

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

HOOVER

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INSTITUTION

VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER TWENTY SIX 235

MARCH 6, 1972

FIFTEEN CENTS



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## On The Spot Report

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BY DAN FRIED

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close the damn mine down! Our contract sets safety standards in and around the mine.

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District 17 of the United Mine

(Continued On Page 16)

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BY A YOUNG SOCIALISTS REPORTING TEAM

NEW YORK—About 900 people attended the national conference of the Student Mobilization Committee held here last week. The conference was marked by the sharp right turn of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance toward the perspectives of Stalinism.

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some of the prisoners lives have been threatened. A witch-hunt is being whipped up against the brothers in the Tombs just as the Tombs 7 case prepares for trial. Above all the state wants to smash the struggle for Marxist theory that the men in the Tombs have taken up. They are preparing for another Africa and for murders like the killing of George Jackson.

Dear Editor:

The time is about 6:30 and the whole prison is in an uproar. Captain Ellis did a dumb thing this time! He told the guards to lock everyone in their cells and that we will eat there. The whole place is really going at it! The men are setting their blankets on fire and throwing at the guards and out on the galleries. There is a detachment of guards in front of my cell and I’m “on watch.” The situation is very serious, but I see an element of humor in it. Imagine, they thought the men would stop struggling because I was isolated. Well, heightened tensions heightens consciousness. The riot squad just showed up: will have to stop writing. They have tear gas guns.

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Juan Farinas’ sole “crime” was distributing a leaflet at his induction opposing the Vietnam War as a war of the bosses against the working class. His case has received wide support from trade unions and working class youth throughout the country. His conviction is clearly a political attack backed by the Nixon Court aimed at the suppression of all who oppose capitalist oppression.

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee is urgently in need of funds to conduct an appeal for reduction of sentence, to defray expenses occurred in recent legal work, and to aid the defendant’s family. Please send contributions to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 6th Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York 10011.

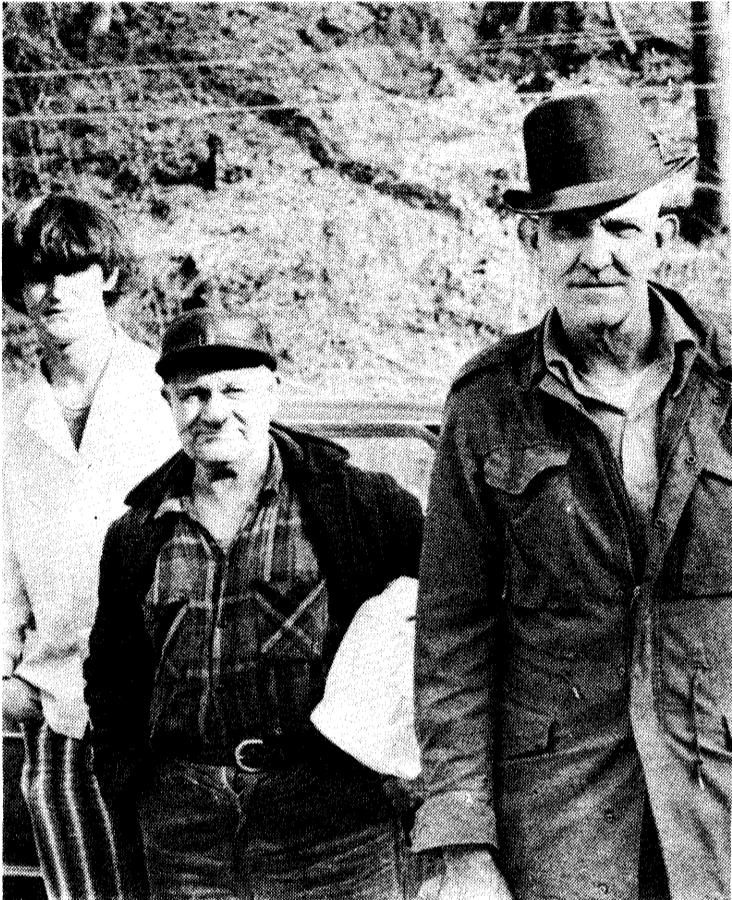
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# Mao To Police Asia For Nixon

BY DAVID NORTH

Richard Nixon is back in Washington with assurances from the Chinese Stalinists that he will have their support in defeating the revolutionary movement of the Asian workers and peasants.

In return for their assistance in stabilizing the shaky Asian concerns of capitalism, Nixon has promised to stop pretending that Chiang Kai-shek will once again reign in Peking.

While Nixon has sacrificed nothing but a few illusions that no one in Washington has taken

seriously for a long time, the Maoist bureaucracy has laid the foundations for the betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution.

At this point, there is some talk of Nixon having made real concessions to the Chinese. But an examination of the joint U.S.-Chinese communique issued before Nixon's departure from

Shanghai shows quite plainly that he has made all his offers contingent upon the resolution of outstanding conflicts in Asia.

## POLICING

While the United States has finally conceded that the sole government of China resides in Peking, it has not guaranteed a return of Taiwan to the mainland. The communique states only that the U.S. "will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes."

Henry Kissinger emphasized at a press conference that the settlement of Taiwan depends upon "the general state of relationships in Asia and in the world. It is in reference to that, that our general decisions on deployments will be made."

In other words, it is up to China to assume responsibility for policing Asia if it desires a pull back of American military might. The first order of business for the Maoists will be the imposition of a Geneva-type settlement upon the Vietnamese.

## HANOI

Hanoi has given clear evidence of its nervousness. In a direct attempt to embarrass the Maoist bureaucracy during the Nixon visit, it broadcast throughout the past week bitter denunciations of the President.

A broadcast in Chinese entitled "Nixon is more vicious than the devil" warned that he "pays lip service to peace, while concealing daggers and arrows."

However, the Hanoi bureaucracy—itsself thoroughly Stalinist—dares go only so far in its criticisms. There are unconfirmed reports that a North Vietnamese delegation met Nixon during his stay in Peking.

## REACTIONARY

Neither Nixon nor Chou En-lai have spelled out the exact substance of their talks. But there can be no doubt that the character of the discussions was totally reactionary. The betrayals negotiated in Peking will reveal themselves not so much in published

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## Allende Capitulates To U.S. Over Copper Compensation

BY A REPORTER

The Popular Unity government of Dr. Salvador Allende has agreed to pay \$84,618,000 to Kennecott Copper for mines fully nationalized during the Allende regime.

