

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

**NOW!**  
**Young**  
**Socialists**  
**News** Page 4

VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER TWENTY 229

JANUARY 24, 1972

FIFTEEN CENTS



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# SHOW DOWN ON THE DOCKS

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

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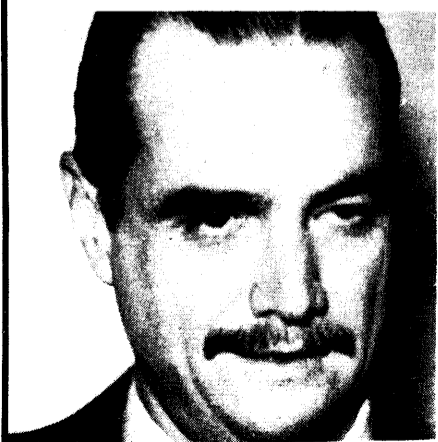
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1199 hospital workers rally in Forest Hills against middle class racists.

# Local 1199 March Attacks Racism In Forest Hills

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—On Saturday, January 15th, several hundred members of Hospital Workers Union Local 1199 demonstrated in Forest Hills against the racist opposition to a public housing project which is being whipped up by the government. This represented an important step in the fight to mobilize the labor movement against racism and fascism.

At the same time the vicious government employer attack on the unions is also hitting home at 1199. Indeed, the whipping up of racism is designed to smooth the path for these fundamental assaults.

An emergency meeting of all Local 1199 delegates in the municipal hospitals has been called for January 26. These include all those city hospitals run under affiliation contracts with voluntary institutions.

At Fordham Hospital layoffs of dozens of union members nearly took place several weeks ago. After the hospital temporarily backed down, it proceeded to lay off some of its physicians, who are not members of the union.

Maimonides Hospital has announced that it plans to end its affiliation with Coney Island Hospital in the next six months, thus exposing hundreds of workers to the city's layoff and speedup plans.

In the voluntary hospitals the crisis is no less acute. Everywhere grievances are multiplying over working conditions. Understaffing is severe and workers have been told there will be no replacement coverage for the summer vacation period in many areas.

The freeze and elimination of jobs has led to worsening conditions in all areas, including the laboratories, nursing and engineering departments. The hospital bosses are viciously attacking patient care as well as working conditions even as they prepare to deepen their campaign to blame the workers for the crisis as contract negotiations proceed this spring.

To add insult to injury, the retroactive pay decision of the Pay Board, designed to look so generous, actually robs hospital workers along with millions of

others of a large chunk of the increases they won in their last contract. Eight thousand 1199 members were denied 10% increases for nearly two months last fall, and now the Pay Board intends to hold retroactive pay down to 7%.

Hospital workers will not take these attacks lying down. At the last Guild Delegates meeting, a delegate who called for citywide strike action against any layoffs and for a real battle against the Pay Board received a big response.

1199 President Davis replied by boasting that the union had won its aims without the general strike which some had been fighting for. In the face of Nixon's complete determination to beat back the working class, the 1199 officials insist that pleading and pressure will be enough.

At the same time Davis cautioned the delegates not to be "over-optimistic" on the issue of layoffs. Refusing to reaffirm the union policy of strike action against layoffs, he simply voiced the hope that 1199 would be able to grant "maximum protection" to its members.

This is a formula for the acceptance of layoffs. At Stony Brook University hundreds of 1199 members in the cafeteria were laid off after acceptance of a formula for "no mass layoffs." New York hospital workers will soon be faced with this kind of "solution" unless the fight is taken up now.

The delegates at the January 26 meeting must fight for a policy of citywide strike against any layoffs, coupled with unity against the city's attacks alongside the members of District Council 37, the city employee's union.

We cannot allow the city to continue to pit these two groups of workers against each other in the municipal hospitals. This can only be fought with a program

which connects the fight for union security to the fight against all the attacks on jobs and working conditions right now.

This fight now merges with the preparation for the contract this July. A program for victory in these negotiations must be hammered out and fought for in the months ahead. The Rank and File Committee of 1199 will take up this fight immediately and bring such a program into the union elections this spring.

## Juan Farinas Plans Nationwide Tour

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee is presently launching the final stage of the defense campaign. Only a Supreme Court review now stands between Farinas and two years in jail for the sole "crime" of opposing and speaking out against the imperialist war in Vietnam.

The attorneys for Farinas have submitted a petition for a writ of certiorari in the U.S. Supreme Court. A decision on whether it will review the case is expected by late winter or early spring.

The basis of the petition rests on the fundamental guarantees of free speech provided for in the First Amendment. It bases its argument on the fact that the conviction challenges Farinas' right of freedom of speech at precisely the moment when the expression of that right becomes absolutely critical. As defense attorney Katz said, "The First Amendment cannot be exercised in a closet."

The Selective Service Regulation under which Farinas was convicted requires a prospective inductee "to obey the orders of the representatives of the Armed Forces while at the place where his induction will be accomplished." No specific guidelines for this regulation have ever been established and, in fact, the Farinas case is the first to be prosecuted under it.

While these issues are important, the defense campaign is not resting simply on the constitutional questions put forward in the appeal. As Lenin noted in 1918:

"There is not a single state, however democratic, which does not contain loopholes or limiting clauses in its Constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the legal possibility of dispatching troops against workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth, in case

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# Fascist Rally Uses Unemployment To Whip Up Racism

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

HARTFORD—The National States Rights Party held an open rally on the Plymouth Grange last week, drawing about fifty people. The rally was advertised through posters put up in area towns which were headed, "White people invited."

The meeting brought together several ultra-right and fascistic tendencies including the "Connecticut Defenders of the Constitution" and the "National Youth Alliance." The purpose of the meeting was, in the words of the chairman of the Connecticut chapter of the National States Rights Party, R.J. Sauzedde, "to start a political movement dedicated to preserving the rights of white people."

ARYAN

Sauzedde went on to explain that, "the main thing we're fighting for is the survival of the white race and the ways of white people." A second goal was the separation of "non-Aryans" from the "Aryan Race." Finally he said that the party was dedicated to fighting communism.

The rhetoric is the same as that of the Hitlerites of Nazi Germany. It draws together all the rot and decay of the capitalist system in the form of religious and racial prejudices. Its purpose is the same also. Fascism in Germany spearheaded the destruction of workers' unions and political parties and through the imposition of slave labor conditions gave capitalism the ability to plunge humanity into a world war. Today it seeks to defeat and destroy the working class as capitalism goes into its most fundamental crisis and as the working class fights to

defend its rights.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Plymouth is a small town near Bristol, a heavily industrial area of Connecticut. The unemployment rate has climbed as high as 23%. It is on the basis of the frustration created by these conditions that the fascists now seek to grow. But their function is to prevent the working class from taking up the political fight for power; the only fight which can today defend workers' rights to jobs and a decent living standard.

The fascists in Plymouth are one of many such groups which are now coming out into the open. More and more the capitalists will seek to use them as a battering ram to destroy the working class and its unions.

The threat of fascism can only be met through the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the working class and among the youth which can fight for a socialist alternative to the blind alley of capitalism.

## Newark Brewery Lays Off Workers, Demands Pay Cut

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK—Last week, Teamsters Union leaders at the Ballantine Brewery in Newark accepted proposals by the company to lay off at least 100 workers and give the rest pay cuts.

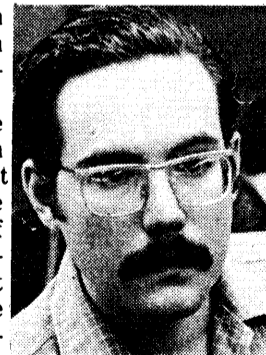
The amount of this cut in pay has not been disclosed, but with the continuing rise in the cost of living, it will be disastrous for the workers and their families.

At one time, there were twelve breweries in Newark. Now there are three left—Ballantine, Budweiser (Anheuser-Busch) and Pabst—and Budweiser has been laying off many workers as it continues to automate.

Ballantine now states that unless the workers take a cut in pay, the brewery might be forced to shut down. Already, these new layoffs are being used to transfer production to newer, more automated plants in other parts of the East Coast.

Workers in all three breweries must back their brothers and refuse to let Ballantine get away with these attacks. Otherwise, it would only be a matter of time before mass layoffs and a complete destruction of wages and working conditions followed throughout the Newark industries.

Only the united strength of workers can defeat these attacks. This must now be taken up with the building of a labor party based on nationalization of industries under workers control.



# CWA Strikers Fight Scabbing

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK—"This strike is not political—except for Lindsay, Rockefeller, Nixon," were the words of a young member of Communications Workers of America Local 1101. Local 1101 along with the rest of the locals representing craftsmen, mechanics and installers in New York State has been on strike against the Telephone Company for more than six months.

After the second day of demonstrations aimed at stopping the importation of scabs into New York City, after 10 strikers had been arrested and a number of others injured by club swinging New York policemen, the strikers are beginning to see this strike differently.

As the strikers are rapidly learning, this is indeed a political strike with Lindsay, Rockefeller, Nixon—the entire Democratic and Republican Parties—standing behind "Ma Bell" in an attempt to smash the strike. They want to "make an example" of the strikers in order to establish the 5.5% "guidelines" and the domination of the labor movement by the government.

This is why the New York Times, mouthpiece of big business has joined with the right wing Daily News in demanding an end to unemployment insurance for the strikers and in playing up what they call the "rampage" and violence of the strikers. Both are demanding that the strike be smashed.

The police are deliberately provoking the strikers in these demonstrations, looking for a bloodbath. The ruling class is openly trying to break a strike with scabs. The police are trying to preserve the "law and order" of union busting backed up by the night stick and the jails.

As the giant monopoly phone company is seeking to starve the CWA workers back without a wage increase and with the full support of Nixon and the government, the Public Service Commission last week granted the company a 9% rate increase. Last July it was granted a 12.8% increase. This brings the total close to 22% which the working class will pay to keep the profits of "Ma Bell" growing.

This is a battle far beyond the question of wages—it is a battle involving the very existence of organized labor. That is why it is a diversion to appeal to Lindsay, Rockefeller or any of these politicians to enforce "the law" against their own interests, or to try to win the strike through the courts.

The strike can only go forward now by a stepping up of the mass demonstrations, combined with a campaign initiated by Local 1101, to bring about mass action by the entire New York City labor movement in defense of the strikers.

As a first step the ranks must demand that 1101 President Carnivale make a public demand that Harry Van Arsdale and the other leaders of the unions in New York call a mass rally at New York's City Hall. This rally must bring the rank and file of all unions out on a work day, leading to a one day general strike if necessary to force a settlement on the telephone company.

At the same time the local must take this fight to every local

meeting of all New York unions directly. More than money and lip service are now needed to win. The strikers' unemployment insurance is due to expire in little more than a month.

The strikers we spoke to were particularly incensed at the use of scabs including not only supervisors, but, according to one striker, CWA members from New Jersey as well. The company pays them \$1,000 per week.

"If this was on the docks, there'd be shotguns—there'd be a civil war. We've been nice—for six months we've been nice and we're still out here on the streets," one of the men said.

Another rank and filer said in relation to the organized scab force:

"If they can get away with it on a small level—it's going to grow. And the government's going to take control of that. Why isn't George Meany or Leonard Woodcock coming into the picture and saying something?"

From the beginning of the strike, the 1101 leadership under Carnivale has tried to avoid the political questions raised. They have refused to prepare for a

struggle against Nixon and the Pay Board. But the collapse of the union's efforts to stop scabs through the courts, the entrance of the cops to directly break the strike is raising all these questions in the workers' minds.

When we raised the question of the need for a labor party with one of the men, he said, "The only way we're going to gain power is through political means—that's what I say—this stuff that's going on today, guys getting their heads broke, getting locked up."

There can no longer be any compromise. Either the Telephone Company, backed by all the resources of the ruling class, is able to isolate and smash the strike, or the union is able to rally the entire labor movement behind it in mass action leading to the victory for the workers.

The key to this victory is now the opening up of a campaign initiated by Local 1101 demanding that Van Arsdale and Meany and Woodcock as well call a mass rally of all New York labor at City Hall to begin a one day general strike if the demands of the CWA workers are not met.



CWA picket in Manhattan where ranks exploded last week.

# Union Leaders Open Door To Royal Closure

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

HARTFORD—Royal Typewriter Company, one of Hartford's largest employers, has announced to its 1,500 typewriter production workers that it is closing down its operations in this city and relocating to more "economical facilities" in Hull, England.

Royal, which has operated in Hartford over the past 64 years, was recently bought out by Litton Industries, a billion dollar conglomerate.

The 1,500 workers are what is left of 5,000 who worked on production during World War II. Only a year and a half ago 2,600 worked in the plant. Since then the United Auto Workers Local 937 leadership has made continuous concessions to the company, renewing its expired contract three times and offering to forego wage increases if the company would remain in Hartford.

Stig Lindholtz, business agent for Local 937, announced that he is now trying to negotiate severance pay for the Royal workers but added that the company is "calling the shots."

He then went on to say that for the last 18 months, since the first rumors of the move began circulating, it had felt "like being in a death cell and you hope you are going to be reprieved. But when the day comes there is nothing you can do."

Many of the workers at Royal are both older and skilled. Their chances of finding decent jobs in Hartford, with its present high rate of unemployment, are slim. It is in this context that Lindholtz's comparison to a "death cell" must be understood. More and more the decisions corporations and their government make today bring into question the very survival of the working class.

### ATHANSON

Hartford's Mayor Athanson, in response to the plant closure, called for federal legislation to block companies from closing up shop and moving overseas to take advantage of lower production costs.

However, as one worker at Royal put it, "It seems to me that the only guy who could do anything about it now is Nixon and he sure isn't doing anything for us. He's probably got his fingers in this too."

The capitalists are today granting no reprieves. The only way forward for workers is the building of a labor party for 1972 to take up the fight for the nationalization of industry under workers control.



Black youth being beaten by cops in Baton Rouge, scene of murders last week of workers and youth.

# Reign Of Terror In Baton Rouge

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Last week the state police and National Guardsmen patrolled the streets of the Black ghetto in Baton Rouge, Louisiana with shotguns and machine guns raised towards the roofs of the buildings.

On Tuesday two Black youths were murdered in cold blood by police. Thirty-one were injured and seventy thrown into jail as police attacked a peaceful demonstration rally of 600 Black youths, mostly high school students, against the conditions in the ghetto.

This is the answer now of the capitalist class and its state

against the fight of the youth who must struggle for their very survival. It is clear that the methods used at Attica are what are being prepared for the working class outside as well as inside the prisons.

### POVERTY

The Black working class and youth live in abject poverty in Baton Rouge. Unemployment is over 25% and almost twice that for the youth. Most families are forced to live in shacks. The oil barons and plantation owners maintain their rule through racism.

These are the conditions which underlie the rally of the youth on Tuesday demanding jobs, decent housing and schools and an end to repression and the arrest of Black militants.

The answer of the state was to move on this rally clubbing, beating and murdering anyone

who was in range of the cops' guns. The youth were unarmed. The two sheriffs that were shot were shot by the bullets of the cops themselves.

Despite demands for the National Guard to be withdrawn from the area, Mayor Dumas has maintained them saying that they are "ready and loaded for bear."

What the Black workers and youth in Baton Rouge face is what the capitalists are preparing for the working class as a whole—unemployment, poverty, starvation and destruction.

