the right of the native bourgeoisie to fight imperialism while insisting on the organizational and political independence of the revolutionary workers and peasants.

We asked at the time — and we were never answered — what would Vithana's co-thinkers of the 'International Marxist Group' do if the troops of the Irish Free State invaded Ulster in support of the Provisionals?

Of course Marxists recognize, as we did, that the bourgeoisie will seek to blockade the revolutionary masses at the first opportunity.

Only a blind man, a fool or a liar can claim that Workers Press opposed our principles line not only during the war but after Sheikh Mujibur Rahman came to power.

As early as January 5, 1972, we wrote: 'Mujib's party expresses the requirements of the Bengal bourgeoisie, which is now trying to impose capitalist law and order on the armed workers and peasants.'

We have been consistent on this, as even a perusal through Workers Press headlines will show.

April 3, 1972: 'Bengal Workers Are Not fools.'

April 5: 'Peasant Leader Slams Mujib's "Shoot on Sight" Order.'

June 7: 'Five Years for Strike in Bangla Desh.'

June 7: 'Unions Under Fire From Bangla Desh Leaders.'

June 9: 'Bangla Desh Leaders Prepare to Gun Down Opponents.'

July 6: 'Students New Threat to Mujib.'

August 28: 'Bengal Workers Face Living on Pig Food.'

September 21: 'Awami League Attacks Bhashani Hunger March.'

September 11: 'Mujib Purges the Left.'

September 19: 'Students Lead Attacks on Mujib's Policies.'

October 11: 'Secret Killings in Bangla Desh.'

October 19: 'Capitalists Loot Bangla Desh's Economy.'

The Spanish Revolution $3.95

Invaluable collection of articles, many never published before in English, records Trotsky's struggle to construct a Marxist leadership in Spain during the period from the fall of the monarchy to the defeat of the working class by Franco. Of critical importance to revolutionaries today are Trotsky's articles on the tasks posed to Marxists during the growth of the mass movement of workers in the pre-revolutionary period before 1936, the role of Soviets, syndicalism, and Stalinism. Includes correspondence with the centrist Andrei Nin.

No compromise

They cannot deal with Tampoe.

He is a renegade protected by renegades. He remains in their international leadership because it is not a Trotskyist international.

It is an organization based upon the utmost contempt for principle, upon dishonest combinations, evasions and lies, upon dirty manoeuvres in place of honest examination of political questions.

The genuine Fourth International can, and will, be built only in relentless struggle against such renegades and charlatans.

This struggle is now being led by the International Committee of the Fourth International, of which the Socialist Labour League is an affiliated member.

There can be no compromise.

CONCLUDED

Madame Bandaranaike

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Ludino Visconti’s latest film is a study of the demise of the monarchy. Those sections of the monarchy in nineteenth century Europe who were unable to face up to historical necessity—“guilty,” as Visconti terms it—were doomed to be replaced, by any means necessary, by a new bourgeois class anxious for markets and land.

Visconti documents this through the character of Ludwig, the Mad King of Bavaria, perhaps the best example of a man least suited to the demands of history and thus made its victim.

Visconti established his credentials as a director in The Damned and Death In Venice. He has little in common with contemporaries such as Bernardo Bertolucci or Antonioni, and in fact Ludwig is a more developed version of the German romanticism of Death In Venice, Thomas Mann’s haunting novel about the solitude and decay of one man.

Ludwig is done in an incredibly subtle, exquisite, and completely classical mood which becomes its opposite by the end of the film: a detailed portrait of degeneracy and insanity. Visconti actually conceived it as a five act play, enhanced with his brilliant photography and insistence on historical accuracy right down to each costume and location.

The Mad King, played by Helmut Berger, was an unwilling inheritor to the throne at a very young age. Visconti goes to great lengths at the beginning of the film to present the incredible boredom of the pomp and ceremony of the court—all necessary for the tiny state of Bavaria to maintain graceful diplomatic relations with its larger, more belligerent neighbors.

This is the setting for the first “act” of the film, which occurred in a period where Germany, as a whole—and Europe as Bismarck actually existed as hundreds of tin states and municipalities—required a revolutionary transformation to catch up with the development of capitalism in the rest of Europe. The bourgeoisie had shown itself utterly incapable of carrying out the task of unification on its own and was too frightened of both the masses and the absolutism to call on either to aid it.