In the near future \$174 million will have to be paid to Anaconda and several other corporations whose property has been taken over by the government.

One immediate factor in Allende's turnaround on the compensation, which has been opposed even by elements within Allende's popular front formation, was the blocking of Chilean government bank accounts in the United States by the U.S. Court in New York until the compensation was paid.

But behind this is the fact that Chile has been forced to ask for rescheduling of payments on \$2 billion of debts to its capitalist creditors. Chile's reserves have been reduced to \$100 million with four times that amount due to be repaid in the next two years alone.

## BEGGING

Operating within the conceptions of the "peaceful road to socialism" in a backward country under conditions of deepening capitalist crisis, there is no alternative for the coalition other than begging for concessions from imperialism, which is in any case preparing the conditions for the coalition's own overthrow.

This was pointed up by Allende himself in recent speeches, when he stated that Chile will be unable to depend on the Soviet Union and Eastern European bureaucracies for vital imports



Salvatore Allende Gossens, President of Chile.

and economic assistance. This leaves "no alternative," according to Allende, but to turn to the capitalist countries and patch up relations with them.

What must be noted is that it was precisely such Soviet aid that made possible the propping up of the Castro regime in Cuba over a whole period.

Allende is in fact blazing the road for Castro himself to make his accommodation to imperialism. The economic crisis will force the Soviet Union to view Cuba increasingly as a bad economic risk with little prospect for return, thereby pushing Castro onto the Allende path.

The conditions for this are already being prepared by the general economic stagnation in Cuba.

## Pathan Workers Fight Bhutto Oppression

BY ED SMITH

A growing movement for national autonomy by the two "Pathan" provinces of Pakistan—Baluchistan and North-West Frontier—is raising the specter of another Bangla Desh, this time within West Pakistan itself.

The separatist agitation is being accompanied by a wave of strikes by Pakistani civil servants and policemen. The intervention of the military into the strikes has led to one death.

Besides making economic demands, the police and civil servants have charged the Bhutto government with mismanaging the country.

The Pathans are a national mi-

nority ethnically and historically separate from the dominant Punjabis. They speak a common language—Pushtu—and have been kept in a state of semi-feudal economic backwardness by imperialism, exploited economically by the ruling Punjabis.

Now, following the liberation of Bengla Desh, many of the Pathans hope to follow the Bengali example. Many Pathans supported the Bengali secession movement, seeing that the Bengalis were fighting against their own enemy.

The dominant party among the Pathans is the National Awami Party, a nationalist group traditionally tied to Moscow Stalinism.

The Party's leader, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, said: "We've had many opportunities to secede, most recently during the war with India, but we never took advantage of Pakistan. That shows how we support Pakistan's integrity."

But this does not reflect the sentiments spreading through the ranks of Khan's own party. The president of the Peshawar City Committee of the NAP told the *New York Times*:

"Bhutto (the Pakistan President) is acting like Hitler. If he lifts martial law and restores democracy, if he allows Pathans self-government, if he recognizes Bangla Desh and makes friends with India, we are ready to stay within Pakistan. Other-



Imperialist leader Nixon prepares to watch "revolutionary ballet" Flanking him are Chou En-lai and Chiang Ching (Mao's wife).

## Israel Launches Raids On Lebanon Villages

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The Israeli army, which occupies territory belonging to three Arab countries that lie on its borders, has now moved to grab land belonging to the fourth.

For the past four days, Israel has launched massive air and infantry attacks against Lebanon. Tanks have been used to level border villages that Israel claims are guerrilla havens.

The resumption of all-out war against the Palestinians came just as U.N. envoy Gunnar Jarring arrived in Jerusalem to discuss the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the 25 year war between the Zionists and the Arab people.

Knowing very well that it is acting with the full support of American imperialism, Israel has defied all appeals from the United Nations to halt its attacks against Lebanon.

A spokesman for the Golda Meir government flatly rejected the latest Security Council resolution on withdrawal from Lebanese territory, stating: "The Security Council is not going to interfere with our defending ourselves."

In the United Nations, Leba-

nese delegate Eduoard Ghorra described the atrocities committed by the Israeli troops against a defenseless population. "Lebanon was, he declared, "subjected to murderous aggression by a military state drunk with its power."

The attacks against Lebanon are the most severe launched by Israel since the beginning of the ceasefire almost 18 months ago. U.S. built Skyhawks rained bombs and strafed the Palestinian refugee camp at Nabitiyah. This is the first time that a refugee camp has been reported bombed by the Israeli air force.

## Italian CP Seeks Deal In Election

BY ED SMITH

After a reign of only nine days, the Italian government headed by Giulio Andreotti failed to survive a vote of confidence on Feb. 26. It is expected that a caretaker government will be installed until new elections are called this May—a year ahead of schedule.

In preparation for the elections, veteran Communist Party leader Luigi Longo published an appeal in the CP daily, *L'Unita*, for a coalition of the CP, socialists and "left" Christian Democrats.

Longo offers a popular front to Italy's rulers precisely at a time when Italy's class contradictions are sharpening to a

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wise we are armed and ready."

Pathan separatists have battled members of President Bhutto's People's Party and smashed their headquarters, and many expect that the issue will only be resolved through a repetition of the civil war in Bengal—with the difference that the Pathans, a traditionally militarized and well-armed people, would almost certainly make short work of the Pakistanis.

The rapid development of Pathan separatism since the liberation of Bangla Desh demonstrates the breakdown of partition of the Indian subcontinent induced by the imperialists in 1947. It is rapidly being broken up by the movement of the workers and peasants themselves.

# Pay Board To Cut Raise Of Baltimore Meatcutters

BY TIM STEVENS

BALTIMORE, February 28—George Meany's policy of collaboration with the government's Pay Board has finally yielded results as warehouse workers here face annulment of their contract with the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company.

The contract being challenged was negotiated between Local 117 of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and A&P last November and included a 22% wage increase over a 16 month period. This wage increase was won over the course of a militant strike which took place during Phase I of the wage freeze.

It was at this time that Local 117 led the Amalgamated Meatcutters in the call for a general strike against the wage freeze.

## FIGHT

The Bulletin interviewed Gerry Menapace, President of Local 117.

"We are going to fight this," he said. "We will do what we can legally."

When asked if he thought Local 117 can win by fighting through

the Pay Board, he replied: "You can't get justice from the Pay Board or the courts. How can a Pay Board chosen by the White House be nonpartisan? The so-called 'public members' are the most conservative of all."