### FEAR

Above all the capitalists fear now the movement of the youth under revolutionary leadership, that is why they strike out desperately. Capitalism can be defeated now only by uniting the working class in a political battle against the government.



## Young Socialists Build For Mass Unemployment Rally March 29th

In the light of President Nixon's August 15th measures to go to war with the working class internationally, the youth now face a very critical situation. The youth face today the very conditions and attacks that are in store for the entire working class in the coming period.

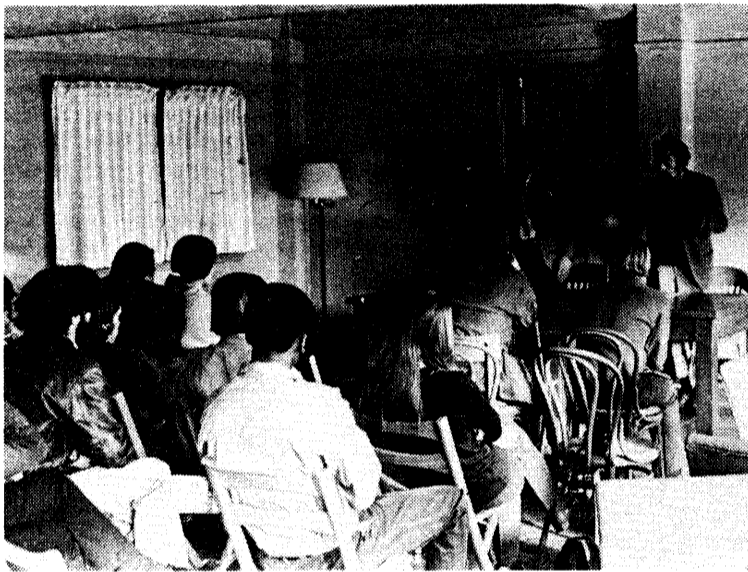
The youth have no jobs and it is becoming quite clear that capitalism cannot provide them with jobs.

It is with this understanding that the Young Socialists and the Workers League are holding a mass demonstration at Foley Square on March 29th, 1972, protesting the mass unemployment situation which faces working class youth.

The demonstration will be based on the Young Socialists and Workers League youth program which demands:

- 30 hours work for 40 hours pay;
- Nationalization of basic industries under workers control;
- Building of a labor party independent of the Democratic and Republican parties to fight in the interests of workers.

The demonstration will demand that the trade unions take up a fight against the widespread unemployment among working class youth on the basis of the demands of the youth.



YS meetings like this on the West Coast will fight to build Young Socialist Conference on Feb. 26 Bay Area

# Young Socialist

## Budget Cuts Destroy High School Conditions

BY ABBEY RODRIGUEZ

NEW YORK—The continuing crisis in capitalism has forced the government to come out in full attacks against workers and youth. The education of working class youth is being eliminated. Thomas Jefferson High is one example of the quickly deteriorating situation which working class students face in the schools.

Overcrowded classrooms have worsened because more teachers have been laid off. In many classes 40 or more students have been thrown in making it impossible for teaching and learning. Many times students have to stand up or sit on radiators because there are no chairs available.

Funds for some courses have been cut so much that these courses exist only in name. In such courses as home economics some teachers have had to use their own money in order to buy items that are needed for the course.

The unemployment office, which used to be full every day, is now usually empty because students have just given up looking for jobs which just don't exist.

While these attacks are brought upon students, organizations inside the school refuse to take up a fight. Organizations like the G.O., Seekers, Leadership Class, etc., try to mislead students by concentrating on petty issues like cake sales, dances,

trips. They seek to tie students to the same capitalist politicians which supported these attacks. A few weeks ago a spokesman from the Leadership Class encouraged students to write letters to Gov. Rockefeller begging him not to cut funds for education.

ATTICA

This is appealing to the "goodness" of the man who is responsible for the murders at Attica. This Leadership Class, which has been sitting back, has finally been forced by the crisis itself to make some militant noise. This is why they called for

support of a demonstration against the cuts in the College Discovery Program. But they go in there without a program which can take up these questions facing working class youth and questions of taking power. Only a youth movement built on a Marxist program and theory can take up these questions.

The Young Socialists Club has been formed in Jefferson and a number of other high schools and colleges to organize students against these attacks. Only by fighting on our program can youth and workers take up a successful fight, that is needed now, against the government.

## YS Campaigns To Drive JDL Out Of School

BY A BROOKLYN COLLEGE STUDENT

"Never Again" is the catchword of the Jewish Defense League. This slogan purportedly means a refusal to return to the time of Nazism when millions of Jews were slaughtered in Germany.

But the heart of fascism is the mobilization of the middle class in smashing up the organizations of the working class in the interests of capitalism. Not only does the JDL ignore the class nature of fascism, but they too are doing the capitalists' dirty work.

The anti-communism of the JDL leads on the one hand to harassment of Soviet Embassy employees and an anti-Chinese and Soviet campaign, and on the other to defense of the imperialist murder in Indochina.

Their racism generates not just

campaigns to link crime to minorities, but an open fight against the gains of Black and Puerto Ricans (such as open admissions in college). Distribution of rifles and rifle permits flows naturally from their so-called offensive against crime. But who are the criminals?

JDL's answer to the question can be drawn from the following incident. In Brooklyn College last May 4, two student meetings were held. Plans were laid to defend the SEEK financial aid program from government cut-

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## Rockefeller Axes SEEK Program

BY MIRIAM ROSARIO

NEW YORK—The crisis of capitalism is hitting hard at the educational system. The New York City educational system which was far from adequate to begin with has had its budget slashed again today by Governor Rockefeller.

This has meant in the City Universities that the SEEK program which has enabled some working class youth to attend college is doomed. Open admission in CUNY is being phased out as is the evening division. The SEEK students at the Alamac Hotel will be thrown out into the

streets this semester with no place to live.

Since the SEEK conference called by the SEEK Council and Black and Puerto Rican nationalist groups on the second week of December to map out the strategy to fight against the budget cuts, the vigor of the three hundred students has been dissipated into letter writing cam-

paigns to city legislators.

At a recent meeting with the SEEK Council, the Young Socialists intervened to try to find out the exact position of the SEEK program and evening division. Questions were raised about the amount of money each student would receive, what would become of the evening division,

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## SPARTACIST SHOWS MIDDLE CLASS HATRED OF YOUTH

BY JOHN HILLS

Since the development of the Trotskyist Young Socialists in the United States, the cut-throats against the youth begin to reveal their ugly middle class faces openly, within the Radical left. This is most sharply expressed by Spartacist and its twin, the Revolutionary Communist Youth.

They write in an article entitled, "Workers League, Fake Youth Conference":

"Tim Wohlforth followed the precedent set by his mentor, Gerry Healy of the British SLL, right down the line in setting up his youth conference just like the British Young Socialists, the street-demonstration, rock-band low level youth group Healy personally runs."

The position of Spartacist clearly is that working class youth are to be kept out of the socialist movement because their level is "low," they like "rock-bands," and insist that the struggle for socialism requires the mobilization of youth into action. If this wasn't clear enough they go

on to state that most of the audience asked "naive" questions like "Will we lose our freedom under socialism?" and "What is Stalinism?" Finally, what must have been most appalling of all, Spartacist writes that the audience consisted "mostly of high school students, most of whom have probably never attended a radical political meeting before."

CRISIS

The Workers League proceeds from the perspective that capitalism is today in its mortal crisis. The capitalists are forced to seek to destroy the working class in their effort to defend their system. The working class today already faces destruction as SEEK and other educational programs

are being dismantled and there are no jobs. It is these youth who must make up the core of a youth movement dedicated to the destruction of capitalism.

Spartacist proceeds differently. It denies the sharp crisis of capitalism and seeks at all costs to preserve its living room circle existence against the forward movement of the youth.

VANGUARD

Spartacist reveals its complete theoretical bankruptcy when it goes on to attack as "youth vanguardist" the following statement of Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League: "Youth will bring consciousness to the

working class."

Because working class youth today face what the whole of the working class tomorrow will face, these youth can develop the Marxist understanding to play a key role in bringing forward the whole of the working class. This is why the Transitional Program of the Fourth International sees youth playing the role of bringing forward the older workers.

FASCISM

Next we are told by Spartacist: "In order to appeal to youth militancy, Wohlforth exaggerated fascistic elements

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# Teachers Strike Defies Taylor Law In Portchester

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

PORTCHESTER, N.Y., Jan. 18—Striking Portchester school teachers, members of the Portchester Teachers Association shut down the eight schools of this predominantly working class city today. Teachers on picket duty outside Portchester's Junior High School told us that the strike was well over 90% effective.

Contrary to the claims of the City that the schools remain open, one of the students at Portchester High School who was on the line in support of the teachers told us that the High School was closed after all the students walked out of a special "assembly" in the auditorium, called by the school administration.

Support for the teachers who are striking in open defiance of New York's Taylor Law, is solid among both students and parents.

"Yonkers teachers would not work one day without a contract," said one of the teachers. "We have been working since last September without a contract. Our last contract ended in June, 1971. Up until now the Board refused to make any offer at all, and the last offer was 5.5%. Our demand of 11% is entirely justified. We are insisting only on being at the level of the other teachers in Westchester County. Starting salaries here are \$7,900."

Another teacher told us, "You have to understand the 5.5 includes a normal increment, built into the contract (increments based on seniority and educational level). So that for most of us, the annual increase would be 2.2%. They are not at all sincere in their bargaining. For example, yesterday, we were asked

to go back because there was 'movement.' Today, we understand from our negotiators that that so-called movement was based on an "error" in calculation. So this offer that we based our agreement on for a 24 hour moratorium, has now been withdrawn."

The other major issue is class size. As with all contracts today, wages—and in this case, the wage offer is a joke—are connected up with productivity. The teachers are demanding a limit on class size which has not existed. The Board has had absolute control over this. We were told that some teachers have classes as large as 37 students. "They can give us an increase and double our class size," said one of the teachers.

### LAW

"You ask about the Taylor Law. The Taylor Law to me is totally unjust, and the only recourse I have is to break the law. The Law is supposed to work both ways, but it really works against us and for the Board, which refuses to bargain in good faith."

The Board has attempted to turn students against the teachers by saying that teachers make \$17,000 per year and then asking "How many of your parents make that much." But as one of the students told us, maybe only four teachers in the whole city, who have been teaching for 40 years make that much.

# Former Agent Exposes FBI Infiltration

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

An article by a former FBI agent has exposed the role played by J. Edgar Hoover's secret police in hunting and harassing militants in this country.

Robert N. Wall, a 33 year old former naval officer who gave five years of his life to the FBI, has admitted that the Internal Revenue Service joined forces with the FBI in order to arrange frame-ups on so-called income tax fraud in order to pave the way for the arrests of militants.

The IRS has not denied this charge. An IRS spokesman stated last week that the organization regularly examined individuals placed in the "extremist" category "because of the way some of these people behave in their everyday affairs, it's reasonable to believe some of them may be violating the tax laws."

### ROMANOV

The article by Wall, which appears in the current (January 27) issue of the *New York Review of Books*, shows that the reactionary government of the Uni-

ted States has an internal espionage organization that would have been the envy of the Romanovs. According to Wall, some agents spend all their time tracking militants.

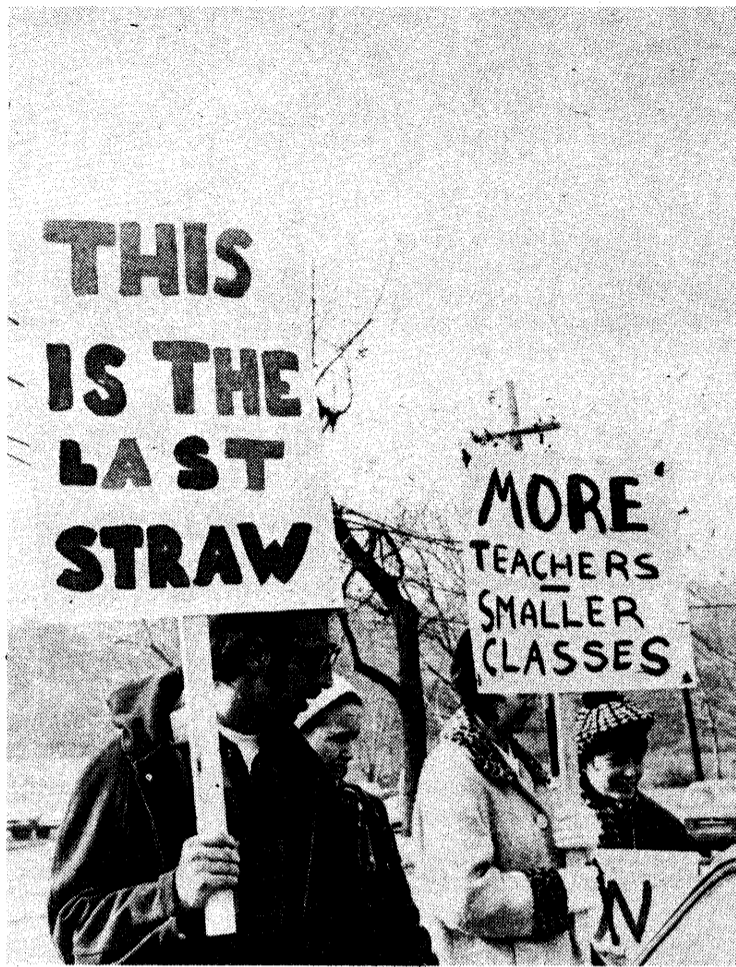
### HEYDAY

The squad to which Wall belonged was especially proud of the role it played in smashing the American Communist Party. Wall writes: "The heyday of this squad was during the forties and early fifties when those who were called Communists, pinkos, reds, Commie Symps, fellow travellers, and sundry other names were being 'discovered' and routed from all levels of American society."

### PROVOKING

Wall notes that the FBI agents derived special thrills from spying on the sexual lives of CP members. Even after the ranks of the Communist Party had been decimated, the FBI continued regular checks on inactive members.

The work of the FBI extends far beyond the CP. Hoover's



Portchester, N.Y. teachers striking against Taylor Law for wages and smaller class size after 24-hour moratorium.

# CTU Ranks Oppose Strike Cancellation

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO, JAN. 18—Last night the Chicago Teachers Union called off its strike scheduled to begin today. Seven thousand of the 18,000 teachers present at a membership meeting voted against calling off the strike.

CTU head Desmond has accepted an agreement that will mean a wage cut for teachers and layoffs in the schools. Desmond agreed to the measly increase of 5.5% and to the closing of school for 11 days to help solve the City's financial crisis. Desmond claims that the union will fight this and wait for help from the state budget.

This is a complete betrayal of the ranks.

### STRIKE

Over 21,000 of this city's 24,000 union teachers voted last week to strike for the third time in four years. Teachers held firm in defense of their contract rights in the face of the School Board's continued attempts to reopen the two-year contract signed after last winter's 4-day strike.

The strike vote was taken after a meeting of the Chicago Teachers Union House of Representatives voted 314 to 14 to recommend a strike.

After a campaign of all the unions affected defeated the proposal for an 18-day school closing, a new budget was submitted. This budget called for withholding the 8 percent raise due to teachers and other employees, the slashing of 1800 teachers, cutting of vacation pay and other benefits, and increasing class size.