BLACK UMBRELLAS

King Ludwig II was thus allowed a certain reprieve and chose to step out of the conflict. In one of the earlier scenes of the film, Visconti flashes a shot of a dozen black umbrellas—carried by bourgeois ministers—ascending upon Ludwig’s castle late at night in the rain. The ministers had come to attempt to reason with the King about the political situation...and were immediately turned away at the door.

Ludwig busies himself with horseback riding and female companionship until he is faced with the unpleasantness of war when he is called upon to lead his army in battle. The film jumps to a deeper level of clash between Ludwig and his duty. This marks the beginning of the end for Ludwig as the first point where he refuses his duty. He turns down the plea that he go to battle because he is too emotionally exhausted.

Despite his own intentions, Visconti then puts the rest of the film portrays not just the decay of an individual but of an entire social order. The tempo of the film picks up and a new element is added: Richard Wagner (Trevor Howard), whose music immediately enraptures Ludwig. He spends a small fortune of the state’s drainage coffers to locate Wagner, hiding from his creditors in Zurich. He becomes incensed at one of his ministers for using the police to find the composer and refuses to believe that Wagner is in debt.

By this time the objective conflict between the whims of the Mad King and the needs of the Bavarian state have sharpened even more. To the dismay of his ministers, Ludwig showers Wagner and his mistress Mathilde Wesendonk with wealth enough to compose “Wilhelm Meister” ten times over. Ludwig consciously removes himself from any responsibility as King and wraps himself up in building more and more castles and in Wagner’s music, which is played throughout the film. He abandons his Zarina wife and spends most of his days away from the court altogether.

Visconti’s real brilliance beyond merely a technical level is revealed in the latter half of the film. For a long period of time, Ludwig is not on the screen until his ministers require his signature for an urgent matter of state. Ludwig, it is mentioned, had been complaining of a toothache and was not to be disturbed. When Visconti next shows us the King, his teeth are completely black and rotten and he is moaning in a lavishly gilded bedchamber. It is in this fourth “act” where any connection Ludwig had to reality breaks up. He surrounds himself with homosexuals and hides in the most ornate of castles his crazed mind can conceive for his architects to build. Of course he is still officially ruler of Bavaria and his ministers are too cowardly to dispose of him for the time being.

DENOUEMENT

The denouement is even more horrific; every mad tendency of the King is developed to its fullest and he has completely severed himself from Munich. The fifth “act” of the film opens with a young actor who had performed “Juliet” for the King being escorted into a cave where his Majesty is boating. Visconti lavishes over a shot of a gondola adorned with a huge swan bearing Ludwig, replete with a long velvet cape. The lights from the boat flashes the actor a grin revealing his rotted teeth, and proceeds to throw bread crumbs from a silver plate to the swan.

Above, Ludwig and Richard Wagner in intimate discussion. Below, the King after a bout with insomnia.

The “banquet” Ludwig throws for the actor afterwards is even more grotesque. The biggest absurdity is that this was the way Ludwig actually lived. Esmarch in a basement below the banquet room hauls the entire dining table down to replenish the food and wine. After the meal, Ludwig insists that the actor perform for him—through the entire night—in the most comical scene of the film. Visconti quickly brings the film to a climax, as once again the ministers with their black umbrellas descend upon the castle with a declaration ruling Ludwig insane and therefore unfit to rule. This time it is Ludwig’s own army that has to capture the King, who has built a tower to escape what he knew was inevitable.

Ludwig spends the remainder of his days in an asylum in Bavaria. The State is now free from the fetters of feudalism. Not content to accept this fate, Ludwig’s final act—supposedly vengeance against historical necessity— is suicide. Visconti thus ends a portrait of a generation passing violently out of existence.
State Takeover, Firing, Wage Slash Hits Caseworkers

BY AN SSEEU MEMBER
NEW YORK—Social Service Employees Union Local 371 (AFSCME) is threatened with a takeover by the state which would control the administration of the income maintenance component of the Department of Social Services.

The move for state takeover was the substance of a bill placed before the state legislature last week by Governor Rockefeller. If this bill passes, the city welfare system would be turned into a state agency as early as 60 days later. This poses tremendous threats to the job security, civil service status and union representation of 1600 clerical and social service staff. It also threatens their wages, hours, working conditions and other benefits which are generally superior to those of state employees.

Furthermore, the state takeover bid comes as a last ditch effort by the city. Because of the resistance of the workers and the strength of the union, the city has been unable to drive workers off the payroll. Thus, they now turn to the state to do the dirty job of implementing layoffs and demotions against thousands of SSEEU-371 members.

