

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

HOOVER

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INSTITUTION

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER FIFTY NINE 268

NOVEMBER 6, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

## Vote Socialist Workers. . .

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BY DAVID NORTH

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THIEU

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In the last week of the campaign, we have had only a glimpse of what is now being prepared. In a secret document prepared by the Department of Labor the government outlines some of its plans for after the elections.

These plans include not only an attack on the minimum wage and workmen's compensation but plans for the undermining of the construction unions. This is only the tip of the iceberg. This is what American workers will face after the elections:

•Unemployment: Already there are five million workers unemployed. Trade war means the consolidation of industries, plant closures, and the growth of massive unemployment. Un-

(Continued On Page 8)

### Bulletin Expansion Drive

### Critical Stage Of Drive

The Bulletin Fall Fund Drive has reached a critical stage as we approach the half way mark. In the last week we have received \$2,714.25 bringing our total to \$20,204.07. This still leaves the drive \$4,795 short of the half way point. The Chelsea, Bronx, Hartford, New Haven and Florida branches have sent in half of their pledges.

At the center of the Watergate conspiracy are the preparations of Nixon against the press. If Nixon is preparing to attack the capitalist press we know what he has in store for the working class press. This is why this fund drive is so critical both for the expansion and development of the Bulletin and the installment of our own press.

Therefore, a big effort is urgently needed now by the Workers League and Young Socialist branches. We must raise \$8,795 this week if we are to make our target. We urge our readers and supporters to send the largest contribution you can immediately to the Bulletin.

## INSIDE

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# British Unionists Build Revolutionary Party

BY MELODY FARROW

"We say No to the Common Market, No to fascism, force the Tories to resign, build a revolutionary party to take the working class to power in Britain," declared Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League in his address to the fifth conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance held in Birmingham, October 22.

The conference of 2000 workers from all the major industries throughout Britain, the largest the ATUA has ever held, voted unanimously for a political resolution to launch immediately a fight to build the revolutionary party and throw out the Tory government.

The conference was opened by Alan Thornett, a senior shop steward from the British Leyland car plant. Other speakers included shipyard workers currently on strike for a wage increase, tenant strike leaders, construction, hospital and transport workers, as well as representatives of two factory occupations in Liverpool.



Over 2,000 British trade unionists and a delegation of youth took part in October 22 national conference of All Trades Unions Alliance.

## Liberals Collapse In Canada Vote

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

Montreal—Canadian trade unionists must fight any attempt by the leadership of the New Democratic Party to bolster Prime Minister's Pierre Trudeau's discredited Liberal Party with an offer of coalition rule

The results of Monday's national elections in which the Liberals lost their Parliamentary majority and now are tied with the Conservatives with 108 seats, have set the stage for the rapid disintegration of Trudeau's party.

Robert Stanfield's Tories will now take the lead in organizing a ruthless offensive against the working class and trade unionists.

### Dock Strike In S. Africa

BY ED SMITH

South African dockers in the port of Durban are standing firm in their two week strike for a little over \$20 a week. The men, who are Black, currently receive about \$10 a week for a 62½ hour week. They are forced to live in barracks, riddled with bedbugs, with food so bad they cannot eat it.

The longshoremen struck against these conditions earlier this year. The strike was broken and its leaders run out of town by the South African government. But despite everything brought against them, the men are showing by their current strike that they refuse to accept slave labor.

With the support of the Liberals, Stanfield will press for wage controls, anti-strike laws, and more unemployment.

NDP

The New Democratic Party, which registered gains in this election, can fight these attacks only if it maintains a position of independence and hostility toward all the capitalist parties.

David Lewis, the leader of the NDP, is responsible for the failure of the Canadian labor party to win more votes than it did. In the western regions, where the NDP could have deepened its support, Lewis refused to present the NDP as a party fighting for power.

Because Lewis ran the NDP as merely a "protest" vote, the Tories were able to gain strength in the west by claiming to be the only alternative to the Liberals.

Both the Liberals and the Tories stand on a platform of vicious anti trade unionism, and it is expected that they will negotiate over the possibility of forming a "National Unity" government.

SOCIALIST

No party has a majority in the Parliament. The NDP must immediately begin a fight for new elections and the victory of a labor government pledged to socialist policies.



Prime Minister Trudeau

## One Million Demonstrate In Ceylon

BY

A CORRESPONDENT

One million Ceylonese workers went on a one day hunger strike October 19 against the coalition government of Madame Bandaranaike. Another 300,000 plantation workers halted work for the day to join the protest.

The massive demonstration was called by six of the major trade unions against "the policy of repression and reactionary laws" of the government.

The Ceylonese coalition government, which includes the Communist Party, the LSSP, and the capitalist party of Madame Bandaranaike has been moving rapidly to the right. As the economic situation of the workers and peasants deteriorates, the government has allotted more funds for the army and police to repress the working class and youth.

## Allende Calls On Military

BY ED SMITH

For the first time last week, Army tanks had to be called out to control right-wing demonstrations in Chile against President Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government.

President Allende has announced he has broken off negotiations with truck owners and other employers and middle class groups who have been operating a shutdown and lock-out of their operations across the country over the past two weeks in protest against government policies.

But the right wing's appetite had only been whetted. Not only does the lockout continue, but for the first time large-scale street violence breaks out. There have been recurring rumors that a number of military leaders will now be taken into Allende's cabinet in order to obtain some sort of guarantee of the Army's loyalty in the face of the right wing's threats of a coup.

SHOCK FORCE

The Allende regime's policies of compromise and reformism under conditions of acute crisis have provided the basis for the capitalists to split the middle class from Popular Unity, turning it into a right-wing shock force. Thousands of the middle class are arming themselves for battle against the workers and the poor.

But while the capitalists openly admit they have no alternative but civil war, the Popular Unity coalition, all following the lead of the Stalinists, refuse to prepare the workers and peasants for the inevitable conflict. They prefer to rely on the army—the raw material of a future coup.

### DICTATORSHIP

To strengthen his hand for these attacks, Heath is getting ready to call a General Election in the near future to prepare the way for dictatorship.

Heath knows very well that the working class will never submit to any form of wage freeze. The trade union leaders by participating in talks with the government on how to control the working class are giving Heath the time he needs to carry out his

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# Frigidaire Men Wildcat As Speedup Follows Forced Pay Cut

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON—GM Frigidaire workers stopped all production Thursday here and in Moraine, Ohio. The walkout of 14,300 workers began Wednesday evening in Department 227 on the second shift over unresolved speedup grievances.

All of plants 2, 3, and 1 South (Moraine) have been shut down and plant 1 North (Dayton), the downtown automotive plant, has been partially shut. Ray Barrett, the committeeman who led the walkout, has been fired by the company; the workers are refusing to return to work until he and the others who were fired are reinstated.

On the picket line Thursday, one worker told the *Bulletin* he was arrested three times the night before for standing at the gate. He said: "The issue is speedup. We took the wage cut so this company could stay in Dayton, then they speeded us up."

THOMPSON

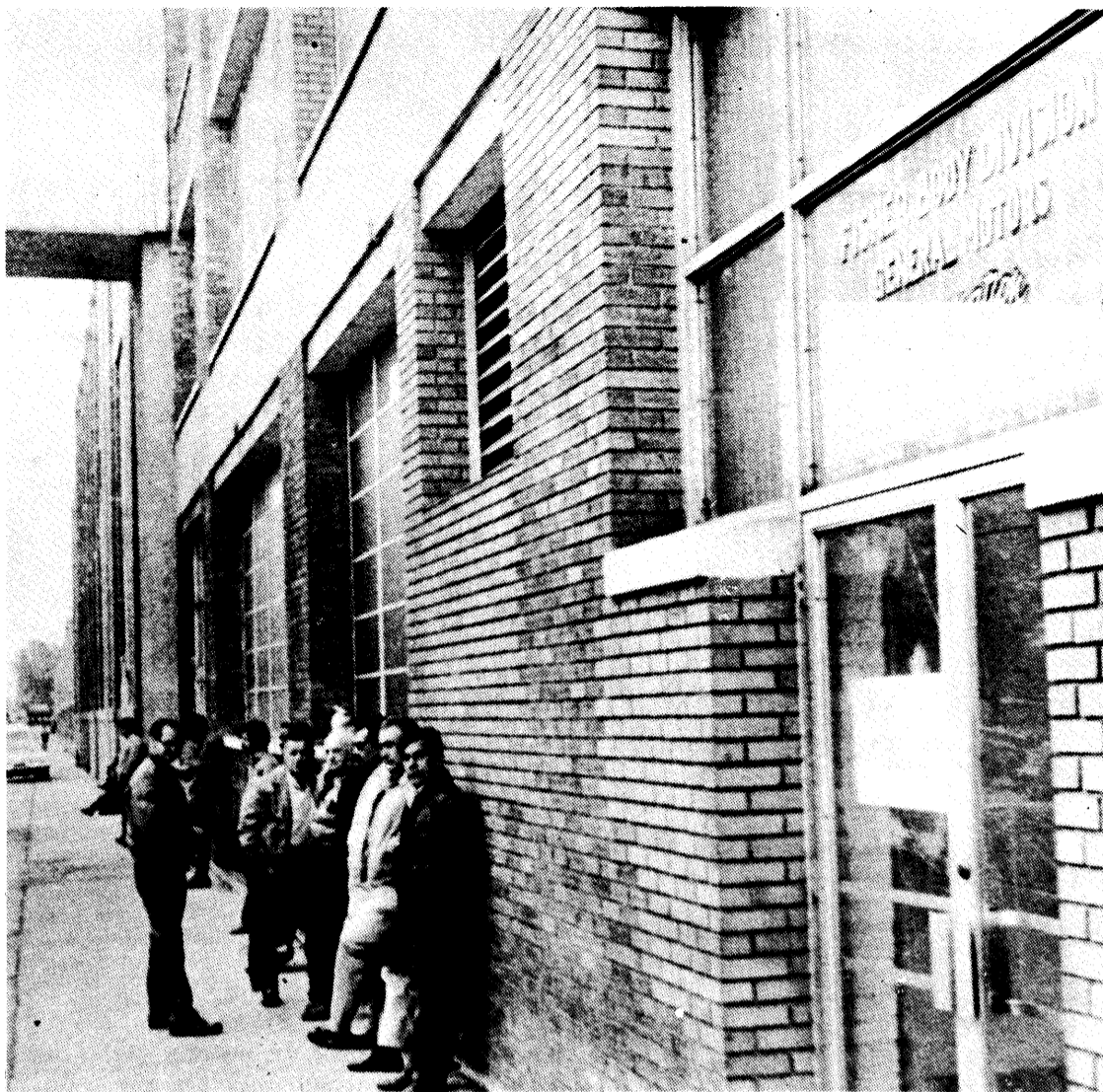
While *Bulletin* reporters were talking to pickets at one of the plant 2 gates, Arnold Thompson, the union president, drove up. He asked the pickets to return to work saying they would get the committeeman back after they go back to work. The pickets refused to leave, telling him: "Get the committeeman back now." One of the workers said: "Thompson's sold us out—I bet the company told him they'd slip him ten if he gets us to go back."

On Thursday evening a meeting was held at the union hall. Every time Thompson got up to speak he was booed. The company's position is they will not negotiate until the workers return to work, but the workers are refusing to go back until the committeemen and the others who were fired are rehired.

Thompson earlier was quoted on radio stations as saying that if the problem was not solved, the strike would be authorized; now he is saying no strike vote can be taken, and the workers must return without any resolution of their grievances.

The walkout has brought not only the question of the speedup to a head, but has called into question again the whole wage cut that took place a year ago. It was then that the union was split—the higher seniority workers were concentrated in the automotive section (where the air conditioners for GM cars are made) and received the 25¢ raise due at that time under the 1970 contract. The remainder of the workers, in the appliance sections did not receive the increase. In addition, new workers and those being recalled from layoffs received 25¢ an hour less.

This campaign for a wage (Continued On Page 18)



Three weeks ago, members of UAW Local 15 at the Detroit GM Fisher Fleetwood plant voted 97% to strike against speedup. GM has violated contract through intense speeding up of the line, increased workloads and cuts in manpower since model changeover. Even with 400 Paragraph 78 grievances piled up, union leaders are trying to prevent a strike by holding a vote soon on an agreement.

## St. Louis GMAD Ranks Plan Fight For Nationwide Strike

BY HOWARD WEST

ST LOUIS—Officials of Local 25 called off the planned strike for Monday October 30 at the St. Louis General Motors plant after a tentative agreement with management was announced.

Originally the strike had been planned for Thursday at 12 p.m. to last for four days. This was postponed until the following Monday when significant progress during nego-

tiations was made. Now the strike has been called off, and a general union meeting will discuss the settlement on Wednesday night.

No terms of the settlement have been announced here yet. The strike deadline extensions have averted all but one of the previously announced walkouts for this weekend. The one strike which began on Friday took place at the assembly plant at Leeds, Missouri, near Kansas City, where about 3000 workers walked off their jobs.

CONDITIONS

Workers at the St. Louis plant have reported to the *Bulletin* that the conditions have not changed. Even after committeemen informed the men on Thursday night that they would not be walking off the job as planned, management closed down the line two hours early claiming sabotage. Workers on the night shift have faced a number of short shifts, all because of "sabotage," a charge which cannot be verified even by the representatives of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). This all adds up to low pay checks for the workers as GM does not have to pay the guaranteed 35 hour week if the lines are shut down because of sabotage.

BACK PAY

One of the grievances supposedly settled early in negotiations has been the question of back pay owed because of the unverified claims of sabotage early in September. Workers have seen

nothing of this money yet, and still do not know the status of their pay.

WOODCOCK

Woodcock and the local leadership are behind this tentative settlement. The whole betrayal of the struggle by the International leadership has shown that a fight against GMAD means a fight against the Woodcock leadership. This question was taken forward by a meeting of rank and file members of Local 25 on Sunday. A decision to form a caucus for a new leadership of UAW Local 25 was taken up. This is a fight against those leaders who refuse to fight against GMAD and try to keep the unions tied to the Democratic Party.

GRIEVANCES

No settlement is acceptable until all Paragraph 78 grievances and all 1400 men laid off are recalled. The ranks of Local 25 must fight for an indefinite strike of the local, calling on other GMAD locals to join them. A resolution calling for a national shutdown of GMAD will be put forward at the meeting this week. This demand was originally raised by Local 25 in September.

The fight against GMAD is political. Both Nixon and McGovern stand with the employers' productivity drive. In the struggle to shut down GMAD the ranks of the UAW must raise the necessity of building a labor party.

## Delaware GM Ranks Strike To Defend Committeeman

BY FRANK ELLIOT  
AND STEVE SYLVIS

WILMINGTON, Del.—Last Thursday, October 22, members of Local 435 staged a wildcat at the General Motors Buick and Chevrolet assembly plant here.

On Wednesday night, the 53 men in the hard trim department downed tools over the suspension of an alternate committeeman. They set up a picket line which was honored by workers arriving on day shift, thus shutting down the plant tight all day Thursday.

Many workers feel that the committeeman was suspended for the fight that he took up for the settlement of grievances. The plant, which employs 3000 production workers in two shifts, has over 200 Paragraph 78 grievances piled up.

As in the rest of GM, conditions in the plant are deteriorating. Since model changeover line speed has increased from 56 to 58 cars per hour, while several jobs have been eliminated. One worker said: "The situation can explode any time. Not only here

but all over GM."

It is this explosion that both the local and International leadership is trying to hold back. The local forced men back to work when GM announced that it would not negotiate unless the men were back on the job. The men are back at work, the alternate is still suspended, and now GM is maintaining that it has the right to discipline the 53 men involved in the original job action.

The depth of the Woodcock leadership's bankruptcy was revealed when the International pressured the local into withdrawing its "five day letter" notifying GM of strike action. Local 435 was scheduled to go out November 7 and 8 as part of Woodcock's "Apache" strategy against GM.

Now the International is saying that the contract has been violated because of the wildcat and that GM could bring an injunction against the union. A worker

in the chassis department said: "I asked the International Rep how many times has GM violated the contract. He answered 'Every day.' So I asked him why isn't there any action brought against GM?"

The worker added: "Woodcock visited the union hall last spring. He knows what's going on here. He's all talk and no action. The International is our biggest enemy."

Most of the worker the *Bulletin* interviewed said that now only a nationwide strike could stop a nationwide strike could stop GM's attacks. One worker summed it up this way: "This hit and run crap doesn't do a thing. If we're going to go out, we should all go out. Also we shouldn't give them any notice. With these five day and thirty day letters GM can get another 80,000 cars, so when we do go out they're not hurting so bad."

# Courts Bar Right To Picket In Construction

BY FRANK ELLIOT

PHILADELPHIA—The Pennsylvania Supreme Court last week took a major step toward removing the right to picket. Although split on the extent to which picketing could be limited, the court was in agreement on the right of the courts to enjoin unions from picketing.

The Supreme Court ruled on an injunction issued last June by Judge Cirillo prohibiting picketing within one mile of any Altemose building site.

J. Leon Altemose is a major contractor in the area, who employs a large amount of non-union labor. With the backing of the powerful Associated Building Contractors (ABC), he is leading a massive campaign to return construction to open shop conditions and destroy the construction unions.

In its ruling, the Supreme Court upheld the injunction, only modifying the distance at which picketing could take place. The Court overturned Cirillo's contempt citations against 125 union members, who were fined \$100 each without even a formal hearing, because of unconstitutional proceedings, denial of reasonable time to make a defense, and the right to trial by jury.

## UNION RIGHTS

The Supreme Court stated clearly its intentions to legally take away union rights. The so-called violence of the union in its struggle to defend union gains was cited by one of the justices as "not the type of activity which is protected by the First Amendment."

The only objection the Court had with the injunction was that it was "too broad" and should be modified. The differences in the Court were whether the original one mile limitation should be reduced to 200 yards or the number of pickets limited to 10 persons. Since the Court was split 3-3, with one abstention, they left the final decision to Judge Cirillo, who promptly "modified" his original injunction to prohibiting

picketing to within 200 yards of any Altemose building site.

This decision gives the green light to all the anti-union forces like the ABC. The campaign by the ABC to return construction to open shop conditions must be seen as a spearhead in a national "right to work" campaign.

One of the Supreme Court Justices noted with dismay the "little improvement in the state of labor relations during the three quarters of a century since the Pullman and Homestead strikes."

## PULLMAN

It must be remembered that in the historic Pullman and Homestead strikes, hundreds and thousands of scabs and federal troops were mobilized by the government under the protection of the courts to be used against the strikers. It is these actions which the government is clearly considering and the need to return to the conditions of the nineteenth century that is now dominating the thinking of the capitalist class.

When asked by a *Bulletin* reporter if he thought the court decision was a victory or defeat, Bernard Katz, lawyer for the Building and Construction Trades Council stated, "I don't think in terms of victories and defeats. I think in terms of solutions." His solution was now to re-appeal to the Supreme Court to resolve the 3-3 split in favor of the more palatable ruling, that is, the one limiting pickets to ten at any site. He saw the union's role as one of balancing between the rights of workers to unlimited picketing and the forces who want to destroy the right to picket altogether.

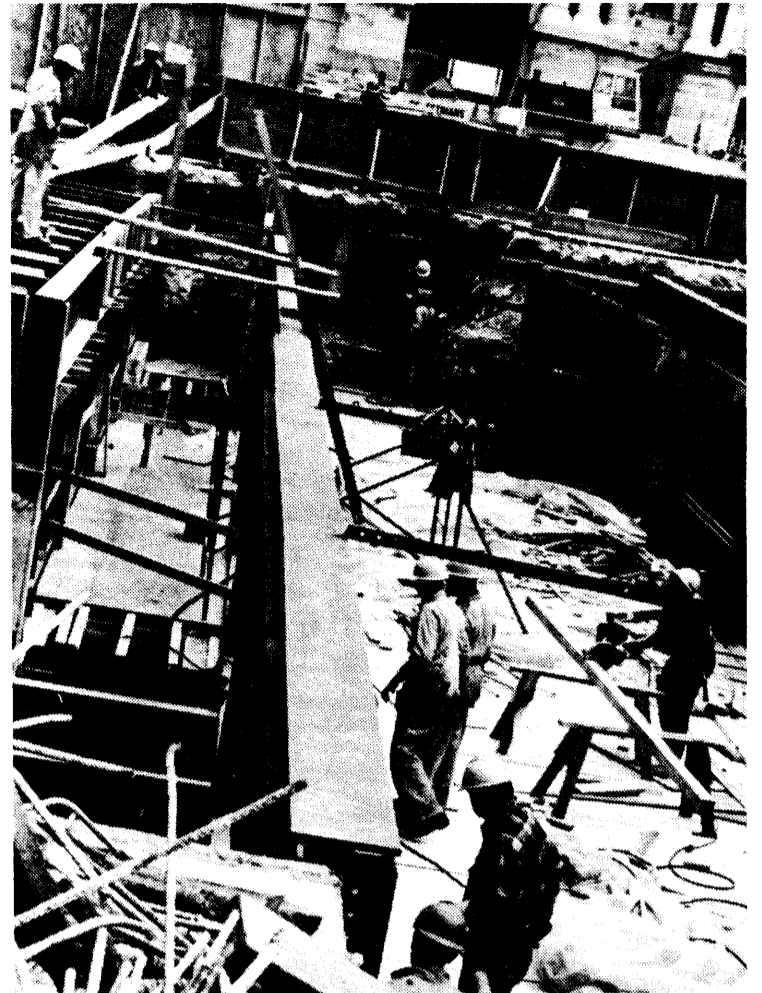
Construction workers are not

interested in these kinds of solutions. As one construction worker told this reporter, "It'll be a victory when they bury Altemose." Another worker said:

## DEFEAT

"The Cirillo decision is a real defeat for us. We should have the right to picket right at the building site, not 200 yards away. They're trying to throw the building trades workers out of work. What we have to do is throw out the ABC. They're taking advantage of union labor all over the place.