What is at stake in this battle is precisely the central question of Nixon's Phase II programs—the right of workers to organize in trade unions and bargain collectively over wages and working conditions.

This is what makes CTU President Desmond's role in this period so dangerous, and this is what the caucuses in the union have failed to confront.

Desmond, relying on the State to find funds to cover the School Board's deficit, has willingly negotiated with the Board on the opening of the contract.

Just four days after the teachers' decisive vote, Desmond showed his real attitude toward their "mandate" by recommending acceptance of a new

(Continued On Page 12)

# Sellout Pact Ends Yonkers AFT Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

YONKERS, N.Y.—After a brief strike which all but crippled the school system here, the Yonkers Federation of Teachers signed a contract with the School Board calling for a wage increase averaging only 8% over 30 months.

With teachers starting salaries of \$8,300 under the old contract, the increase still leaves the teachers considerably behind most public employees in New York City.

The big concession in addition to the complete sellout on wages made by the leadership of the union involves a compromise plan on the central issue in the strike—class size. While the official class size remains at 30, the new contract allows the School Board the right to "conduct educational experiments involving larger class sizes."

This means that the Board can increase class size as pupil enrollment grows and claim that this is "an experiment," rather than hiring more teachers.

It is a small comfort that it was agreed that no regular teacher can be fired during the contract period because of lack of funds. Even this agreement evidently does not cover substitutes.

The contract is essentially one which opens the door for wage cuts, "productivity," speedup and the destruction of the conditions under which teachers work.

That is why School Superintendent Alioto hailed the settlement as "good for both sides," pointing out, in particular, other concessions the union had made in the area of productivity such as the use of teacher preparation periods "for school work only" and forcing teachers to spend a specific amount of time each week in "after-school work."

### TARGET

The Yonkers strike was the target of an injunction under New York's Taylor Law which the teachers defied. Part of the agreement arrived at stipulates that the teachers will be fined one day's pay for each day out.

Instead of being fined for an additional eight days as provided for in the Taylor Law, the agreement states that these eight days will be added to the school year at the old rate of pay.

All these concessions were made only because the leadership of the YFT retreated from using the power that the union so clearly had. The overwhelming majority of the students and parents supported the strike and teachers locals all across the state could have been mobilized against any attempts to break the strike with scabs or jailings.

The union leadership, with the encouragement of Albert Shanker, head of the New York State Federation of Teachers, retreated before the fight had really begun.



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Defy Nixon's Attack On Dock Strike!

President Nixon's decision to ask Congress to pass "emergency legislation" to break the West Coast longshoremen's strike opens up a new stage in the attempt of the ruling class, since August 15th and the beginning of the wage freeze, to reduce the status of the American working class to conditions of outright slavery.

Last week, Nixon's Pay Board dictatorially reduced the aero-space contract by almost 4%. Today, Nixon orders Congress to abolish the right to strike and establish the machinery for compulsory arbitration which will next be used in an attempt to smash the ILA on the East Coast, then, the rest of the "transportation industries," and then the entire labor movement.

Tomorrow, Nixon will move troops onto the docks if necessary to enforce his decree. Labor Undersecretary Laurence Silberman's statement that "using troops is not one of the alternatives we are considering" means precisely the opposite.

The attempt to break the West Coast dock strike can be turned around by the combined strength of all dockworkers, backed by the rest of labor.

The dockers must show that the "emergency legislation" isn't worth the paper it's printed on by refusing to go back until they win a decent contract based on the 40 hour guarantee for all men.

The East Coast longshoremen and checkers must go out immediately in support of their brothers.

The ILWU and ILA ranks must demand that their leaders publically demand that Meany, Woodcock and Fitzsimmons call a general strike of the 18 million strong labor movement to shut this country down until the strikebreaking legislation is withdrawn. Every right and gain of the American labor movement is at stake.

## Throw Them Out

The government and the employers are now viciously using weaker sections of the labor movement and unemployment to try to break the back of the unions and force the entire working class into submission—to accept wage cuts, unemployment, and speed-up.

At Frigidaire in Dayton, at Royal in Hartford, at Ballantine in Newark workers are arrogantly told by the bosses that they must accept mass layoffs and pay cuts or the companies will move out.

The labor leaders are accepting this lock, stock, and barrel. Some of the stronger unions think they can avoid it by ignoring what is happening to these workers. Some workers have gone along with it thinking that their sacrifices for the profits of the employers will save their jobs. The fate of the workers who are now thrown into the streets will be the fate of all workers.

Nothing could be more dangerous or reactionary. It is now not just a question of a few plants moving or closing but of whole sections of industry shutting down. This means mass unemployment, starvation and the destruction of the working class.

We cannot tolerate this situation. We will not pay the price. It is the working class that slaves in the plants and shops and produces the wealth, not the employers. Why should we sacrifice so they can get fatter? We will throw them out. The working people will run industry and run it to produce for the needs and in the interests of the masses of people in this country.

If we do not take up this fight, the fight for socialism now, the alternative will be barbarism.



Shut down both coasts!

## What we think

### Allende, MIR And The SWP

The Allende Government has suffered a serious defeat as the right wing opposition won two seats in a by-election. This follows a period when right wing and fascist forces have gotten bolder and bolder seeking, with the open encouragement of the United States, to turn mass discontent with the economic situation in Chile to their reactionary purposes. The economic situation has continued to deteriorate with inflation, and unemployment on the rise.

Behind the discontent, which at times has taken the form of open clashes between workers and peasants and the government, stands the very character of Allende's government. Allende heads a popular front government which is a coalition with capitalist elements and which stands on the basis of the preservation of capitalism. Because he refuses to carry through a real socialist program beginning with the nationalization of basic industry and the institution of a planned economy, he is unable to solve a single fundamental problem facing the Chilean masses. Thus the right wing takes advantage of preparing for his overthrow, by military means if necessary.

At this critical turning point in Chile, where the need of a conscious revolutionary leadership dedicated to a fight against Allende's capitalist policies is so critical, the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria) plays a particularly perfidious role. On the coattails of the MIR rides Pabloism and the Socialist Workers Party. The position of the MIR is uncritically quoted in the current issue of Intercontinental Press from the mouth of the organization's leader, Miguel Enriquez.

"The Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria maintains that although we do not agree with every move the Unidad Popular makes, although we have differences with some aspects of its policy, this does not mean that we have to head for a definitive break with it..." In actual practice the MIR not only has not broken with Allende but played an active role in campaigning for one of the two candidates in the recent election, the wife of a slain peasant who was a member of the bourgeois left Christian Democratic Party.

Enriquez pays homage to the tragedy which befell the Bolivian Revolution and warns of the danger of Chile meeting a similar fate. But he insists on carrying forward the same policies, in an even more open fashion, than the POR of Lora carried out which contributed to the

defeat. It was precisely the attempts of working class forces in Bolivia to maintain support to Torres, while seeking also to maintain some criticisms, which exposed the working class to this bitter defeat as Torres fell almost without resistance before the rebellion of his own army.

This situation requires that we explore the relationship of the MIR to the history of the Trotskyist movement. In 1963 the Socialist Workers Party led a rump group of International Committee members into a reunification with the world Pabloite forces headed by Ernest Mandel, Livio Maitan, and Pierre Frank. This reunification was based on an abandonment of Trotskyism for the liquidationist perspectives originated by Michel Pablo in the early 1950s. The fruit of the reunification was the entry of the LSSP into a bourgeois coalition government in Ceylon one year later in 1964.

At that time the SWP was supported by the small Canadian group of Dowson which had functioned like an SWP branch for years and only two other groups of any size elsewhere in the world—Moreno's group in Argentina and the POR of Chile headed by one Luis Vitale. Vitale played an extremely active role in bolstering the reunification and covering up for the SWP by becoming the chief propagandist for Fidel Castro. In 1963 Vitale referred to Castro as a "Marxist-Leninist leadership" and wrote that he and others of the Cuban leadership "serve as political models for all workers' parties of Chile." By this time Vitale had completely subordinated politically the POR to a Castroite formation called the Movimiento de Fuerzas Revolucionarias, headed by Clotaria Blest, and a forerunner of the MIR.

It should also be noted that Vitale's POR was born out of a bitter experience with Pabloism in Chile where, in the 1950s, all but five members of the organization were completely liquidated into Allende's Socialist Party. These five became the nucleus of what emerged as the major Trotskyist party in Chile while the rest left Trotskyism altogether.

On February 1, 1964, Vitale's POR fused with a Maoist group by the name of Movimiento Revolucionario Comunista to form a new group which would maintain the name of the original Maoist group. This new group, far from being Trotskyist supported "the most revolutionary and progressive Chinese positions in the Chinese-Soviet conflict." It also favored "supporting with revolutionary methods the Allendista movement." This was another step in

the direction of the formation of the MIR. Even at this early stage this movement in no sense represented a break with the popular front of Allendism.

From this date on there has never been a mention of the POR or any other group purporting to be Trotskyist in Chile in World Outlook or Intercontinental Press, international organs of the SWP, because the original Trotskyist movement of Chile was completely liquidated. The SWP leadership not only uncritically supported each liquidationist move, the evolution of the Chileans was as much a product of the unprincipled 1963 reunification as Ceylon.

Luis Vitale next turns up as one of the contributors to the book 50 Years of World Revolution 1919-1967, edited by Ernest Mandel and published by the SWP. Vitale is listed as "a well-known Chilean revolutionary Marxist, a leader of the Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR)." In 1969 it was reported that the police were seeking him for deportation as an Argentine citizen. He was identified as a "veteran Trotskyist" and as "one of the ideologues of the MIR." This is the last mention of Luis Vitale.

In 1969 there was an extensive discussion of guerrilla warfare in the Pabloite international movement. Contributing to this discussion was one Jose Valdes who has written with some frequency in Intercontinental Press. He wrote in the name of "our comrades of Chile"—no organization, no paper, just "comrades." On behalf of these "comrades" Valdes supports the liquidationist line of the Pabloite majority headed by Mandel and Maitan against the SWP-led minority.

Valdes particularly liked the concept of "integration into the Castroist current" stating that it wasn't like Pablo's entrism because one was integrating "into a revolutionary nucleus which in fact, although not in words, accepts the theory of the Permanent Revolution..." Thus the role of Trotskyism is only to add words to explain what everyone already understands in fact!

So today when the need for the Trotskyist alternative is imperative in Chile, there is no voice of Trotskyism. It has been systematically liquidated through the joint collaboration of the European Pabloites and the American SWP. Such is the bitter price we pay for Pabloism, for the unprincipled reunification of 1963. Thus the importance of absorbing the lessons NOW of this struggle particularly in the light of the recent experience in Bolivia.



In her speech Miss Devlin said:

I am grateful at this late hour for the opportunity to take part in the debate. If I may say so with due respect to the Chair, we in N Ireland are more than happy that Hon members should visit, so to speak, the scene of the crime, and we are grateful for the short-term measure which makes up for our falling off in tourism, but those who live there and represent the area would be grateful if, in debates on N Ireland members who make a whistle stop tour of the area would take so much time to not recount all their experiences. We live there and know what it is like, and the House has heard it all.

I should like to address as briefly as I can most of my remarks to the Leader of the Opposition. I am sorry that he is not in the House this evening. One of the most important things about the speech of the Leader of the Opposition was that he was giving the Tory front bench—and perhaps Right Hon gentlemen opposite would have done well to listen—an effective lecture on how one ought to be a successful imperialist in 1971. If the Tories do not realize it, the leadership of the British Labour Party, as represented by the Opposition front bench, is aware that we live in 1970, and that British interests in Ireland have changed vastly from the old constitutional days and the treaty of 1920.

### Bolstering

What the Leader of the Opposition was trying to say to leaders of the Tory Party and to the Prime Minister was that things in Ireland were not the same as they used to be. There is massive British investment in the South of Ireland on what might be described as classical neo-colonial lines, and the days of serving the British interest by bolstering the Orange regime have gone. It is now at least as desirable to maintain friendly relationships with capital and Irish Toryism South of the border as to continue that relationship in the North.

What the Leader of the Opposition was saying was that since the Tories came to power in June, 1970, they have shown little awareness of that need, and that they have acted, not in the best interests of British imperialism, but on the basis of a primitive, basic, simple Tory instinct, which is to smash with as much savagery as it requires any attempt to upset the *status quo*.

The Leader of the Opposition was saying that that was a crude way to go about their business in 1971. There is no need to smash everybody down. There are those who can be bought off, and the government ought to buy those who are offering themselves for sale, and it would appear from the Right Hon gentleman's recent safari that he had some bargain offers in the North and South of Ireland.

I ask Hon members to cast their minds back to one of the Right Hon gentleman's previous ideas. He was the master-mind behind what is better known to some of us as the Magna Carta of the middle classes, the Downing Street Agreement. That was another little plan put forward by the Right Hon gentleman, and yet in this House last Thursday he said that he had now discovered that it would not work. Two years ago when it was proposed in this House it was welcomed and applauded by the three major parties in the South of Ireland, it was applauded by the three major parties in this House, and by all bodies of opinion representing themselves as moderate and responsible in N Ireland. If my memory serves me correctly, I was the only member who said—though no one believed it, and thought that I was my usual irresponsible self—that the Downing Street Agreement would not work.

I am glad that after two years the Right Hon gentleman has finally agreed with me that it will not work, and I hope that it will not take two years to learn that his present plan will not work, either. Despite the

fact that it has not been received with unanimous approval in the North or South of Ireland, or in this country, it has met with sufficient approval to produce the chance that it might work, but I should like to put forward a number of reasons why it will not.

First, there is the question of a military victory before the implementation of the political solutions. I think that that shows little or no understanding of the situation, of the nature of the IRA, or of the reason why its members are supported by the Catholic community in the North of Ireland. There are two fundamental reasons which, if for no other reason, explain it in sound rational terms, if not to Hon members, certainly to members of the Catholic community from whom the IRA come.

From the inception of the N Ireland system 50 years ago members of the Catholic community have been physically insecure. Their communities and their lives have on occasion been threatened. People have been terrorised, others have been murdered, and yet others have been burned out of their homes. That has been part and parcel of the lives of the people there. The most recent example, which Hon members will recall, occurred in August, 1969 when there were, once again, attacks on the Catholic areas, both in

munity, feeling insecure, requires and sees first of all the British army as some kind of intruder, some kind of hostile element, and it requires the day-to-day security of actions to get them out of the Catholic ghettos. It also requires as a long-term security the end of the State itself.

### Roots

The IRA does not steal across the border in the dead of night, as has been said. It is rooted in the communities in which it acts and lives, and it is supported there. The IRA is ready to take on any hostile body, to take on any invader. Also, believing in the basis of smashing the State, it appears to the community in the Catholic ghettos as representing the same aspirations, on a simple level, which they themselves have.

Therefore, when the Leader of the Opposition says that he will have a military victory over the IRA, let me tell this House; it is simply not on. One cannot do it by declaring that one will root out the last IRA man, by declaring that one will seek a military victory, that one will take on, lock stock and barrel, the Catholic community from which the IRA comes.

What they will have to do to get through and defeat the IRA

If that is the attitude of the House, Hon members are very mistaken.