"The leadership of the AFL-CIO made the decision to go into the Board over the heads of the Amalgamated Meatcutters. And that Meany, with fog for brains, actually advocated this tripartite Board."

Menapace went on to say: "We are not going to lose. We won't do anything illegal. But then again, we can't force the men to do anything they don't want to do. We can't force them to work; we can't stop them from putting up a picket."

Menapace pointed out a recent statement by the A&P on (Continued On Page 18)



The Bulletin interviewed President Menapace of Amalgamated Meatcutters Local 117. Workers in his local may lose their pay increases because Pay Board is intervening for bosses.

# Scabs Shoot 2 Pickets In Humble Oil Strike

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

JAY, FLORIDA—One worker was murdered and another seriously wounded as they stood on a picket line last week in front of a Humble Oil refinery construction site here, protesting substandard wages.

Johnny Jay, 31 years old, was shot dead by the occupants of a car that plunged into the picket line as bullets were fired from the vehicle's windows. Wounded in the

chest by the gunfire was 40 year-old Claude Hollandsworth.

The driver of the car was charged with manslaughter, and his companion has been let off scot

free. Members of the Building Trades Council of Pensacola and Mobile, Alabama, said hundreds of carpenters, electricians, and other tradesmen from the North Florida area had joined the picketing to protest not only wages, but also the use of non-union labor by the Carsa Construction Co., which is building the new Humble facility.

## WITNESSES

Witnesses to the murder said that the car had driven up to the picket line, and that the workers then asked the driver to turn back. But then, as one worker described the event, "the fellow put his car in low gear and stomped it."

As the car began to move, one picketer stated: "Three men ended up on the hood. One fell or jumped up. He slowed his car and then scratched off through the mass of people."

At that point, the driver started firing into the crowd and shot the two workers. The picketers surrounded the car, and seized the occupants, who were rescued by the police.

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# Tories Plan Job Cuts To Reverse Miners Victory

BY A CORRESPONDENT

British miners have voted, by a majority of 96%, to accept the government's wage offer of 21% and to end their seven week strike.

The nationwide mine strike, the first since 1926, brought the Tory government of Edward Heath to the brink of collapse. Faced with the development of a general strike and a determined and united working class, the Tories made a temporary retreat and granted the miners far more than their 7% wage ceiling

allows.

The British miners know that they have dealt the Tories' wage policy an important set back but they also know that nothing fundamentally has been resolved.

Since the end of the strike and the humiliation of the Heath government, the Tories and top businessmen have done more than lick their wounds. They are preparing to reverse the situation by inflicting a devastating defeat upon the engineering workers who are now putting in

pay claims.

At a dinner attended by Heath, the President of the Engineering Employers' Federation, D.C. Bamford, declared: "If the unions are out to test the fibre of our unity, we should leave them in no doubt as to its durability."

In a House of Commons debate February 18th, Tory Minister John Davies warned that the government would seek measures to limit picketing in future strikes.

Davies said that the mass picketing of the miners which

prevented the use of scabs to move coal supplies had "revealed a potential for interference with the life of the nation which few people had anticipated."

Employment Secretary Robert Carr declared that "it is essential that the country as a whole and all those concerned with pay negotiations should accept that the level of the coal mining settlement is due to reasons which are exceptional and do not apply to industry generally."

The Wilberforce inquiry, which recommended the wage increase, also states that the future of miners' jobs depends on a rise in productivity, the closure of non-profitable mines and the loss of thousands of jobs. It warns of the dangers of inflation and that the extent to which the wage increase is reflected in increased

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British coal miners at a Kent pit vote on contract put forward by Tory government's Wilberforce Commission. 20% wage increase broke through Tories' 7% guidelines and shows way for rest of workers.

# Board Declares War On Minneapolis Teachers

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 26—Open war has been declared on the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers, Local 59, by the School Board with its contract proposals for the 1972-73 school year.

Gains that the teachers union has fought for over the years are to be wiped out, the schools turned into prisons for both the teachers and the students, and vicious cuts in the quality and right to education itself are threatened if the board's offer is accepted by the teachers.

First, the board proposes that all first year teachers, regardless of experience, degrees and credits be paid \$6,500 per year, a \$1,000 cut from the present salary for a new teacher with a BA and \$2,130 below what

the Minneapolis Teachers Council, led by the MFT, is demanding.

Further the board proposes that all other teachers remain at their present salary for the 1972-73 school year and receive only a \$25 per month increase for the 1973-74 school year.

The policy of automatic step increases for additional schooling toward a higher degree, which has been an important gain in the quality of education, is to be scrapped by making any salary advancement and even the right to take additional schooling dependent on principal approval.

# St. Louis GM Workers Set Strike On Layoffs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST LOUIS—General Motors workers have voted to strike against speedup and layoffs at the St. Louis plant by a margin of 7 to 1. This follows similar actions at the Flint, Michigan and Lordstown, Ohio plants.

The workers are members of UAW Local 25 which represents 9,000 men at Chevrolet and Corvette factories. As one worker from Chevrolet told the Bulletin: "When you have a thousand out on the street and they keep increasing the work load, there is nothing else you can do."

He said that the demand for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay would have to be included in the next contract as the only means to fight against increasing unemployment.

The GM management in St. Louis has stepped up efforts to intimidate workers and the union from fighting the deteriorating working conditions and increase its productivity.

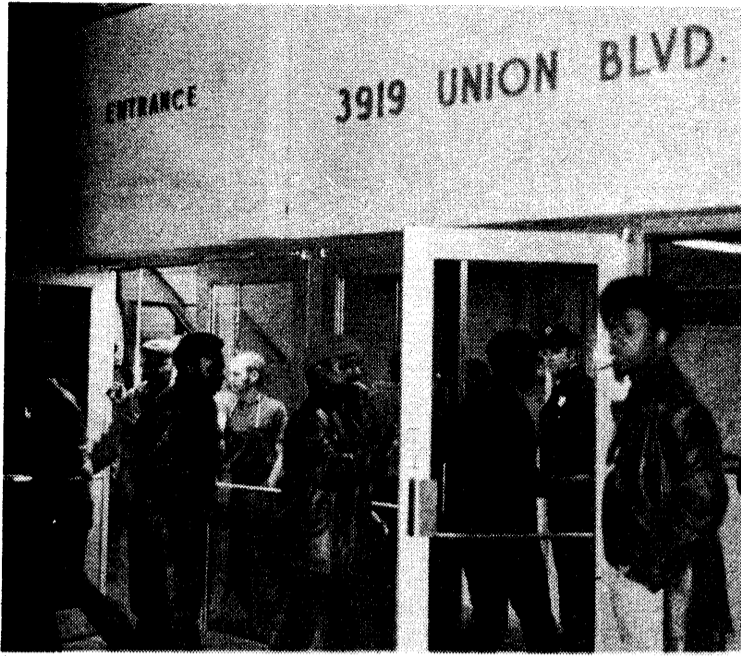
In one incident at the Corvette plant recently, a foreman kicked away a trash can from under a union committeeman as he was writing up a grievance. The committeeman was then refused any medical treatment he required.