"Nixon's saying you can't own a car, you can't own a home, you can't own anything. If the working man doesn't fight against it he's going to lose everything he owns."



Pennsylvania Supreme Court upheld an injunction against picketing by construction workers, threatening workers' right to picket.

# 2,130 Oppose Sellout In General Dynamics

BY RUTH NELSON

GROTON, Conn., Oct. 27—By a meager margin of 897 votes, 3027 to 2130, Anthony De Gregory, head of the Metal Trades Council of General Dynamics Electric Boat, successfully forced through a sellout contract.

The contract is essentially the same as the one which was rejected about a month ago by a vote of 10 to 1. The three year contract calls for wage and benefit increases of approximately \$1.26 an hour. This leaves the men still some \$1.50 an hour behind wages for the same work in other areas.

As for speedup and job security, the door has been left open for a new assault on working conditions. Under the contract, the

MTC is obligated to participate in productivity negotiations with General Dynamics.

Disgust with De Gregory and the contract was widespread. The feelings of most workers who voted against the contract was expressed by one worker who told the *Bulletin*: "After we gave him the vote of confidence he turned around and kicked us in the face. Before he told us to reject it. This contract offers less, less benefits and he tells us to accept it."

Even the official leadership of the boilermakers local was forced to split from the rest of the MTC and issued a leaflet calling for a No vote.

DeGregory's leadership during the negotiations and his inability to fight and win any significant

gains now poses a real threat to the workers at Electric Boat. De Gregory in a statement to the press said he was "satisfied with it (the contract) because it was the best we could get under the conditions that exist today." In other words, De Gregory never had any plans nor does he now, for waging a fight against the attacks of the bosses.

The defense of the men against conditions which exist today and will get worse tomorrow is to fight to build a new leadership which will refuse to negotiate the loss of one job to productivity at Electric Boat and answer the plans of General Dynamics and the government for layoffs and speedup with the labor party to defend the unions.

## Strike Hits Mack Truck

BY ED BELLINO

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Mack Truck, the king of the truck makers, was recently rocked by a wildcat strike that has cost the corporation up to two million dollars.

The walkout was triggered in the key frame-making department when about fifty production workers rebelled after they were ordered to lift objects weighing 80 pounds by hand. The strike quickly spread until as many as 150 workers had walked off their jobs.

Currently, the UAW leadership is negotiating with Mack Truck officials and the men have resumed work. According to one worker who took part in the strike, the union leadership has given the ranks the green light to strike if they are not satisfied with the settlement. The company has threatened to shut down Mack's facilities both in Allentown and in Hagerstown, Maryland, involving over 5000 workers

in all.

The situation is anything but stable as there is widespread opposition to the policies of Woodcock, as revealed by the total lack of support for McGovern among Mack Truck workers. One worker told the *Bulletin*, "I don't know of anyone in my department that's voting for McGovern."

It is clear that the speed-up initiated by GMAD is being prepared for the entire auto and truck industries.

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# McGovern Drive Fizzles To An End

BY DAVID NORTH  
WASHINGTON,

D.C.—"Things are looking up. The polls now show our man only 28 points behind."

The paid staff member who made that comment was the only optimist this reporter met as I walked through the national headquarters of McGovern For President, located on K Street.

This one cheerful soul excluded, the atmosphere was heavy with gloom and cynicism. The casual observer might find it hard to believe that this building was the center of a national campaign of a major political party.

The headquarters seemed more like the offices of a bankrupt firm preparing to vacate the premises.

No one was particularly busy. At the front door, Gary Hart, McGovern's campaign manager was engaged in a discussion. I asked him how the campaign is going.

"Fine," he replied, and then walked around the corner to



an Italian restaurant where he spend a leisurely 90 minutes enjoying his lunch.

Upstairs, things were a bit more active. There were a lot of telegrams to open. One, lying on a desk outside Pierre Salinger's office, was from the Midwest. It warned that the "senior citizen vote" is hopelessly lost.

A close aide of Larry O'Brien, national chairman of

the Democratic Party, had no illusions about the McGovern campaign.

"We're probably going to lose every state, unless we are lucky in California and Massachusetts," he said, reinforcing his prediction with a thumbs-down gesture.

Just as I was leaving his office, he asked: "Do you know where I can get a job after next week?"



# Young Socialist®

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## YSA Backs Stalinist Sellout In Vietnam

Millions of youth throughout the world are witnessing the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism as the bureaucrats of Moscow and Peking betray the struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants to Nixon.

Along with this, all those groups that call themselves revolutionary are rushing to participate in this betrayal.

After paying lip service to the need for a socialist revolution, they have all betrayed it by calling for support to the seven-point peace program which accepts a coalition government alongside the reactionary regime of President Thieu.

This is occurring when the Vietnamese are closest to gaining a complete victory and have the troops of the puppet South Vietnamese government on the run. Just at the point of victory all of these false revolutionaries are showing their true colors of traitors.

Their refusal to confront the history of the struggle between Stalinism and Trotskyism leaves them incapable of recognizing revolution from counterrevolution.

The November 4 rally being held in New York will include every nationalist and radical middle class group calling for support to the seven-point sell-out.

Nixon would like the same thing that these radicals are crying for. A settlement now would provide the breathing spell which Nixon so desperately needs to deal with the movement of workers here.

At the same time the role of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance must be condemned. This movement, which was a product of the fight that Trotsky waged against Stalin, has now deserted Trotskyism.

Above all, the YSA has covered up for the Stalinists by not posing that the revolutionary solution to the war in Vietnam lies only in pitting the American working class against the government. This can only be done by breaking the labor movement from the Democrats and Republicans and constructing a labor party.

Only the call for a labor party can expose the role of the CP and YWLL to workers and youth as these Stalinists fight desperately to tie the unions to the Democratic Party by calling for support to McGovern.

The revisionist YSA is determined to sacrifice the victory of the Vietnamese in order to preserve their decaying antiwar operation.

The November 18 antiwar protest does not oppose the Stalinists in any way. The Stalinists would be only too happy to join it and have all the liberal politicians they support on the platform.

The program on which the Student Mobilization Committee and the National Peace Action Coalition is building the November 18 demonstration provides no alternative and will help only the Stalinists and Nixon.

Its program states that whatever the Stalinist leaders give to Nixon, the antiwar movement will follow.

The Young Socialists will hold meetings throughout the country to discuss the developments in Vietnam and to plan out action to mobilize young workers, students and youth against this betrayal.

The YS will also intervene at the November 18 demonstration calling for the victory to the NLF in Vietnam and for the unions to fight the parties responsible for the war by building a labor party.



Some white parents stand behind police barricades in front of Canarsie J.H.S. 211.

## YS Rallies In Canarsie Against Racist Attacks

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

BROOKLYN—Parents, organized by extreme right-wing elements, protested the decision of the Board of Education which ordered the enrollment of 31 Black students at JHS 211 and overturned the previous decision of Chancellor Harry Scribner. The situation came to a head last Thursday when police removed parents, clearing the way for the 31 students.

On Monday, a boycott of all the junior high and elementary schools in the Canarsie section was called by the parents and drew a large turnout at JHS 211. On Tuesday very few parents turned up as the hard core leadership and racists found support dwindling there.

Amidst this whipped-up hysteria, members of the Young Socialists held a rally

and demonstrated at Canarsie High School for the unity of Black and white students, teachers and parents against the Democrats and Republicans who are seeking to divide the working class along racial lines.

The YS told students that racism is being used by Nixon to divert the youth into fighting each other, while he prepares the biggest attack on the living standards of the working class as a whole.

The Democrats and Republicans, acting in the interests of big business, will increase unemployment, speed up the factories, increase cuts in education, raise taxes along with prices, once the elections are over.

Racism is being carefully aimed at destroying the trade unions because of the movement that has developed against the Pay Board and unemployment. It is this hostility towards the unions which characterized last week's protest and boycott.

The teachers and their union, the United Federation of Teachers, drew the most threatening remarks from the crowd led by reactionary forces like members of the Conservative Party, the Italian-American Civil Rights League, and some Jewish Defense Leaguers. As teachers crossed police barricades, one woman yelled "We'll remember you, we have a list and we'll get you."

### CONTEMPTUOUS

White workers, living in Canarsie, expressed agreement with the Young Socialists and were

contemptuous of what was taking place. "You listen to some of these people last week, you wouldn't know if you were in Alabama or New York," said one woman worker and added, "but these people don't speak for us. Those Brownsville kids should have been allowed to go to 211."

Another white worker told the Young Socialist that: "JHS 211 is overcrowded, but they shouldn't take it out on the Black kids. What they should do is build another school next to 211 so that all the kids could go."

What has developed in Canarsie has been consciously prepared by right-wing forces of the Italian-American Civil Rights League, and the Republican Party.

### COMMUNITY CONTROL

The Young Socialist Alliance, which is pushing for "community control," can hardly comment on the situation they helped to create as the racists now utilize the same demand.

The complete hostility of the teachers to the racism being whipped up by the right-wing forced Albert Shanker, President of the UFT, to demand the right of the 31 students to enroll, while at the same time capitulating to the reactionary forces by insisting that it was not a racial issue.

The YS will continue the fight against racism and the budget cuts. We call on the unions to take a similar stand by opposing the Republicans and Democrats, who are both responsible for this hysteria, through the call for the construction of a labor party that will fight racism and demand decent education.

## DA Who Killed Panthers Acquitted

BY A YS REPORTER

CHICAGO—The acquittal of State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan on Wednesday October 25 has exposed the whole character of Mayor Daley's machine and the role of the courts today.

Judge Philip Romiti of Criminal Court dismissed the charge of conspiracy to obstruct justice filed against Hanrahan. The defense waived the right to make a presentation to the court and asked the judge to drop the charge. Romiti, of course, complied.

Hanrahan, who is the man responsible for carrying out and covering up the police raid on the Black Panther headquarters and murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, is up for re-election on November 7. The Republican Party candidate running against him is Bernard Carey, ex-FBI agent who seeks to "bring FBI integrity to Cook County." Carey

blames Hanrahan for "bungling" too many cases.

In the primary elections, Daley was forced to officially remove Hanrahan from the Daley ticket, as Patrick Gorman of the Meatcutters and Germano District Representative of the Steelworkers told the Chicago Mayor that there was no way that they could get their membership to vote for Hanrahan. Nonetheless, Hanrahan made the tour as if he were billed on the ticket, obviously backed by the Mayor.

### HYSTERIA

Hanrahan has made perfectly clear that he intends to do a job on the working class and youth that even exceeds the midnight

raid on the Panthers. The campaign of hysteria mounted by the State's Attorney against the "de Mau Mau" group has been fanned into flames by the press.

In this election, as in the national elections, the bankruptcy of both the Democratic and Republican parties is exposed. The Black Panther Party has announced that it will urge a vote against Hanrahan but refuses to say whether this means a vote for Carey. The organization "Power" headed by Hurst, president of Malcolm X College has announced its full support for Bernard Carey.

George McGovern is not afraid to wade in the muck of Chicago politics. When in Chicago several weeks ago, he announced his support for both Daley and Hanrahan. This is another indication that McGovern's attacks on Nixon's corruption are purely hollow.

## Journalism School At UCLA Faces Elimination

BY ERNIE LEWIS

LOS ANGELES—The sharp attacks on educational facilities found another target this week in the recently planned UCLA School of Journalism. Although an evasive article in the Los Angeles Times reduces the issues to the pros and cons of journalism as an academic discipline, further investigation reveals the school is being cancelled due to severe budget problems.

The effect of these problems were pointed out in a recent interview given to the Bulletin by Walter Wilcox, head of the Journalism Department. "It's difficult to believe that a college the size of UCLA can't afford a staff of nine men to run a new school. They've even begun cutting into our department by putting on a job freeze. Almost half our staff is gone, leaving four men to run the whole department."

He went on to say that over 200 UCLA faculty members had been dropped or not replaced. In addition, there have been cutbacks in areas such as financial aid and in the language departments. Several students told the Bulletin that the financial aid department, not having enough funds to cover student subsidies, issued checks falling short of what is needed by many students to remain in school.

The California state school system built up during the period of the postwar boom which made it possible for many working class youth to attend college, is now preparing drastic cutbacks leaving no future for the youth.

## Jenness Election Talk Attacks 'Racist' Labor

BY NICK LUCAS

COLLEGE PARK—Socialist Workers Party candidate Linda Jenness, speaking before a crowd of one hundred, brought her presidential campaign to the University of Maryland for the second time this year on October 26.

Without once referring to the crisis engulfing world capitalism, she never mentioned the need to mobilize the working class in a labor party to meet Nixon's attacks on its standard of living.

She showed more interest in "exposing" McGovern and explaining how capitalism makes commodities out of human emotions than in fighting for a class understanding and the need to construct a labor party based on a socialist program as the only way forward for workers and youth in this country.

Her solution to the war on the Vietnamese workers and peasants boiled down to no more than the building of a bigger and better antiwar movement. This she hoped to accomplish through "more actions in the street."

At no point did she mention the current peace negotiations being forced on the Vietnamese revolution by the Stalinist bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and China. Neither did Jenness criticize the traitorous role of the Communist Party of the USA and

## Young Socialist



Over 1500 residents and youth rallied in East Cambridge, Mass. against police murder of a youth.

## 1500 March In Cambridge After Cops Murder Youth

BY PAT CONNOLLY

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—Over 1500 youth and residents of East Cambridge demonstrated at police headquarters Thursday against the brutal murder of one teenager. The demonstration topped off a week of protest by the community which included arrests and injuries to dozens of youth and workers as a result of a police rampage through the courtyards of the Roosevelt Towers Housing project here.

Seventeen year old Larry Largey, who had worked in a Roxbury warehouse and had a minor record for being picked up for drinking, was arrested last Saturday night. A neighbor, Mrs. Betty O'Brien, witnessed the arrest, as did her son David, and another youth who was arrested along with Largey, Tommy Doyle.

WINDOW

Mrs. O'Brien saw Larry walking along the street, shadow boxing. He broke a window. A minute later cops were there. They first jumped on Doyle, who was standing down the street, twisted his arm and kned him in the back before throwing him in the police wagon.

Then Largey got in and a cop followed. The wagon began rocking. "I thought it was going to tip over," Mrs. O'Brien said. "I heard screams coming from inside. I couldn't believe it. Something has to be done. I've read about it, I just couldn't believe I was seeing it...His face was all covered with blood."

Largey was dead in his cell at the police station the next morning. While police tried to say that he had died from a combination of drugs and alcohol, Largey had absolutely no record

of drug use, and neither he nor Doyle had any drugs on them when arrested.

ANGER

When the anger and frustration of the youth at this vicious murder exploded with windows being broken, fires set near the projects, and crowds gathering, police moved in and attacked the youth with nightsticks and tear gas, injuring and arresting more.

An 18 year old boy with cerebral palsy was in the project with his sister, visiting a cousin. Ken Gustowski said, "We saw the police coming, so me and Cheryl ran through a door. Three policemen with clubs came in and started hitting me without saying anything. I kept yelling I had cerebral palsy but they wouldn't stop. I saw the letters MDC (Metropolitan District Commission Police) on their helmets. One of them kicked me in the back. I don't know why they did that because I said I would go with them. My head was covered with blood and my clothes and underwear were soaked with blood."

MAYOR

At a special City Council meeting, Mayor Barbara Ackerman was shouted down and booed as she announced that the two cops involved, DeLuca and Carbone, were on a voluntary leave of absence; that the city is appointing an independent investigator into the murder; and that there will be another autopsy to determine the cause of Largey's death.

## Bklyn YSA Greets Senator

BY ADELE FLATEAU

BROOKLYN COLLEGE—The revisionist Young Socialist Alliance shared a platform last week with Democratic Senator Birch Bayh who used the antiwar meeting to tell the 100 students present to vote for McGovern.

Not only did the YSA speakers refuse to pose the need for a labor party, but they also carefully avoided any reference to the Jenness-Pulley campaign.

John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate opposing Democrat Shirley Chisholm, spoke of the Vietnamese Revolution being in "grave danger" and how "the Vietnamese people have offered a tremendous amount for peace, have offered the right to determine their own destiny by accepting a coalition government."

Not once was the role of the Stalinists bureaucracy in Moscow and Peking mentioned as the reason why the recent talks for a peace settlement could be pushed through.



Ackerman and others on the City Council were elected as liberals and radical Democrats, but they have completely whitewashed these attacks and the conditions that lead to them.

The government, having created unemployment in Cambridge that has become one of the highest in the state, now sends the police to brutalize the youth.

## Drop Charge Against YS

By A Reporter

CHICAGO—An attack against the Chicago Young Socialists by the intelligence division of the Police Department has been defeated.

In spite of pretrial harassment and intimidation, District Attorney Hanrahan was forced to drop charges of "criminal damage" brought nine months ago against two supporters of the YS arrested for posting leaflets for a demonstration.

# IRISH YOUNG SOCIALISTS MAPS FIGHT TO UNITE YOUTH AGAINST TORIES

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

Confronted with a reign of terrorist attacks and legal murder by British troops, the Irish Young Socialists held their second annual conference at Erie to discuss the building of a revolutionary movement to unite Catholics and Protestants in the light of the situation in Ireland. The conference stressed the critical need to expand their paper in order to lead all workers there in a conscious fight against the Tory government.

"The real criminals are those bankers, merchants and the Tories who sat in London," declared a young Irish girl speaking of the recent murder of her friend in Belfast by the Tory troops. "If we can get the whole working class united in England as well as Ireland we can get the Tories out," she continued.

This is the situation which both Protestants and Catholic workers and youth face in Ireland every day. The intense move by the Tory government to keep the Irish working class down has created an intolerable life and a grim future for all youth.

In order for the capitalist class of England and Ireland to continue making profits, they must now drive back the working class, through an attack on their very standard of living.

The Tories seek to divert the real struggle of workers against capitalism by turning it to a mere question of religious discrimination. Religion is the tool which the Tories use to pit one worker against the other to keep them divided and away

from fighting the real problems they face.

## REACTIONARY

Reactionary forces have now come forward to reinforce the divisions perpetrated by the government. Their role is to criminally mislead many Protestant workers. These extreme right-wing organizations, claiming the allegiance of the Protestant working class majority, intend to suppress and attack Catholic workers and youth. Their operations are designed to ensure that the Tories continue their offensive.

The reactionary Ulster Defense Association is using this situation to build up their organization and consolidate their control of a backward section of the working class. This section will be aimed and drilled as a basis for a real force to be used against both Catholic and Protestant workers during their fight against the attacks made on their wages, jobs and lives.

This move presents an extreme danger for all working class people. Several political tendencies in Ireland empirically see this as a progressive turn being made by

# German Trotskyist Youth Expose Stalinist Betrayals At First Conference

BY ALAN BERENSON

On October 1 the Socialist Youth League (SJB), youth movement of the Socialist Workers League (SAB), the German section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, held its first national conference in Essen.

The holding of this conference represents a crucial step towards the development of a Trotskyist leadership for German workers and youth and in the development of the international Trotskyist youth movement.

The conference took place in the most decisive period of the entire history of the German working class. The German "economic miracle" of the postwar boom, based on the influx of billions of inflated dollars into Germany after the war, has now collapsed.

The measures of President Nixon on August 15, 1971—specifically the removal of the gold backing of the dollar, and the steps toward international trade war, which have gone further since August 15, 1971—are now causing profound repercussions inside Germany—forcing the German ruling class into heavy attacks aimed against the militant and powerful German working class and youth.

Thousands of workers involved in all the basic industries are now being laid off by the employers. All the rights won by youth over questions of education and employment are now threatened. The system of open enrollment in the universities has been ended, denying German youth the right to higher education; while in the high schools, youth are packed 50 at a time into classrooms. Youth have repeatedly demonstrated against the rotten conditions forced on them by German capi-

talism.

The most right-wing forces are now developing in the big business parties, which will try to destroy all the rights won by workers since the fall of the Third Reich.

## MILITANCE

The German working class and youth have responded with the greatest militance to all these attacks. The last months have seen a series of successful strikes. Most importantly, when the extreme right wing of the German bourgeois party, the CDU, attempted to overthrow the Social Democratic led government, millions of German workers walked out and shut down their plants in defense of the SPD.