It has been said in this House—I would like to say this before I leave the military question and come to the economic problems: I will try not to keep the House more than another two minutes—that there can be no neutrality. A lot is heard about the British army, about Hon members not being allowed to say anything which might weaken the morale of the British army, that no one in this House is neutral, that no one can be. But I have explained the nature of the IRA and the nature of the community from which it comes. I want to make my position clear without apology to the House.

There is no neutrality on the question of the military victory. If it is the intention of the House to take on the community from which I come, to take on the people whom I represent, as I believe they are doing and as I believe it is their avowed intention so to do, nor am I neutral. I do not ally myself to the British army. I see them as the forces of imperialism.

I have publicly condemned many of the activities of the IRA. I certainly do not cross every 't' and dot every 'i' of the conduct of either wing of the IRA. Indeed, I do not believe that terrorism will bring about

of people who have exploited the people of Ireland for their own purposes.

### Changes

If Hon. gentlemen opposite want to bring about changes in N. Ireland and not simply to rearrange the system as it exists, if they want to find a better relationship between British imperialism in Ireland as it exists today and the exploitation of Irish labour, then let me propose, not for the first time in this House, that something be done about the 10.2 per cent male unemployment rate in N Ireland. The figure in the past 12 years has never been below 7 per cent. If Hon. members want to do something to end that heavy rate of unemployment, let them ban the export of profits from N Ireland.

It is, of course, almost ludicrous to suggest that that shower on the front bench opposite who represent British economic imperialism in N Ireland should do anything. They are responsible for creating 1 million unemployed in this country. Nor will this House take action to rid of N Ireland's housing debt and so allow us to build houses that the working class can afford to rent. That will not happen.

It is clearly pointless asking the occupants of the government front bench to consider any constructive proposals that might be taken. All I can do is to appeal—not to them or, for that matter, even to the Opposition front bench—to those who believe in the rights of the working class, British or Irish, to bring down the Tory government and put in their place a socialist government who will implement the kind of radical economic changes we need.

**MID-ULSTER MP Bernadette Devlin attacked both the Tories and their Labour collaborators on day two of the Ulster debate in the House of Commons on Monday. She slammed Labour leader Harold Wilson's peace plan as an attempt at refined imperialism and said the only solution in Ulster was to bring down the Tories and 'put in their place a socialist government who will implement the kind of radical economic changes we need'.**

**"To those who believe in British and Irish workers' rights—Bring down the Tories."**

## Bernadette Devlin to British House of Commons

Belfast and Derry.

### Insecurity

These attacks were not carried out by an independent mob of hooligans, they were carried out by the forces of the North of Ireland State, the visible representatives of the State. Therefore, once again, in the minds of Catholic people, their security could be seen only in two forms—in the immediate form of repulsing any attack by the forces of the State and in the long term by smashing the very State which they represented.

There is now a situation in which, following the Tory government coming to power and the failure of any attempt at a political solution, whether this House likes it or not, to the members of the Catholic community, the British army appears today as an RUC in a different uniform. Today it is British soldiers who drag people off in the dead of night to internment camps, who intern them, who interrogate them and who torture them. It was British army bullets which killed Eamon McDevitt, Annette McGavigern, Seamus Cusack, Harry Thornton, Mrs Meehan, Desmond Beattie, and a number of other people. In all, 27 people have been killed, who are admitted at this stage by the British army to have been killed in error.

Therefore, that Catholic com-

or ask them to pitch their tents elsewhere—[Hon members: 'Not true.'] Hon gentlemen may say, 'Not true.' The same Hon gentlemen, being a good deal older than myself, may have sat on these very benches at the time of Cyprus and, with the same meaningless wisdom, have said, 'It is not true', and it turned out to be true.

Among the responsible Hon members, we have the Leader of the Opposition, who went to N Ireland and met everyone from the middle-class upwards,

but did not meet the gunmen, because that was not responsible. I ask, if it is not responsible to talk to these gunmen of whom the Right Hon gentleman speaks so glibly, how is he going to understand the nature of the community from which they come? How will he understand the nature of the problem?

### Gunmen

They always say in this House that they will not talk to gunmen. What hypocrisy. They will not talk to men of violence. These people who maintain a standing army of professional gunmen say that they will not talk to people of violence. What happened in Aden? Did they talk to the gunmen there? What happened in Cyprus? Did they talk to them there? Yes, they did. What is so different in Ireland? Because we are white and speak English, do we have a different brand of gunmen?

a solution to the problems of N Ireland. Only a socialist revolution will at the end of the day do that.

### Take sides

Nevertheless, when one is forced to take sides, while I have my criticisms of the IRA, it is clear that this House takes its side with the British army, and I, without apology, take mine with the IRA. [Hon members: 'Shame.'] It is all very well for Hon. gentlemen opposite to cry 'Shame', which is one of the semantics of this House. I prefer to shout the facts.

I agree with everything that has been said about the need for economic proposals for N Ireland. We need radical economic changes because we are a poor country. Why are we so poor? Much play is made of the amount of money that flows from the British Exchequer to the people of N Ireland and about the British benefits that are paid to the people of my country. They are not just British benefits. They are working-class benefits paid for by working-class money. That is why we have them.

We hear a lot about how much we in N Ireland cost the British taxpayer, but little is said about how much money flows not from here across the Irish Sea to Ireland, but back not to the people of this country, but into the pockets of the chairmen, directors and shareholders of, among others, ICI, Courtaulds and Chemstrand. These are the sort

### Compton

In the last debate—[Interruption.] Before allowing the front bench speakers to ramble on about non-existent solutions I must make this point—I tried to ask the Minister of State for Defence a question, but I was not allowed to do so. I wanted to question him about the Compton Report. Much play has been made of this Report. Is it not a fact that the Tory government were well aware that the last inquiry ordered by this House on the lines of the Compton Inquiry was the Profumo Inquiry? Following that, a Royal Commission on Inquiries was set up to investigate—[Interruption.] Lord Justice Salmon, reporting on that Royal Commission, said clearly that no future government should again attempt to use in a highly-charged political matter the kind of inquiry that was used in the Profumo affair. Despite that warning, the Compton Inquiry was set up on exactly the same lines. It infringed 12 major points which Lord Justice Salmon had made. It is clear that it was designed not to seek the truth but to prevent it from reaching the light of day. [Hon. members: 'Rubbish.'] Those are Lord Justice Salmon's words, not mine.

### Censorship

My last point is about censorship. Many Hon. members seem to be worried about censorship, but they have little to fear when, in the N of Ireland only 48 hours ago, six young people, guilty of no more or less crime than selling on the streets 'The Free Citizen', a two-page paper—now called 'The Unfree Citizen' since internment—were arrested under Section 10 of the Special Powers Act and detained for 48 hours. Such was their crime and violence. But there is no need for Hon. members opposite to worry about censorship, if they remember once again their adventures in Aden and Cyprus. I am sorry that the Hon. and gallant member for Aberdeenshire, W (Lt-Col Colin Mitchell) is not present, because he would vouch for the fact that the British press are full and four-square behind the British government and his policies. The Hon and gallant member for Aberdeenshire, W was a murderer of the people of the S Yemen, and the British press will stand equally solidly behind his successor in N Ireland today.



The following interview recently appeared in our sister publication *Workers Press*, which appears daily in England. It was conducted by Sarah Hannigan of the British Young Socialists. It deals with the important background in the Civil Rights movement for recent developments in Ireland.

SH: WHAT reforms do you think the Civil Rights Movement achieved?

BD: I DON'T think it achieved anything in the sense of real reform and this I believe was only to be expected from its history. Many people forget it was not just a spontaneous movement that came from nowhere. As far back as 1964-1965 you had the formation of the Civil Rights Association. This was done in the typically reformist manner of coming together and 'sink all our differences'.

The idea was put forward by the Republicans and the Communist Party in Ireland. They mooted the idea among anti-Unionist groups and the original Civil Rights Association was made up of delegates of every party. In the original stages it included a member of the Unionist Party who believed in the need for reform. Its major aim was to get rid of discrimination against Catholics—which is a worthwhile demand. But it is not a demand that anyone with any understanding of the class situation in N Ireland would put forward.

To say the only thing we want changed is discrimination against Catholics did not appear to the civil rights people as a sectarian demand. But every single member of the Protestant working class saw it as a sectarian demand. They saw it as such on one simple basis. At the time you had 7 per cent unemployment in N Ireland. But the Association at no time raised even the demand to increase the amount of employment available. By saying only that it was going to end discrimination against Catholics, the Protestant workers saw it as attacking the marginal privileges they held.

The Association went through all the usual liberal gestures—protest to the governor, MPs, etc., and got nowhere. So finally—like everyone else—it said OK we'll have a protest march. In 1968 they had their first protest march to Dungannon. The speakers on the platform included members of almost every political organization—Erskine Holmes of the N Ireland Labour Party, Gerry Fitt of the Republican Labour Party—and they spoke with the nationalists and the Communist Party.

It was then they realized the force that they had unleashed. Over 1,000 people turned out and sat at the bottom of the platform. While the platform tried to get them to sing 'We Shall Overcome', the crowd sang 'The Soldiers Song' [the national anthem of the Republican movement]—that was the politics, they could have got up and said anything. The discontent of the mass of the people which was—we are discriminated against, we don't like this country. They were, in the main, nationalists.

Then you got the famous October 5 demonstration which was attended by 300 people, mainly left-wing socialist groups, kids, students and teenagers. The Civil Rights Association attempted to call the march off because of the danger of going out onto the streets of a place like Derry. But people like Eamonn McCann of the Derry Young Socialists said they were marching anyway, so in the end the CRA decided to sponsor the march anyway.

The initiative had been taken by the left and the march was organized on the basis of clear class demands. The demand against discrimination was, in fact, not raised; the main points were, essentially, the right to work, the right to full employment. Most placards carried the Derry unemployment figures and the figure of Derry's homeless. After the march the main elements got together because of the violence that had come out of it and the left settled for unity and this has been our biggest failure right throughout the movement.

The left did not disagree with the reformist demands. The argument was that the demands did not go far enough. I said to myself at that time we were certainly wrong. We should have said—'Look. Here are our demands, we see nothing wrong with yours, but they just cannot be won. You can't say here's the N Ireland system, we will get these reforms through and then when we have established the basis of democracy you socialists trot along and the rest of us will do nothing.'

So the civil rights reforms became articulated on the basis of an end to discrimination in housing, one man one vote, and an end to the Special Powers Act. But they came to be tied up with sectarianism. For example, it is popularly believed that Catholics do not have the vote. But the demand for one man, one vote was a class issue. It was the non-property owners and the non-householders who did not have a vote.

On the question of real reform, the only thing that was achieved was the Downing St agreement and if you go through the points there is absolutely nothing in it. The Agreement said 'OK we'll have voted for everyone, but in the meantime we will have no elections'. The issue of the fair electoral boundaries is still unsettled. We had the disarming of the police force for a very brief period. We had the disbanding of the B-Special police and the creation of an Ulster Defence Regiment, which is worse.

This was the Labour government's doing. They decided that there would be a time when soldiers would have to be put into N Ireland, but that they could not stay there for ever. A native imperialist army would have to be created, like in most colonial states, and this could not be the Specials organized in local battalions by local forces.

All these things were sold as reforms by the government. But all you got from the Downing St agreement was a certain amount of respectability for the middle classes. In fact it's called the Magna Carta of the middle classes by militant and discontented workers in N Ireland now.

The Civil Rights Movement had never specified what reforms of the police they wanted because they had never specified what the role of the police in society ought to be, what, in fact, the present society was, and therefore what any change or reform was.

For quite some time the civil rights leaders tried to pass them off as reforms. You got Gerry Fitt on the television giving them a guarded welcome lest they appeared ungrateful. They never came out. We were accused of being wreckers and splitters because every time a reform was announced we said 'No good, we don't want it'.

Fitt, Hume and Currie always came out with a guarded welcome. For example, when Sir Arthur Young was sent to control the police, there was the idea that because he was a nice English liberal gentleman the police force were going to become

pacifist gentlemen and maintain their proper function in society. But what you did get was the awakening of discontent among the masses. Despite this reformist movement, you got more and more people on the streets—solely the Catholic working class—being radicalized by involvement in struggle. The civil rights demands did not satisfy them any more. Many were more interested in full employment and state-owned industries under public ownership than they were in the question of fair housing.

So if we have achieved anything, it's been the awakening of the masses of the people. But I don't think honestly we've done a great deal in educating these people as to the real reason of their discontent. And this is the reason why you've got a situation at the moment of Provisionals and Officials [IRA] and as many groups as you have individuals and everybody tearing off looking for new theories, trying to decide whether or not the border is an issue. You don't just have the basic understanding which the movement should have brought out, should have articulated, and to a large extent it was our fault that it didn't.

SH: DO YOU not think that this perspective of 'reforms' led the Catholic working class into a trap because these reforms could not be achieved, except within the framework of the struggle to develop a socialist programme for the building of a revolutionary party which would unite both Protestant and Catholic workers for the taking of power?

BD: I THINK it certainly did. I don't think it led the Catholic working class into a trap. Because they broke out of the reformist nature of the Civil Rights Movement. But because of the nature of the movement and of its demands it effectively shut the door on the Protestant working class.

Once, shortly after I was elected, I addressed a major rally in Strabane—which is a big town in my constituency. Eamonn McCann and myself decided to make a stand of principle. Both of us spoke and we'd worked out the speeches beforehand. Both of us spoke on the nature of the Civil Rights Movement and the fact that you could not isolate the need for change in N Ireland from the demand for the right to work, for socialism. The basic message was that on this side of socialism there would be no reforms.

We were bodily pitched off the platform by the people standing around. In fact many of my own supporters saw it as wrecking the movement. But on that march I experienced one of the things that convinced me we had to take a stand. I recognized the chap marching alongside me. I realized I knew him but I couldn't place him. So I said to McCann, 'Who's that fellow?', and McCann told me he was the local Derry bailiff. This fellow was a Catholic, but his job was pitching the homeless out of their houses, pitching out non-rent payers and just evicting members of the working class.

But he saw no contradiction in the job he did and marching with the Civil Rights Movement, because he was a Catholic, and because what he was into, as far as he could understand, was not involved with people who couldn't pay rents to Rachmanist landlords.

How do you march through the town, shouting to members of the working class, 'Come and join us, you know Fred here'? Anyone who had seen that march and had been evicted from their house would have said, 'Right. That's not for me.'

To be fair, when we eventually realized that this was the situation, attempts were made to break out. One of my arguments with People's Democracy, which has done some good work, is that it has tried to plod on. At that time there was a basis for clarifying the demands in the PD after we had intervened in the election on a basically socialist programme. Following the election the differences were sunk again and we fell into the stages theory and were carried away by the masses. That's the truth of the situation.

You got people like Michael Farrel, who for years had plodded along with a small socialist group, suddenly speaking to thousands and thousands of people. They were not exactly given what they wanted to hear, but what we wanted to say was tailored to be least offensive to the people who had to listen to it. And it just didn't work.

Looking back on it, I think it is time to say there is no substitute, even if it means we lose the masses. We have to go back, start again on a clear class line and plough on. So if John Hume got 6,000, we got ten, I think then we are making more progress with ten.

It was not that the Civil Rights Movement was wrong. It was bound to happen. But our role should never have been submerged into it. We should have always been a thorn in the flesh of the reformists, saying 'OK. Your demand is right, doesn't go far enough, is impossible inside the system.' We would not have been popular, but we would have been nearer building a revolutionary party than we are at the moment.