On top of this, SSEEU-371 members have been hit with a new attack by Nixon's Cost of Living Council. It intervened last week against the city's agreement to pay SSEEU members what would have been 95 percent of their 1973 wage increases negotiated in the current contract. Instead, the Cost of Living Council said the city could pay no more than 87.5 percent of what were on the average 8 percent increases across the board.

Meanwhile, while those new attacks on jobs and wages loomed, disciplinary action leading to firings and suspensions have been initiated in the department as well as forced resignations as a result of the SSEEU leadership's acceptance three weeks ago of the city's new disciplinary time and leave procedures.

These new procedures cut down the amount of sick time workers will be allowed to take, and establish procedures for disciplinary hearings on excessive lateness and competency which will mean suspensions, loss of pay, and firings for thousands of workers in the department. They are part and parcel of the city, state and federal government's drive to eliminate social services and best the civil service unions.

It is in the various welfare departments nationally that the struggle of the unemployed comes together with that of the employed worker. It is here that Nixon's budget cuts and anti-labor offensive are felt most sharply.

It is no accident that the time and leave and disciplinary procedures were instituted in the middle of a whole reorganization of the department. The reorganization itself, begun about three years ago, was aimed solely at making social service staff superfluous and replacing them with lower paid clerical titles.

Now what is posed is a complete automation of the clerical operation, which deals with the issuance of welfare checks and other financial matters. Massive new computerization of the whole operation threatens thousands of jobs, from the highest to the lowest paid.

It was only the Committee for a New Leadership in the SSEEU, starting from an understanding of the crisis in the economic system, which was able to warn the ranks about the grave dangers posed by the reorganization scheme. Fighting the union leadership's attempts to hull the rank and file into compliance about the reorganization, the CNE, from the very beginning, carried out a campaign against it on the basis of a political understanding of the nature of the new period workers were entering.

They pointed out that profits were going into a crisis and, thus, social reforms won in past periods would be slashed. On this issue, the CNE fought every political tendency in the union.

COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party's supporters accused members of the CNE of being "anti-progressive" for opposing reorganization, and in particular for opposing the city's phony Community Social Services program. This program was set up by the city with the aid of the union bureaucracy in order to get the social service staff out of the welfare centers and into a position where they had absolutely no job function. It was a set-up for layoffs.

The Stalinists in the union became the main boosters of this program, and the left over through which the union leadership and the city were able to perpetuate this fraud on the membership. As soon as the city was assured of union cooperation with the new disciplinary procedures, they announced that Community Social Services was a failure and would be abandoned in the near future.

Supporters of the Progressive Labor Party, a group which broke from the Communist Party but never confronted the question of Stalinism, played the same kind of role. It was their position that reorganization was not desirable but it could not be fought.

It is PL's position that caucuses can be built in the unions on a syndicalist basis, without confronting the political questions facing workers today, such as the question of the labor party. Therefore, PL supporters could not pose the political fight necessary to defeat reorganization. The reorganization of the welfare department flows from the need of the government to bust the trade unions, bust civil service protection and do away with social services.

This is a political attack on the part of the government and cannot be fought with bread and butter trade unionism. It is this refusal to bring Marxism into the unions which ties all the Stalinists and centrists to the trade union bureaucracy.

PARALYZED

That is why, in every crisis situation, the group called the 'Coalition,' a loose amalgam of syndicalists and centrists led by the Stalinist supporters of both Progressive Labor and the Communist Party, becomes paralyzed. They cannot put forward any real strategy for a fight against the city, and end up becoming a buffer between a real opposition in the union and the union leadership.

TO BE CONTINUED
20 Years of the International Committee

Fraudulent Use Of Cuban Revolution

Because the SWP had made no study of the economic crisis. Wohlfarth maintained, it had moved toward the Pabloite conception of Marxism without contradictions, against the understanding of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

The SWP declared that it disagreed with the International Committee on the question of Cuba, adopting the position that Castro had established a workers' state.

"The issue of Cuba was a fraud," stated Wohlfarth. "It was used by the SWP to cover up the fact that it had already decided by 1961 to break with the IC in order to avoid the fight that was coming up over the issue of Pabloism.

Conrad Wohlfarth explained the objective conditions out of which the Cuban revolution had occurred. "In the context of the boom, he said, there existed for the first time severe economic and political problems. One must never overlook the fact that one-third of the world remained virtually closed to capitalist investment due to the existence of the workers states in Cuba, China, Eastern Europe and Indochina.