Der Funke, newspaper of the SAB and SJB wrote of the perspectives developed at the conference: "In spontaneous actions the working class cannot defend its gains. Only in the struggle for a socialist leadership and in the fight for political power can the working class defend itself against the crisis. This necessitates the further development of Marxist theory as the theory of knowledge for the working class.

"Against the reformist illusions of the SPD and DKP (German Communist Party) and the revisionists, Marxism must be defended, for only Marxism can guarantee victory to the working class today.

"Therefore, the youth movement has a

# Young Socialist

the Protestants. For the first time it seems that Protestants are fighting against the troops, but actually what they are doing is continuing the reactionary policies of the bourgeoisie.

The life and death of all workers and youth depends on the political struggle in Britain and Ireland for the destruction of the Tory regime and all its perpetrators.

## LEADERSHIP

It is in this period that a leadership must be built in the working class to confront the tasks that lie ahead and take forward the fight to lead the workers against the government and for the taking of power.

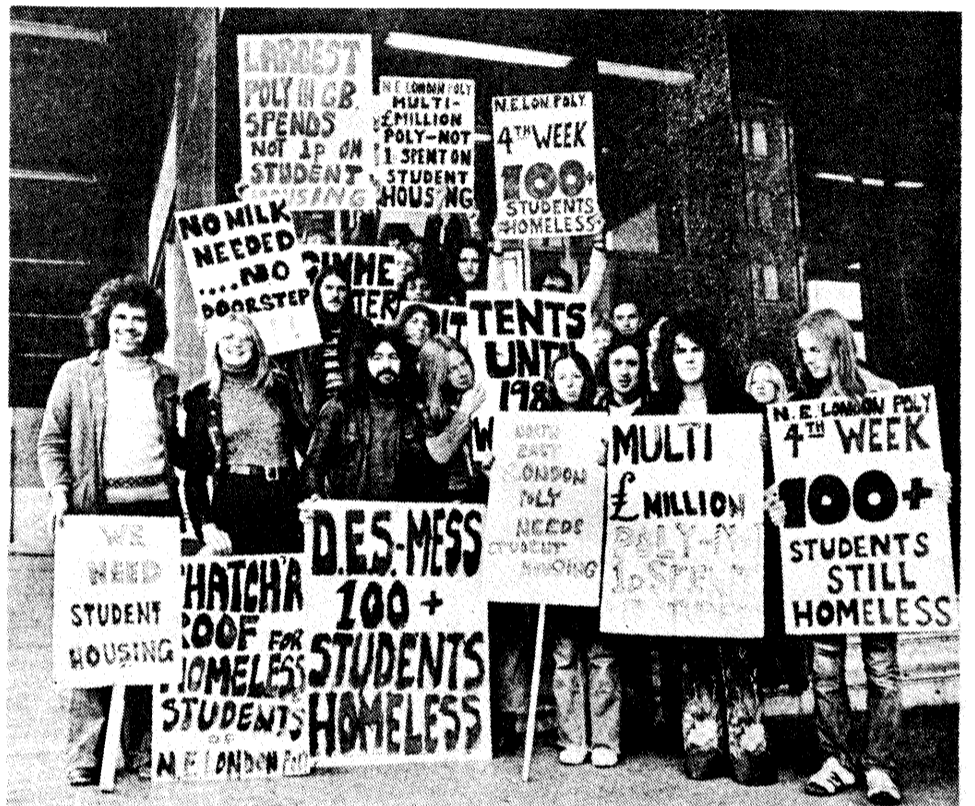
In this critical period, the Irish Young Socialists held its conference as the only revolutionary youth movement which can mobilize Protestant and Catholic youth into a fight against the attacks of the Tory government and turn the movement of the workers into a united fight against the

government.

Youth from both the North and South of Ireland met at Erie for two days to discuss the necessity of constructing the Irish Young Socialists as the only leadership for workers and youth. Preparations were made for the expansion of their present four page bi-weekly *Youth Bulletin* to an eight page paper early next year.

The conference and the expansion of their paper marked a tremendous step forward for the construction of the revolutionary party in Ireland which can defeat the Tories in England and lead the struggle of workers to the taking of power. This can only be done through a bitter fight against all those tendencies which seek to destroy or divert the movement with illusions of reform.

It is only through the destruction of the Tory regime that the mounting unemployment, the soaring cost of living, and the brutal murders can be answered.



British students at North London Polytechnic schools picketed the Department of Education and Science to demand residential accommodations at the school. They have been sleeping for over a month on cots and on the floor because they cannot find a rent.

special responsibility in bringing Marxism into the working class."

It was the forces of Social Democracy which were responsible for the murder of the leadership of the working class in 1919, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and for the preservation of German capitalism following World War I.

It was the traitorous sectarian role played by the German Communist Party—directed by the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia, which paved the way for the victory of fascism in Germany in 1933. And after World War II it was the forces of Stalinism which made a deal with imperialism resulting in the shameful partition of Germany and the maintenance of capi-

talism in the western half.

It is in the history of these betrayals that the SJB is training youth in order to destroy these forces inside the working class.

It is only the SAB and SJB which is waging a campaign to bring the Social Democrats back independently into power. And it is through this campaign that the SAB and SJB is leading the fight to expose the real character of the Social Democrats. It is through this fight that an alternative revolutionary leadership will be constructed in Germany.

The American Young Socialists send the warmest of greetings to their comrades in the SJB.



German youth protest decaying conditions in the school system.



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Nixon's Plans

(Continued From Page 1)

employment will consciously be used to break the power of the unions. The chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers said this week that Nixon considers reducing unemployment "counterproductive."

•Wages: As a tremendous revolt now grows in the unions against the 5.5 percent guidelines of the Pay Board, the government has made clear its intention to trim these down to 2.5 percent and to get legal sanction against all those unions that violate them. Already, the Pay Board has gone to the courts to get the right to enforce these guidelines with more injunctions against strikes that demand more than the guidelines.

•Speed-up: Spearheaded by General Motors and backed by the government, the big corporations are pushing their inhuman drive in the plants. This intensifies as the ranks of the labor movement now move into action against productivity.

•Anti-union legislation: Nixon has said that the first task on his agenda after November is the passage of legislation to outlaw strikes in the transportation industry. This is the first step in destroying the independence of the unions. This is being spurred on by the right-to-work campaign launched against the farmworkers and construction workers.

•Rights: The Watergate conspiracy reveals the preparations now being made by the ruling class for dictatorship and an attack on all the basic rights of the working class. At the same time, rightist and fascist forces are being readied for a war on the unions.

•Racism: Nixon, throughout the campaign, has sought to use the busing issue to whip up a racist hysteria. McGovern stands with him on this. This has created the conditions now in the schools of Brooklyn in which white worker is pitted against Black worker. Racism will now be used to try to break the back of the unions.

•War: Behind all the talk of ending the war, Nixon is using the talks for cease-fire to prepare a massive escalation of the war against the Vietnamese workers.

These are the fundamental questions facing American working people in this election. It is on these issues that Nixon and McGovern stand together.

It is in the context of these plans that the labor leadership has sought to prevent the working class from developing a weapon to defend the unions against Nixon and the capitalist class—a labor party. This betrayal has been openly aided by the Communist Party and its candidates, who have used their campaign to boost McGovern and desperately keep the unions tied to the Democratic Party.

Never in any election has the question of an alternative been so critical. What is involved is the life and death of the labor movement itself. A big vote for the SWP candidates will be an important step towards breaking American workers from the Democratic and Republican parties and constructing a mass party of workers—a labor party—which will be able to mount an offensive against the plans of big business and its parties. It is through the fight for the labor party that a revolutionary leadership will be built in the trade unions.

The fight for the labor party can go forward on November 7 by voting for an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans—by voting for Jenness and Pulley. This must be the first step to opening a campaign after the election for a Congress of Labor to discuss a strategy to defeat the attacks and lay the foundation for a labor party.



The '72 elections

## What we think Gus Hall's Campaign Fraud

The Communist Party presidential campaign of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner has had only one purpose; and that is to prevent the working class from building a labor party and defeating Nixon.

There can be no doubt that the period immediately following November 7 will be marked by an all-out assault on the labor movement. The Nixon administration is laying plans to outlaw strikes in the transportation industry, it has announced that it would be "counter-productive" to lower the unemployment rate, and documents from the Labor Department have exposed the plot to destroy the construction unions.

But even in the face of these grave dangers, the Stalinist Communist Party has used its campaign to disarm the working class.

If the Stalinists have shown exceptional energy in getting Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner on the ballots of a number of states, it is because they are determined to derail the movement of masses of workers toward a decisive break with the Democrats and the establishment of a labor party that would fight for power.

For all its ballyhoo about the fight to "dump Nixon," the Communist Party—as its cynical leaders know so well—shares a major responsibility for ensuring his re-election.

Nor does the re-election of Nixon run counter to the plans of the American Stalinists. Their mentors in the Kremlin, who have been engaged in reactionary bargaining with Nixon for the past four years and who recently wined and dined him, are openly supporting the Republicans. The enormous pressure being applied by the Kremlin for a quick settlement of the Vietnamese revolution is but one example of Brezhnev's efforts on Nixon's behalf.

The Communist Party cannot support Nixon openly and continue to operate within the trade union movement. But their frenzied drive to support the bankrupt pro-McGovern bureaucrats is a treacherous means of diverting the working class from arming itself politically to confront "four more years" of Nixon.

It is beyond the ability of the Stalinists to resurrect the dying Democrats. The historic crisis of capitalism has signed the death warrant of that party. It has no future. Far from regrouping after November 7, its members will fall into line behind Nixon or leave politics.

But while the Democratic Party is reduced to impotence and is unable to pose any alternative to Nixon, the CP seeks to head off an alternative to Nixon. And that means trying to strengthen the hands of the bankrupt labor bureaucrats who are opposed to mounting a real fight against Nixon and the corporations.

In opposing the fight for the labor party, the CP ranges itself precisely against the very struggle that will produce a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions. According to Hall, writing in the October 21 issue of the Daily World, "By and large the ranks of labor are not following Meany...for Communists...this presents an extremely important opportunity...to build an anti-monopoly coalition" to defeat the reactionary forces gathered around Nixon. "Such a coalition," Hall continues, "can never be built without a strong Communist contingent."

Essentially, Hall is saying that the purpose of the Communist Party campaign is to be the leading element in an alliance of the "progressive," and "often confused" labor bureaucrats with the middle class protesters, McGovern, and "progressive sectors" of the capitalist class.

Hall's talk about the "trade union leaders who have sold out the interests of the workers," his attack on the "class collaboration" of Meany, Abel and Gleason, is the most cynical fraud perpetrated in the hopes of forming an alliance with some of the biggest class collaborationists in the labor movement today—Leonard Woodcock, President of the United Auto Workers and Joseph Beirne, President of the Communications of America (CWA).

People like Beirne who sold out the New York Telephone strike, and who the CP always attacked for being Meany's right-hand man in support of the CIA, now are lauded by Daily World writer George Morris for having been converted to the McGovern cause. Thus, Morris writes in

the October 19 Daily World that Beirne "now says, 'The AFL-CIO will never be the same.'"

The Communist Party is already doing its dirty work in preparation for this "coalition" by glorifying the sell-out policies of Woodcock's strategy against GMAD—a strategy designed to hold back and demoralize the ranks of the UAW. Where does Gus Hall stand on Woodcock's statement that a "national strike against GMAD would be an invitation to disaster?"

Woodcock, Beirne, Smith, Jennings and the other leaders of the Labor for McGovern movement are not confused people moving toward independent politics for the labor movement, but on the contrary, are conscious enemies of the rank and file who are disgusted with McGovern and the Democrats. They are conscious enemies of the movement of the rank and file for the formation of a labor party.

During the coming months, the government will be forced by the crisis to launch a war against the trade unions. Although the elections will be over, the political tasks confronting the working class will assume a greater urgency.

The Workers League will deepen its fight for the labor party; for there is no other way to defend the trade unions from destruction.

The struggle for the labor party will take place through a bitter fight against the Stalinists and all those who cover up their conscious betrayal of the working class.

It is through this fight that a Marxist leadership will be constructed with deep roots in the working class.

### A Tremendous Start!

The subscription drive is off to a tremendous start with 1046 subs received to date. New Haven, Los Angeles, and Brownsville are leading the way.

Detroit, Berkeley, San Jose, and Portland have gotten off to a slow start and must turn this around in the coming week.

One of our subscribers, sending in a change of address, wrote: "Hope the change won't take long, since the Bulletin is the only paper fighting for the labor party."

We will continue this fight after the elections, as we prepare with this drive for a 24 page paper.

We must take warning from the anti-press campaign being whipped up by Nixon, Agnew and Co. and build a wide base of support in the factories, communities, and schools as our only insurance that the Bulletin will continue to be the voice of and to lead workers and youth as they fight against all attacks.

A docker who subscribes said he was going to give each of his fellow workers a sub to the Bulletin as a Christmas present. So subscribe now—do your Christmas shopping early.

WITH THE national elections less than one week away, it is critical to understand the real meaning of the Watergate conspiracy—for it will make clear that the fight for the labor party will assume even greater urgency after Richard Nixon is re-elected.

The events surrounding the break-in of the Democratic Party headquarters at the opulent Watergate apartments in Washington, D.C. are a warning to every trade unionist that after November 7, his living conditions and basic rights will be attacked by a government that has already laid extensive plans for the smashing of all political opposition.

Because of the rapid development of the world economic crisis since Nixon assumed office in January 1969—and particularly since the collapse of the Bretton Woods system on August 15, 1971—the second Nixon administration will bear little resemblance to the first. It will attempt to meet the crisis by breaking strikes, smashing unions, and creating massive unemployment.

It is in this historical context that the Watergate conspiracy must be examined; for then it is possible to realize that Watergate is not a "bizarre" plot cooked up by the White House, but exposes the policies that big business plans to implement after the election is over.

Therefore, the Watergate conspiracy poses to the working class the burning necessity to mobilize itself politically in a labor party to meet and defeat the attacks planned by the corporations.

There is no other alternative for the working class. Watergate reveals that the Republican Party is ruthlessly preparing civil war and is kicking the Democratic Party aside like a corpse that blocks its way.

The working class cannot defend itself by clinging to that very corpse, but only through a labor party which fights for power against the Republicans and big business.

The Watergate conspiracy is without parallel in the political history of the United States. More sharply than any other action undertaken by the Nixon administration, the conspiracy has exposed the preparations made by big business for the establishment of a police state and the destruction of trade unions.

Any attempt to compare and equate the Watergate conspiracy to other well-known political scandals serves only to mask the real face of the Nixon regime and, therefore, to disarm the working class.

Watergate is not another Tea-Pot Dome scandal. What is involved in Watergate is not simply politicians lining their pockets through one scheme or another. That sort of corruption is common enough in American politics.

Rather, the Watergate conspiracy amounted to a full-scale police action designed to destroy the Democratic Party; and it was plotted and organized in the White House.

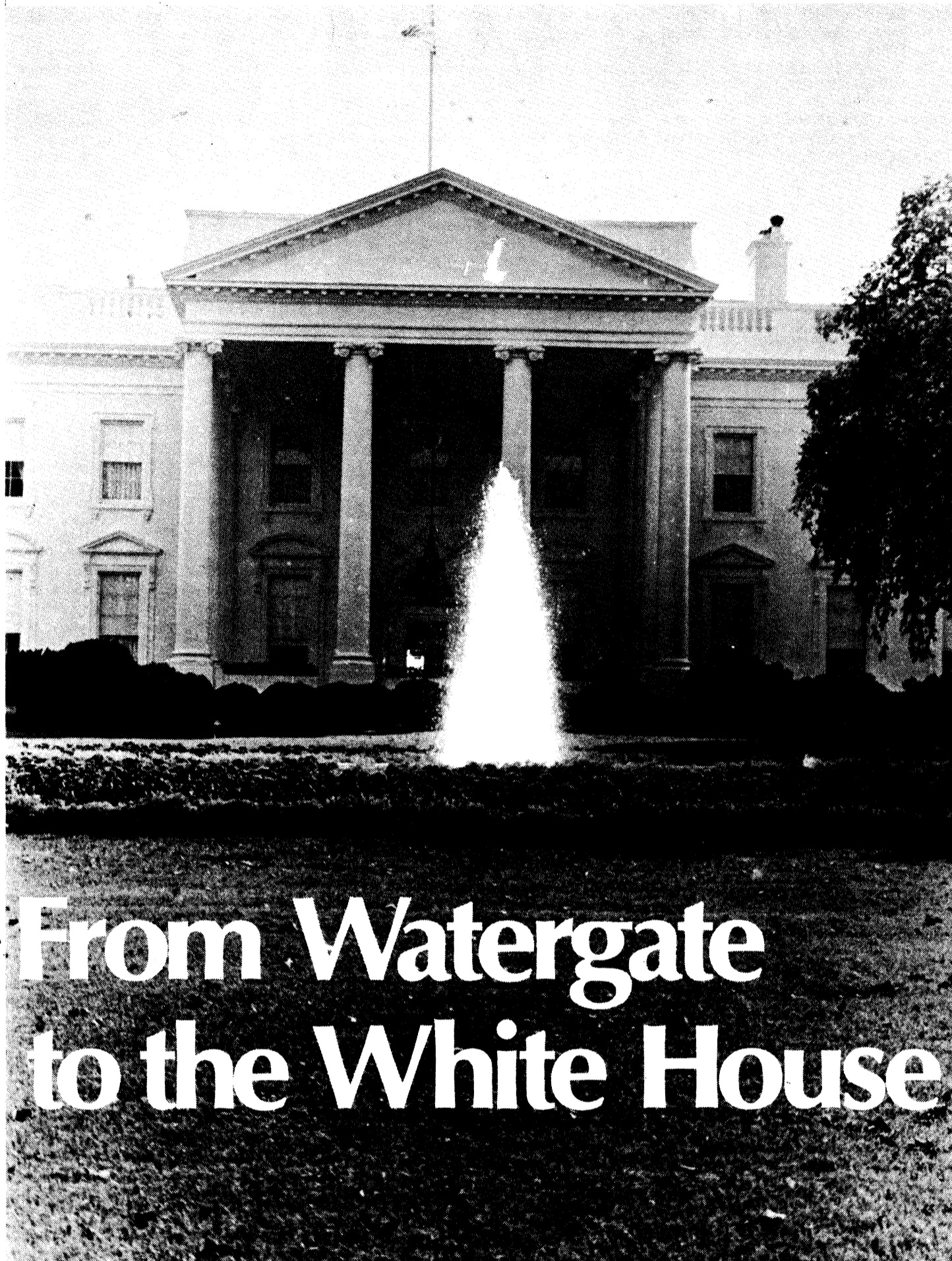
The details of the conspiracy are complex. But when they are analyzed, the following clear outline emerges:

Armed with more than \$25 million donated by the most powerful industrial and banking interests, the White House mobilized the power of the state to wiretap, sabotage, burglarize and intimidate the Democratic Party and its leading members.

In order to carry out the conspiracy, the White House staff—composed almost to a man of Goldwater-type and even more extreme reactionaries—assembled a small army of CIA operatives, FBI agents, anti-Castro Cubans, and a broad variety of fanatical anti-communists.

If the Watergate conspiracy could be compared to anything, it would be to the operations staged by the CIA in Asia and Latin America. But in this case, the government planned to overthrow not a foreign government but the United States'

Exclusive story by Nancy Fields and David North



# From Watergate to the White House

oldest political party.

As information relating to the conspiracy is brought to light, the dictatorial objectives of the Nixon administration become clearer. The very men who participated in Watergate are engaged in other activities which range from preparing the abolition of a free press to plotting the incarceration of political opponents.

Even in its replies to the exposures of the Watergate conspiracy, the Nixon administration expresses tendencies always common to Bonapartist regimes. Despite the mountains of fact that directly link the White House to the conspiracy, the Nixon administration borrows the "Big Lie" tactics of the Nazis and denies everything.

Feeling itself immune from the legal sanctions of even the class it represents, the White House insists that the act of reporting the details of the Watergate conspiracy constitutes a crime in itself.

Against its will, the capitalist press is being forced by the very magnitude of the conspiracy to warn of the dangers of dictatorship. The *Washington Post*, which uncovered the bulk of the information about the White House plot, wrote on October 17:

'As it stands now, the allegations, if true, add up to the most arrogant assault

ever mounted on the political process, the institutions of government and the credulity of the people. Unchallenged in any substantive way, day by day, they draw an ever closer circle around the oval office—right up to its doorkeeper.'

Leading Democrats, who have for a long period attempted to ignore the conspiracy, are now admitting that the Nixon administration is out for blood. Pierre Salinger, once the press secretary of John Kennedy and now a leading McGovern aide, told the *Bulletin*: "The Watergate affair is a conspiracy by the Nixon administration and the Republican Party to physically destroy the Democratic Party."

In an interview with the *Bulletin*, Joe Mowbat, press secretary of the Democratic Party National Chairman, Larry O'Brien, stated: "We are entering an era of repression, censorship, and police state mentality. Nixon's justice department is preparing measures that will make the 'no-knock' law look like the Bill of Rights."