SH: WAS it not the mistaken reformist policies behind the civil rights movement which led yourself and others into initially supporting the arrival of British troops in Ulster?

BD: I HAVE never supported the British troops. I almost got thrown out of the Bogside by a contingent of ladies and the parish police for what seemed to me a reasonable statement. Someone asked should we fight the soldiers—I said on the platform, not yet. I was accused of attempting to lead the people into war and being a dirty red.

It wasn't reformist politics that led the people of Derry into supporting British troops, as they certainly did. They stood cheering at the khaki uniforms. Most kids like myself were brought up to believe that khaki was Irish linen soaked in blood. I attempted to say 'look we're safe for the moment but . . .' and that was as far as we got.

There was no revolution those days in Derry. The whole idea was to a large extent one of the British left—hungry for some sign of political consciousness among the workers.

You had a mass of working-class people living in a ghetto. They just hated the place, hated the fact that it was coming up to August 12 and that the Apprentice Boys (Protestant Masonic organization) were going to go around the walls of the city and that the Bogside were going to be reminded once again that they



Workers Press  
Interview with  
Bernadette Devlin



"These people who maintain a standing army of violence."





were inferior, they were at the bottom and they would have to put up with it.

Then they saw all the Apprentice Boys moving, all the Orangemen moving, all the police moving and then it started. I fought in the Bogside and I kept fighting because I said: 'Christ, once we stop fighting and those boys come in here we are finished. People were not fighting for a united Ireland or a workers' republic or for civil rights. They were fighting on the corner of Rose St because if they stopped fighting the police would have come in and rounded them up and they didn't know what would happen to them. They fought for three days. The myth was that the whole of the Bogside fought, which wasn't true. The young people of the Bogside kept the fighting going with the support of the people, many of whom sat down at the back of Ned Kelly's corner cheering us on. The women were the people who made petrol bombs, the kids broke the stones and the youth did the fighting. Most of the men in the Bogside just sat and watched. As long as the bookies were running they were happy enough.

So when the army came in, they just constituted a force which in the immediate circumstances was not hostile. If any authority not under the control of the Stormont had walked in the Bogside—whether it had been the Free State army, the British army or the Red army, it would have been cheered if it looked as though it was going to stop the fighting by protecting Catholics.

But it didn't last long and certainly most groups on the left in Britain made a mistake. International Socialism made a mistake. I don't know why they just don't say 'we made a mistake, a perfectly understandable mistake'.

Many of them were in a situation they had never been in before where possibly many of them thought a revolution had come or something. So they were emotionally tied up in the situation and they made a mistake. Why don't they say it, why doesn't the Communist Party say it? Certainly not through the reason of getting emotionally involved. It just makes mistakes.

I never supported the army as Bernadette Devlin, socialist, but as Bernadette Devlin, worn-out-sick of fighting. I was glad British soldiers were standing between me and the police. But if the soldiers had come in the next day, it would have all been over.

Part Two

In August 1969 the Labour government sent British troops to N Ireland. The Socialist Labour League was the only political movement in Britain to demand their immediate withdrawal. Here, in the second and final part of an interview by Sarah Hannigan, Bernadette Devlin is questioned on her own position at the time and her prospects for unity of the Protestant and Catholic working class.

SH: IN 1969 all those groups such as the Communist Party and the International Socialists opposed the SLL because it immediately demanded the withdrawal of troops from Ulster. Were we not right on this basic question?

BD. I THINK you were right and I don't think anyone at this stage is denying it. But I remember being annoyed with the Socialist Labour League as well because as I was standing in Derry, I thought 'It's all right for them standing at the flaming tube stations preaching their purism. If half a dozen were standing over here what would they say?' But you were right. And as I say, people ought to admit you were right. My criticism is that it was much easier to be right and not involved than to be right and still involved.

SH: IS THE withdrawal of troops something which can only be achieved in the struggle to unite the English and Ulster working class to force the Tory government to resign?

BD. YES this is the line I've always followed and argued greatly against groups like the International Marxist Group. One of the most scurrilous cries ever to come out of Ireland is the cry of 'socialist imperialism'. This is levelled at every section of the British left which attempts to say to Irish workers, your problems are our problems, we must fight them on the same basis.

This came from people like Michael Farrell and the People's Democracy. Their line is 'we're fighting the battle, you support us and never question what we are doing.'

I say if we are going to talk about the presence of British troops, we can't isolate it from the question of who the British troops are. How come they've got so many soldiers without conscription? Because as unemployment grows, adverts for the army appear appealing to every young boy who earns under £18. They join the army rather than join a trade union here or get into a socialist movement and do something about a situation where youth earn less than £18 a week.

I don't think it's 'concessionalism', as the IMG calls it, to refer to the class struggle in Britain and Ireland and the fact that it's the same government that creates unemployment here which sends British troops to N Ireland. They say that I ought to go out to British workers and say 'look, sorry for your problems, but you must be against the British army solely because it's in Ireland. So wrench yourself away, it's nothing to do with your class politics'. This just isn't true.

I certainly believe in withdrawing British troops. But it's not possible to make that demand in isolation from our demands for change and outside a political programme. I put forward a political programme which I know the Tories wouldn't dream of granting, which I know the system is incapable of granting.

I disagree with the demand 'withdraw the British troops to their barracks' pending a withdrawal from the country. Troops don't just sit in the barracks, while they are there they are there for a function. What this demand really implies is that you really call the troops off the Catholics, let them fight on and if in the process Protestant workers come out with a backlash, then let the troops out again and slaughter the Protestant workers. This in itself admits that you are not going to achieve a programme which will bring the system down.

So I say this quite clearly. Take the British troops out,

knowing that they can't take them out, knowing that the situation doesn't allow them to take them out. That's their problem not mine. As with the demand for a minimum wage, for full employment, they don't know how to do it and that's not my problem. My problem is not how the Tory government solves the N Ireland problem.

SH: THE Communist Party opposes this demand. The International Socialists now say they are for the withdrawal of troops, but not for pulling the government down. What is your position?

BD. THE IS are for the withdrawal of troops and they have been since shortly after 1969. It would be much easier to understand that they are now, if, as I said, they would say they were wrong in 1969. People would see what they are doing much more clearly. I think they are also agreed on the line of bringing the Tories down. Certainly on any of their platforms I have spoken they've been in favour of the need to bring down the Tory government.

I don't see anything wrong with saying—for no other reason than Ireland—'Bring the Tories down'. But knowing that there are 150 other reasons, I see the issue of bringing the Tories down connected with an understanding that the next Labour government is not going to be any better, in fact will have to be worse than the present Tory government. This, I think, IS would probably agree with as well—their line of voting Labour is one with no illusions.

SH: RECENTLY you said in Derry that the real allies of the Catholic workers were the Protestant workers. A few days later, speaking in Belfast, you did not refer to this point. Was there any reason for your inconsistency?

BD. NOT any reason. Probably I did not refer to it because of the immediate situation on Belfast. Certainly it's not something that I have abandoned. I use it most of the time when I am speaking. I try to get it across that we are not more militant than the militant nationalists because we are more anti-Protestant. Their enemy is the Protestant working class.

If I've spoken and not referred to this it's not because of principle, but because of the situation, of practicality, which is a point of my own failure. I ought to do it.

It's easy to sit over here and see flaws in what's happening in the North of Ireland, than to be in a situation where you are not only concerned of getting across to workers, of struggling for socialism, but also the day-to-day problem of getting from town to town—when someone on the way is likely to say so and so has been shot and such and such an area is under siege.

You suffer from lack of clear thought, from the ability of not being able to say 'sorry not my problem'. There ought to be a better division of labour. A meeting that is important to address is important, but in the immediate situation when someone says 'come to our area, the soldiers are raiding it' it seems less important.

You find you're about to go to a conference of the left and something of an immediate nature breaks out and you go there instead. In the long term it's not a principled thing to do, probably again in the long term, not even helpful—but in the immediate situation it's the only thing you can do.

SH: HOW IS it possible to wage a campaign against 'internment' without making the struggle to unite the working class and force the Tory government to resign the central issue of this campaign? If this is not done, is there not a danger that the fight against internment is transformed into a reformist protest like civil rights?

BD: I THINK there is a grave danger of this happening. It's best seen if you take the argument or the slogan of 'end internment' and take it further than the slogan stage.

We on the left say the ending of internment is not the releasing of the 300-odd people who are interned. That's releasing internees. To end internment means ending the machinery of legislation which allows internment. This seems to me perfectly logical. There's no point in releasing internees today and leaving the machinery by which you can pick them up again tomorrow.

Now the Social Democratic and Labour Party and the Communist Party in Ireland say ending internment is emptying Long Kesh camp. Their energies are devoted towards the release of the people immediately interned. In fact the Social Democratic and Labour Party line, as put forward by Fitt in parliament, is to charge them, take them up before the courts then put them back in Long Kesh by command of the magistrate, which makes it respectable.

Now, they say, they're no longer political prisoners because they went through the process of the courts and they're now criminals.

Charge a few Protestants, then the brutality, the torture and the very instigation of internment becomes, overnight, respectable. So if, in fact, you are to stop it becoming a reformist campaign, the call for the ending of internment has got to embody the explanation of why internment is necessary, what is the state of existence of a system which has now reached the stage that it openly admits that in order to continue that existence it is necessary to go against its own laws.

They made the laws, the courts are for them, which is a point everybody in N Ireland understands. The courts are not instigated for the fair treatment of the working class in dispute. The authorities admit that even their courts, their soldiers, their police, can no longer contain the situation or maintain their power for them, that they come to the ultimate weapon of repression which is,—'those you can't shoot, just lift and intern them.' Unless you understand it on this basis, there's no point in saying end internment because ending internment of itself necessitates ending the N Ireland administration.

The one demand cannot be removed from the other. And in this country, I believe that to end internment it is necessary to bring down the Tories. Because if you bring down the Tories on the issue of internment it will be that much harder for a Labour government to go into power and say look we've got to keep internment too.

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Anything, it's been the awakening. But I don't think honestly we've seen these people as to the real reason is the reason why you've got a Provisionals and Officials (IRA) and individuals and everybody tearing trying to decide whether or not we just have the basic understanding have brought out, should have it was our fault that it didn't.

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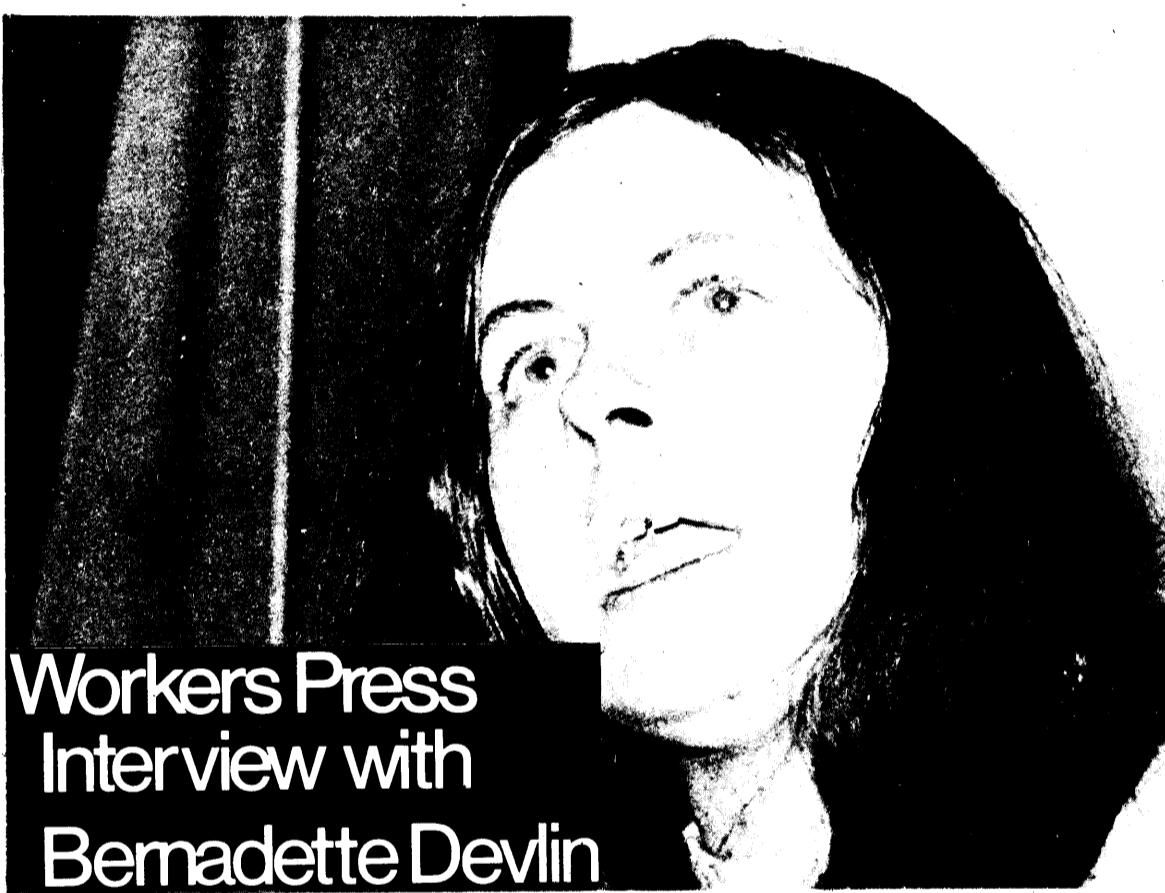
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## Workers Press Interview with Bernadette Devlin



"These people who maintain a standing army of professional gunmen say that they will not talk to men of violence."

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So I say this quite clearly. Take the British troops



## Statement to the BBC

## "FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC IN IRELAND"

GENTLEMEN you have a problem. Do you really want an answer? The answer to any problem is dependent on four factors:

1. An understanding of the nature of the problem.
2. An understanding of the concepts applicable to the problem.
3. The ability to recognize and apply the relevant concepts.
4. The acceptability of the solution to the poser of the question.



"Troops don't just sit in the barracks, while they are there they are there for a function."

Throughout the many hundred years of our unhappy relationship, not once has a British ruling power satisfactorily fulfilled any of these prerequisites. One must examine how and why this is so in order to find the way forward.

Let us consider first the nature of the problem. As we see it, the people of our country have for hundreds of years been dominated and exploited by that small minority of the British people... the British ruling class.

In the pursuit of power, plunder, and patronage, you drove us from the land, destroyed our language, and divided our people against themselves. None of this posed any problem as far as you were concerned. But we had a problem. We lived as serfs in our own country. We tilled and farmed the land yet went hungry, worked the mills yet could scarcely clothe ourselves.

We produced the wealth of the landlord and factory owner and lived in poverty for our pains. From time to time, our discontent, our suffering, our thirst for the dignity of free men led us to challenge your right to impose your will on us, your right to live off our backs.

Only in such times did you acknowledge the existence of a problem; and that problem in its crudest form was how best to shut us up.

Today you continue to fatten yourselves on the profits of our labour, to divide our people against themselves, so that in fighting over the crumbs allotted to us, we will never secure the strength of unity in our fight against you for the whole loaf. Gentlemen, the loaf is ours. We produced it.