While the living conditions of the working class improved in the advanced capitalist countries and for a tiny strata of the industrial proletariat in underdeveloped capitalist countries, for the masses of Africa, Asia and Latin America deterioration was the dominant factor. In the boom, the SWP began to develop a new relation to Stalinism.

This was called "building the party." declared Wohlfarth. "The leadership was saying: 'First build our own political party, and then we will go to the Marxist line and then we will establish the SWP's support for the gubernatorial campaign of millionaire Cassius Langton on a reformist ticket as an example of the new 'party building.'"

By 1961, said Wohlfarth, there were clear differences within the International Committee. On January 2, 1961, received a telegram from the SWP stating that "We're going on two different lines."

OPPOSED

Wohlfarth declared that the SWP held problems directly opposed to those upon which the International Committee had fought Pablo. The SWP held that there were lazy elements within Pabloism in 1961 while the SWP maintained that the differences that had grown more profound. The SWP was clearly moving away from Trotsky's position on the need to build a revolutionary strategy within the Stalinitarian bureaucracies in the workers states.

The SWP, however, had not been a serious discussion of international perspectives. Wohlfarth noted that the 1961 SWP Convention, Shane Magee had criticized the perspectives document for lacking any serious evaluation of the developments within the economy. Not Farrell Dobie, who had presented the document, could say to anyone else in the leadership what they could answer Magee, Wohlfarth recalled. That episode, which exposed the weakness of the SWP to probe the objective developments, had been rooted in the turn away from the fight against Pabloite revisionism almost immediately after the bungled betrayal of Cuba had been written. Conrad Wohlfarth said that the period from 1953 to 1966 was the worst in the history of the example of the new 'party building.'"

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Editor's Notebook

With the housing shortage worse than ever because of Nixon's budget cuts, you feel free to know that apartments are now available at 723 Park Avenue. Unions you've always been has found a penthouse—the one at 723 has already been offered. There is no reason to find the rooms, say, on the 27 floor quite a few different options.

Everything is as it should be. The New York law, the managing agent who described the apartments themselves to the New York Daily News in an interview.

Just in case you are fuzzy about those things, room, apartment, the building is good to let you stretch out in—” it has a fan operated heater that is not adjustable in the set temperature of the water you just mentioned.

For those of you who are angered by the fact that the beating in the living quarters always seems to break down, at 723 you'll be able to have “4 different clothes hanging in your apartment at one time. Each room has a different color but the man's quarters will still be available.

There are many other conveniences which no one in his right mind would do without: the air conditioned, sealed windows, wine cellar, and airconditioned basement for the “connects to the ground in you,” and, of course, the cleaning and electronic security measures. All this can be yours for just $200 a month. The monthly maintenance charge is $16.25 in 1968.

After April 30, the price will go up to $195. Get it while it's a bargain.

General Electric... 

WATERGATE... (Continued From Page 3)

(Continued From Page 2)

(CARIBBEAN CONFERENCE.

The Caribbean, this racial, religious filth is introduced in a period of fires, terrorism, and the entire Caribbean countries are entering a new period of class struggle. Underneath this racial attack on the capitalist countries and Latin American and Caribbean people lies an all-out hostility to the workers in power.

An open attack at a revisionist doctrinaire position, the speaker tried to inject subjunctive content into the image of the unconcerned content, which he could not foresee at this time.

This new wave of black will soon be discussed, which was mentioned by every speaker, was turned into an empty abstraction removed from any real content. In fact, the absence of capitalist development as a result of the first period of inflationary boom was an indication of the movement of a combined expression of that developed capitalist relations. This simultaneous movement of workers in the advanced as well as in the capitalist countries in a common struggle against capitalism was completely left out.

A new low, how, was reached when Mr. John D. Rockefeller, who spoke on the British West Indi e economy, began to talk about the question with Stalinism. Concerning the capitalist crisis, he said.

"Given the unevenness and contradictions of capitalism in the Caribbean countries, it is ultra-left to call for a complete nationalization of industry in these countries. It has to be waged on the democratic front and in support of nationalist tendencies there. It is only through the continuous struggle for democracy in these countries that the perspective for socialism can be taken into consideration."
May Day And The Fight For Marxism

By Nancy Stiles

The April 28 Union Square May Day Rally, called by the Workers League, the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party and the Young Socialists, will focus above all on the tasks confronting the American working class because of the international crisis of capitalism: a crisis which is centered in America.