The Democratic Party is not a political organization serving the interests of the working class. Like the Republican Party it defends big business. But no trade unionist should take a light-hearted attitude to the Watergate conspiracy. It is not politics

as usual.

If Nixon is aiming his guns against the Democrats now, it is because big business is preparing for civil war against the working class, and is seeking to create the proper political environment of repression for the battle.

As the *Bulletin* has insisted for the past months, the mobilization of the capitalist class behind the Republicans and the collapse and persecution of the Democrats is rooted in the historic economic crisis that threatens the profit system with collapse. Big business is desperate as it confronts a working class that will fight to defend all its rights.

When one examines the sources of the secret fund that financed the Watergate conspiracy—as we will later in this article—one finds that the giant conglomerates united as one to make enthusiastic donations to Nixon's war chest.

Nearly \$20 million was raised by Nixon's former Commerce Secretary, Maurice Stans, before April 7, 1972, when a new campaign fund reporting law took effect. Under the cloak of secrecy huge sums were given by U.S. Steel, Chrysler, General Electric, Bethlehem Steel, Westinghouse, Inland Steel, Northrop, Kennecott Copper, 3M, and Gulf Research and Oil.

Among the contributors were businessmen who considered themselves Democrats—until this year. Now, the capitalists are rallying around the Republican Party which was built by their ancestors more than a century ago in another period of Civil War.

The Watergate conspiracy reveals that the Republican Party is collecting the rotten human flotsam of society as allies in the attack on the working class. At the Republican Convention, Nazis lobbied the Party outside. Watergate leaves no doubt that similar elements are at work within the ranks.

Finally, Watergate exposes the panic of big business in crisis. The magnitude of this panic—which is really the fear of the working class—can be measured by the fact that the Democratic Party is under suspicion. Even though it has served capitalism faithfully for a century, big business has withdrawn its confidence.

"Society is saved just as often as the circle of its rulers contracts," wrote Marx in *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, "as a more exclusive interest is maintained against a wider one. Every demand of the simplest bourgeois financial reform, of the most ordinary liberalism, of the most formal republicanism, of the most shallow democracy, is simultaneously castigated as an 'attempt on society' and stigmatized as 'Socialism.' And finally, the high priests of 'the religion and order' themselves are driven with kicks from their Pythian tripods, hauled out of their beds in the darkness of night, put in prison-vans, thrown into dungeons or sent into exile; their temple is razed to the ground, their mouths are sealed, their pens broken, their laws torn to pieces in the name of religion, of property, of the family, of order."

#### THE BUGGING ATTEMPT

At 2:30 a.m. on June 17, five men were arrested for breaking into the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee located in the affluent Watergate apartment complex in Washington D.C. They were James McCord, Bernard L. Barker, Eugenio R. Martinez, Frank Sturgis, and Virgilio Gonzales. At the time of their arrest, they possessed electronic eavesdropping devices, photographic equipment, burglary kits and wire tapping apparatus.

They were caught in the Watergate offices of Lawrence O'Brien, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Their purpose there was to bug the phones, the offices themselves and photograph the contents of the files of the committee. They were simply charged with burglary and possession of "implements of crime."

The arrests were routinely reported the following day by the capitalist press who, at that time, sought to dismiss the case as just another robbery, which was a little more newsworthy because it occurred at the Democratic headquarters. The majority of the press treated the issue in a cursory manner and were anxious to let the matter drop.

However, as the backgrounds of those arrested were revealed, it became quite clear that the Watergate Affair was no mere burglary or even the usual political "spying" that occurs between the two parties of the ruling class in an election year.

The depth of the scandal and the enormity of its implications forced the capitalist press to begin an investigation which to date has still only exposed the tip of the iceberg concerning the Watergate conspiracy and the nature of the government. The discovery of \$5,300 in Barker's hotel room at Howard Johnson's was found to be part of a withdrawal of \$89,000 made by him from his Miami bank in May—a withdrawal intended for use by Nixon's Committee for the Re-election of the President.

In addition, the Democratic Party announced that the June 17 break-in was not the first that occurred but rather that they had reported two previous raids—raids conducted for the purpose of obtaining documents and bugging the offices. The Democratic Committee charged that the same group had tried three weeks earlier to enter McGovern's pre-convention campaign headquarters near the Capital and that their files had been opened and photographed.

Furthermore, the five who had been caught were not the ordinary men that the ruling class tried to pass them off as. Rather, even the initial reports on their

backgrounds indicated that they had direct connections to the White House and that G. Gordon Liddy, Chief of the security unit for the Committee for the Re-election of the President (C.R.P.) and E. Howard Hunt, a former White House consultant and a member of C.R.P. were also present in the Watergate offices but had escaped before the police arrived.

The five men caught in the headquarters were involved in the extreme right-wing movement of Cuban exiles; all had been employed by the Central Intelligence Agency during the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion and all are fanatically committed to the restoration of the ruthless Batista dictatorship in Cuba.

Three of the five men—Frank Sturgis, Gonzales and Martinez—are professional mercenaries—mere rabble up for hire and willing to carry out any activity in the interests of reactionary forces. Sturgis could be described as a soldier of fortune. He once fought with Castro.

On the other hand, Bernard Barker and James McCord are not simply representatives of some extremist Cuban emigre group for hire. They both had a long record of employment in the intelligence operations of the government under both the Democrats and the Republicans.

Barker was a former employee of the C.I.A. who played a role in establishing the secret invasion bases in Guatemala and Nicaragua and served as one of the conduits for C.I.A. money to the exile Cuban Army. He was the principal link between the C.I.A. headquarters and the exile army during the Bay of Pigs pre-invasion period. Working for the C.R.P., he deposited \$114,000 in checks intended for Nixon's campaign fund in the Republic National Bank in Miami. The bank was set up in 1965 by wealthy Cuban exiles.

Barker was described to the *Bulletin* as a man who will do anything to see that Nixon is re-elected. He firmly believes that George McGovern represents another Fidel Castro and thus must be stopped at all costs. An informed source said Barker recruited Cuban emigres on an "ideological basis" but also resorted to "handing out \$100 bills like confetti." Even before Watergate, his interest in right-wing operations was not limited to Cuba. In May, he recruited nine Cubans in Miami and brought them to Washington to lead an attack on Daniel Ellsberg (who is currently being prosecuted for releasing the government's secret Pentagon Papers last year).

James McCord is also a former employee of the C.I.A. and had been involved in the Bay of Pigs operations. At the time of his arrest, he was the security coordinator for the C.R.P. as well as the Republican National Committee. However, his activities are far more extensive than was revealed at the time of his arrest. Hearings held in May by the House Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee uncovered a secret contingency plan for national censorship, which includes the compilation of a "National Watchlist." McCord, as an Air Force officer assigned to a unit working with the Office of Emergency Preparedness, participated in the drafting of the "Watchlist."

McCord's activities are chronicled here because they reveal that he was no transient simply hired for one so-called bizarre incident. McCord's direct connection to the C.R.P. and Barker's role in handling Nixon's campaign funds revealed a far different picture than a mere burglary or ordinary wire tapping adventure.

Together with the disclosures of Hunt and Liddy's presence at the Watergate, the real nature of this so-called innocuous espionage act began to be revealed. Hunt had worked for the C.I.A. from 1949 to 1970 and was one of the prime planners of the Bay of Pigs. He was hired by Charles Colson, special counsel to the President, last year as a consultant. He worked with a special intelligence team formed by the White House to plug leaks to the press. He too is associated with anti-union, right-wing forces and is a close personal friend of William F. Buckley, long the mouthpiece for the most reactionary section of the business interests.

Liddy was the chief of the security unit and thus, functioned as both Hunt's and McCord's superior. He also served as counsel to the Finance Committee of the C.R.P. and had direct access to the cam-

paigned funds.

Several years ago, Liddy was the Conservative Party candidate for Congress in the Poughkeepsie area. He was hurting Republican Congressman Hamilton Fish. There was a deal to get Liddy out of the race. He met Nixon in Washington who promised him a post—Liddy denied this—and Liddy withdrew from the race. But he did get a job. Liddy was described to the *Bulletin* as an "extreme right-winger—to the right of Goldwater."

It must be emphasized that the Watergate conspiracy is merely a dress rehearsal for far more brutal actions within the trade union movement.

After all, for what was the CIA, whose members played a considerable role in this affair, actually formed in the first place? It is an instrument carefully fashioned for war against the working class in every part of the world. Its members received their training in Guatemala, Brazil, the Bay of Pigs, Laos and Vietnam.

And now, these experiences will be brought forward in the United States against the labor movement.

#### THE \$700,000 POLITICAL SPY FUND

It was through Barker's possession of the C.R.P.'s \$114,000 that both the corrupt nature of the government and the extent of their activities began to be revealed.

The House Banking and Currency Committee, chaired by Texas Democrat Wright Patman, lifted the lid on the Committee for the Re-election of the President enough to reveal the most rotten kettle of corruption in the history of American capitalism.

In a confidential report issued September 12, which was later distributed to the press by an irate Patman, the Committee traced the origins of the \$114,000 that ended up in Barker's possession and revealed that the C.R.P., under the direction of Finance Chairman Maurice Stans, had a secret fund which remained in Stans' office safe, of up to \$700,000.

Their investigation showed that the \$114,000 was composed of two different contributions. \$25,000 had been contributed by Dwayne Andreas who had given the sum to Kenneth Dahlberg, finance chairman of the Minnesota C.R.P. in Miami in April. The remaining \$89,000 was in the form of checks drawn on an account in the Banco International in Mexico. The \$89,000 reached the Nixon campaign along with \$611,000 April 5—just two days prior to when the Federal Campaign Expenditures Act would take effect, which requires the specific identification of all donors.

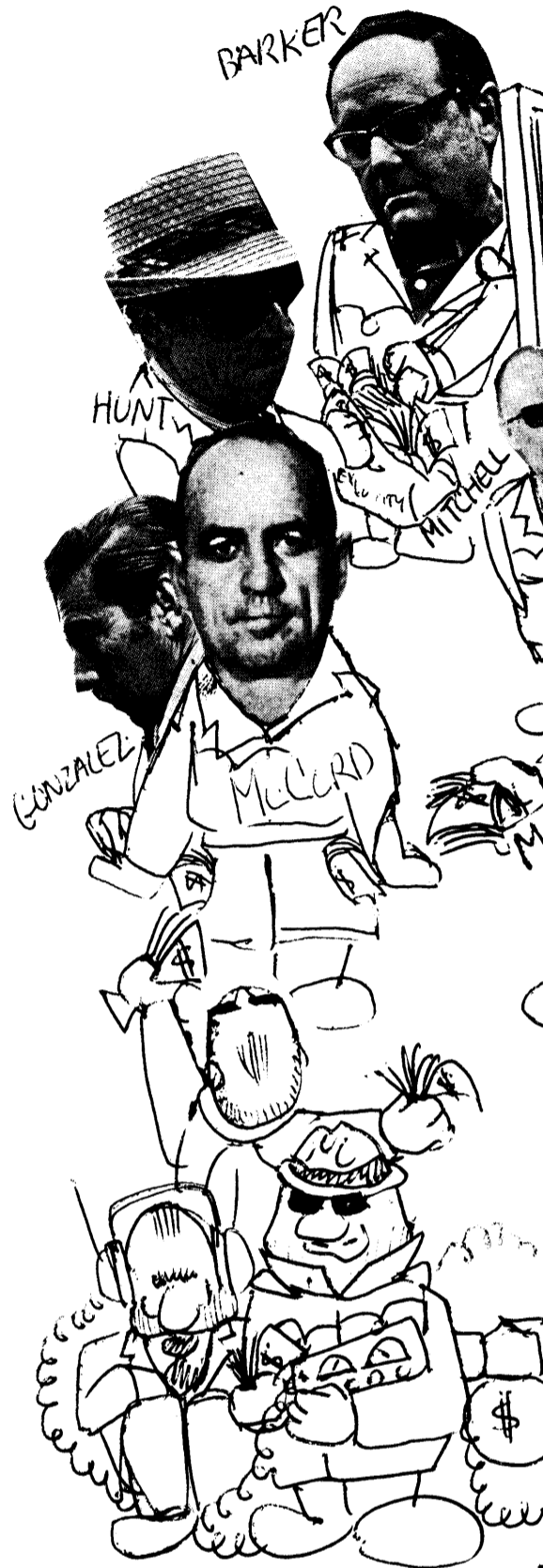
The C.R.P. has refused to reveal the origins of the \$89,000 except to say the funds originated in Texas. They have adamantly insisted that they do not have to disclose the names of the contributors. However, the House investigation found that not \$89,000 but over \$100,000 originated in Mexico City, traveled to Houston, Texas and then to Washington D.C. and was handed over to Hugh Sloan, Jr., Treasurer of the Finance Committee of the C.R.P.

The funds were contributed by powerful Texas oil corporations through a committee headed by William Liedtke, president of the Pennzoil Corporation.

The committee was composed of the backbone of big business throughout the Southwest. It included Robert Allen, president of Gulf Resources and Chemical Company in Houston, who is chairman of the Texas Finance C.R.P. Allen was in charge of raising U.S. funds in Mexico and contacted Liedtke to find out how they could avoid the legal problems involved with such an operation (which is illegal under the Foreign Bank Security Bill of 1970).

Liedtke contacted Stans on the matter and the latter informed him on the procedures for bringing the money to Washington. A hired agent delivered the \$89,000 in checks, plus an additional \$11,000 in cash to Houston Offices of Pennzoil. The checks were made out to Manuel Ogarrío Daguerre, a Mexican attorney, who represented Gulf Resources and Chemical Company in Mexico.

At the Pennzoil headquarters, which served as the collection point for the contributions in the Southwest, the funds grew enormously. In fact, the details of the House report indicate that all the funds brought to Pennzoil were deposited in an atmosphere of complete secrecy. No receipts for any of the money were given



because, according to Liedtke, "in the fundraising business you don't deal in receipts."

On the same day, the funds, which now totalled \$700,000, were delivered to Washington. All attempts to question Allen concerning the nature of these funds have been ignored. In Washington, the funds went through Maurice Stans, Hugh Sloan, and eventually ended up in the possession of Bernard Barker on April 19 in Miami. Barker deposited them and on May 8 withdrew a total of \$114,000 in cash and returned it to Sloan via Gordon Liddy. Thus, it is clear that the funds used to finance the Watergate wiretapping came directly from the Nixon committee.

In addition, the information shows that federal laws were ignored, that secret funds were contributed by the most powerful section of the capitalist class in the Southwest and that the C.R.P. accepted these funds with the full knowledge of the illegality of the operation.

These facts raise questions concerning the purpose of the fund, why it was necessary that it remain a secret, why such enormous amounts were needed and why the funds were transferred around in a manner that makes a James Bond caper look amateurish. Was the Watergate incident an isolated matter, as the Republicans contend, or was it in fact part of a highly developed conspiracy? Who are the men behind the Watergate Affair?

#### RAISING THE ESPIONAGE FUND

Even the preliminary investigations conducted by *Washington Post* reporters



reveal that Nixon's entire inner regime is involved in the secret fund and participated in the planning of the most massive assault on another political party that has ever been conducted. The details of the conspiracy show that the entire Nixon staff (and the C.R.P.) are intimately connected to each other and are involved in matters way beyond that which occurred in the Watergate Democratic headquarters.

Nixon has assembled a personal staff of the most right-wing forces in the country who are determined to carry out the tasks of a desperate ruling class: a class which realizes that its very survival depends on its ability to establish a one party dictatorship to prepare for the civil war being brought on by an economic crisis which cannot be solved in their interests except through fascism.

The entire extent of the operations of the C.R.P. is not known but the evidence produced by the *Washington Post* shows conclusively that the entire staff was involved in this attack on the Democratic Party. It further exposes the relationship between big business and the Republican Party today. Massive amounts of money were contributed by all the major corporations in the U.S.—including those who in the past have supported the Democratic Party.

Prior to April 7, 1972, when the new campaign financing law would require a public listing of contributors, the C.R.P. raised more than \$20 million. The largest, as well as the most reactionary sections of the ruling class, poured their money into

Nixon's campaign to ensure that their demands would be met on November 7. Maurice Stans, who as former Commerce Secretary had been in a position to grant the demands of Republican contributors, was the ideal person to run the fund-raising campaign. His method is a total ruthlessness which he coats with the vilest demagoguery concerning the preservation of free enterprise, patriotism and citizen responsibility. He assigned corporations "quotas" that Nixon expected them to meet; and he reminded firms of the favors which they needed from the administration. Stans was characterized by U.S. Steel Vice President William Whyte as "quite a peddler."

In August 1971, Stans called a meeting of 30 corporations to demand that they continue the "conduit system" of raising money. (This was the system used by Pennzoil in the Mexico, Houston, Washington, Miami illegal espionage fund). This system entails the chief executive of a company soliciting other executives for contributions and then turning them over to Stans in a lump sum.

Stans urged that corporations hand over the money before April 7. Says Whyte: "We contributed to lots of campaigns before April 7. Some of our people gave money to the Committee to Re-elect the President. I coordinated some of the Contributions but not all of them."

"I had one of my men take the money over to Stans' office. The money was all in personal checks. We didn't have any formal fundraising program where we open

our books and it's all reported. We have individuals that contribute in their own way."

In collecting the money, said Whyte, "Stans said we needed to have a friendly ear in Government." U.S. Steel has refused to make public the full amount donated by its members.

Another contributor, Philip D. Block, Jr., former chairman of Inland Steel, refused to tell the *Washington Post* the amount of its donation. He stated that: "There is no reason why I should give you that information and I won't. It was all perfectly legal. It doesn't matter who I gave the contribution to. I realize it is not recorded. It doesn't have to be."

Stanley Cort, board chairman of Bethlehem Steel, also refused to discuss pre-April 7 donations: "I consider this a personal matter," he said.

When Westinghouse expressed some misgivings that they might get in trouble with the campaign fund law, Stans reassured the management by producing from the Justice Department a private opinion from the chief of the political fraud division that no laws were being violated.

In sharp contrast to the Democrats, the Republican Party is richer today than ever before. Already, the GOP has raised more than half its \$45 million target. "They've got so much money," stated former Democratic National Treasurer Robert Strauss, "that they don't even count it. They weigh it."

The contributions of Dwayne Andreas himself exposed what these campaign contributions are used for. Secondly, he expresses the character of the high powered businessmen who develop their connections with the White House in order to do whatever they want.

In the 1930s, he opened a livestock food business and by 1940, Andreas owned three plants. They were sold for \$1.5 million in 1945 to Cargill, which was recently involved in the grain scandal.

In the 1940s, he bought the Honey-Mead soybean plant. He then became involved in 1954 in a scandal, trying to buy and undersell U.S. bottom cotton seed oil to the U.S.S.R., but he did not get a license. In the early 1960s he sold Honey-Mead for six million dollars to Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association (GTA).

He was a big contributor to Humphrey and also to Thomas Dewey. In 1964, he gave \$10,000 to the vice presidential campaign of Humphrey. Andreas said: "Humphrey is a liberal, but still a strong supporter of business and free enterprise."

After Johnson's landslide, Andreas became politically involved and entertained Spanish diplomats and royalty. He lent \$100,000 to the 1968 campaign of Humphrey, but attended Nixon's inauguration as Dewey's guest.

In January 1966 he resigned from GTA. He now is the principal stockholder and Board Chairman of National City Bank in Minneapolis, and also has a big interest in Northeast National Life Insurance and Brunswick Mining and Smelting Company. He became involved in a drive to amend the Minnesota constitution to give the Taconite interests special privileges.

On March 15, 1972, he gave \$10,000 to Humphrey, but at the same time, have his good friend, Kenneth Dahlberg, \$25,000 for Nixon.

At the time, Andreas was seeking a bank charter. On August 22, it was granted to a group which includes Kenneth Dahlberg as well. This charter was granted in the unprecedented time of 88 days, while at least two other competing groups were seeking charters in the same area. Furthermore, the charter was rushed through although the shopping center in which the bank will be located is not to be completed until 1974 or 1975. So much for Stans' demagoguery about the free enterprise system and fair competition. (It is important to note that two dominant holding companies control 80 percent of the banking asset of the country).

The absolute arrogance of the capitalist class was revealed in a statement by Andreas when he remarked:

"I don't care who is President, as long as I have ten minutes advance warning."

His fortune is \$10,990,000 by his own account, but others estimate it at \$25,000,000. Dahlberg is worth \$50,000,000.

Incidentally, Cargill, with which Andreas has kept close ties, recently had to appear before a Senate subcommittee over the grain deal. Five of the top ten members of the firm gave \$5000 each to

Nixon before the hearing. Another of Nixon's contributions came from the dairy interests, who raised \$322,500 because Nixon raised the Federal price support level for milk.

The more than 25 million dollars contributed to the C.R.P. has been channeled to a complex network of more than 450 separate committees set up to make detection of the actual contributors impossible while, at the same time, providing a system for the maximum security concerning the nature of the expenditures. The charters were drawn from a master document drafted by John Dean, 3rd, the White House Counsel—and author of the Nixon whitewash of the Watergate affair.