Today, once again, you see the problem as the reassertion of your law, your order. Within your law, owners may steal from workers. Within your concept of justice, men may die in factories—industrial accidents; children may die in damp slum conditions—the infant mortality rate in the working class; and families suffer in crowded conditions, with little money, or have no roof over their heads.

You explain it in terms of rights and freedoms. We have no rights, no freedoms. You have met every challenge, every threat to your power, with repression. Repression will not work. You have killed Davitt, Emmet, Tone and Connolly. That their ideas are still alive today is proof of your failure.

At present you, who talk of democracy, maintain your position, not by persuasion, but by force.

The nature of the problem, simply stated, is that we want an end to the system which allows so many to suffer, in order to maintain the power of the ruling minority. All other problems, sectarianism, discrimination, unemployment, homelessness, stem from the fact that you own, and intended to go on owning, the wealth and the power which is ours. We are the working class.

or achieve it by the use of 15,000 armed soldiers, 6,000 armed men of the Ulster Defence Regiment—a seemingly endless supply of CS gas, rubber bullets and barbed wire.

You talk of justice which, in like manner, you maintain by a corrupt and biased judiciary, an armoury of emergency regulations and legislation, a police force in whose numbers rank those who have wantonly murdered and terrorized, yet remain strangely beyond the pale of your endless powers, the concentration camp, the torture chamber,

the interrogator, the spy, the informer. What is it that requires such measures to safeguard your 'Democracy', your 'law' from the people?

You talk of progress, you who

You are prepared to have peace, progress and justice only inasmuch as they do not interfere with profit, private enterprise and ownership. You make the rules, then change them each time we appear to be winning. If you really believe in justice, end internment now. Release the political prisoners.

If you really want the gun out of Irish politics, take your guns out—all 25,000 of them! Solve the problem that produces fear, distrust, violence and division—poverty, unemployment, homelessness.

Recognize the failure of private enterprise. We hear daily of the money that flows from Britain to Ireland. What of the money flowing from the labour of Irish people into the pockets of ICI, Courtauld's, Chemstrand, British Enkalon, the British and American mining companies? Ban the export of profits from N Ireland. Re-invest the profit in setting up public-owned industries.

Legislate a minimum working wage for a 40-hour week. Cancel the N Ireland housing debt to the central banks. Nationalize the building industry, expropriate the land necessary for building houses, so providing low-rent houses at a fast enough rate to end the slums problem in the foreseeable future.

You will not consider one of these solutions, because they attack your priorities, because you don't care about the real problem.

Since you will neither accept the nature of the problem nor attempt realistically to solve it, get out of the way and let us solve it ourselves. Take your army, your exploiters, your very presence out of our lives.

As in the past, we will continue to organize towards this end.

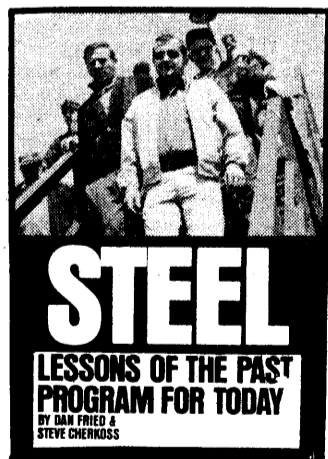
Only the working-class understands, cares and is prepared to solve their problems. Only the solution posed by the workers owning and controlling the means of production, and the distribution of the wealth they produce, can in the final analysis be acceptable to the working class.

In short, only the workers' Republic can produce the solution. Our problem is to achieve that Republic; your problem is to prevent us doing so. Gentlemen, 800 years condemn you to failure—you cannot stop us.

Even if you accept that to be the problem, will you solve it by giving back our property, our wealth, our power? No. Instead you resort to open violence to force the acceptance of your framework. But you do not believe even in the concepts which you impose on us. You talk of peace, yet hope to maintain it

have produced an unemployment problem of one in every ten men being denied the right to work. You who pay, in return for our work, wages of such a miserable stint, that we can barely afford to feed and clothe our families and pay the rent for the houses we have to live in.

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# BOOKS

MELODY FARROW

## The Court-Martial Of Lieutenant Calley

**THE COURT-MARTIAL OF LT. CALLEY.** By Richard Hammer. Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc., 1971, 398 pages.

On March 16, 1968, Lieutenant William Calley, Jr., with the full knowledge of his superior officer, Captain Ernest Medina, entered the Vietnamese village of Mylai and systematically slaughtered almost the entire civilian population of men, women and children.

Calley's trial brought home to thousands of workers the grim reality of what the Vietnam war really was all about. There was no way to hide the fact that murder and destruction of whole villages was not the exception but the conscious way the war was conducted with the full approval of the government and the Army.

It became clear that it was the United States Government which was imposing its domination on the entire population of Vietnam rather than protecting it from the "aggression" of the North.

And it was not long after Calley's conviction, with Nixon personally reducing his sentence from life to twenty years, that the prisoners of Attica were gunned down in cold blood by the same government.

The only merit of Richard Hammer's book, *The Court-Martial of Lieutenant Calley*, is that it gives us a full and detailed account of the trial and the massacre at Mylai. At every point when he is forced to confront who is really responsible and what the Vietnam war exposes about the entire system, Hammer consciously evades it and drowns everything in moral outrage against the "indecent obscene war." He pits the blame not squarely on Nixon and the capitalist class but on the "nation and the American people."

The conclusion we are left with after



reading how Calley in cold blood rounded up everyone in Mylai, threw them in a ditch and machine gunned them to death, is that war is terrible. According to Hammer we are all responsible but we will probably have to live with it for some time to come.

### STALL

It was Richard Ridenhour, a GI who was not even at Mylai that day, who started the investigation by writing a letter to the Army and several Congressmen of what he had heard. The Army did everything it could to stall bringing charges against Calley until a group of Army lawyers threatened to do it themselves.

Of a total of twenty-five people who were originally charged, most of whom were officers, only five stood trial. The

other charges were dropped. Although there was clear evidence of the complicity of General Koster, then a commandant of West Point, the charges were dropped.

General Westmoreland who claimed to know nothing about atrocities in Vietnam wrote a note to Calley's company a few days after the massacre which read:

"Dealt enemy heavy blow. Congratulations to officers and men of C-1-20 for outstanding action."

In the trial witness after witness testified that Calley was the key figure in the massacre. This is the way Dennis Conti, a truck driver and former member of Calley's platoon, described it:

"The people screamed and yelled and fell. I guess they tried to get up too. They couldn't. The people were pretty well



messed up. Lots of heads were shot off, pieces of flesh flew off the sides and arms.... At that time there were only a few kids still alive. Lieutenant Calley killed them one by one. Then I saw a group of five women and six kids going to a tree line. 'Get 'em! Get 'em! Kill 'em!' Calley told me."

Hammer's conclusions are the most reactionary kind of mawkish liberalism. In the very first chapter we are told that the vast majority of American people considered Calley a hero and this is why Nixon was forced to step in and review the case in Calley's favor.

### STANDS

In the second chapter Hammer, a journalist, really begins to reveal where he stands. He states that "as long as there must be wars—and the human condition gives no indication that the day of universal peace is near—their impact must be circumscribed.... War, no less than any other human activity—even an immoral, needless, obscene war—is supposed to be conducted within a framework of well-codified international and military law."

Nixon, Westmoreland and the members of the capitalist class who have perpetrated this war are thus reduced to just another part of some abstract American dilemma. What Hammer seeks to do is cover up the class issues raised, to separate Mylai and Vietnam out of the capitalist system. By saying that we are all to blame, he in fact defends the system. Perhaps Hammer can share Nixon's responsibility but the working class will not.

The workers who declared Calley to be a scapegoat did so not because they thought he was a "hero" but because, as they stated in the survey, they knew that higher ups were to blame, including Nixon and all those before him. They felt that this was consciously being covered up.

The real lesson of Mylai is that Nixon and his class are not only waging a war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants but that this war is coming home to the United States. This has become even clearer in the period since Calley's conviction.

The massacre at Attica, the gunning down of Blacks in the streets of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the murder of George Jackson are the answers of the capitalist class to those who fight to defend their rights and living standards against attack.

The lesson of Mylai is not as Hammer says that America lost its "innocence" but that the real role of imperialism was exposed. What is raised now is the struggle of the working class to overthrow the whole capitalist system.

# FILMS

DAVE NORTH

**DIAMONDS ARE FOREVER.** Produced by Albert R. Broccoli and Harry Saltzman. Starring Sean Connery. Based on the novel by Ian Fleming.

James Bond, the famous 007 agent who has a license to kill for Anglo-American imperialism, is back on the job after a four year leave of absence.

His last adventure had taken place just around the time of the devaluation of Sterling. Her Majesty's special agent is showing the ravages of the ensuing crisis. Bond is no longer the lean and hungry animal who rescued Fort Knox (back in the days when the U.S. backed its currency with gold), pushed Goldfinger out of an airplane, electrocuted Odd-Job, drowned Dr. No, and stuck a knife in the back of a top Soviet spy.

The once dashing psychopath has faded into a jowly dark presence. The killer instinct remains as sharp as ever, but Bond looks about ready for a comfortable desk job at the Defense Ministry—ordering younger anti-communist maniacs into the field.

For the character of James Bond, the world owes its thanks to the late British

novelist Ian Fleming. The detective and adventure stories, which began to appear in the mid-1950's, found immediate popularity among sections of the English middle class who discovered in the triumphs of 007 some small consolation for the defeats of British imperialism in the real world. What did it matter if Britannia lost the Suez and became a general nuisance to world capitalism as long as she had James Bond... in the bookstores.

### IMAGINATIONS

The novels of Ian Fleming won an international reputation after it was learned that the stories of Bond's exploits were regular bed-time reading at the White House of John Kennedy. Almost overnight, James Bond was massaging the imaginations of thousands of middle-class Walter Mittys who dreamed of escaping from their personal desperation into the forbidden world of sex and sadism.

Two driving entrepreneurs named Saltzman and Broccoli decided to quench the thirst for thrills by adapting Bond to the movies. Sean Connery, who had been wandering through an aimless film career for years, was cast as the master killer. On the silver screen Connery was able to project the image of a man who killed wisely and well, drove cars with reckless abandon, made love with casual disregard for his companion, broke the bank at every casino, and always knew whether a feast called for a red or white wine.

## Diamonds Are Forever

Most important of all, Connery looked like a man who had not the slightest concern for any human life: precisely the kind of chap who could be counted on to defend king, country and capitalism.

### KILL

The enemies of Bond were usually agents of the Soviet police or left-wing intellectuals plotting the seizure of the world. Whoever the enemy, a crucial capitalist interest was always involved. And therefore Bond had the right to kill as he pleased. 007 always left his trail strewn with the remains of central and incidental victims.

Bond's exploits are always fantastically executed; but the plots reflect certain realities of the capitalist system. For example, the central problem in *Diamonds Are Forever* is that a rather idealistic character named Blofeld (who dresses a bit like Mao) has secretly seized control of the business empire of a fabulously rich young industrialist. Blofeld tries to make use of the billionaire's wealth as well as the young man's great influence in the American government in order to disarm all the nuclear powers and abolish war.

Of course, neither London nor Washington will put up with this sort of thing. James Bond tracks down Blofeld with the aid of the CIA, kills the peacemaker, and restores the young billionaire (modelled on Howard Hughes) to his former grandeur.



# FARINAS . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

of a 'disturbance of the peace,' i.e., in case the exploited class 'disturbs' its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner."

Today, as the capitalist system enters its deepest crisis, the position of the exploited class does threaten the very existence of the ruling class and the government is prepared to ignore all constitutional rights to defend its position.

## TRADITIONS

Thus, the only defense today must be based on the lessons of the past struggles and the strength of the organized working class. The defense of Sacco and Vanzetti which based itself on "all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts" was

## SPARTACIST . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

in the United States today. He warned, 'We'll all be in concentration camps in a few years if something isn't done—that's how far they will go!'"

Not only have we seen fascism arise in racist hysteria in Forest Hills, not only has this now spread to Rockaway, not only is JDL attacking minority and radical youth on many campuses, but since these lines were written we have Baton Rouge! Spartacist does not see the danger in these tendencies because it does not see the seriousness of the capitalist crisis.

It bases itself on the complacent, well-fed middle classes and is determined that the working class youth keep their distance and not, heaven forbid, get too hot under the collar over anything! We, however, stand with Lenin, who said:

"Recruit the youth more widely and again more boldly, without fearing them."

Thus the Young Socialists will recruit youth from dances, sports activities, off the streets, in their homes, because we will never find them at Spartacist meetings.

able to stay the death penalty for seven years. The Farinas defense roots itself in these traditions.

A nationwide speaking tour is currently being planned. The Defense Committee urges most strongly that all supporters of Juan Farinas do their utmost to organize defense meetings, get motions passed in their unions demanding that the Supreme Court hear this case, plan activities to gain as much possible publicity for the case and send contribu-

## SEEK . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

and the date the students in the Alamac Hotel will be evicted. The Council purposely chose to be vague or not give any answers at all.

The SEEK dormitory was originally to be closed by February 1st. Rumors have extended the date to May. This is being used by the Council to build false hopes. At the same time it makes excuses by stating that the closing is due to new ownership of the hotel.

Sam Brown, a councillor at the SEEK dorm has used Black nationalism to try to forcibly eject members of the Young Socialists who requested a room to hold a meeting of interested students on how to fight the budget cuts.

The Young Socialists are holding a meeting on the 19th of January with the understanding that the youth are the first to feel

## CHICAGO TEACHERS . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

compromise offer. The offer, which was passed by the leadership body in a close 158-133 vote, rescinds the cuts in benefits, but limits the pay raise to 5.5%. Still in the plans are the elimination of 1,036 positions, and the cutting of 11 days from the school year.

Desmond could only answer charges that the school closing would wipe out the wage raise by saying that he is confident that the closing can be averted again when the time comes. He also

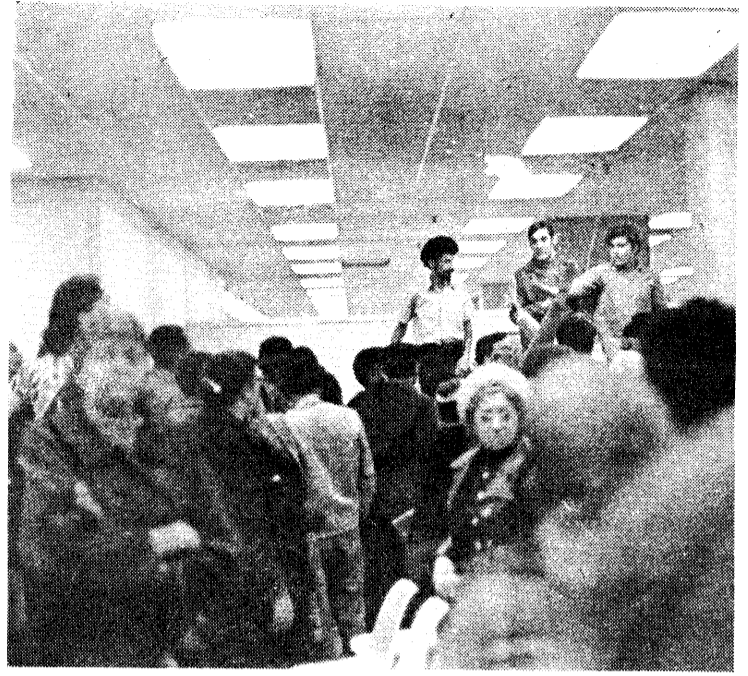
tions to defray the costs of the defense campaign.