In the 1960s the American working class faces a Nixon government determined to destroy the organizations of the working class and eliminate all its basic rights in order to preserve the capitalist system. Already, Nixon has passed the Cost of Living Council which, by establishing government control over wages, seeks to eliminate the basic right of trade unions to negotiate a decent wage.

At the same time, the most basic right of the trade union movement—the right to strike—is being sacrificed as the result of the United Steel Workers of America v. NLRB. In Abel, a “no strike” pact with the steel bosses, the NLRB has allowed these measures to pose tremendous dangers to the trade unions, challenging the very purpose for which the unions were built—to defend the interests of workers. Coupled with these concessions, Nixon has launched a racist campaign in order to divide the working class and pit one section against the other. This is the meaning of the hysterical anti-busing campaign carried out during the 1972 presidential election campaign; a campaign now being carried forward in the anti-integration moves in school systems all across the country.

This attempt to divide the working class is also aimed at getting young workers to battle for working conditions for the future. The strike is not an option. The strike is not a matter of personal appearance. It is a question of economic survival, of the right to a decent life. The strike is the workers’ assurance that they will have the power to control wages.

The Wages

This is an inflation which makes the struggle for wages increases the central issue confronting the five million workers whose contracts are to be negotiated this year. If it is to meet this conflict over wages that Nixon moves to control wages, then he must have a free hand to take the union.

In this, he is aided by the Democratic-controlled Congress which has already voted against the workers’ right to organize and to control their own fate. The same Democrats are urging a complete freeze on wages and they assure him of their full backing in passing all the laws necessary to carry this out.

At the same time, Nixon’s attacks are aimed not solely at American workers. He has refused to negotiate new controls over trade agreements—agreements which are also backed by the Democratic Congress in an attempt to push the burden of the crisis onto Europe and Japan. These measures pose an immediate threat to the workers’ right to live, the right of living and all basic rights of the European and Japanese workers.

At the same time, the decision of the capitalists not to honor the $3 billion dollars of Special Drawing Rights—paper gold—issued to the underdeveloped countries threatens these colonial countries with immediate starvation and collapse.

Thus, as big business demands that its interests be protected, it is obvious that the trade union movement must stand up for the workers’ right to have wages increases and stand up for the workers’ right to negotiate their own contracts with the Nixon administration.

The strike is the workers’ assurance that they will have the power to control wages. The strike is the workers’ assurance that they will have the power to control wages. The strike is the workers’ assurance that they will have the power to control wages. The strike is the workers’ assurance that they will have the power to control wages. The strike is the workers’ assurance that they will have the power to control wages.

To carry forward this political struggle today, the May Day Rally will return to the internationalist and socialist traditions of the American working class, to the conscious betrayal of the struggle against capitalism by the Stalinist American Communist Party. It is clear that these lessons be brought forward today, in order to fight to lead a new leadership capable of taking the fight for a Congress of Labor and a labor party forward.

From the 1930s to today, the policies of the American CP have remained the same. The CP put the workers in to the resolution of the workers’ class, its process of rampant inflation is aimed at financing all the workers. The cost of basic necessities is soaring upward at the rate of 25 percent, while any semblance of controls—such as the rent control laws—are abolished.

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To carry forward this political struggle
Steelworkers Denounce Abel Deal

BY SHEILA BREHM
FONTANA, Calif.—I.W. Abel's open collaboration with Nixon in signing the "no strike" pledge is creating tremendous opposition inside the ranks of the 350,000 member United Steel Workers of America.

Abel has literally sacrificed a right that workers fought and died for in the 1930s. The pact gives the steel corporations and the government everything.

And with the signing of the contract, steel workers are to accept binding arbitration of a contract that is to remain in effect until 1977. A national strike is prohibited before the contract is signed and throughout the life of the contract. If individual plants are shut down by workers over local issues of layoffs and speedups, they will receive no support from the international.

AFL-CIO President George Meany, congratulating Abel on the agreement, called it "an excellent example of sound collective bargaining and labor-management statesmanship."

Abel, eager to please the steel bosses and the administration, stated, "We have today embarked on an unprecedented experiment that we will prove will be a better way for labor and management to negotiate contracts.

Although Abel has willingly agreed to hand over the rights of thousands of steel workers to the steel bosses, he will have no easy time winning the acceptance of this "unprecedented experiment.""

Kaiser Steel mill in Fontana, which employs over 8000 workers, is one of the postions that are one of opposition to Abel's "no strike" pledge.