The committees have staff members as chairmen. The most notable one was Howard Hunt who, according to C. Jackson Ritchie, vice president of the Union Forest Company (where accounts for 50 committees were opened) never opened an account. Thus, through these committees, the entire Nixon staff has been intimately involved in the financing of the espionage activity.

The Nixon regime, from the top under John Mitchell down to lower echelon staff, is connected to and responsible for the political activities of the campaign. The seven men actually caught in the Watergate offices were simply puppets pulled by the ideological string of the reactionaries in Nixon's inner sanctum. In turn, the C.R.P., the White House staff and Nixon himself, are merely servants for the most avaricious, ruthless section of the ruling class. All attempts by the White House to deny knowledge of the espionage activity are exposed daily by the mounting evidence which links Nixon's top assistants with the revelations about the activities of the C.R.P.

A secret fund was gathered over a year before the campaign began. Its purpose was to conduct activities aimed at destroying the Democratic Party. The Supervisor of the fund was Nixon's then Attorney General—and top "law and order" man—John Mitchell. During that period, the fund's balance ran up to \$700,000. He controlled the fund at the time while he headed the Justice Department. Later, he shared control with Maurice Stans and, despite his hasty resignation as director of the C.R.P., on July 1, he is still involved in authorizing payments from that fund today.

Control of the C.R.P. finance committee was assumed in full by Stans in July. The secret fund was kept in a safe in his office and never reported to the General Accounting Office. Following the Watergate arrests, all the records were destroyed by Stans and Hugh Sloan, the former committee treasurer.

**THE C.R.P. AND THE WHITE HOUSE REGIME**

The lines of responsibility in the C.R.P. have become so murky, the activities so diverse and the number of people involved so numerous that we can only sketch a brief outline here. The outline alone shows that the conspiracy was directed from the White House itself; the activities were conducted by close personal associates of each other as well as of Nixon himself; and the conspiracy was planned not simply as the ordinary political sabotage engaged in by the major parties but rather by the hard-core right-wingers of the ruling class. Jack Anderson, in an interview with the *Bulletin*, described those involved as "rabid right-wingers," who are "John Birch minded" and have a "very close relationship" with Nixon.

The forces behind the Watergate conspiracy start with Nixon and his three closest advisors: H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman and press secretary Ronald Ziegler. Above this inner circle stands Herbert Kalmbach, Nixon's personal attorney.

Following down the chain of command within the White House are: Charles Colson, special counsel to the president; Dwight Chapin, deputy assistant to Nixon; Gordon Strachan, Haldeman's assistant. Outside the White House itself is the direct staff of the C.R.P. which included two of those arrested at the Watergate itself: Liddy and McCord.

Also on the committee, in addition to Mitchell, Stans and Clark McGregor, who is the chairman, was Hugh Sloan and Jeb Magruder. The most important saboteur on their staff of over 50 espionage agents, in addition to the seven indicted for Water-

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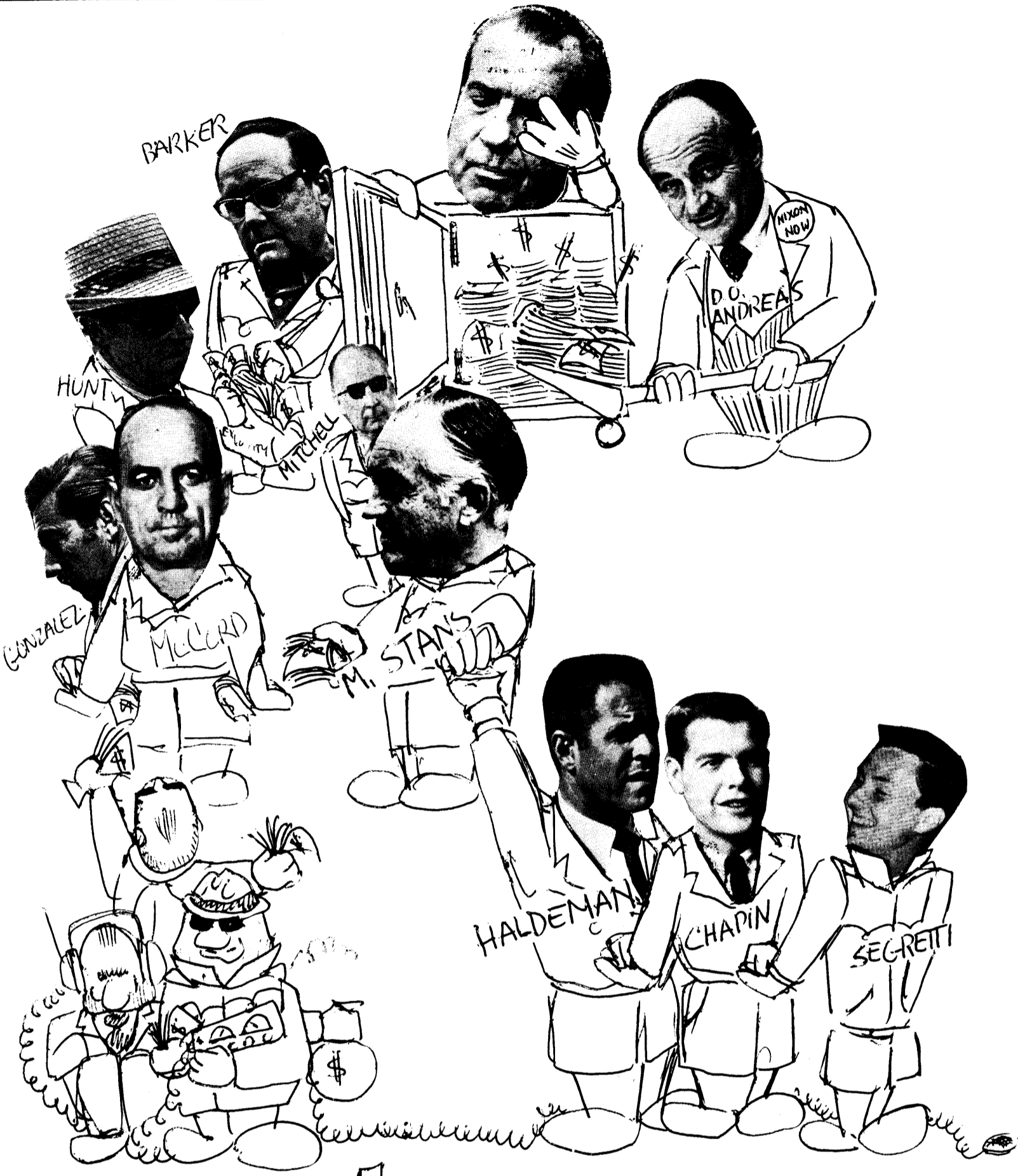
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our books and it's all individuals that contribute that way." In collecting the money, Stans said we need to appear in Government records. I refused to make public the contributions donated by its members. Another contributor, Stanley Cort, former chairman of the Nixon for America fund, refused to tell the Washington Post the amount of its donations. "There is no reason why that information and that information is perfectly legal. It does not give the contribution recorded. It doesn't list the names of the contributors." Stanley Cort, board member of the Nixon for America fund, also refused to give the contribution recorded. It doesn't list the names of the contributors. When Westinghouse expressed misgivings that they were associated with the campaign, Stans assured the management that they were not from the Justice Department opinion from the chief of the fraud division that no one was to be named. In sharp contrast to the Republican Party is the Democratic Party. Ever before. Already, more than half its members have said "They've got so much money they can't count it. They weigh it in tons." The contributions themselves exposed what the character of the businessmen who are connected with the White House do whatever they want. In the 1930s, he owned a soybean plant. He then sold it in 1940. In 1945, he bought a soybean plant. He then sold it in 1954 in a scandal, trying to sell it to the U.S.S.R., but he did not. In the early 1960s he sold a million dollars to the Terminal Association. He was a big contractor and also to Thomas Dewey. He gave \$10,000 to the campaign of Humphrey. Humphrey is a liberal, but Dewey is a supporter of business and industry. After Johnson's election, he became politically active. He obtained Spanish diplomatic immunity for \$100,000 to the 1960 campaign, but attended as Dewey's guest. In January 1966 he was elected to the Board of Directors of the Minneapolis, and also of the Northeast National Brunswick Mining Company. He became involved in the amendment of the Minnesota constitution to protect the Taconite interests. On March 15, 1972, Humphrey, but at the good friend, Kenneth Nixon. At the time, Andreas charter. On August 2, 1971, a group which includes Stans. This charter was well. This charter was preceded time of 8 years. Two other competing charters in the same area. The charter was rushed. The shopping center is located is not to be built before 1975. So much for the free enterprise competition. (It is in two dominant holdings, 80 percent of the business in the country). The absolute arrogance of the ruling class was revealed in the details when he remained. "I don't care who you are as I have ten minutes." His fortune is \$10,900,000, but others estimate that Dahlberg is worth \$50 million. Incidentally, Cargill and Andreas has kept close to the money. He will appear before a Senate committee on the grain deal. Members of the firm

gate, was Donald Segretti, who was hired by both Chapin and Strachan and paid by Kalmbach.

In addition, several other leading staff members played prominent roles in this vicious conspiracy. They are Kenneth Clawson, Robert Mardian, Robert Odle, J. Glenn Sedam, Jr., Frederick LaRue, Herbert L. Porter, William Timmons and paid saboteurs such as Alfred Baldwin III, a former F.B.I. agent.

The attorneys who are representing the seven indicted Watergate defendants are also directly connected to the same right-wing, anti-union forces as the staff and the members of the C.R.P. Douglas Caddy, who is defending Barker, is a former Young Americans For Freedom Director and also was involved in the International Youth Federation for Freedom. Howard Hunt's lawyer, William Bittman, was the U.S. Attorney who prosecuted Jimmy Hoffa. Together with the paid Cuban mercenaries, these forces represent the decadent, reactionary, anti-labor elements that the ruling class is now summoning to the forefront. These are the elements who will run the country after Nixon's re-election.

The personal ties between Chapin, Strachan, Segretti and Ziegler extend back to college when they were attending the University of Southern California. At USC, they were all politically active in right-wing campus activities. Haldeman and Erlichman had also attended USC in an earlier period and had been involved in right-wing political activities together.

Chapin, Segretti and Ziegler worked together on Nixon's 1962 California gubernatorial campaign. Chapin was directly responsible for hiring Segretti—a former Treasury Department lawyer—to criss-cross the country recruiting people for the sabotage campaign. Segretti also infiltrated the California McGovern campaign staff for a short period. Records of telephone calls have established that Chapin was Segretti's immediate contact at the White House.

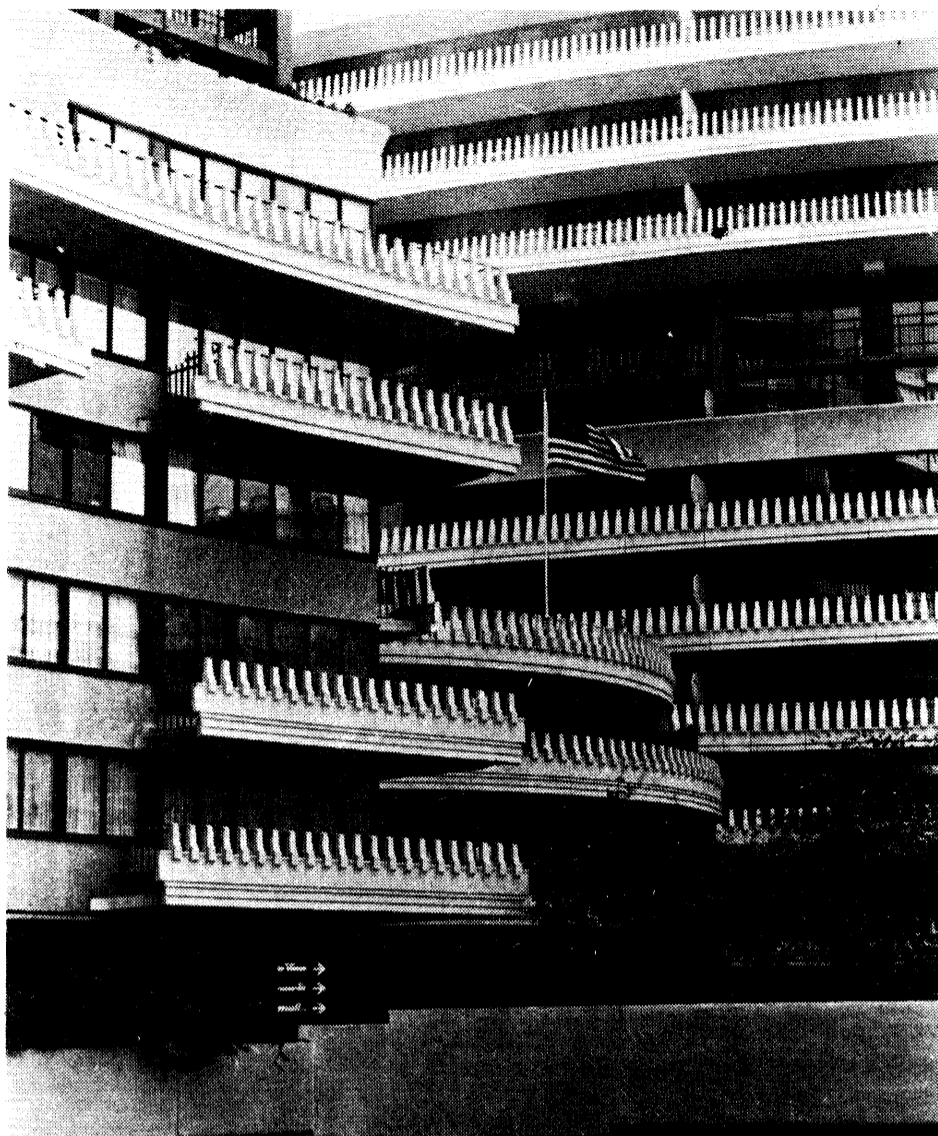
Both Chapin and Strachan are the personal proteges of Haldeman. He was responsible for getting Ziegler and Chapin jobs with the J. Walter Thompson ad agency where they were employed, along with Erlichman. Haldeman is Chapin's direct superior and, according to a former Nixon speechwriter, Richard Whalen, "Dwight didn't do a thing without Haldeman's authority or approval."

Chapin was also described by a White House aide as "a super loyalist and super dedicated. He genuinely believes President Nixon will go down in history as the greatest living President." Both Chapin's direct working relationship to Haldeman and his obvious dedication to the re-election of Nixon expose the lie that Haldeman knew nothing of Segretti's activities.

According to Washington sources, Haldeman is Nixon's closest and most trusted personal aide. The source stated that Haldeman is "in a position to wield more power than any White House aide since Sherman Adams." He has been in Nixon's political circle since 1956 and in the 1962 California gubernatorial campaign, he launched his career of sabotage which was authorized by Nixon. The sabotage was aimed at Pat Brown whom they labeled as an extremist. They solicited contributions from Democrats on the pretext that the funds would be used to shift the ideological base of the Democratic Party. Actually, the funds were used to finance Nixon's campaign.

Haldeman is humorless, cynical and ruthless. He has a long association with the right wing and, in fact, his grandfather founded an anti-communist group. He lives solely for Richard Nixon's advancement. He is one of the five top aides with access to the sabotage fund in Stans' office. It is clear that Haldeman, functioning as Chapin's closest boss and having control of the funds, was directly involved in the planning and executing of the conspiracy plot.

Besides Haldeman, the secret fund was controlled only by Stans, Mitchell, Kalmbach and Magruder. They allocated hundreds of thousands of dollars for the massive assault on the Democrats, aimed not only at destroying the national campaign but local campaigns as well. The activities of the Nixon forces included all the most vicious tactics inherent in a police state from whipping up hysteria over McGovern's supposed communist sympathies, to direct sabotage of campaign activities, to employing the vilest racism



The Watergate complex.

to discredit the Democrats, etc. In short, these forces would use any means necessary to ensure the destruction of the Democratic Party. To guarantee the maximum scope and effectiveness of the operation, the C.R.P. was given unlimited funds by big business.

The cut-throat and decadent measures of the committee have been exposed in recent disclosures. In an all-out campaign to destroy Muskie during the primaries, Ken Clawson, the Deputy Director of Communications for the executive board of the re-election committee, admitted writing the letter to the Manchester N.H. Union Leader, at the time of the election, accusing Muskie of using the racist term "Canucks" when referring to Americans of French-Canadian descent. In a related attack on Muskie, the espionage ring showed their real decadence by issuing a leaflet in Muskie's name accusing Humphrey and Jackson of illicit sexual activity.

Another major figure in the C.R.P. is Robert Mardian. A virulent right-winger, he was the Assistant Attorney General who carried out the prosecution of the New York Times in the Pentagon Papers case. While head of the Internal Security Division at the Justice Department, he obtained confidential information for use in Nixon's campaign. He also was the liaison in Justice for the intelligence team—which included Liddy and Hunt—formed by the White House to plug up leaks to the press.

Jeb Magruder, who also has access to the secret war chest, is a California businessman with a long personal relationship to Nixon. In 1968, he was Nixon's L.A. campaign manager. Magruder alone personally authorized \$250,000 for spy-sabotage activities. Formally, he was an assistant to Haldeman and now is Deputy Director of the C.R.P.

Directly involved in the entire operation is Herbert Kalmbach, Nixon's personal lawyer. He is a member of the right-wing Lincoln Club, which is made up of wealthy business interests and centers its activities on ensuring Nixon's political career. He, too, had control of the slush fund. His law firm, Kalmbach, DeMarco, Knapp and Chillingworth, obtained a ruling from the Justice Department in January endorsing the legality of corporate contributions (such as the \$200,000 from ITT) to bring the 1972 Republican National Convention to San Diego. He has been a major fund raiser and arranged the secret loan that allowed Nixon to acquire an exclusive 22 acre estate in San Clemente, California.

These are the men who directed the White House conspiracy and the entire ruling class has united around them. Behind Watergate, the ruling class is preparing its tools for the destruction of bourgeois democracy and the establishment of a one party state, in order to take on the American working class.

In preparation for civil war, Nixon has conducted a carefully calculated witch-hunt aimed at discrediting the press as the first step toward repressing it. They have also developed a secret contingency plan for national censorship and drawn up a "national Watchlist."

Rep. William S. Moorehead declared that "This National Watchlist may...include the names of 'questionable' individuals, such as those collected during Army surveillance activities, and also collect similar types of information about American citizens."

As the hearings in May revealed, the "national emergency" under which the "voluntary" censorship code would become operative is very loosely defined. At the hearings, it was pointed out that several points, no reference is made to war time emergency. A national emergency could be a war such as Vietnam or even a rail strike.

While the Office of Emergency Preparedness only admits that it will "continue preparing computer procedures for compiling a watchlist" but that "no actual watchlist is maintained," another official description of the Special Analysis Division of the OEP states that it is designed "to prepare, maintain, and disseminate Requirement Guides and a National Watchlist."

An informed source in Washington told the Bulletin that: "In their private conversations, the White House Staff is much more hostile to the press than even Agnew's public statements would indicate. The same is true for Nixon. They would love to censor the press." He also added that Haldeman represents the "California" mentality of "hostility to the press."

The Administration vehemently denies any connection to the conspiracy while, at the same time, engages in a frenzied attempt to link the press to McGovern and thereby dismiss the mounting evidence against them as politically motivated. Their complete arrogance towards and contempt for the press is expressed in statements that they do not feel they should discuss the charges because that might indicate that they took them seriously.

At the same time, the only Congressional investigation to be initiated has

been abruptly terminated. It is clear that the government moved to silence the House Banking and Currency Committee immediately after its first report on September 12. On October 3, the majority of the committee—who are Republicans—rejected any proposals to hold further hearings on the secret fund. The chairman of the committee, Texas Democrat Wright Patman, noted that the White House had "engineered the outcome." He also stated that: "The President has pulled down an iron curtain of secrecy in order to keep the American people from knowing the facts."

When Patman tried to have the C.R.P.'s members voluntarily attend a session, they simply refused. At that time, he stated that:

"This is a sad spectacle, a massive cover-up and concealment of the greatest political espionage ever carried out in the history of this nation...It is the first time that a Presidential campaign has been carried on as if it were being operated as a secret society...It is an arrogant act. It is a chapter out of the political handbooks of the totalitarian countries."

But for all of Patman's "outrage," he, no more than any other Democrat, is particularly anxious to give the Watergate case a public airing.

Sen. Edward Kennedy, who heads an investigatory sub-committee, has the power to convene a hearing on the case. But he does not, because the ruling class does not want its filth made public nor to permit the working class to draw political conclusions from the case.

In addition to the Nixon administration's attacks on the press and its termination of the Congressional investigation, they have also refused to cooperate with their own agency, the F.B.I. Also, the grand jury has ended its investigation without handing down any other indictments outside of the initial seven. The final step to remove any possibility of a complete investigation before the election occurred last week when the judge involved in the Watergate case announced that the trial would be postponed to January. The government has carried out an extensive campaign to seal the lid on Watergate, in its attempt to prevent the real meaning of Watergate from being revealed to the working class.