Over 3,000 grievances have been submitted by the union since the introduction of the GMAD plant on October 1. Most have been complaints against elimination of jobs. None have brought any action from the management.

In the reorganization of the plant, which was part of the GMAD, the divisions between Fisher Body and Chevrolet were abolished. This has been used to cut union representation by a

half, drive down wages by transferring workers to other jobs and increase work loads.

It is obvious that many workers are being forced to lose their jobs while others must lower their standard of living to maintain the profits of the GM corporation. The only way this situation can be turned around is for a fight to be taken up now.



Workers of UAW Local 25 in St. Louis leave union meeting after 7 to 1 vote to strike against layoffs and speedup at GM plant.

## CNL Demands That Hill Defeat Right Wing In SSEU Election

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The SSEU-371 Committee for a New Leadership has opened up a campaign to defeat the emergent right wing forces in the union who are attempting to make a bid for power in the April elections.

The right wing clique of opportunists, headed up by union Vice President, Bart Cohen, is demagogically trying to use the tremendous dissatisfaction of the workers in the Department of Social Services and in other agencies to ride into power.

### SPEED UP

The situation in the department has greatly degenerated in the past several months. Since reorganization came in, workers have been speeded up as much as three to five times.

The City has brought in efficiency experts—Harvard Business School graduates, whose job it is to speed-up, harass, and push workers out of their jobs, so they can be replaced with lower paid and fewer workers.

Workers in just about every agency represented by the SSEU are facing these kinds of conditions. Civil Service itself is being threatened with destruction. It is under these conditions that this pro-Gotbaum group emerges.

The Cohen forces intend to aid Gotbaum, D.C. 37 head, every inch of the way in his attempt to break the militancy of the SSEU,

traditionally an uncomfortable thorn in Gotbaum's side.

That is why they are so anxious to dump workers in Department of Social Services out into Welfare Commissioner Sugarman's phoney "Community Services" program. Gotbaum would much rather see the workers in DSS split up, sent to storefronts and basements all over the City in the twos and threes, rather than in a strong and united position to raise opposition to his policies.

The welfare centers are becoming virtual cauldrons, where every day incidents flare up between clients and workers because of insufficient staffing, overcrowding, and long waits for services.

In the face of all this, the Committee for a New Leadership is demanding that SSEU President, Stan Hill, take up a fight. The CNL is saying that the only way the right wing can be defeated in April is to expose their phoney militancy by taking up a program which mobilizes the workers now against the City.

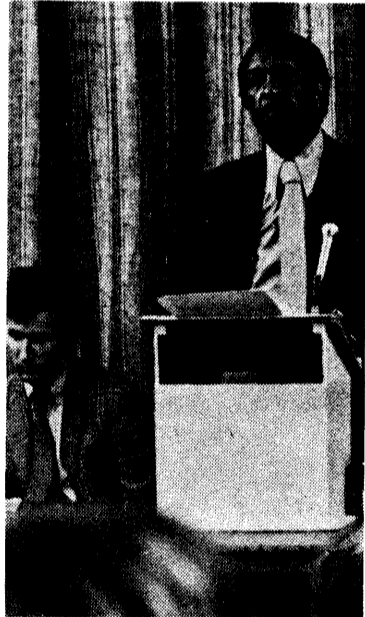
That means, in DSS, the fight for an increase in the ratio of workers to clients through the establishment of additional clerical IM units.

Further, it means full negotiations with the City on all aspects of the Outreach Program, including job specifications, workloads, physical plant, with membership ratification required before anyone goes out.

Lastly, it means that the SSEU must repudiate Gotbaum and Wurf's call for support to Muskie in the '72 electoral campaigns and come out for a labor party.

If Hill does take up this fight, the CNL is prepared to support him in the elections. However, if he does not, the CNL is prepared to wage an independent campaign against the Cohen forces.

The CNL is publishing a monthly newspaper, the Campaigner, to carry forward this fight.



SSEU V.P. Clyde Singleton (r.) and Dennis Cribben of CNL.

## Labor Leaders Squash Dayton General Strike

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON—Threatened with a general strike, the City Government of Dayton has sold the labor leaders a fake 30 day truce. This gives the city officials time to split the workers and sell them out.

The 30 day truce begins exactly when the firemen voted to go out on strike and thereby spark a city wide general strike. It merely calls for the city bosses to delay their recently railroaded slave-labor anti-strike laws' implementation. It does not impede them in their union busting layoffs.

### LAYOFFS

Simultaneously with the sellout truce agreement, the Common Pleas Court ruled in favor of the city in laying off 10 firemen this Monday without regard to seniority. Upon announcement of the ruling, the City Manager stated that he intends to go ahead with the firemen's layoff and proceed to layoff 25 more city employees.

The truce sellout by the labor leaders guarantees no counteraction such as strikes, walkouts, slowdowns, sick-call-ins, during the "cooling off" period.

Dayton's firefighters had voted

strike authorization last week. The 409 members of Firefighters Local 136 voted by a two-thirds margin to strike on March 2nd. The Dayton Fraternal Order of Police were setting a meeting for March 2nd to discuss their action. The Dayton City Workers DPSU Local 101 (AFSCME) were pledged to support the strike.

## Midwest Conference Of Revolutionary Youth

Saturday, March 18th  
10 AM  
Union Hall,  
10 W. 25th St.  
(at Nicollet and 25th)  
Minneapolis

for information, call: (612)-336-9966  
Minneapolis  
evenings & Saturdays

## ILA Ranks Denounce Contract

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, March 1—Copies of the tentative ILA agreement have finally been sent out to members of the union in the Port of New York in preparation for a contract vote on March 8.

ILA President Teddy Gleason went to Brooklyn to try to get the men's support for the contract which is being denounced as a sellout by the rank and file all over the port. Gleason fared no better in Brooklyn than in Manhattan and among the checkers.