"As far as the meat goyks go, povent never proves anything, all it does is make a lot of commotion, stir up a lot of publicity, but never changes the government or Nixon. This is why we need the right to strike. Without the right to strike, we might as well not even have a union, there's no point in it,"

Angered by Abel's pact, he said, "Anybody that is on the side of Nixon, but says he represents the workers should be thrown away with. With Abel doing this, I think he makes us as bad as Nixon, and do just as much damage. Nixon has done since he's been in. It's billion Nixon's fault, his entire Nixon's fault."

"The whole problem is that Nixon is strictly for big business when he tries to keep our wages down to 5.5 percent, and just look at the prices going up. I think it is time for workers to have our own political party."

REFUSAL

Behind Abel's signing away the right to strike is his refusal to mobilize steel workers in a fight against Phase Three and the government's attempt to throw the standards and working conditions back to the 1930s. Abel also is willing to sign the call for "sacrifice," but Ray Ferras, a young steel worker, does not.

A ALL-OUT STRIKE

Commenting on this John said: "It is not an uncommon thing to hear about a worker getting killed from time to time. They preach safety, but they make you work with the violations, and the union accepts it. The union should have control over safety, not like it is now. The grievance procedure gets us nowhere now.

"Regarding the productivity drive, John told the Bulletin: 'I think if a worker does more work, then he should get more pay. In the tin mill, though, I can't say there is a lot of speedup. We're just short-handed. They leave men on layoff and double people over, they won't hire, they just keep the idle workforce they have."

"There used to be five or six laborers on one turn, now they have one. For a while I was saying to this, let them hire, but more people started taking the overtime, so I did too. I need the money."

Dino Papavero, president of Local 369, welcomed the productivity drive 'to help make Kaiser more profitable.' At a recent union meeting, Papavero told the membership that he originally opposed Abel's "no strike" pledge at the Basic Steel Policy Conference. Now that it has been agreed to he told the ranks, "We must live with it."

At the union meeting he opposed a motion to reject Abel's deal, claiming the motion was "too political." The motion was narrowly defeated.

John Vojtko said he did not feel steel workers could live with the "no strike" pledge. "We should have a choice. We should have the chance to vote in a national referendum so that we can reject this.

Recalling the differences in what his paycheck could buy six years ago, John said, "Then I took home only $10 a week, but I could pay the rent and buy good steaks. Today I make twice as much money, and I can't even afford to buy steaks."

Another Kaiser worker, John Ballestru, said: "Everything could go down the drain if we don't have the right to strike. Do you know how long it took to get where we are? For big business, the 5.5 percent is good, but not for us. Like they say, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. I think if we fight Phase Three there will be a revolution, and if there's a revolution, anything could happen from there."

"It all adds up to the fact that we need a revolution. That's my opinion. But I doubt Abel would ever lead one. He's more like Nixon. He'll do anything to stay where he's at."

The Abels who are so willing to give up everything to aid the steel companies must be replaced with a leadership that can defend the unions. This requires that the "no strike" pledge be rejected in every USWA local along with reopening the contract for a 20 percent wage increase, and an end to the productivity committees. Above all, this means a political struggle to build a labor party.
**Jobs Dry Up For East Bay Construction**

BY TED BAKER

OAKLAND, Calif.—Depression levels of unemployment are gripping construction workers in the East Bay. The pick-up in building after the rainy season has not materialized, and every construction union in Alameda county has over 10 percent of their members out of work.

Laborers Local 304, the largest local with over 4000 members, has over 1755 members out of work, or 43 percent regularly out of work. On a normal day 300 to 400 members will line up at local 304 at the Hayward dispatch hall, while over 100 more wait at the Oakland hall.

Local 304 member said “I’ve been in this union 25 years, and it’s never been like this. Every year there’s always work after the rainy season for the last four years it’s been bad. Last year I only worked four months, on and off, and so far this year I’ve worked about four days. My wife is in the same boat as I do and she’s only getting $2.00 an hour.”

During the 80’s and 90’s Bay towns like Hayward and Fremont mushroomed. In 1960 both had populations under 30,000 and now Hayward has over 100,000 and Fremont has nearly as many.

Now the boom in construction is over. The interest in the aerospace industry has stopped the flow of new people that are building new houses. At the same time sky rocketing interest rates have ended the period where speculators could throw up huge housing tracts on a shoestring budget. Last year Fremont issued over 3000 building permits will be limited to 600.