#### THE MEANING OF WATERGATE

It is clear that Watergate stands as the watershed in American bourgeois democracy. It marks the end of the two party system as the ruling class, conscious of its weakness in the face of its most fundamental economic crisis, consolidates its forces in preparation for the establishment of a Bonapartist dictatorship. Trotsky described Bonapartism as a regime of military-police dictatorship which was necessary:

"As soon as the struggle of two social strata—the haves and the have-nots, the exploiter and the exploited—reaches its highest tension. Then the conditions are given for the domination of bureaucracy, police, soldiery. The government becomes 'independent' of society. Let us once more recall: if two forks are stuck symmetrically into a cork, the latter can stand even on the head of a pin. That is precisely the schema of Bonapartism. To be sure, such a government does not cease being the clerk of the property owners. Yet the clerk sits on the back of the boss, rubs his neck raw and does not hesitate at times to dig his boots into his face."

Confronted by the power of the trade unions, which are mounting a massive offensive against the attacks of the ruling class, the capitalists must attempt to establish a one party dictatorship.

The Watergate conspiracy makes the immediate construction of a labor party an urgent necessity. In the coming period, the only defense of the working class will be through its independent mobilization in its own party as the first step in the battle for socialism.

Understanding that the crisis has reached a critical stage—as the Watergate conspiracy clearly demonstrates—the Workers League will deepen its fight for the labor party after Election Day.

It is through this fight that a Marxist leadership will be constructed in the trade unions. With this leadership the American working class, conscious of its strength, will fight for socialism and put an end to the conspiracies of big business for once and for all.

## WEDNESDAY'S CHILD.

In 1948 MGM produced *The Snake Pit*, a very controversial picture in its day. This picture dealt with the medieval conditions at State Mental Hospitals. The picture was condemned by the American Association of Mental Health and the American Legion. Millard Lampell, one of the scenarists, was involved in the Dies Committee witchhunts against Hollywood writers, actors and technicians, and much to-do was made about this.

Since that time the area of mental health has been taboo vis-a-vis motion pictures. The few television efforts put out were mere imitations of *The Snake Pit*, invariably treating psychosis or emotional instability as individual in origin and individual in solution. The highly subjective approach to such problems always let the psychiatrists, mental health officials and government agencies in capitalist society off the hook.

## MILESTONE

With *Wednesday's Child* we embark upon a milestone in the film presentation of mental illness in contemporary (English) society. For the first time in beginning to confront the relation between psychosis and environment, between the barbaric methods still prevalent in modern institutions and the ideological bases for such facilities and treatment. The film explores not only the positive societal approaches to the treatment of the mentally ill but rightly connects mental illness with class society, and particularly capitalism in deep economic

Lou Belkin  
Film

crisis.

The producer, Tony Garnett, director Ken Loach (who made the highly illuminating and short-lived *Poor Cow and Kes*) and the writer, David Mercer are sympathizers of the Socialist Labour League in Britain. They bring to *Wednesday's Child* an artistic and technically excellent narrative. The performers are for the most part non-professionals and only Sandy Ratcliff who portrays Janice and Malcolm Tierney as her boyfriend are professionals.

Janice is from a "solid home." Her father is a stowman (railway worker), has worked hard for more than twenty years and has earned enough to maintain a modest home and proper English garden. Her mother is from a middle class background whose business appointed family felt that the marriage was beneath her and that her husband was only after the money. One senses that the family cut her off without a penny and that she has simultaneously taken it out on her husband and children.

She is prudish and proper, highly respectful of British customs and law, contemptuous of youth, and has sought to instill these values in the rest of the family. The oldest daughter ran off and Janice is caught between her parents and her working class existence. It is this existence, this class role and position that bears down upon her, that crushes her under and from which her parents offer no solace. They are demanding and dominant and seek to keep Janice under their wing.

The opening sequence spells it all out, as Janice, who has become pregnant, collapses in the subway station during rush

hour, bewildered and dazed. She is referred to a psychiatrist who gets nothing from her. Her parents are frenzied with anger over her disposition and her mother convinces her to have an abortion. The effects of the abortion and the simultaneous depressive boredom of a job in a candy factory prove too much.

Her referral to a psychiatric hospital gets to the heart of the matter. Loach carefully, almost scrupulously dissects the methods of treatment of the mentally ill from the requirements of capitalism itself. Janice at first is put in an experimental program whose director seeks to get at mental illness from a drug-free societal standpoint. But such methods conflict with current psychiatric practice which treat patients with drugs and shock therapy, and of course contributes to their complete and utter emotional and physical breakdown.

The patient's demise is a foregone conclusion and not only is the individual incapable of returning to society but is incapable of functioning at all. The patient is thereupon blamed for his or her own deterioration.

## CANDY FACTORY

The most graphic sequences depict Janice's steady retrogression in a marvelous montage of her performing at a candy factory, intercut with the commodities themselves. That scene is then intercut with a graphic shock treatment session involving Janice, which lifts you right out of the seat. Later, her boyfriend remarks to her as they explore the South London factories and houses from a hillock, "They only want you to be like the

## 'Think The Way They Want...'



Malcolm Tierney and Sandy Ratcliff

others there, to work in the factory for nothing, to raise a family, to think the way they want you to think."

Consciously the medical authorities have taken a youth who is sheltered, bored, depressed, fed-up with a dead-end job, with no solution in sight and destroyed her completely. At the end, she is a subject for amusement and study at a college psychology class. The horrifying message is quite clear. The film serves as the sharpest warning to the working class and the youth of what is in store for them under capitalism in decay. The film is an expose of current psychiatric medical practice which is not so much barbaric as required by the capitalist class itself.

The seamy, dreary quality of the color provides an objectification of Janice's real feelings of despair and disgust.

## The Greatness Of Nadezhda Krupskaya

Kathy Mankiewicz

## Books



**BRIDE OF THE REVOLUTION: Krupskaya and Lenin.** By Robert H. McNeal. The University of Michigan Press—Ann Arbor. 1972. 297 pages. \$10.95.

"...And yet Krupskaya was a pathetic figure at the end of her life—a puppet of the dictator she hated, bearing witness of behalf of his utmost cruelty and lies. Ironically, this painful conclusion to her life's work is bound up with the unlimited devotion with which she started it. She was devoted to an abstraction—to an ideal revolution that existed for her beyond the reality of history. Like all ideals it was unqualified and indivisible."

This is how Robert L. McNeal, history chairman of the University of Massachusetts, sums up the life of Nadezhda Krupskaya—a Bolshevik and Lenin's wife—in his account of revolutionary Russia, *Bride of the Revolution*. McNeal is a professor, well-paid to discredit the Russian Revolution and all the history of the

working class and its organizations. For all his research trips to the USSR, he has been unable to enrich his understanding of Bolshevism one iota.

Nadezhda Krupskaya was a revolutionary in her own right. In his writings, Trotsky asserts that Krupskaya's marriage to Lenin was no accident. Krupskaya consistently defended Lenin throughout her history as a revolutionary. However, this was not merely a defense of Lenin the man, but of the principles of Marxism and the survival of the first socialist state.

Lenin and Krupskaya spent the main part of their pre-revolutionary days as emigrant comrades, taking up various European residences. In this period, Krupskaya's role as recorder, correspondent and as secretary of organs of the young Bolshevik Party were essential to the construction and success of the revolutionary party and the future victory of the Russian working class. Without Krupskaya's ability in these fields, the isolated emigrant comrades would have been unable to keep close tabs on the developments within the Russian working class.

Her dedication to these tasks grew not out of some blind faith in Lenin's leadership, as our author would have us believe. Rather her efforts flowed from her understanding that accurate and consistent execution of these practical tasks were essential to the life and growth of the party.

Throughout the October Revolution, much of Krupskaya's energy was devoted

to education and youth work, which had always been of central importance to her. It was at this point that respect and admiration for Krupskaya grew fantastically in the working class and especially among the youth. Within a short time after the revolution, Krupskaya was in the leadership of Narkompros or "People's Commissariat of Enlightenment." Her best remembered work was with the "Pioneers," the Bolshevik youth organization that united youth in a struggle for Marxism in the young socialist Russia.

Krupskaya was in the forefront of Lenin's correspondence with Trotsky concerning preparations for the attack on Stalin and his theories of Socialism in One Country. She was in solidarity from the beginning with Trotsky's opposition to Stalin's bureaucracy. It was at this time that Stalin unleashed his most ruthless attacks against her. In late December 1922, Stalin called Krupskaya and addressed her with the vilest obscenities and threats of discipline by Central Control Commission.

Stalin's abuse of Krupskaya had a deep political significance, for his positions on the state monopoly on foreign trade and Georgian nationality had aroused the bitter opposition of Lenin. In spite of severe illness, Lenin threw his energies into preparing with Trotsky a "bomb"—this was Lenin's word—against Stalin.

Fearing the consequences to his own career, Stalin sought to prevent the political struggle from breaking out in the Party by physically isolating Lenin with a medical quarantine. When Krupskaya dared to question Stalin on his motives, he violently abused her.

Upon hearing of this, Lenin wrote to Stalin: "I have no intention of forgetting so easily what has been done against me, and it goes without saying that what has been done against my wife I consider having been done against me as well." Lenin's final action before suffering the stroke that ended his political activities was to break off relations with Stalin.

Following Lenin's death, Krupskaya's

efforts to bring his *Testament* to the attention of the Party were defeated. However, she persisted in her struggle against the bureaucracy that was consolidating itself around Stalin.

Krupskaya identified herself with the Left Opposition; and at the Fourteenth Party Congress, she delivered a brilliant warning against the dangers of Stalin's abandonment of the Marxist method. Answering Stalin's contention that objective truth conformed to the dictates of the Party leadership, Krupskaya declared:

"For us Marxists truth is what conforms to reality. Vladimir Illich used to say: the teaching of Marx is invincible because it is true. And it must be the business of our congress to seek and find the right line. That is its task. One must not lull oneself into the belief that the majority is always right."

Krupskaya came out against the Opposition's stand to defend the Chinese Revolution in the 1926-1927 struggle. Trotsky, writing on her death in 1939, said that it was fear of a split that broke Krupskaya from the Opposition. He continues that it was the strategy of the Stalinist clique to humiliate and morally break her so as to render her helpless to defend Bolshevism. "Her old friends disappeared one by one; those who delayed in dying were murdered either openly or secretly.

Every step she took was supervised. Her articles appeared in the press only after interminable, insufferable, and degrading negotiations between censors and the author. It is obvious that a whole number of the vilest insertions...were made against Krupskaya's will, and even without her knowledge." In Stalin's unrelenting persecution of her, we see not his strength but his fear in the real history of Bolshevism.

Robert McNeal presents a series of long discourses slandering Krupskaya's personal life in an effort to add to the general picture he paints of her as a humiliated, driven failure. If Marxists are to learn today from the life of this great revolutionary, they must turn to her detailed, *Memories of Lenin*, rich in the history and lessons of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

# Daily World Defends Czech Frame-Up Trials

BY FRED MUELLER

In July and August of this year a series of trials of oppositionists was held in Czechoslovakia. Included among the defendants were many of the leading supporters of former Communist Party secretary Alexander Dubcek. Dubcek and Josef Smrkovsky have not yet been charged, but that is clearly the direction in which the present regime is heading.

These trials reflect the deepening crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In spite of administrative and repressive measures, opposition continues to grow. Four years after the 1968 invasion, the Czech working class is unreconciled to bureaucratic rule.

Hence the new attacks, intended both as a sharp warning to the workers as well as to any "liberal" section of the bureaucracy itself which might be tempted to seek support through a policy of concessions such as followed by Dubcek four years ago.

The bureaucracy cannot put these matters to rest. This is also reflected in a series of articles in the *Daily World*, a full two months after the trials, still seeking to defend them and explain them.

In these articles by Erik Bert, the American Stalinists run true to form as most servile mouthpieces of the Kremlin. Their feeble effort to justify the invasion of 1968 and the repression since then requires the crudest slanders trying to link up Trotskyism as well as the Czech opposition to imperialism.

Bert relies solely on quotes from Prague's *Rude Pravo*, and succeeds in proving nothing but that the accused were socialist opponents of the bureaucracy. They openly affirmed their opposition to the regime, and denounced the trials and the frame-up charges they faced.

The Stalinists are at great pains to show that the accused were not tried for their political views. Yet Bert cannot explain why the trial was held behind closed doors, in violation of the Czechoslovak Constitution itself. The press was excluded, and only the wives of the defendants were allowed in.

Bert cannot explain the basis of the charges or the background of the defendants. He simply refers to official sources, itemizing the crimes of the accused:

"Several illegal groups had been formed after the political defeat of the Rightist, opportunist and anti-socialist forces in 1969. They adopted a common platform. This was the 'Little Action Program' of the 'Movement for Democratic Socialism'. They distributed illegal printed matter of Czech and foreign origin, attacking the socialist state, the Communist Party and its representatives, the Soviet Union and other socialist states."

"The guilt of the defendants," writes Bert, "was established by their own admission, their exposure by other defendants, by illegal printed and written material and copies of letters written to foreign contacts."

## CONVICTED

The 46 individuals convicted and imprisoned for the above activities included many who had been members of the Communist Party for 20 or 30 years. Several were former Central Committee members, almost all were former party members.

Milan Huebl, for instance, was the director of a party school in Prague in 1968. He was a former Central Committee member and close friend of party boss Husak himself. Huebl was tried on July 31 and sentenced to 6½ years. He was accused of editing the clandestine *Political Monthly* and transmitting documents abroad to oppositionists including Jiri Pelikan, the former director of Prague television now living in Rome. Huebl

himself claimed that he sent material to Enrico Berlinguer, secretary of the Italian Communist Party.

Tried along with Huebl were Karel Kyncl, a former television commentator, and Karel Bartosek, a historian. Bartosek was accused of translating an article from the French CP press for the *Political Monthly*.

Jaroslav Sabata, former party chief in the industrial center of Brno, was tried in that city on August 3. Sabata had refused to testify at the Huebl trial. He is reported to have told the court that he did so because the charges were "fabricated and invented out of whole cloth."

The main charge against Sabata was the distribution of leaflets to voters at the time of the presidential elections in November 1971. These leaflets reminded the citizens of their constitutional rights, including the right to cross names off the ballot, to write new names in or not to vote at all. The leaflets also attacked the regime's use of the elections to condone the continuing occupation of Czechoslovakia by 80,000 Soviet troops.

Sabata's two sons and one daughter were also jailed, for sentences ranging from 2 to 3½ years. These are only a few of the better known defendants. Among the 46, many received sentences of 3, 4, or 5 years.

Czech party paper *Rude Pravo* boasts, through it all, of the "magnanimity" of the authorities. The trials, it said, were "the usual course of action in any civilized state."

For millions of Czech workers, these trials bring back bitter memories. This month marks the twentieth anniversary of the notorious Slansky trial. While writing at length about the current case, the *Daily World* is completely silent about its antecedents.

After Tito's break with Moscow, Stalin set about launching a hysterical witchhunt within the eastern European countries.

## SLANSKY

Rudolf Slansky was a top leader of the Czech CP. He had been a devoted supporter of Stalin, and had also served in the resistance during the war. At the trial he confessed, along with 13 others, to treason and espionage.

Eleven of the thirteen defendants, including Slansky, were Jews. The trial was modeled after the Stalin purges of 1936-38, complete with anti-Semitism and confessions extracted through sophisticated mental and physical torture.

In 1963 the Czech Supreme Court was forced to condemn this trial and rehabilitate its victims. The Court stated that: "In reality, no such hostile center ever existed, that it was a figment worked out by the security services for which they used testimony extracted by illegal means for persons already under arrest."

What did the *Daily Worker*, predecessor of the *Daily World*, say about this infamous frame-up? Although it printed little or no information on the trial itself, it supported the prosecution and the verdict enthusiastically. On December 1, 1952, a full page editorial informed its readers as follows:

"Rarely has this country been treated to such a heavy dose of lies—calculated, deliberate lies—as we are now getting about the Prague trials and the death sentences pronounced on Slansky and his fellow-spies.

"The Prague trials have been broad-



Youth parade with red flags down Prague street during "Czech Spring" in 1968.

cast to all of Europe, every single word. But the reports we have been getting in the press have only the remotest resemblance to what the actual trials have been, and what they have revealed. To conceal from the American public—especially the Jewish public here—what has really been uncovered, the press has resorted to the most shameless falsehoods and suppression of fact.

"What has been actually uncovered at these trials? A nest of paid spies, planted in some cases many years back, in some cases during the war years or immediately after."

This full support to frame-ups in the past has never been repudiated by the leaders of the American Communist Party. Now they rush into print to defend the trials of 1972, with the same concern for the truth and the same loyalty to the bureaucracy. And they expect no questions to be asked about the trial whose twentieth anniversary is now approaching. Workers and socialist militants must treat this cynical effort with the contempt it deserves.

Jiri Pelikan, the oppositionist whose Open Letter to Angela Davis has aroused the special fury of the Stalinists, sums up eloquently some of the crimes of the bureaucracy and exposes its lying claims to represent socialism:

"It is not only a revolt of intellectuals or young people, as is sometimes asserted by Western left-wingers to justify their silence or hesitation. Four weeks ago in Prague the congress of the 'normalized' trade unions (purged of more than 50,000 cadres in 1969) annulled the decisions of the preceding congress, including the right to strike. The workers are not allowed to have independent trade unions or to fight for their demands or to protest against the dismissal of comrades, against production schedules and bad working conditions. The Workers' Councils, formed in 1968 and dissolved in 1969, have been defined by the party leadership as 'instruments of counterrevolution.' Isn't that statement absurd for a so-called 'working-

class state'?"

The American Stalinists have always been completely unswerving in their defense of the Kremlin. Therefore the *Daily World* is full of veiled criticism of the "so-called progressive forces" which have fallen for the "Western anti-communist hate campaign against Czechoslovakia." After a long quote from Husak at the 1969 International Meeting in Moscow, calling for support and understanding for his regime, Erik Bert comments that "events...indicate that his hopes were not completely fulfilled."

## FEAR

Behind the bureaucracy's fear of even the mildest criticism or the vacillating policy of Dubcek and those who supported him, is the tremendous movement of the working class. The bureaucracy's hatred and fear of the working class requires that it strike out at Trotskyism, the continuation of Bolshevism today and of the historic interests and struggle of the working class.

Thus the *Daily World* spends two days attempting to prove the connection between the Czech opposition and Trotskyism, and between both and the imperialists. This is complete with a cartoon portraying the Trotskyists and oppositionists as CIA agents.

This is because only the Trotskyist movement, built in life and death struggle against the bureaucracy, can fight for the understanding of the crimes of Stalinism so that the main obstacle to the overthrow of capitalism can be removed. The instinct of self-preservation drives the ruling clique in Czechoslovakia and its American allies to lash out at what they fear most of all.

The continued resistance of the Czechoslovak working class, soon after the struggles in Poland, Yugoslavia and elsewhere, and in the face of the most brutal repression, shows that revolutionary leadership can and must be built against the Stalinist traitors.



# Midwest News

## Rail Bosses' Profit Drive Kills 44 In Chicago Wreck

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO, Oct. 30—Forty-four people were killed this morning and over 300 more maimed when two Illinois Central commuter cars collided just south of the Loop. A doctor described the scene at the 27th Street station: "When I got there it was unbelievable. There were arms and legs and fingers not attached to bodies. The engineer of the second train was welded between the two trains."

Police, firemen, and uninjured commuters worked feverishly to save those who poured bloody from the cars. Cranes were brought in to pry apart the wreckage where people, some still living, were pinned. Commuters in the front train, a new double decker highliner car, were trapped inside, unable to open the windows or break the plate glass. Medical workers who were Vietnam veterans said it looked like a combat zone.

The second train had already passed the light when the front train backed up. So the conductor on the second train could not see the warning signal. The second train, one of the older, heavyweight models, plowed like a ramrod into 75 percent of the last car of the front train.

### RADIO

Although the conductor and his engineer in the new train were in contact by radio, the second older train had no radio equipment, and there was no contact between the crews of the two trains at all.

This is the first fatality on the IC since it was electrified in 1926.

For over a year, workers on the IC have been threatening action on what they called unsafe conditions, resulting from the reduction of maintenance crews and inadequate safety devices.

Only last week, another train left the track, but no one was seriously injured. Last March, when the IC requested a fare increase, the Illinois Commerce Commission ordered them to make extensive repairs and update the signal system. This has yet to be done.

Big business has little interest in keeping the line running at all. It was built to serve the fashionable South Side neighborhoods in 1926. Now those suburbs and neighborhoods are mostly working class, and those who died in the crash were workers.

More investigations have been ordered by various government agencies and there are cries that the almost bankrupt IC be made public. This, when the workers of the CTA (public commuter lines) have been under vicious attacks on wages because of dwindling public funds.

The capitalists must now seek new ways to destroy the working class, in order to keep their corporations from ruin. Already, the papers are pointing their fingers at the driver of the first train, who has never been involved in a serious rail accident in the 24 years he has driven.

Workers must now demand that the Chicago Federation of Labor make its own investigation of the horror and expose the grafters and profiteers who are responsible.