At a meeting last night of Brooklyn Local 1814, presided over by ILA Vice President Anthony Scotto—who is also 1814 President—a riot nearly ensued when Scotto and his lieutenants attempted to shut off the mike on the militants who were opposing the contract.

The leadership tried to use intimidation, arbitrary decisions that speakers were "out of order", as well as racist attempts to divide the men.

When these measures didn't work and Scotto found that the vast majority, both Black and white, were sticking together—against the contract, he hastily adjourned the meeting.

**STOP PRESS—Eight striking Fedders workers were arrested Monday morning and many more were injured when over 30 police attacked the picket line in order to bring scabs into the plant.**

**Workers were clubbed, kicked, and dragged on the ground as police charged the picket line without warning. One worker required hospitalization.**

Like longshoremen and checkers in the rest of the port, the 1814 men oppose the contract because its provisions for PDO and multiple debiting, together with a change in job categories, will mean the destruction of seniority and the elimination of men from the docks on an unprecedented scale.

In addition, the men are up in arms over the elimination of the cash travel time benefit, and the payment into the new container royalty fund now to go exclusively to the pension and welfare funds, rather than to the men in cash as in the past.

The 1814 meeting shows that for Gleason and Scotto, the handwriting is on the wall. A massive "NO" vote is being prepared on March 8 and plans are being made throughout the port for wildcat action if Gleason tries to rig the vote as many men fear.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John  
Labor Editor: Dan Fried Art  
Director: Jeannie Cooper  
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# Fedders Strikers Battle Scabs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

EDISON, N.J.—A brutal attempt by the mammoth Fedders Corporation to slash the living conditions of its employees has been answered with strike action that began last Thursday.

All negotiations between Local 483 of the International Union of Electrical Workers and Fedders have been suspended as management is adamantly insisting on a new contract that would wipe out gains made by workers over the last decade.

In an effort to enforce the type of settlement that stripped Frigidaire workers of a portion of their wages and drastically revised work rules, Fedders is offering a contract which calls for speedups, the loss of seven holidays, a cut in the night shift bonus, a drastic reduction of allotted absences with the threat of firings if they are exceeded, and a wage offer that does not even begin to match the cost of living.

The exact offer made by Fedders is: for skilled trades, a twenty cent increase over three years. For all other workers, five cents over three years.

The 2600 workers who walked out of the Fedders plant here were practically locked out. "The company threw all of us out on the street," declared one worker on the first full day of picketing last Friday. "We didn't want to be on strike, but the company forced us out."

### SHOWDOWN

All the workers interviewed by the Bulletin as they signed up for picketing duty agreed that it is Fedders that is looking for a showdown. "We're on strike because the company refused to negotiate in good faith, and is not offering us anything," said a young worker on strike for the first time in his life.

"There was a rumor going

around that the president of the company wanted the men to go on strike in order to teach them a lesson. "He wants to humiliate us and bring them back on his terms. Then he'll probably lay off whoever the company doesn't need."

Fedders prepared for this strike very carefully. For the past two months, the company has been shipping materials to its other plants and rushing the deliveries. At the same time, the company has attempted to provoke antagonism among workers of different nationalities, especially between Cubans and Puerto Ricans.

### SOLIDARITY

But as the picketing began Friday, the solidarity of the workers proved that the Fedders' management had not succeeded. Striking men and women formed tight phalanxes to prevent any vehicle from entering the plant.

Cheers went up from the workers as timid junior executives—slightly pale—set the gears in reverse and pulled back out of the driveway.

A shop steward explained the sentiments of the striking workers: "Some people who don't work might think this is a game. But this is not a game to us. If we don't work, we don't eat."

"But we are not going to give up what we have right now. We are fighting for a cause, and I think we will stick together."

How long will the strike last? "We have to stay out until the company changes its mind or until they give us what we want. Or else we will stay out three months, six months—it doesn't make a difference."

All the workers at the plant have heard about the Frigidaire in Dayton settlement, and many of them see the outlines of an emerging pattern of a campaign to break the living standards of the working class.

"It seems that labor a.ways



"You want to say 5½% with fringes and so forth, that might have met it."



Top, striking members of IUE at Fedders Corp. in Edison, N.J. keep cars from entering plant. Center, IUE representative Truba says union will accept Pay Board guidelines for any wage increase. When Bulletin reporter asked rank and file about this (above), they said "forget it!" has to take the rap," said one angry worker who has been employed at the plant for five years.

"We pay the taxes, we subsidize the corporations, and we're the ones that have to take the first rap. Now that's not fair."

Another worker asserted: "The politicians are all for themselves. They don't care about the working people. When a politician comes to you to get the vote, they say they're going to give you better education, more jobs. But when they get all the way to the top, they forget about the poor people, the working people—that's facts."

It being the first day of the strike, the Bulletin had the opportunity to find a representative of the International near the picket line. Samuel Truba stated that the union had no list of specific demands, and that negotiations would not take place until Fedders improved its offer.

### CONTRACT

Asked about the type of contract the union was seeking, Truba replied: "With the de-

mands Fedders has on the table, there isn't any point to start from."

But Truba insisted that the IUE had only a general idea of what its demands would be. He did explain, however, the approach which the IUE had planned for this contract fight.

"In negotiations you would ordinarily take a position of substantial wage increases. Now, you want to say 7½ percent under the guidelines? That might have met it. You want to say 5½ percent with fringes and so forth, that might have met it."

What Truba and the IUE consider to be a "substantial" increase for the workers who are making \$3.60 an hour is precisely what Nixon is attempting to impose on the labor movement! While the workers are willing to sacrifice themselves and their families in order to win this strike, the IUE bureaucracy is setting its sights no higher than President Nixon will permit.

A worker was asked what he thought of an increase of five to seven percent. He answered:

"No, forget it. No one is going to agree with something like that."

In order to head off the development of an opposition, the bureaucracy is putting up a militant front. Truba declared that the IUE would not accept any cuts in pay or vacations. But his refusal to state openly exactly what the union is demanding clearly shows that the IUE leadership is angling for a deal.

Unlike the bosses who run Fedders, the leadership of the IUE has not attempted to mobilize for this strike. No effort was made to counter the shipment of material to other plants by calling strike action by other IUE workers.

If this strike is to be won, it will be necessary for the striking workers to understand right from the start that their fight must be carried into all sections of the labor movement. This fact is recognized by many of the men and women at the plant.