A new brochure is available to use as a campaign tool. In spite of Nixon's efforts to pack the Supreme Court with extreme right wingers, we must make it as hard as possible for them to avoid the political and constitutional issues raised by this case. Contact the Defense Committee at: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th St., 6th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.

the brunt of the attacks of the capitalist crisis. The leadership of the SEEK Council must be exposed for their diversion into reformist programs which at every point tries to destroy the movement of the youth.

At this meeting a proposal will be put forth to call a demonstration in front of the Alamac Hotel with all students and school organizations participating.

The building of a Young Socialist club at City College becomes critical with the current situations. The youth of today are faced with massive unemployment, budget cuts, and the Vietnam war that are reflections of what capitalism has to offer the working class as a whole in this period. The youth must call upon the trade unions to take up the fight with the understanding that the battle must encompass an all out confrontation with the government.



Welfare clients occupied Lower Manhattan Welfare Center Tuesday, Jan. 18 protesting backlog which makes them wait days before being seen. City eggs them into taking it out on overworked workers.

## JDL . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

backs, including a student strike. At an antiwar meeting, the same strategy was raised.

The JDL chose to return a record to the juke box in the Student Union Building. The song—an Israeli marching tune—added to the atmosphere in which over a hundred JDL members invaded the building, wearing motorcycle helmets and carrying chains. Black students were assaulted and a riot was incited which racially polarized the campus and aborted the student movements.

The middle class today is shaken by the sharpening class battles. It is more fearful of the working class than the offensive of the rulers, and reacts hysterically. It was not just the extreme nationalism of the Nazi movement that made it dangerous, it was the mobilization of a section of the middle class against the working class itself. This and all the hooliganism marks Nazis and JDL alike.

## RALLY

The Workers League understands the great danger of fas-

cism in this period, and held a rally against the JDL in December. JDL members were barred not just because over a dozen were carefully staked around the rally, but in light of all the disruptions the organization has carried out in the past.

Neither the nationalists nor the revisionists supported the rally. The reaction of the liberals and the Administration was quick. They were horrified at "discrimination." Not only did the Administration warn the Workers League of legal action involved in attempts to defend their meetings but a campus newspaper placed the Workers League to the right of the JDL. The liberals on the campus end up defending the activities of the JDL.

We intend to carry out a campaign on campus to defend the financial aid programs and to carry out a fight to drive the fascists out of existence. The grovelling of the liberals should serve as a warning to all. We urge all youth to join the Young Socialists and take our fight forward. If not, the JDL may be knocking at your door next.

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## Howard Hughes

# Last Of The Robber Barons

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The strange case of Mr. Howard Hughes who last week emerged from his penthouse seclusion after 20 years is really not a mystery after all. The commentators for the capitalist press are trying to titillate their readers with wild James Bond tales and theories about the Hughes mystery, making it appear as if Mr. Hughes is just an eccentric, out of place in American capitalist society, or the victim of a nasty trick by some reporters or his erstwhile employees.

Needless to say Mr. Hughes is very much a part of the capitalist system. In many ways Mr. Hughes' crisis is the crisis of the capitalist system itself. This of course is what the press wants to hide.

Hughes is the last of the robber barons, really THE robber baron of the twentieth century. The Rockefellers and Mellons laid the basis for their fortunes in the 19th century. Hughes built his 2.5 billion dollar fortune on the boom after the Second World War.

### SPECULATORS

Hughes was just slightly more sophisticated than his mentors in the nineteenth century. It is not quite the same as the days of the speculators like Fiske and Gould who tried to row a boat across the Hudson River filled with gold bullion. Hughes does his robbing and his speculating from a well guarded penthouse, slipping in and out of the country in numerous disguises.

Hughes emerges precisely as the crisis of his system and the movement of the working class is threatening his precious profits. For the last month he and his agents have sought to break the strike of Air West workers on the West Coast. As he dines every night on 20 ounce steaks on Paradise Island he seeks to break the

struggle by the workers for subsistence.

### BOOM.

Nixon's severance of the dollar from gold now reveals the fictitious character of much of the capital Hughes and others based their fortunes on in the boom. The boom could not hide forever the contradictions of capitalism which now explode. This is what brings Hughes out of his hole.

Hughes disappeared into seclusion at the beginning of the boom quietly collecting his billions. Now he merges again fully aware that his bloated fortune is threatened.

### FDR

Hughes did not start off as a poor man. At 19 he inherited the half million dollar business Hughes Tool Co., owned by his father. Hughes next went into the motion picture business. During the war Hughes was given 18 million dollars by the government and granted the aviation award by FDR. Hughes used the 18 million to build a 200 ton eight engine plywood flying boat which he flew for a mile at 70 feet, once.

Hughes owned the majority of shares in Trans World Airlines which he lost control of in 1961 because of mismanagement. For a long time Hughes had been ordering jets without the cash the companies were now demanding in payment. A lawsuit is still pending against Hughes to the tune of \$145 million for his role in TWA.

### NEVADA

Hughes used the \$546 million he got from selling his TWA shares to buy up Las Vegas and Reno, Nevada putting it in hotels, casinos and land speculation, profitable businesses in boom time.

### NIXON

It has already been revealed that Hughes "lent" over \$200,000 to Nixon's family at the time he was campaigning against Kennedy. Of course it was never paid back and Mr. Hughes, as one of his former employees has pointed out, got a long awaited tax exemption for his Medical Foundation for his favor.

Also involved in this den of thieves was LBJ's former Defense Secretary Clifford Clark who worked for Hughes as a "legal adviser" and reportedly arranged the loan.

Hughes only reveals the complete cynicism of the capitalist class. When Hughes had the courts running after him,

he simply moved his headquarters to the Bahamas. Hughes like the rest of his fellow capitalists knows that the courts and laws are for the working class. With all the arrogance and contempt of the millionaires who run this country he simply brushes them aside.

Hughes has emerged now at least in print and voice over a book to be soon published by McGraw Hill, a record of his years of wheeling and dealing. Hughes obviously gave the story to Clifford Irving the author of the book. He has already reportedly received \$700,000 from it and expects much more.

Clifford has said of Hughes' acceptance of the sum:

"Howard Hughes did not get to be a billionaire by giving things away for nothing. He has a certain pride. He feels, 'I'm worth this much and that's what I want.' He asked for it and he got it."

### CRACKING

But Hughes did not just ask for some royalties. Could it be that Hughes wanted the million or two he will surely get from this book to bolster his cracking empire and keep him going in the style he has become accustomed to. If huge corporations like Lockheed and Rolls Royce can fall, is Howard Hughes immune from this crisis? Hughes of course hides this behind a tear-jerking claim that he is coming out because all his millions have not made him "happy."

Hughes advisers finally caught up with him and obviously warned him of the legal hot water he was getting himself into with his revelations. In addition to the TWA suit, Hughes is being sued by a long time employee in charge of his Nevada operation who he fired last year. No doubt the Nixon Administration had plenty to say on Hughes' biography which flaunts the crude thievery that predominates in capitalist circles and the relations between the big corporations and their servants in the government. This is why Hughes now denies that he gave the material to Clifford. This way he can have it both ways.

No, Hughes is not simply an eccentric and excrement of capitalism but is in many ways at the heart of it. As he put it, "bribery and favors are at the root of the American political system." And Hughes should know having had many dealings with presidents whose sole purpose it is to preserve the profits of the Hughes and Rockefellers.

The laws and the courts have not kept



Howard Hughes with Ava Gardner in 1956

Hughes out of the country or out of business. He simply comes and goes as he pleases varying his disguises and using phony passports. No doubt the bankers and the government are quite aware of Hughes' comings and goings. It is another matter for those Nixon and his press term "illegal aliens" who come here to escape the poverty of the countries they were born in. It is another matter for militants like Angela Davis.

### DECAY

Hughes very much represents the capitalist class in its collapse and decay. These are the billionaires that now seek to preserve their profits by destroying the working class.

Why does Hughes live locked up in a penthouse with the security of Fort Knox. Is it because he wants privacy, or is it because he fears that the working class will expropriate him and his fortune? One thing is sure—all the security guards in the world are not going to save him from this fate. Even the phantoms of the capitalist class will have their day.

## Czechoslovakia

# Stalinists Launch New Wave Of Terror

BY DAVID NORTH

The Stalinist regime of Czechoslovakia is in the midst of a vicious crackdown against all opposition elements within that country. Even the sketchy reports of the official Czechoslovak press agency indicate that the present terror wave is the most serious since the 1968 Soviet invasion.

The Government's round-up is concentrated upon prominent individuals who expressed even the slightest support for the reformist measures of Alexander Dubcek. But the broad scope of the repression is revealed by the reports that citizens are being arrested for having written critical letters to government officials.

Open expression of discontent within the Czechoslovak working class is the basis for the latest Stalinist drive against the population. The first series of arrests occurred during election time, and the prisoners were charged with urging the population not to vote for the government's slate of candidates. Some were charged with even more serious "crimes," such as having attempted to organize "anti-state" cells.

The regime has also arrested individuals not directly involved in political life. World-renowned chess grand master Ludek Pachman is among those who have fallen into custody. Milan Huebl, former rector of the Communist Party college, and Karel Kincl, a leading radio and television commentator during the Dubcek regime, have also been arrested.

It is in Czechoslovakia that Stalinism has committed its bloodiest crimes. The notorious Rajk and Slansky trials must be recalled today, for the current arrests foreshadow the outbreak of terrible repressions. The arrests expose the panic of

the crisis-torn bureaucracy as it faces a powerful working class unbroken by the Soviet invasion.

### OPPOSITION

The latest repressions demonstrate that the bureaucracy has been unable to come to grips with the forward thrust of the Czech working class that began in 1968. The Soviet invasion and three years of continuous purges have not brought the ruling clique any real stability. Rather, political opposition to the Stalinist regime is deepening not only in Czechoslovakia but within the Soviet Union as well.

The crisis of Stalinism, which flows from the impending smash up of world capitalism, reflects itself in every country under the control of the reactionary bureaucracies. For this reason, the arrests in Czechoslovakia are supplemented by a new wave of terror in the Soviet Union.

Vladimir Bukovsky, who exposed the use of insane asylums by the KGB against political opponents, faced a kangaroo court two weeks ago and received a

savage sentence. Since then the political police have stepped up their offensive. The homes of eight Moscow dissidents were raided last week, and the papers of historian Pyotr Yakir were seized. Yakir's father was the famous general murdered by Stalin in 1937.

In both the Bukovsky case and arrests in Czechoslovakia, references have been made to the distribution of illegal reading material. This fact is not without significance. Nothing scares the bureaucracy more than the possibility that the dissidents will be able to communicate with the working class. It is for this reason that the Kremlin was enraged by the fact that Bukovsky had sought to gain access to a printing press.

Recently a manifesto passed secretly among Czech workers has come to light. The leaflet urges workers to fight in the trade unions and the Communist Party against the leadership which is suppressing democratic rights. The manifesto calls on the workers in the plants to form a "revolutionary nucleus" to mobilize the masses against the bureaucracy.



## South Africa

# Strike Movement Challenges Apartheid Regime

BY ED SMITH

For more than a month nine thousand Black workers press-ganged into work in South African industry from their homeland of Ovamboland have been on strike against South Africa's apartheid regime.

Ovamboland has long been the center of guerilla resistance to the South African occupation of South West Africa. Now a general strike movement has sprung up under conditions of the harshest repression demanding abolition of the infamous contract-labor system or the return of the Ovambos to their homeland.

Under the contract-labor system, a semi-governmental agency, the New South West Africa Labor Association, sent agents into the Black areas to recruit able bodied men with collaboration of local chiefs. These men are then forced to work at an average wage of no more than 50 cents a day for nine months. During this period they are forced to leave the area where they live.

The men are subjected to the most brutal restrictions and repressions, confined for the whole nine months to an area of a few square miles by the pass laws while every last possible bit of labor is extracted from them. The men themselves have absolutely no choice of whether they want to work in the contract scheme or not.

The Ovambo strike is a symptom of the sharpening crisis of South African capitalism and its leaders in the Vorster government. The entire foundation of

South Africa's "progress" and "prosperity" has been the atrocious super exploitation of the Black South Africans.

The keystone of this superexploitation has been the apartheid system of segregation and repression instituted first by the British colonialists and enthusiastically continued by their white South African continuators and clients.

South Africa's economy has long been controlled approaching something like 90% by British capital. Recently American, German, Japanese, and other firms have also acquired a stake in the area. The slave labor of the Black and colored South Africans has become crucial to imperialism in this era of falling profits and economic crisis. This is why the fight of these workers meets such determined resistance from imperialism's servants in the Vorster regime. This is why the apartheid policy has always teetered at the brink of genocide.

So far the government has repatriated more than a thousand Ovambos—especially the strike leaders—back to their homeland. But eventually the issue will have to be met head on.

There are two courses open to the South African masters. Either they can intervene directly with the army to start work again and break the strike. Or they can try another Sharpeville massacre.

On March 21, 1960, several thousand African workers gathered in the township of Sharpeville to protest the pass laws which require every African worker to



Black mine workers at South African gold mine who are in near-slavery.

produce an I.D. card at any time on demand and moreover to stay within areas outlined on the card. Police surrounded the rally and without warning opened fire. The official count later totalled 71 workers dead, 182 wounded.

The next day the first of a series of protest strikes that eventually grew to general strike dimensions took place. Nine days later a march of tens of thousands

right into the center of Cape Town protested the massacre and the whole apartheid slave system.

Eventually the whole country was put under a state of emergency and the movement crushed by the arrest of tens of thousands, more massacres and the final reinforcement of the South African police state system.

News of the Sharpeville developments shook the capitalist stock exchanges of the world. Shares of DeBeers mining fell 33 million pounds, Anglo-American fell 11 million and Western Holdings three million. The capitalists well understood that capitalism was doomed in South Africa without apartheid. It was impossible to get rid of one without doing away with the other.

Today the Vorster regime confronts the Ovambo strike from a much weaker position than it did in 1960. The international capitalist crisis is ravaging the economy. South Africa recently devalued its currency, the rand, by over 12%. And now the African workers enter directly on the path of class action instead of the course of reformist protest politics under nationalist leadership that in fact left open the door for the massacre in 1960.

Now the economic crisis forces the capitalist class all over the world to introduce the same conditions of superexploitation on their own workers that have been imposed in South Africa.

The fact that the South African workers have not been beaten down by this system, but are in fact beginning a new fight back stronger and on a higher level than ever, shows that conditions are rapidly developing for this capitalist offensive to be thrown back and destroyed for good.

## Britain

# Miners Raise Fight For General Strike

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

The current strike of 280,000 British coal miners against the Tory Government's National Coal Board is the most decisive confrontation of the working class and capitalists in Britain since 1926.

It was the coal strike of 1926 that led to the General Strike which was sold out by the labor bureaucrats heading the TUC (Trades Union Congress), leaving the miners isolated and defeated. But this happened only after bitter resistance lasting over six months.