**CORRUPTION**

The soaring unemployment that has hit the construction industry in the Bay Area has generated almost unchecked corruption in the leadership of some construction locals. Last year the top leadership of Local 304 was replaced in a faction fight over corruption.

But in the words of one member. “Nothing’s changed but the names, we’ve still got the same cliques running the union they just switched around jobs. They’re still sending out men who aren’t on the board, and if you’re in the right group a little grease will always get you a job.”

Mass unemployment in the construction industry can only be stopped through the nationalization of the industry under workers control. The first step in bringing this about must be the defeat of the Nixon wage freeze through strike action by the entire labor movement. Out of this a labor party must be built pledged to nationalize all industry under workers control.

**FARMWORKERS . . .**

(Continued From Page 29)

A restraining order issued Tuesday against mass picketing and led to 311 arrests. The farmworkers were so deter mined to get down the facts that the judge Friday had to drop the trespassing charges, cancel the restraining order, and release all pickets.

Although only 12 percent of California’s table grapes are grown in the Coachella valley, over 80 percent of grapes on grocery shelves from Slay to July are grown here. Thus the strike can immediately strike a big blow against the growers.

The open attempt of Teamster leader Pat Fitzsimmons to break the farmworkers forced Garcia to Meany to make a show of defending them.

But the AFL-CIO leadership, including Chavez, is unable to do what must be done to win. Fitzsimmons’ collateral damage is the violent expression of the policy of collaboration with Nixon on the Pay Board and Cost of Living Council. What will Pat Fitzsimmons do in his personal capacity as a labor leader in the AFL-CIO to shut all Coachella vineyards down?

The AFL-CIO must call a Congress of Labor to smash Phase Three and lay the basis for a labor party.

Program and lead the fight for a 20 percent wage increase and the demands of the TULAF program for the auto contract.

Because the Workers League is fighting to construct a Marxist leadership in auto, based on the need for a break from the capitalist parties and the construction of a labor party pledged to socialist politics, the Stalinists link up with the bureaucracy against us.

These people are the most conscious supporters of class collaboration and reformism within the unions. They are up to their ears in alliances with labor leaders and centrists. They completely support the reactionary Brotherhood caucus at the Fremont CIO plant.

Recently the Revolutionay Union backed the red-baiting campaign of the San Jose City College administration and the nationalist Semion Rastakaim at expelling the Young Socialists from campus.

The Workers League calls upon rank and file UAW members at Ford and all working class political tendencies to defend our right to distribute our press and to denounce this vicious attack by the Revolutionary Union.

**SEALE . . .**

(Continued From Page 29)

Alameda county is not only the largest local on the immediate front but is the largest local on the immediate front and is of interest to the bankrupt demagogy of Bobby Seale.

This drives home the urgency of carrying a fight into every union local for the immediate construction of a labor party based on the unions.
Civil War Hits Grape Fields

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

COACHELLA, Calif.–This small farming community 150 miles southeast of Los Angeles has become the center of a new stage in the struggle of California farmworkers.

Teamster leader Frank Fitzimmons has stepped up his collaboration with the growers by attacking the United Farm Workers union in its home territory, the table grape vineyards.

The UFW contract here was the first signed by California table grape growers. Midnight, April 14 that contract expired, and the next day the Western Conference of Teamsters in Los Angeles announced sweetheart contracts with growers who produce 85 percent of Coachella valley’s harvest.

UFW leader Cesar Chavez announced a strike against all non-UFW vineyards in the Coachella valley. The massive support which the union has among farmworkers was immediately displayed. At 40 vineyards picketed the first day only two crews refused to walk off and join the UFW.

UFW leaders have made this a desperate battle because they fear the loss of the grape growers from the harvest due in May.

What is posed now is the extension of civil war conditions this summer to every UFW-organized field in California and Arizona. The growers are determined to break the union, and as each 1970 contract expires, the Teamster bureaucracy intends to step forward as the growers’ henchman.

Already Teamster officials have physically driven workers into the fields when they attempted to walk off. The UFW introduced 23 affidavits into court alleging harassment and intimidation with “guns, knives, clubs, baseball bats, grape stakes, and other dangerous instruments.”

The Teamster contract reestablishes the hated labor contractor regime, which makes farmworkers virtual slaves to a grower-controlled middleman.

UFW contracts abolish labor contracting and set up a union hiring hall.