"We have to fight on a bigger level," said one older worker. "We should do like workers do in the European countries. They have a labor party."

# Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

## SSEU Head Endorses YS March For Jobs

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

Stanley Hill, president of the Social Service Employees Union-Local 371 has endorsed the March 29 Young Socialists demonstration against unemployment. It is significant that this endorsement came through because the YS are urging all the unions to support this fight against unemployment.

The SSEU, like almost every other union, has been hit severely with layoffs and job cuts. The unemployment in New York has skyrocketed at an unbelievable rate. According to the statistics by the State Department of Labor it is now 6.5 percent. Among minority youth, the percentage is at least four times as high.

In Attica almost one out of every 10 persons is out of work. The rate there is 9.8% as compared to 7.6% in January of last year. The total employment in the state last month was 7,575,000, a decrease of 135,000 from last year's figure of 7,710,000.

In the city the jobless rate of 5.7% is the highest since 1966. This is happening at a time when in the coming months the demand for jobs will be much greater because of tuition hikes that will force youth out of school.

The State Universities trustees announced that the tuition

Marcias Tarrats, president of IUE Local 483 in Perth Amboy, N.J., announced Wednesday his support of the March 29 Young Socialists demonstration against unemployment. He promised the full cooperation of Local 483 with the YS in organizing the demonstration, and stated that he would attempt to assemble a delegation of striking Fedders workers to participate in the demonstration.

increases would affect 148,000 students starting the summer semester of 1972, rather than in 1973 as originally planned. The new rate is \$650 for freshmen and sophomores, \$800 for juniors and seniors, \$1200 for graduate students and \$1600 for graduate students in medicine and dentistry.

For those students from out of state, fees will go from \$1000 to \$1500. On top of this dormitory fees will rise \$100 a year.

These attacks by the govern-

ment have continued to increase. On the one hand people who have jobs are losing them, while on the other those in school are forced to look for jobs. The government in this way is creating massive unemployment lines.

### UNIONS

The YS demonstration is taking place in the midst of these continuous attacks. Thus, we can see the significance that it has. On March 29 we will be calling on the trade unions to take up these questions of unemployment and the budget cuts.

The unions have to take up these questions because their own existence is at stake. Nixon is now pitting the employed

## JDL Thugs Attack Youth At CCNY

BY MIRIAM ROSARIO

NEW YORK—Meir Kahane of the fascist Jewish Defense League spoke at City College on February 28th as part of a tour of New York City campuses. It is no coincidence that he now chooses to speak on the campuses when the working class youth are fighting tuition and budget cuts.

CCNY Young Socialists called a rally outside of the meeting to demand that the students unite to get the JDL off the campus. About 20 students participated, chanting: "Get the fascists off the campus" and "Stop fascism, stop the JDL."

The JDL, preparing its Brown Shirts, brought in thugs with brass knuckles, broken bottles, sticks and razor blades. During the question and answer period, the Young Socialist was told, a girl from the audience said:

"I'm Jewish, but when you want to exclude Black people from housing projects, how is that different than what Hitler did?" At that point the armed thugs surged towards her calling her "anti-semitic," and beat her up so she had to be sent home.

The Progressive Labor Party-SDS played a completely adventurous role. They began with the perspective of "convincing the people in the meeting," not mobilizing the students against the JDL.

PL-SDS went into the meeting, provoked a situation and were physically thrown out. About twenty independents were also thrown out by the Wackenhut guards and the JDL.

As the meeting was breaking-up, two students walking down the hall noticed the brass knuckles and broken bottles in the hands of ten JDL thugs. One



Youth in St. Louis are being mobilized for Midwest Conference of Revolutionary Youth which will be held in Minneapolis on March 18.

against the unemployed. The unions have the power to defeat these attacks.

We are calling on every union to support the YS demonstration; and we urge all youth to stand with us on March 29.

## Tombs Prisoner Fights For Marxism

The following is a letter from a new member of the Young Socialists in the Tombs.

Feb. 24, 1972

Dear Comrade,

I received the "books from your publication. Right on. These books will be of grave assistance in bettering our enlightenment of the Marxist philosophy and the theory of scientific socialism.

I assume you heard of the pigs vamping on part of our P.E. Collective on the tenth floor, and moving many comrades to various floors throughout this camp. But we remain totally committed and united in our resolve to resist and push all obstacles from our righteous path to liberation.

I would like to express at this time on behalf of myself and the many comrade brothers in the Tombs Collective, our appreciation for being accepted as members of your socialist party. We will carry out the scientific socialist ideology to the highest revolutionary extreme.

We are in spirit to have such righteous people such as yourself struggling with us behind these walls. Every one of us sends out our most deep revolutionary love. And we will continue to struggle and remain within revolutionary spirits from this sub-human level. Your spirits give us strength and courage to endure what may come.

Sister, I was wondering what are the possibilities of my getting a dictionary and the book on introduction Marxism. This material would be very useful to me in my research. I would be grateful for whatever assistance you could give me in obtaining this material.

"Yours in Arms"  
L.W.

Young Socialists Call

# MASS DEMONSTRATION OF YOUTH!

## JOBS FOR ALL! NO BUDGET CUTS!

THE TRADE UNIONS MUST ACT to put an end to unemployment and to protect and expand the education of the youth. With unemployment growing among older workers, what chance do youth have for jobs? The trade unions have the power to mobilize millions on Washington. The trade unions have the power to insist on a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to protect the jobs of older workers and open up new jobs for youth. The trade unions have the power to stop the attacks on the education of working class youth, to end the reactionary war in Vietnam, to stop the repressions of Angela Davis, the Soledad Brothers and Juan Farinas. The trade unions have the power to build a labor party to replace the Democrats and Republicans who encourage unemployment to split and weaken the working class.

WE, THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH AND STUDENTS ARE DEMONSTRATING TO AWAKEN THE LABOR MOVEMENT TO THESE TASKS!

### March on the Federal Building

FOLEY SQUARE NEW YORK  
WEDNESDAY, For Information  
MARCH 29 Call: 924-0852  
4-6PM



## SMC EMBRACES LIBERAL YOUTH *Young Socialist*

Young Socialists rallied 200 youth to fight at SMC Conference for principled struggle against Stalinism and imperialism. Above, YS workshop insisted on developing Marxist leadership in working class. Below, Kiki Mendez (left) of YS accuses SWP-YSA of aiding Stalinism against Trotskyism. Andrew Pulley and Debby Bustin defend SWP's collaboration with Stalinists and liberals at SMC and Versailles. Right, Fred Lovegren (head of SMC) whispers sweet things into ear of bourgeois Youth for McGovern leader.