Scene at the Chicago train wreck.



Mounted police and 30 patrolmen broke up the Newspaper Guild's picket lines outside the Cleveland Plain Dealer offices. Guild officials say the city's mayor ordered the assault at the request of the newspaper's executives.

## NCR Plans Big Cut In Research Division

BY

A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON—National Cash Register (NCR) announced that it will slash 80 more jobs in its research and development division. This is on top of a job destruction program in the production end that calls for slashing 2000 jobs in production permanently.

Actually NCR has been closing out jobs in the research division for some time. In its latest announcement, the company stressed that the jobs eliminated were in research and advanced technology and not directly related to new product engineering. It is in the area of long-term investment that the crisis is most sharply revealed. Massive cutbacks in this area always precede a depression. NCR is saying it has no need for long-term research when the value of the dollar and therefore the value of its profits is in a state of collapse.

Meanwhile, NCR continues its all out attack on the production workers through a company union movement and mass job destruction. It is holding back the bulk of its projected mass layoffs until after the election of Nixon when it plans on destroying the jobs of 1500 more workers.

## St. Paul Teachers Vote In Union

BY

A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. PAUL, Oct. 25—St. Paul teachers have overwhelmingly elected the St. Paul Federation of Teachers Local 28 as their exclusive bargaining agent. The AFL-

CIO affiliated Federation outpolled the "professional" oriented St. Paul Education Association by 1616 votes to 997.

The teachers are turning to organized labor in preparation for the fight against the vicious cut-

backs in education which school boards across the country are imposing.

### DENIED

Although the Federation won a similar vote last May by 1342 to 1140, a state law requiring the union to get a majority of all teachers—including those who did not vote at all—denied the union its certification as bargaining agent. The teachers had scheduled a second vote for last June, but the Association filed suit to postpone a re-vote until this fall, which the capitalist courts were only too happy to uphold.

### CONTRACT

As a result, St. Paul teachers are two months into the new school year without a contract. The school board froze wages at last year's level, refusing to grant even the normal increases for added experience, training and longevity. The Ramsey County District Court denied the Federation's appeal to force these minimal increases pending the negotiation of a new contract.

### ANTI-STRIKE LAW

The teachers' unionization opens the way for the bitter contract battle to begin. Now the fight for a contract means a fight against the whole state machinery of anti-strike laws and court injunctions. St. Paul's liberal Democratic Mayor Cohen and Governor Anderson will not hesitate to file criminal action against striking teachers, just as they did last spring against St. Paul sanitationmen who had staged a one-day sick in.

## Dayton AFL-CIO: Against Strike & For McGovern

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON—Jim Gann, president of the Dayton-Miami-Valley AFL-CIO Council and chief tub-thumper for McGovern, has launched an all-out collaborationist campaign with business in Dayton and their Democratic Party flunkies. It is billed as the "Buy What Dayton Builds" promotion campaign.

Gann uses the Frigidaire wage cut as the ideal in labor-management relations in Dayton. Gann states, "It is fitting that Frigidaire, whose union members planted the seeds for Dayton's business resurgence one year ago will now spearhead this new campaign."

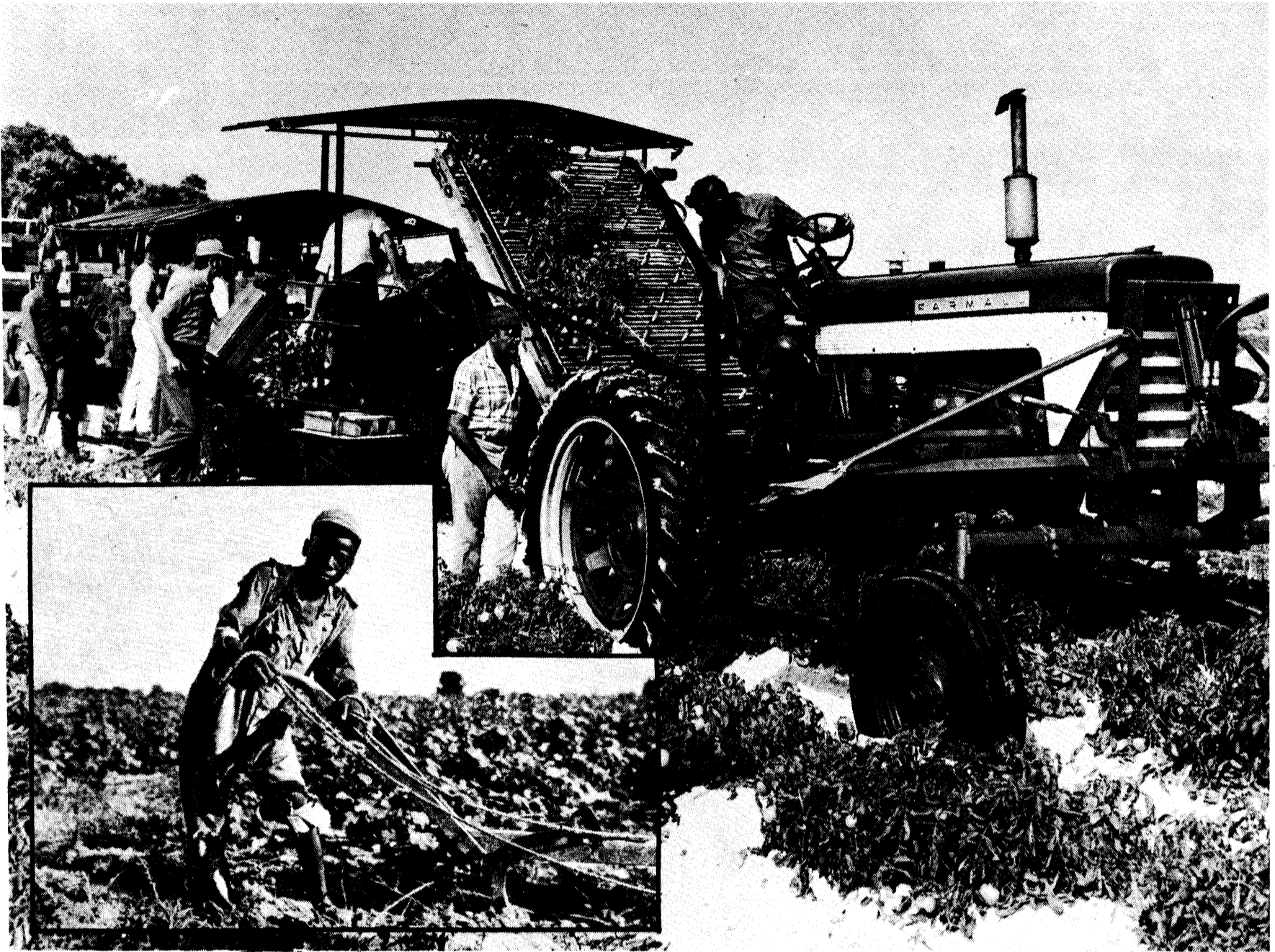
Jim Good, Dayton Daily News Business Editor, gives the bosses view quite candidly of Gann and the other labor leaders: "The 'buy Dayton' campaign and the union response to the strike to me is a wonderful story which exemplifies the budding rapprochement between labor and management in Dayton. It should at least reap an initial economic payoff for us and a lasting psychological one. It deserves our support."

Gann and other union officials were reported "dismayed" by the Frigidaire workers strike against rampant speedup. The

press reported that "some of the edge was taken off" of the coming Frigidaire Buy Dayton Campaign. Gann was quoted in the radio as stating this massive strike of 16,000 workers was just the work of "83 dissidents" and that he was sure everyone would be back to work immediately.

As president of the AFL-CIO Council in Dayton, he has worked to undermine the national directive against the two old party candidates and the local call for a labor party. He led the move to circumvent the Council and pushed an endorsement of McGovern through the Dayton Labor Coalition (composed exclusively of local union presidents and business agents). He also obstructed the reading of a call for an emergence Congress of Labor to construct a labor party at the September meeting of the Council after agreeing to have it read to the delegates.

# THE BATTLE TO ORGANIZE FLORIDA'S SUGAR PART TWO



Sugar corporations are mechanizing the farming process with machinery like this modern thresher (above), making older methods (insert), and many workers obsolete.

BY BRUCE McKAY

**CLEWISTON, Fla.—**The history of the sugarcane industry in the Western Hemisphere is the history of a 450 year quest by first a landed aristocracy and then the capitalist growers for a reliable source of cheap labor.

It is a history of the bitter struggle by the men and women who have been ruthlessly and brutally driven to the extremes of human endurance to provide the world with sweets, molasses, and rum—and their employers with the sugary taste of profit.

Cutting the tall cane in the humid swelter of the tropics is one of the most arduous tasks to ever confront the farm laborer. Because of this and the desire of the growers to extract the utmost in surplus value from each worker, sugar companies have faced continual difficulties in finding willing laborers to wield the machete.

#### SLAVERY

Slavery followed directly on the heels of the introduction of sugar cane into the Caribbean by the Spanish conquistadores and for 300 years remained the chief source of labor for the cane plantations.

Slavery remained a tool of the British growers in Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana until outlawed in the colonies by Parliament in 1838 under the impetus of the class struggle and the new capitalist class. In Louis-

iana, African slaves cut cane on the huge sugar plantations until freed by the Civil War.

Sugarcane, in fact, was very important to the development of the African slave trade. Much of the shipping between Europe and the Caribbean during the eighteenth century was based on the cargoes of Black slaves delivered to the sugar plantations in return for valuable cargoes of sugar, molasses and, especially, rum.

#### DECLINE

One South African sugar expert laments that following the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, "there followed a sharp decline in sugar production caused by the unwillingness of free labour to perform tasks previously carried out by slaves."

Production in Jamaica, in fact, plummeted from 72,730 tons of raw sugar in 1832 to 28,037 in 1841, three years after abolition.

The sugar industry in Louisiana was very nearly wiped out following the Civil War as newly freed slaves refused to return to their former cutting tasks.

#### IMPORTATION

The next ploy of British sugar companies in the West Indies was the importation—all the way from India where sugarcane is also grown—of indentured workers. By 1848, more than 21,000 had arrived, but by 1854 two thirds of them had fled the islands and British Guiana.

After sugarcane had been introduced into the Hawaiian Islands, growers, beginning in 1852, imported Chinese workers as a source of cheap labor. This practice continued for 46 years until the United States acquired the islands in 1898 as part of a growing empire.

Despite all these efforts—and many others—following the breakup of the slave system under the impact of the industrial revolution and the development of capitalism, the sugar industry languished until it, too, came under the domination of the new industrial technology and capitalist rationalization.

Steam power was early applied to reduce labor requirements in the grinding process (the mills) and capitalist competition and crisis led to the gradual consolidation of the small plantations and an enormous concentration of capital.

#### DRIVE

After World War II, faced with rising wage demands (even with the importation of Jamaican and Bahamian workers here), a tremendous drive to rationalize and further mechanize production took place.

From 1947-1949 to 1961—despite an increase in hourly wages from 66 cents an hour to \$1.11 an hour—labor costs per ton at U.S. Sugar declined 37 percent from \$38 to \$24! U.S. Sugar, in fact, became the most "productive" sugar company in the United

## THE BITTER HISTORY OF SUGARCANE WORKERS

States.

This was accomplished not only through the partial mechanization of harvesting but through a ruthless speed-up which was forced on the workers after management broke the CIO union, which had been built by mill workers during the class upheavals of the 1930s, and replaced it with a company union.

(About six years ago, mill workers here successfully fought an industry-wide lockout to re-establish trade unionism in the mills under IAM leadership.)

#### SOLUTION

The final "solution" to rising wage demands and the threat of unionization is being prepared now in the corporate board rooms of Florida sugar companies. Especially in the face of trade war and the deepening international crisis, the capitalist growers here will move rapidly toward mechanizing the cane

cutting process itself.

In spite of technical problems caused by soil conditions here, the technology already exists to completely mechanize cane harvesting here. In many other areas, mechanical harvesters are already extensively used.

In the early 1960s, for example, U.S. Sugar tested a Cary Combine Harvester capable of harvesting 300 tons of cane per day—over 50 times as much as a Jamaican worker. This machine was not put into mass production at that time simply because the manufacturer determined fewer than 250 per year would be sold.

Like the tomato industry and other sectors of capitalist agriculture, the sugar industry intends to force the working class to bear the full weight of the economic crisis through a staggering increase in unemployment and the loss of all the gains won since the 1930s.

TO BE CONTINUED

# United National Caucus Rejects GM Shutdown

BY REX HENRY

DETROIT—On Sunday, October 29, the United National Caucus, a nationally organized caucus of UAW members, held a Detroit-area conference to lay plans for a fight against unemployment in the auto industry, the attacks by GMAD, and the Woodcock leadership, in preparation for the 1973 contract negotiations in auto.

While meeting at the most decisive point in the history of the UAW and all organized labor, the United National Caucus was unable to take a single step toward a policy which can lead the UAW against the bitter speed-up assault being organized by GMAD and backed by the U.S. government itself.

The leadership of the UNC, and their supporters in the Stalinist Communist Party and the International Socialist group, consciously sought to avoid the fight for a nationwide strike against GM and the construction of a labor party.

In his opening address to Sunday's conference, attended by approximately 40 people, Pete Kelly, leader of the UNC, set the stage for this approach:

"The commonly expressed opinion that the UAW is the most aggressive and democratic union in the U.S. today," Kelly stated, "must be taken in the light of the other unions in the country, some of which are supporting Nixon."

The growing militancy of the UAW membership, he said, forced Woodcock to begin the hit and run strategy of strikes against GM. "One thing stands pretty clear in these strikes," Kelly continued, "and that is that there are no settlements at the ends of these strikes. These strikes of one or two days go back in again with the same problems that they left. These strikes are not getting results."

The conclusion that Kelly drew from this fact, however, was not that the UNC must therefore begin the fight against Woodcock for a nationwide GM strike but rather that nothing whatsoever can be done now to stop GMAD's union-busting campaign.

"These local strikes are all based on the fact that people want to have control over what is going on in that plant. They want control over the line speed, working conditions, and discipline. You can call that what you want, but that's the kind of fight that's going to have to take

place. The leadership of this union is not going to take on the fight to control the plant environment."

### UTOPIAN

The fight that Kelly sketches for control of plant conditions and line speeds, while GM continues to own the plants themselves is a utopian dream. Kelly foresees this situation coming about through a fight for a nationwide network of caucuses which at some future date can gain leadership of the UAW itself.

"The present position of the leadership at the UAW conferences and conventions is not going to last. There's a crisis coming about, there's a movement of discontent in the rank and file, and I don't believe they are going to vote just all together the way they have been."

Until the point when the UNC can mobilize a majority vote in the UAW, therefore, Kelly proposes that the rank and file construct the UNC not through a fight for the central needs of the UAW, but through the concentration on preparation for the 1973 negotiations and a fight for such issues as control of local conditions and against unemployment.

This perspective was put forward in an even clearer way by Nat Mosely, shop committeeman for UAW Local 25 in St. Louis, who had been invited to address the UNC on the situation at the St. Louis local. Local 25 has been at the center of the fight back against GM.

He pointed out that: "Since GMAD went into effect, we had 18,000 men laid off," and that Woodcock's present "Apache strategy" is a capitulation to the auto bosses, since a local which strikes for two or three days a week only has to make up for work missed when they return to work. He went on to say that:

"Our local, on the 29 of last month, came to Detroit and told them that, along with several other locals, we were asking that the International union strike the 18 GMAD plants in the country.

Well, striking all the GMAD plants is good, but to me it isn't good enough. We can shut the entire GM down and still not win a damn-thing. 1970 proved that. In 1970, Woodcock took them on and he got his ass kicked.

"We got six cents in new money. We didn't get 30 and out. So put that into perspective. In 1970 we took them on. Today, if we were to strike GM, I surely believe we couldn't come up with a reputable settlement."

Mosely proposed that: "Instead, we as the ranks have to begin to organize the caucuses to form pipelines from one local to another all around the country and 'challenge Woodcock on the 1973 contract negotiations.'"

Mosley places himself in the company of all those forces in the UNC and the labor movement grouped around the Communist Party, which are in a frenzy to beat back a growing opposition to Woodcock's sell-out Apache strike policy in GM, and stop the movement for a break from the Democratic Party.

The role of those who, like the CP, deny the possibility of the construction of a Marxist leadership in the trade unions, based on a fight to force the union leadership to confront the attacks of the corporations, can only serve to diffuse the militancy of the union ranks and channel the unions back into the pockets of the Democratic Party.

This is the role which Mosely and the leadership of the UNC now consciously adopt. In separate interviews with the Bulletin at the conference, both Mosely and Pete Kelly expressed opposition to the fight for the development of a nationwide caucus in the UAW, which would fight for a nationwide strike in GM and for the construction of a labor party.

"Some people," Kelly stated, "have the idea that the UAW is some kind of democratically run union. It's not. A nationwide strike wouldn't do anything. We had a nationwide strike in 1970 and nothing happened. First we've got to have a union."



University of Connecticut food workers (CSEA) picketed and entered the school's Board of Trustees meeting (above) at Storrs, Conn. They demanded that all dietary workers be kept on the state's payroll. Meskill, the state governor, has been contracting work out to private firms who pay lower wages and fewer benefits.

## Editor's Notebook

### By Invitation Only

Labor For McGovern held a meeting in Boston last week at the Retail Clerks International Union hall in Roslindale. The Bulletin was sold outside the door, along with the pamphlet "The Case For A Labor Party."

After close to an hour with only a half dozen persons entering the hall, two intrepid Bulletin reporters decided to investigate further, to see if the only labor for McGovern to be found in all of Roslindale were wardheelers and a scattershot of down-at-the-mouth labor bureaucrats.

The reporters were greeted at the door by a painfully smiling fellow who informed them, "Well, yes, we, that is, our union, uh, I'm for a labor party. But that's after we elect McGovern, ha, ha."

Half a minute later and two steps into the room, the reporters' arms were grasped by a burly bureaucrat, and they were informed that their presence was not welcomed.

When it was pointed out that the Bulletin covers all news and developments of interest to the labor movement, the reporters were told: "Well, you have to be a union member."

When it was pointed out that the reporter in question was a union member and had his card with him, the bureaucrat said, "Well, this is a closed meeting. It's by invitation only."

"Is that why there are no workers present?" asked a Bulletin reporter.

"There are no workers present because we didn't invite any workers."

### Drawing The Class Lines

One year ago Progressive Labor, supported by the Spartacist League, staged a disruption of a national meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition. Vance Hartke had been invited by the NPAC leadership to speak. PL immediately began marching around the hall chanting "No Ruling Class," "Ruling Class Out," and "Workers Yes, Bosses No." When Victor Reuther, a representative not of a capitalist party but of the labor movement spoke, PL repeated its antics.

The Workers League supported their removal from the conference pointing out that the action of PL-Spartacist against Reuther represented a middle class hysteria totally hostile to the working class. Spartacist vociferously defended PL, claiming that PL-SDS had "drawn the class lines" and was moving towards Trotskyism.

PL's disruption of the NPAC conference occurred only shortly after its publication of Road to Revolution III in which PL completely attacked every principle of Leninism. In Ja-



Sidney Von Luther

January, 1972 we wrote: "In Road to Revolution III PL served notice that it is prepared to close ranks with the bourgeoisie against the working class. No one should be surprised when PL ends its frenzied race away from the working class by falling into the arms of the Democrats."

It did not take long, precisely because those who reject Marxism must inevitably be dominated by the capitalist class. Only last week PL issued a leaflet for a demonstration to "March to Dump The Wage Freeze." Among those who will share the platform with PL is none other than a representative of the ruling class—Sidney Von Luther, a New York Senator very much in the Democratic Party.

The class lines have been drawn.

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## FRIGIDAIRE. . .

(Continued From Page 3)  
reduction in Dayton was engineered by the Save Frigidaire Committee composed of the Chamber of Commerce and the politicians with the collaboration of the union leadership like Joe Shump, also chairman of the Democratic Party in Montgomery County. When he received a post in Governor Gilligan's administration, Arnold Thompson who had been in opposition to Shump was elected. No sooner did he get elected than he turned around and negotiated the wage cut settlement. At a stacked meeting and with only a standup vote, he declared the issue won.

### ROSY

Since that time he has painted a rosy picture of the hiring at Frigidaire ignoring completely the intensified speedup that has taken place and the divisions created by the wage cut.

Since the wage cut, the speedup on the tracks which began to escalate after the 1970 contract has been intensified. Workers being rehired were told by foremen that the contract was no good, so they were like new employees. Workers have been fired left and right for not keeping up with the line speed or for any flimsy reason.

One worker told the **Bulletin**: "They'll fire a guy for putting a cigarette out on the concrete floor, or for saying what you think. It's impossible to keep up with the line speed; and they're shifting workers from one department to another without any regard to seniority."

Workers in Department 227 where the walkout started told the **Bulletin** that only 4 out of the 7 tracks are being run, with one fourth more production. Refrigerators are assembled in the department. New workers are hired for the roughest department. One worker from the department said, "We can't continue to work like this; we're working harder now than before we took the cut. We assemble 1200 refrigerators in 8 hours; that's what we used to assemble in 12 hours."