Today, the British working class is far stronger than 1926 and the crisis of British capitalism is much deeper. The Tory government following the devaluation of the dollar, entry into the Common Market, and the opening up of a vicious trade war, is determined to take on and defeat the miners in order to smash the working class as a whole.

The right wing paper, the Daily Mail, points out the government's preparation for civil war when it says that "the government will take powers to move the ten million tons of coal already mined and stocked...and to ship coal and oil supplies from overseas."

Clearly, the capitalist government is preparing the use of troops to break the strike and hold the line on Mr. Heath's "guideline" of 7.5% for wage increases.

The miners have been bled dry by inflation, while the capitalists who get compensation from the mines and the NCB bureaucrats are living it up. The miners are demanding a 46% increase. Many miners now take home less than \$40 per week.

The understanding and determination to take on the government is expressed in many statements by miners who spoke

with reporters from the British Trotskyist daily paper, the Workers Press.

"They can't put 300,000 men in jail," said South Wales miner, Gwynn Burton who is secretary of his local of the National Union of Miners. On the same theme another South Wales miner, Ted Priddle, said: "If they try moving coal stocks they'll need a police escort all the way."

The situation is rapidly moving toward a general strike, with the rank and file strike committees taking the initiative to bring out all other workers who handle coal in any way—drivers, seamen, dockers and power workers.

### SUPPORT

Despite the efforts of the union leaders to hold back this movement, support is rapidly growing. Miners in Nottinghamshire were among the first to mount a 24 hour picket of three key power stations. This has already led to the stoppage of any coal moving into the largest power station in the area which normally uses 30,000 tons of coal a day.

The ability of the workers to paralyze the power supply will bring things to a head within days rather than weeks.

The government is relying not only on fake "left" union leaders such as Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones, but on the Stalinists who cover up for Scanlon and Jones. The open scabbing of international Stalinism is expressed in the continued shipment of coal into England from

Poland, a repetition of the Stalinist strikebreaking aid to the Franco government against the Asturian miners.

The miners now have to fight for workers control of the nationalized mines and an end to compensation for the old owners. Above all this is a fight to force the Tory government to resign and to replace it with a Labour government that will carry out socialist policies.

The wife of one of the striking miners expressed it when she said, "If we go under here they'll put the working class back 50 years; they'll crucify the working man...For my money it wants a General Strike to put the country back on its feet. The working class should stand together—I've always thought that. Anyone who knows anything knows this is a political strike."

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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# Phone Company Hits Operators With Speed-Up

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Recent changes in work rules are threatening the jobs of phone operators in San Francisco. New work rules include cutting services by operators on each long-distance call.

This greatly reduces the time spent by operators on most calls which will mean a speed up of up to 30%. The reason for this change is the economic crisis, which Bell arrogantly admits will be taken out on its employees.

Up until now the slack has been taken up by a total freeze on hiring and by the use of "Excused Time,"—encouraging workers to apply in advance to take time off. This system of voluntary layoffs has worked in the past to keep down labor costs in slack times.

But the company has now made it clear that this is no ordinary situation. Supervisory personnel have been demoted and switched to shorter work weeks. The ranks of the operators have been reduced through attrition. Now the speed up caused by the new work rules threatens imminent layoffs.

Members of the Communication Workers of America have shown their determination to fight for their living standards in the militant strike last summer. At the same time the national CWA leaders and the local leadership across the country have done their best to cooperate with the Bell System in preparing the destruction of the CWA.

Their active complicity in the sellout of last summer's strike and their criminal silence in the matter of the continuing New York strike shows their unwillingness to participate in even the

## LOCKHEED . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

What Benda and Smith and all the others are fighting against is the workers using their power. So last Wednesday at the demonstration in San Francisco, Benda says we'll take this fight to the courts. He consciously pulls back from that strength and tries to divert it, telling the workers to go back to the plant and he'll take care of it. But to fight back means constructing a new leadership in the trade unions themselves.

IAM Member: That would eliminate everything we have up there now. And I want to make it very clear to you that I'm all for it. What are you going to do about the government passing some kind of law? Like they say someone is causing riots so they pass anti-riot laws so you can't speak your piece now. We don't have freedom of speech any more in this country.

Angela Davis can never get a fair trial. She's got two things against her; she's Black and she believes in a different system, a change, and that's against her.

I know it would be a dreadful situation if they ever broke the trade unions. I don't even want to imagine what would happen.

IAM Member: I can see what it's leading to. I've thought about some of this, but this really broadens my mind. A change has to come, because there's no future under capitalism.

most elementary defense of the union. At the same time, they have given their unblushing support (and union funds) to the campaigns of every rotten enemy of labor the Democratic Party has to offer, from Alioto to Hubert Humphrey.

The San Francisco ranks have expressed their willingness to defend their New York strike. At the last membership meeting of the CWA the announcement of a raffle to raise money for the striking plantmen and the "possibility" of a supporting demonstration brought widespread cheers and applause. Since then local leadership has done nothing to call such a demonstration.

The Bell System is using the isolation of New York phone workers to weaken the union and prevent resistance to layoffs and speed up. It has full government complicity in its attempts.

The sentiment of the ranks must be channelled into a united fight against strikebreaking, against the attacks, and against productivity schemes.

## SFCC Hacks Assault SWP Campaigners

BY A CITY COLLEGE STUDENT

SAN FRANCISCO—The Administration of City College here moved against left wing organizations last week.

The Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley were running a slate of candidates for student government and had a banner to that effect taped to the wall outside of the cafeteria. A fight erupted when Administration flunky, Flannigan, aided by his assistant, Chris Davis, moved to tear down the banner.

Flannigan sought to defend his

## YOUTH . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

don't agree with that. For example, they passed a law saying that any kind of material can be given out on campus, like leaflets and papers, if it's non-profit. The catch is that it first has to be approved by the school district. That's no different than before, except they are trying to fool us. Bulletin: What do you see as the answer to the problems you raised?

Youth: Well, as I said, I don't think they are problems just in themselves. They are part of many things that are happening now, like the economic situation and the Vietnam War. Those are part of capitalism, and that is what has to be changed. I'm not too clear right now on what needs to be done, but we have to become political. I know for sure that we need socialism. That is the only way we will have a chance for any kind of life. We have to have socialism, and it takes a big movement to get it.



Over 1,000 aerospace workers from Sunnyvale, Calif. rallied on January 12 against Pay Board's decision to knock down their 12% wage increase. Workers called for general strike.

# IAM Ranks Rally Against Pay Cuts

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO—A near rebellion took place at a demonstration held by the IAM to protest the rejection of the aerospace workers contract. The rank and file yelled down their bureaucrats with calls for an immediate strike of the aerospace industry and a general strike.

Aerospace workers from the Sunnyvale Lockheed plant shut down operations and staged a one day walkout to protest the Pay Board's deci-

sion against the 12% wage increase won by the IAM and UAW.

Close to 1,000 workers drove over 40 miles to hold a demonstration at the San Francisco Federal Building against the Pay Board and to show the government they were ready to fight.

The demonstration was called by the leadership of IAM Locals 508 and 2228 along with support from other locals of the IAM in the Bay Area. At every point the union leaders tried to keep their ranks from demanding a strike or even a strategy to keep their contract.

The bureaucracy told their workers to plead to Congress and to elect Democrats to fight the Pay Board, and their "unfair" decision. Not one word was mentioned about the fact that IAM President Floyd Smith still sits on the Pay Board that just rejected his workers' contract.

The only thing that the union leadership posed was to send a telegram to Boulton, head of the Board, asking him to reconsider the judgement against the aerospace contract.

Throughout the rally IAM 508 President Ken Benda sought to

cool down the angry rank and file and tried to disperse the demonstration early. In his short talk to the demonstrators Benda told the workers to go back to work on the next day and to wait for guidelines to be set by the Pay Board, even though he stated that the IAM would not settle for anything less than the full 12% the first year.

When Benda attempted to answer shouts of workers for a strike saying that now was not the time to strike, he was drowned out by calls for not only an immediate strike of aerospace but also for a general strike. Benda was unable to finish and had to hand the speakers platform to another bureaucrat who refused to say anything at all.

This rebellion of the ranks of the IAM must be taken forward with the construction of a caucus around the demands for:

- Strike aerospace for full 12% first year—wage reopens second and third years.
- Labor off Board—general strike to end Phase Two entirely.
- Support to SWP Presidential candidates on a socialist program. Build a labor party.

**HARASSING**  
Davis in particular has a long history of harassing students who are attempting to distribute literature. He is thought by many to be a cop, and that is certainly his function. More than once he has ejected Bulletin salesmen from the cafeteria.

This latest attack is aimed at raising the restrictions on campus political activity to a higher level. The speed with which the Administration sought newspaper publicity and support only exposes the intensity of the red-baiting campaign being planned.

Faced with economic crisis, with student loans drying up, and with the prospect of "graduating" more and more students into the unemployment lines, the Administration feels that only the most stringent controls on campus political activities can guard against unrest.

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# West Coast News

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

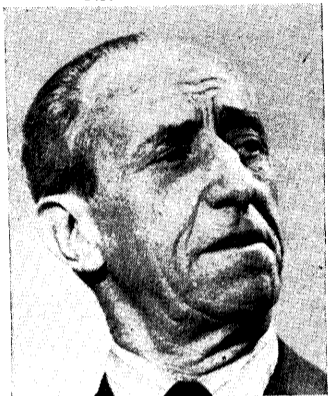
## SHOWDOWN ON THE DOCKS

on the wage fund that will in effect mean very little protection.

Even these concessions are not enough for the PMA. They refuse to make the contract retroactive and on the question of the wage guarantee insist on a 5.2 million dollar ceiling. Bridges is demanding an additional two to three million dollars to be added by a container tax on containers handled by non-ILWU workers.

The PMA has made its stand on retroactivity and refuses to concede on the royalty question as a deliberate provocation in order to force a strike and bring in anti-union government action.

are now in the greatest political battle in the history of the union. What is at stake here is the very survival of the union and the right to work at all.



Harry Bridges

Rank and file longshoremen

The 40 hour guarantee with no strings and no limits as well as the elimination of the steady men are life and death questions to dockers. A big wage increase, a few more pennies on royalties and even jurisdiction mean very little when thousands of jobs are threatened and entire ports are to be eliminated under containerization.

The only way forward for dockers is the decision to take on and defeat anything the government attempts to throw at the union. Injunctions, court orders, new legislation, special congressional orders and even troops must be defied and defeated.

Even more than the aerospace freeze the actions being prepared against the ILWU are designed to destroy every right of the trade unions to exist. Even as congressional action is being contemplated the ILWU must begin a massive campaign to rouse and mobilize the labor movement.

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This is the time for dockers to draw the real lessons of the Democratic and Republican parties' strike breaking lineup. The fight to establish a labor party based on the power of the unions for 1972 is the question of the very survival of the labor movement.

## Student Describes Future Facing San Diego Youth

SAN DIEGO—January 11, 1972—The following is an interview with high school youth in the San Diego area:

**Bulletin:** Have you been able to get work? What do you think the job situation is for young people like yourself?

Youth: I have a part-time job now after school, but the real problem is during the summer. You try to find full-time work, and there isn't any. You can't do a thing with no money, and I know my friends didn't have any better luck. They keep reporting in the papers how bad unemployment is, especially if you're under 25. But I'll tell you, we have to actually live that, and it makes you mad.

**Bulletin:** You are a high school student at present. How would you describe the situation in the schools; the facilities, the education? What relationship exists between the administration and the

students?

Youth: The schools I've been to aren't very good. The main thing is that they don't have good facilities; not even the buildings. Another earthquake could make them collapse on us. And the classes are too big, but look at all the teachers who don't have a job. That's stupid, but it really means that we can't get a good education. A lot of people think there's no use staying, and want to drop out to get an earlier chance at getting a job. But that is no good because it isn't just schools or problems getting a job. The whole society is falling apart.

The administrators want to keep things cool. They figure that if they give in on dress standards and such, then everything will be all right. But that's not it. We have no future now, and there have to be some real changes.

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**Bulletin:** Do you know how many have been laid off?

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job. If you've got a grievance, it's almost washed away between management and one of Benda's representatives. But then when the paper comes out they'll take a picture of some guy who won \$2,000 back pay to make everybody feel good and we're supposed to be so gullible and eat this up. I read and sometimes I get sick of it, because I can compare what I read to what I'm seeing with my own eyes.

I'd say everyone in the plant is pretty disgusted. They know we're weak so they say we'll give you 8% and we can't fight back unless we fight to change the system, which is a great thing and I'm all for it.

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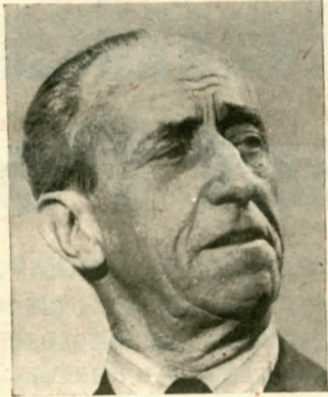
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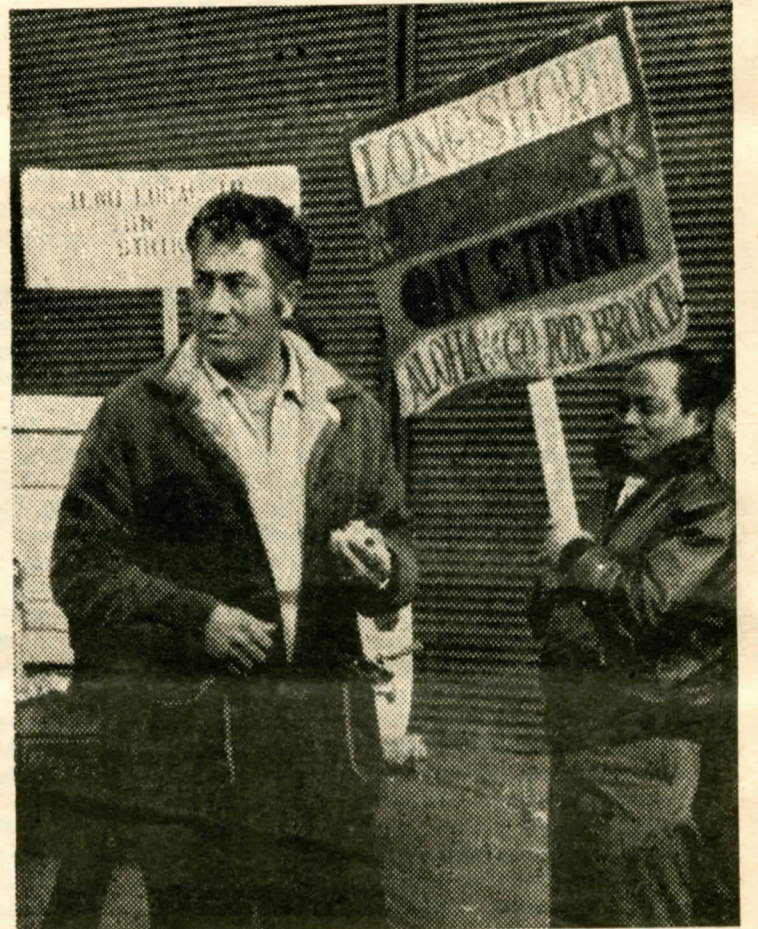
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