(Continued From Page 1)  
 ticipation in it. The exclusion of the FSI expressed the character of that congress. Stalinism is out to destroy any vestiges of Trotskyism. It will try to do what it did in the 1930's.

"The question is why didn't the SWP walk out? Why did they stay groveling? Why did they go along with the exclusion and beating of their own comrades? The SWP participated in the betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution."

YSA member Dan Rosenshine, who had attended the Versailles Conference, defended the Bustin motion:

"We will work with anybody interested in mobilizing against the war."

As the conference was dominated by the SWP, a vote was rushed through without discussion, and the original motion passed.

### AGENDA

Beginning with the Saturday morning session, the SWP-YSA sought to prevent any discussion of Stalinism and the open embracing of the supporters of Democratic presidential candidates.

The Workers League and Young Socialists led the fight to change the proposed agenda in order to allow a lengthy discussion of all political proposals before workshops were held. This motion was defeated 486-320.

When the plenary sessions were actually held, the full extent of the SWP-YSA's capitulation to Stalinism and the politics of the liberals was revealed. Their SMC proposal, calling for yet another middle class protest march, was defended by YSA members who insisted that the

war could be discussed without confronting the basic class issues.

### LIBERALS

The extent of the SWP-YSA's betrayal of Trotskyism was expressed in their choice of a "Youth for McGovern" to speak for the SMC proposal. He stated that April 22 had to be built to "oust Nixon." He added that "We want to end the war while people are talking about a conference that took place in France."

The McGovern and "Student Lobby" forces later put a resolution on the floor supporting various bills being brought up in Congress concerning amnesty for draft resisters and the draft itself. At this point the SWP was thrown into a complete panic. Their spokesman said that he did not know if he was supporting this proposal or not.

Eventually Andrew Pulley, SWP vice-presidential candidate, defended a counter-motion presented by an SMC spokesman which supported the content of the Student Lobby proposal, but which did not relate to any specific amendment before Congress. In effect, the SWP was calling on Congress to end the war.

The chairman at that point deliberately refused to allow the Workers League to speak against the SMC's motion. Instead, he recognized the Labor Committee and Spartacist who made use of the opportunity to attack the Workers League. The resolution introduced by the Labor Committee reflected the miserable reformist perspective of that organization. Among the main points made by Labor Com-

mittee spokesmen was the need to rehabilitate prisoners and tax the rich.

It was only the proposal presented by the Workers League and Young Socialists that took up the fight for the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution against imperialism and Stalinist betrayals, and for the construction of a revolutionary leadership based on Marxist theory.

YS spokesmen for the proposal declared that their resolution was being taken into the working class youth. Kiki Mendez, speaking in behalf of the YS resolution, said to the YSA contingent:

"What you want to do is tie the youth to the capitalists. The Fourth International was built in this fight against Stalinism. Trotsky fought for this. We are mobilizing the youth separate from the Stalinists and the capitalists to take power."

It was precisely this question of Stalinism and power that all other groups sought to avoid. The Spartacist League began the Saturday evening session with a motion that "all representatives of the bourgeoisie be excluded from the meeting." An SMC spokesman reiterated that the policy of the SMC is non-exclusion.

Pat Connolly, motivating the WL-YS proposal, declared that the exclusion of the bourgeoisie means building a movement that can overthrow the bourgeoisie. "The question of excluding the bourgeoisie," she added, "cannot be raised without taking up the question of Stalinism. None of these organizations can take up the question of Stalinism. It is Stalinism that is preparing the betrayal of the Vietnamese

revolution."

The fundamental questions facing the working class were brought out in the Saturday workshop held by the Workers League and Young Socialists. Nearly 200 youth crammed into a room to discuss developments in the conference and the YS demonstration against unemployment on March 29.

Dennis O'Casey of the Workers League opened the discussion by analyzing the conference:

"Never before has there been an anti-war conference that was in such open collaboration with the Stalinists and liberals. Furthermore, this conference has been obviously organized against the Workers League. Every effort has been made to prevent us from addressing this conference.

"The Spartacist League and the Labor Committee play a vital role by avoiding the question of Stalinism merely by attacking our party."

### DEMONSTRATION

Abby Rodriguez discussed the significance of the YS demonstration:

"We are fighting to build a leadership that can change the consciousness of the working class. The YS must bring the

question of unemployment into the unions and rouse the rank and file to take up this political fight."

Lucy St. John added that the "most precious weapon of our movement is Marxism. The brothers in the Tombs are undertaking a study of Marxism to become part of the leadership of the working class. This has to be a fight against revisionism and Stalinism."

One girl attending the workshop asked why Spartacist was being excluded from the room. Pat Connolly answered by pointing out that the existence of the Spartacists was as "parasites" on the International Committee of the Fourth International.

"They reflect the hysterical frenzy of the middle class in face of the working class moving forward," she said.

One youth asked precisely the question that all the revisionists at the conference avoided: "How do we make a revolution in the United States?"

A member of the YS answered this by saying that this task "requires the construction of a mass party of hundreds of thousands. The material conditions are becoming ripe for such a development, but we must break through the consciousness of the working class."



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## 'Justice' In New York

The indictment of Barry Feinstein for his role in organizing the strike of 13,000 New York City workers last June is nothing less than a declaration of war against the trade union movement.

Charged with conspiracy, criminal tampering, and criminal mischief, Feinstein is threatened with seven years behind bars. With this unprecedented indictment, the capitalist class has taken a decisive step toward stripping American workers of their democratic rights and liberties.

Already, thousands of city workers who participated in the strike have been punished with fines. Under the statutes of the reactionary Taylor Law, the city has collected more than a million dollars from the State, County and Municipal Employees Union.

But, as the indictment of Feinstein proves, the city is out for blood. Never before has a job action by city workers been met with criminal charges against a union leader.

As the *Bulletin* has warned, it is the strategy of the capitalist class to intimidate the working people by destroying their leadership—the reformist as well as the militant. The deep economic crisis that poses the collapse of capitalism forces the ruling class to smash every expression of opposition to its reactionary policies.

"This is definitely persecution and discrimination against a labor leader," declared Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37 of the SCMEU.

He is 100 percent correct; and now action must be taken by the entire working class to defend Feinstein. It is absurd and dangerous to expect justice from the very courts that handed down this indictment.