Another worker told us, "You don't even get a chance to wash your hands before lunch; and if you work in the grease pits your hands are filthy. The bell stops the track at 3:17 for leaving at 3:18 so you can't even wash up before you go home."

### INTOLERABLE

Ray Barrett told the **Bulletin** that a strike vote for the walkout was taken in the department because of the intolerable conditions and because the union has sat on the grievances. He stated

that the workers want assurance that no disciplinary action is taken against himself and the others who participated in the walkout before they agree to return. One worker in the department told the **Bulletin**: "There are 92 grievances in this department alone that have not been resolved."

Barrett said: "If you examine the contract, almost every clause grants the company discretion. We should now use the contract for our benefit to re-open the negotiations for us." Barrett also pointed out: "There should be uniform wages between auto and appliance workers since it takes about the same amount of effort to produce the product and they both work for the division."

Friday at 4:30 p.m. the company got a restraining order from the County Common Pleas Judge. Frigidaire conveniently waited until after the shift change when there were just a few pickets at each gate. The police came out in full riot gear. The sheriff delivered copies of the order to various pickets. A group of ten foremen were there pointing out to the sheriff the men by name stating: "This is the man." One worker refused to take the paper and the deputy shoved it into his pocket. A number of pickets were arrested.

Sixteen workers are on the company list to be fired. The list probably includes several other committeemen who were on the picket line. Thompson told the local press: "I really don't blame workers for not going to work through pickets. I wouldn't want any guy to get a busted head to go to work."

### DEFEND

He further stated that he would have to study "evidence" used by the company in firing the dismissed workers before deciding whether to defend these workers. The company claimed the pickets had firearms. Thompson brazenly repeats the company's allegations: "The use or carrying of weapons on the picket line is no different than if it happened in the plant and we certainly wouldn't accept it there." Thompson, seeing this as an opportunity to get rid of some militant leaders, told the press that he will represent all workers dismissed until they are "proven guilty." He is now openly attempting to prevent a strike vote.

The demand of the rank and file including many elected committeemen will be for a strike vote immediately and for Thompson to resign. The fight at Frigidaire must be linked with the fight for a national GM strike of all GM plants, both UAW and IUE. These two unions must call

for a Congress of Labor to deal with the economic and political crisis and take up forming a labor party.

On Sunday the leadership of Local 801 attempted to halt the demand for a strike authorization by cutting off the mass meeting held as a result of a wildcat strike which shut down the giant Frigidaire complex for four days.

When Ray Barrett, the fiery committeeman who led the walkout, protested against the union president, Arnold Thompson's allegation that grievances had not been filed, he was told to come up to the platform. No sooner had he started to talk, than Thompson grabbed away the microphone. A scuffle developed with Barrett pushed off the platform by one of Thompson's followers.

Thompson then used this as a pretext to adjourn the meeting. Shouting matches and fights broke out in the aisles after the meeting.

Thompson told the press that: "I think if you're going to talk to them about going back to work, they just don't want to listen to it." He then referred to the scuffle at the membership meeting as an example of "their intelligence." He warned the workers "a court order means one thing—anyone out on that picket line will get arrested." Meetings are to be held at the union hall. One worker told the **Bulletin** today that a petition is circulating calling for a membership meeting to secure strike authorization.

Only the united strength of the rank and file for a legal strike can restore these workers' jobs and end the speedup and other violations of their rights.

## BRITAIN. . .

(Continued From Page 2)  
real plans.

The ATUA conference affirmed that the Tories have never been weaker, that the time is ripe to create the conditions to bring down the government, before their reactionary plans can be unleashed.

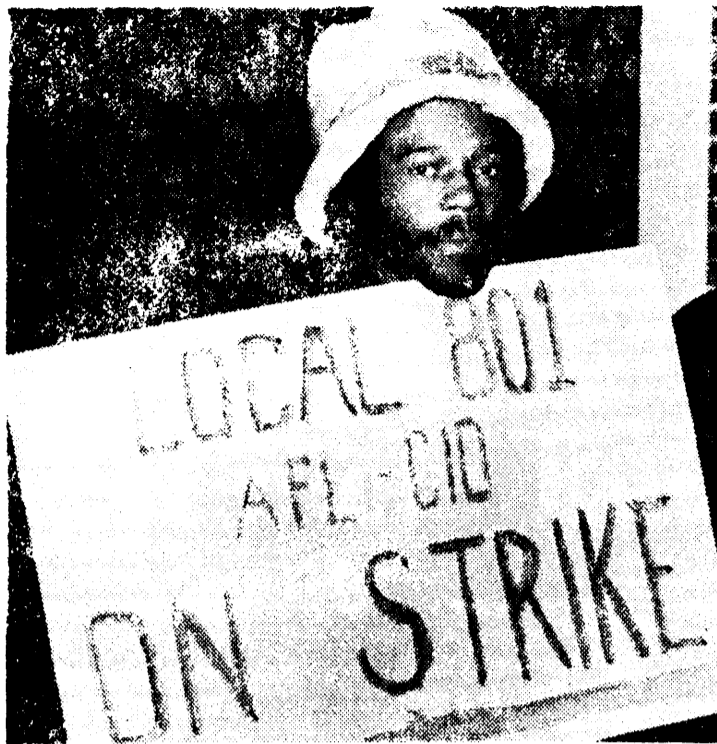
This will mean a determined fight against the Labour Party and trade union leaders who have demonstrated that they stand not with the workers and their interests but for defense of the capitalist system.

Above all, the conference stressed that all trade unionists must turn to the task of building a revolutionary party, on the basis of an understanding of Marxism and to fight all conceptions that the Tories can be defeated through strikes or militant "pressure."

This perspective is rejected by the Communist Party and the revisionists who tell the workers that the pressure of "left" trade union leaders under fire from the ranks can force the Tories to retreat.

This is the same position as the American Socialist Workers Party which declares in the October 23 issue of **Intercontinental Press** that the British Labour Party is "moving to the left," due to the radicalization of the workers.

On the contrary, the events of the past months have shown that the more the working class moves into struggle, the more these trade union leaders collaborate with the government. The Labour Party which the SWP sees moving to the left has just accepted a wage limit of \$6 a week! All these tendencies have abandoned the fight for the inde-



Member of UAW Local 801 pickets at Frigidaire plant.

## VIETNAM. . .

(Continued From Page 1)  
week, that would leave Thieu in power, reveals that North Vietnam is prepared to retreat from even its 7-point plan in order to come to terms with Nixon.

### STALINISTS

The developments during the past week reveal that the Stalinists of the Soviet Union and China stand in solidarity with American imperialism against the Vietnamese revolution.

The capitalist press is admitting that Nixon is gratified by the intense pressure the Soviet Union has placed upon Hanoi to come to terms. In an article published in

a Moscow newspaper several weeks ago, Victor Lewis—the KGB operative whose views reflect the thinking of Brezhnev—expressed extreme impatience with Hanoi's hard-line position toward the Saigon puppet government.

In addition to feasting Nixon in the Kremlin only one week after he mined the Haiphong harbor, the Soviet Union Stalinists have made veiled threats that arms shipments to North Vietnam would end if a settlement is not promptly reached.

While the White House floated rumors of a cease-fire, the liberation forces were undertaking a broad offensive that placed the NLF in control of hamlets on the outskirts of Saigon.

### VICTORIES

The almost unchallenged victories of the NLF made it clear, once again, that the Vietnamese workers and peasants are now in a position to topple the Thieu regime and throw the Americans out of Indochina.

Only in this manner can the revolution be defended. Neither Nixon nor his so-called "peace opponents" in the Democratic Party have any intention of yielding through compromise.

Campaigning in California, McGovern's running mate, Sargent Shriver, denounced the reported cease-fire deal. "If that is peace with honor, I'd like to know what surrender is," he said.

Just as the revolution stands on the brink of victory, the American Communist Party is leading the drive to push through the betrayal desired by the Kremlin bureaucrats.

For the past week every issue of **The Daily World** has lobbied for a cease-fire that would amount to a complete sellout, demanding that Nixon "sign the agreement." While Nixon prepares to step up the war following Election Day, the Stalinists are doing all they can to disarm the NLF so that it might be destroyed by the coming offensive.

Because they refuse to expose the real meaning of the cease-fire talks, the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party open the way for the Stalinist betrayal. Their capitulation to the Kremlin bureaucrats now makes them the conscious accomplices of Stalinism.



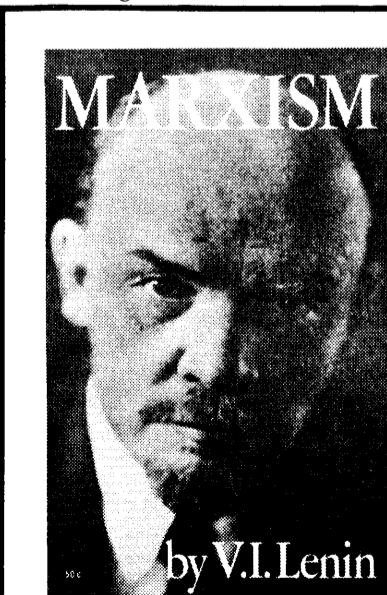
G. Healy

pendence of the working class based on revolutionary leadership.

In order to take forward the construction of this leadership, the Young Socialists, youth movement of the Socialist Labour League will begin a new Right to Work march from Glasgow to London in February, to rally even larger sections of workers to the banner of the SLL and to build new branches of the Young Socialists all over the country.

In its final paragraph, the ATUA conference resolution concludes: "In its policy, the revolutionary party must take up the struggle on every basic minimum demand of the working class—for wages, against price increases, for democratic rights, against unemployment, against the Industrial Relations Act and the Housing Finance Act—combining these demands with the program of transition to working class state power.

"Every one of these elementary demands raises the question: is it the will of the ruling class to defend its dying system which shall prevail? Or is it the working class to impose its will on the economy through the conquest of power?"



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Order from: Labor Publications, 6th Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y.

# Low-Income Housing Fraud Implicates Top Reagan Aide

BY SHEILA BREHM

SACRAMENTO—All is not too proper in Governor Ronald Reagan's "law and order" administration. A Reagan administration official whose department is supposed to help low-income families find housing is doing quite well for himself by indirectly renting them some of his own.

Wardell A. Connerly, deputy director of the state Department of Housing and Community Development, leases 50 low-cost housing units to the Sacramento Housing Authority for almost \$500,000. The Housing Authority in turn rents the units to low income people in the Sacramento area.

Connerly conveniently began making purchases of the houses shortly after learning of the Housing Authority's plans to begin a federally subsidized leasing program in 1964. Connerly purchased most of the units between May and November 1968; the leasing program officially began August 1, 1968.

#### MARKET

And what does Mr. Connerly have to say? "I'm in the housing business and I would find out

about programs like that, but it was public information. Anyone could have found out. Housing was a natural investment for me. I knew the housing business. I happen to know the market."

According to a former Housing Authority employee, Connerly happened to know Harry Zollinger, the executive director of the Housing Authority. Zollinger, who started the leasing program, resigned under fire a year ago when irregularities in the Housing Authority were disclosed. Zollinger was indicted on charges ranging from grand theft to falsification of public records and recently pleaded guilty to misappropriation of public funds.

Unable to deny his role in this matter, Connerly added that, "to conclude that anyone who happens to be working for this department should not be involved in housing as an investment is terribly unfair."

# Growers Frame Corona To Cover Real Killers

BY MARTY MORAN

FAIRFIELD, Cal.—The prosecution's case has broken down completely in the Juan Corona murder trial. Corona is charged with killing twenty-five migrant farm workers whose bodies were uncovered in May 1971 in Sutter County, in the Sacramento Valley agricultural area.

Corona has been held in jail for eighteen months without bail and without any direct evidence or eyewitness testimony to connect him with the killings. The trial, which began with jury selection September 11, has been a travesty from the start. Defense attorney Richard Hawk repeatedly demanded that the prosecution release evidence in their possession which they were holding back. Prosecutor David Teja denied withholding any evidence.

#### SUPPRESSED

Hawk hinted to several jurors that much evidence was being suppressed and Judge Richard Patton cited him for contempt of court.

The technical part of the prosecution's case collapsed immediately. Sutter County Sheriff's Department personnel admitted that they were hopelessly mixed up on which body was found in which grave; that the fingerprints of victims could not be connected with the bodies since all the files had been mislabeled and confused; that tire tracks found at the site of the

murders did not match any of Corona's vehicles; that blood found on tools and weapons belonging to Corona could not be typed or matched with the victims.

In the face of this, Sutter County officials and assistant prosecutor Bart Williams met to discuss dropping the case in return for an agreement by Corona not to sue for malicious prosecution.

Williams admitted privately to defense attorney Hawk that he had a reasonable doubt as to Corona's guilt, and there were reports that Williams would withdraw from the case. When Hawk revealed this to the jury, he received another contempt citation.

The Judge bawled out the prosecution for inefficiency and botching the case and ordered them to produce their files of evidence. Sutter County hired a new special prosecutor at \$1800 a week to patch together their case.

The shoddiness of the case is obvious. Corona, a Mexican citizen who is a farm labor contractor, serves as the agent of the big growers and a parasite on farm labor. But now he is being used for another purpose.

Corona is being framed up to protect the growers. They are using him as a scapegoat for the killings in order to make sure they are not connected with the murders. As the corruption of business and government comes more and more to the surface, the big growers are making sure that the courts serve their needs and cover up their crimes.



Bay Area legal aid workers Benton Douglas and Andrea Holman (above) are being framed up for the death of a guard. The judge has illegally refused them bail and deputies have threatened to murder them.

# SF Hospital Ranks Fight In Casa Madonna 'Sweatshop'

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Casa Madonna, one of the largest convalescent hospitals in the Bay Area, is representative of the deterioration of health services and working conditions in hospitals across the country.

While private patients pay an average of \$900 a month and many Medicare patients are forced to leave, the hospital refuses to hire sufficient professional and non-professional staff to provide decent care.

In order to cut costs, Casa Madonna has been laying off Registered Nurses and replacing them with nurses' assistants, who are required to do the job of two R.N.s at non-professional pay.

A nurses' assistant at Casa Madonna told the *Bulletin* of the slave-labor conditions facing the workers. "Right now they have about six girls to help seventy patients. That's mean for both the patients and the nurses. I see too many patients suffering, not to mention the hardship of the girls working."

#### SWEAT SHOP

The hospital hires many non-English speaking immigrants who are eager in the beginning to work for \$1.65 an hour under sweatshop conditions.

One worker described how a recent immigrant refused help from the other nurses when she was given too much to do because she feared losing her job for incompetence. This is typical of the constant speed-up and harassment at the hospital.

Another immigrant who could not speak English was simply fired on the spot after she had completed the hardest part of her work for the day.

#### UNION

Militant workers at the hospital have been fighting since last summer to bring in Local 250, AFL-CIO, the only hospital workers' union in the Bay Area. The hospital was able to keep the union out by playing the part-time summer workers, mainly

students, off against the permanent employees and threatening those who supported the union.

Almost every day the workers threaten to call a walkout against the intolerable conditions and miserable pay. The highest paid non-professional employees make only \$2.20 - \$2.30 an hour.

The hospital has announced that anyone who walks out will be fired. They have played upon the nurses' sense of responsibility to the patients to divide the workers, saying that a walkout would be an attack on the patients.

Currently, the hospital has a company union. Workers are required to sign a contract with the hospital within thirty days or they are fired.

The workers at Casa Madonna can only defend themselves by bringing in Local 250 on a mandate of higher wages, increased hiring and better working conditions. A leadership must be built to bring in the union and fight for a labor party, which will organize the unorganized and secure union conditions for all workers.

As one nurse said: "It's a very good reason for fighting."

# FBI Makes Venceremos Target Of Witchhunt

BY ANN LORE

PALO ALTO—Two legal assistance workers, one a member of Venceremos, have been arrested and charged by police and the FBI in connection with the escape of Chino prison inmate Ronald Beaty.

Andrea Holman, 18, and Benton Douglas, 30, had been working with a legal assistance project doing legal work on Beaty's case.

Police claim Beaty is a member of Venceremos, a Mid-peninsula Maoist group which has been subject to considerable police harassment.

Warrants were issued for 2 men and 2 women who allegedly forced a car off the road and freed Beaty who was being taken to a court appearance. One guard was shot and the other wounded.

Holman and Douglas turned themselves in on learning of the warrants, both denying any part in the escape. Neither fit descriptions broadcast by police over the previous two weeks.

Immediately after the escape homes of Venceremos members were raided. Holman and Douglas are charged with murder, lynching, and unlawful flight to avoid arrest.

Both spoke to newsmen and indicated their fears of being killed while in custody. Douglas was told by San Bernardino County sheriff's deputies that they would "kill anyone" who murdered a prison guard "before he ever came to trial."

The next day both were denied bail. In a courtroom saturated with deputies, matrons, plain clothesmen, and FBI agents, the prosecution could not produce the arrest warrants.

All he had was a photo copy of a police teletype report that the warrants were issued. Although the judge expressed "displeasure" with this violation of law and procedure, it was enough to deny bail.

The police and the courts are interested in other things than due process. All organizations of the working class are targets in this frame-up.

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 PHONE 415-621-1310

## Seamen Strike Pacific Maritime

BY DENNIS BROWN

LOS ANGELES—On October 25 the Masters, Mates and Pilots Union began a strike of all Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) ships on the West Coast and Hawaii after negotiations stalled. The 7500 men in the national union have been working without a contract since June 15.

### Smith Frame-up Exposed

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FORT ORD—Testimony by defense witnesses last week completely exposed the army frame-up of Billy Dean Smith.

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A professional metallurgist and an electromechanical engineer both refuted the testimony of a prosecution witness who had claimed that tests matched the pin with the exploded grenade.

The testimony of fellow G.I.s made it crystal clear that the army never carried out a real investigation, but picked on Smith from the outset. One G.I., Henry McClay, testified that he, Smith and another soldier were in a bunker when the explosion occurred. Less than an hour later, Smith was arrested for murder.

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Hank Walters, the union representative at Wilmington told the *Bulletin* that unemployment was the main issue in the negotiations. Out of 300 men on the roster at Wilmington, only 100 are working. He said that unemployment of 50 percent was probably typical throughout the union.

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The union is seeking to negotiate a rotating schedule to give each man 6 months work then 60 days paid vacation, then part time work until his next job. This will enable all members to work at least 6 months out of the year.

The PMA is demanding in exchange the right to call by name the captain and first mate, which would be the first step in eliminating the union roster list for all job assignments. On top of this, the employers want to reduce their contribution to the pension fund by \$5 per day. As of June 15, the PMA was \$1,500,500 behind in payments and the union won in arbitration a judgement that would mean a pension contribution by the PMA of \$29.60 per day, per man.

The PMA demand to reduce this \$5 is an attempt to put into the new contract the raiding of the pension fund which has taken place over the life of the past contract. In the last contract, the union won a 15 percent wage increase; this time the leadership is accepting the 5.5 percent limit of the Pay Board, even though the dock workers through a 134 day strike this year got over twice the 5.5 percent. Just as in the dock strike, the strategy of the union leaders is to call out the

West Coast separately from the rest of the union, instead of a nationwide strike.

The *Bulletin* spoke with several seamen in San Francisco who claimed that they have only worked 4 months this year and that this was a typical situation.

They also pointed out that on the new automated ships turn around time is so short that they get less than a day in port when working.

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While the West Coast is struck the union continues to work Gulf and East Coast ships although the contract is up there as well.

One of the most dangerous aspects of this strike is that the union accepts completely the right of the company to institute growing unemployment. Union demands amount to little more than the demand to share the unemployment in an attempt to hang on.

Despite the limited nature of the strike and while military cargo, passenger ships, and mail are going through, the government is already stepping in to try to force an end to the strike. Hawaii, which is supplied from the West Coast entirely by American flag ships, faces a crisis and there is talk of using this as an excuse for Taft-Hartley.

Seamen must demand a full year's pay no matter what the work situation to preserve their jobs. The Masters, Mates, and Pilots face the same threat from automation as the dockers. Only unity of all maritime workers for a national shutdown can confront this crisis.



Young Socialist speaks at San Francisco SMC meeting. He denounced the YSA's support for the Stalinists' Vietnam peace plans.

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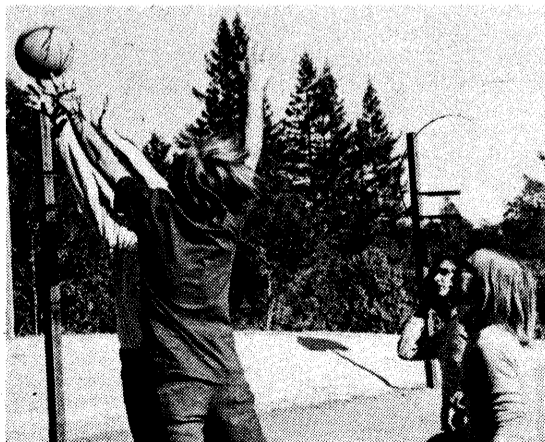
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