(Continued On Page 19)

MAY DAY ’73
San Francisco

SATURDAY MAY 5 8PM
Holiday Inn Gold Room
50th & 8th St.
Speaker: Tim Wohlfirth, National Secretary of the Workers League
$1 contribution

Los Angeles
FRIDAY May 4 8PM
Hall 201 Embassy Auditorium
835 S. Grand St.
Speaker: Tim Wohlfirth, National Secretary of the Workers League
$1 contribution 678-3520

Editorial
Politics Not Protest

On April 28th

The April 28 mass rally of trade unionists takes place at a decisive time for the labor movement. Never have the responsibilities facing the unions been posed so sharply.

Nixon with the support of the Democratic Party has now obtained full legal sanction to launch his attacks on labor through Phase Three threatening the right to negotiate wages and contracts and the right to strike.

Never has a government been so exposed as this one with the Watergate scandal revealing that Nixon and his entire entourage are up to their ears in espionage and criminal activity.

In California the rights of the unions are under unprecedented attack. The assault on the farmworkers is not simply to deliver a defeat to the union, but to completely destroy it. In the San Joaquin Valley the_SCREEN_ is the smash designed to smash the unions with mass unemployment.

In Los Angeles rubber workers on strike face police, scabs and violence as the employers launch a vicious open shop drive.

The government has never been more isolated and exposed after the Watergate scandal.

In Phase Three, the assault continues on the labor leadership to lead a mass fight to defeat it that enables Nixon to continue his attacks.

Every section of the labor bureaucracy aidyied by the Communist Party and the revolutionists is seeking to confine the April 28 rally to a futile protest to exert pressure on the administration.

The Socialist Workers Party has even gone to the point of inserting the official leaflet of the labor bureaucracy for the rally into each issue of the Militant.

April 28 is the first big political movement of trade unionists to fight against Phase Three. It must not be allowed to be turned into a feeble protest.

Only the calling of a general strike of labor to launch a labor party with a program to end controls, speedup, unemployment and anti-union laws through a fight for power can make the labor movement forward.

No Alternative From Seale

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

OAKLAND—In the Oakland elections for mayor in November 1969, Bobby Seale polled 49 percent of the vote to come in second and qualify for a May 15 runoff election against conservative Republican Mayor John Reading.

While Seale ran on a completely reformist program promising jobs, housing and decent medical care through the proper funding of Oakland schools, the real issue was the control of Oakland.

Seale has done everything possible to identify himself as a Democrat and is now appealing desperately to the other Democratic candidates as “representatives of the people” to support him in the second round.

There can be no question that a good number of the 20,000 votes cast for Seale represented illusions that he could use his reputation as a militant in some way offer an alternative to the bankrupt liberalism of the Democratic Party.

Disgusted with the Democrats, Seale has run so high that not even the endorsement of the labor movement in Oakland could salvage the campaigns of Seale’s Democratic opponents.

The Black Panthers have now come forward in Oakland to offer their services to the ruling class in policing an explosive situation. Their perspective is to take over the Democratic Party and what remains of the poverty programs. This is to fight the same new populist demagoguery that is calculated to produce an electoral machine no different from those that have elected Black mayors in a number of other cities.

The head of the Panther perspective remains a program for community control of police and schools which accepts the continued existence of capitalism and seeks to divide the working class along racial lines.

A big responsibility for this situation lies with the Socialist Workers Party, which although backing away at the last minute offered critical support to the campaign on a Black power basis. The Communist Party assisted this development as well by proclaiming all Democratic opponents of Reading as progressive.

The biggest danger is that the Oakland labor movement, one of the most powerful in the Bay (Continued On Page 19)
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The four-year contract is the first Teamster intrusion into the vineyards in six years and was announced after the end of five days' futile negotiations between the growers and the UFW.

DESPERATE:

The Teamsters leadership have made this desperate move because they have failed to crack the resistance of farmworkers in the Salinas lettuce fields. Strikes there are endangering the profits of the growers from the harvest due in May.

What is posed now is the extension of civil war conditions this summer to every UFW-organized field in California and Arizona. The growers are determined to break the union, and as each 1970 contract expires, the Teamster bureaucracy intends to stop forward as the growers' hatchet man.

Already Teamster officials have physically driven workers back into the fields when they attempted to walk off. The UFW introduced 25 affidavits in court alleging harassment and intimidation with "guns, knives, clubs, baseball bats, grape stakes, and other dangerous instruments.

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(Continued On Page 19)

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While Seale ran on a completely reformist program promising jobs, housing, and decent medical care through the proper funding of Oakland Reading concentrated his fire on the Panthers, warning of a radical takeover of Oakland.

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