There is only one way to defend Feinstein and the labor movement. And that is through the mobilization of New York labor in general strike action.

## The 4 Day Week

In an article in the UAW Local 863 newspaper *Transmitter*, columnist Bobby A. Brown comes out firmly for the 4 day—32 hour week—at 40 hours pay as the most important way to fight unemployment.

Brown describes the ravages of automation in a number of industries, and then brings it home to his own local, representing Ford workers in Cincinnati:

"We have been hit hard...we have seen many jobs disappear as a result of the Company's planned program to automate both plants. We have seen a lot of jobs go, but the worst is yet to come. The Company, I believe, plans to do away with every job they possibly can, just as fast as they can buy and install the automated machines..."

"We must prepare ourselves to be ready when our contract expires," states Brown. "We must mobilize the entire membership of the U.A.W. to this great task that lies ahead of us (the four day work week)."

But Brown said: "I am not talking about four 10-hour days, I am not talking about four 9-hour days, I want to make it clear that what I am talking about is a four-day work week that consists of four 8 hour days (with pay for 40 hours)."

The March 29th rally called by the Young Socialists against unemployment and the budget cuts in New York City is making its central demand that the unions which have the power take up the fight against unemployment around the demands for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, the nationalization of industry under workers' control and the building of a labor party to defeat the Democrats and Republicans.



"Oh, he's from, er, uh, the...uh...People's Republic of the United States!"

## What we think

### Enter The FBI

On Friday, February 25th, two FBI agents came to the offices of the Workers League and the *Bulletin* looking for an individual who they incorrectly claimed was employed by the Workers League. The FBI explicitly stated that they wanted this individual for questioning in relation to the killing of the East Village cops last month.

At about the same time on the West Coast FBI agents visited the Mission YMCA in San Francisco where the Conference of Revolutionary Youth sponsored by the Workers League was to take place on February 26th. They told those in charge at the YMCA that "Weathermen" would be attending the conference. They said two national leaders were coming from New York including one who they claimed was a "prisoner."

The "prisoner" was Juan Farinas who is presently appealing to the Supreme Court to throw out the frame-up charges against him. Farinas was on the West Coast to build support for his case against political repression.

On the day of the youth conference a van full of youth traveling from the East Bay to the conference were photographed by a mounted camera in a moving car.

We say that this was open harassment consciously prepared by the government, its Justice Department, the FBI and the cops to try to prevent this conference from taking place.

On Monday, February 28th the Young Socialist charter at Jefferson High School in Brooklyn was revoked when the advisor resigned. This charter was won only after a bitter battle with the Administration. It appears that teachers are being threatened to prevent them from becoming advisors to the club. Similar harassment is going on in other high schools where the Young Socialists are building clubs.

We wrote in the *Bulletin* of February 7th concerning the dragnet for the so-called Black Liberation Army: "A vicious witchhunt and 'shoot to kill' atmosphere is being whipped up by the government and the press over the death of two cops last week in the East Village of New York City. There is one purpose and one purpose only to the page after page, hour after hour of eulogies...to whip up a racist hysteria and hostility to militants and to justify the repressive measures of the state against the movement of the working class."

Two weeks later this witchhunt was used as an excuse to kill Ron Carter in St. Louis. Now the FBI attempts to link the Workers League to the incident.

This is no accident. As we have warned these attacks are aimed

particularly against the youth who are taking up the fight against capitalism and turning towards Marxist theory.

More than anything else the capitalist class fears this movement of the youth who can give leadership to the working class as a whole. Above all they fear the development of a Marxist leadership among the youth. This is why they murdered George Jackson. This is why they now witchhunt the brothers in the Tombs who have taken up a study of Marxist philosophy. This is why they now attempt to stop the development of the Young Socialists.

Nixon now encourages the development of right wing and fascist elements preparing for the establishment of a Bonapartist dictatorship under which the rights of the working class are crushed. At the same time that the FBI comes to the offices of the Workers League the Jewish Defense League prints a warning that if the YS does not stop its campaign against the JDL, it will take action.

These are the forces which the capitalist class unleashes to bolster the body of armed men and to wipe out even the flimsy cover of bourgeois democracy. The state consciously uses witchhunts such as the East Village business to provoke a situation under which dictatorship can be established.

It is in this situation that Stalinism seeks to disarm the working class and the youth. When the witchhunt was launched over the East Village killings the Communist Party's *Daily World* fell right into line with the capitalist press claiming that it was the result of "insane minds." At the same time the CP tries to tie the workers and youth to the very liberals like Lindsay who was beside himself with grief over the cops and followed this up in Florida with war

cries for more "law and order."

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance try to lull the youth to sleep with their talk of reforms. When a member of the Young Socialists at the recent conference of the Student Mobilization Committee warned of the dangers of fascism—members of these organizations laughed. They laugh at the same time their campaign rally for Jenness and Pulley is threatened with attack by the JDL at Brooklyn College.

These organizations now open the door to the most vicious attacks on the working class as capitalism desperately moves to preserve its system.

During the 1950's the FBI and the House Un-American Activities Committee was utilized to witchhunt and break up left organizations. The relative prosperity of the boom under which class peace was maintained created the conditions for the isolation of the Marxist movement.

But this period is not the dark days of the 1950's. The working class is on the offensive against the attacks on its rights and living standards. The conditions are rapidly being created for the development of a mass revolutionary movement of the working class. It is in fear of this movement that the capitalist class now prepares for dictatorship.

We are fully aware of the dangers the state now poses and we will prepare. We will expose every attempt to destroy this movement and we will defend it by deepening our roots within the working class and by training a cadre in Marxist theory.

We will not be intimidated for a minute. We will not stop the construction of this party which alone can provide the leadership for the destruction of capitalism.

## Letters to the Editor

The *Bulletin*

Dear Editor:

I am glad you are taking up the cause of the rank and file longshoremen. I think Mr. Gleason is really selling us out. He doesn't think we should get a better contract. But he and the rest of the delegates raised their own pay without the members voting on it. His man Walter Sullivan is putting the pressure on everyone to accept the contract.

If you check, he made \$40,000 last year, and all the delegates and Sullivan get a better pension and annuity than the working man. Even everyone who works in the clinics get

a better pension and annuities.

Walter Sullivan doesn't even help us for our welfare when we call up. But his son goes to school with my dues. He says he won a scholarship from the men of the ILA.

I read your paper when I get it, and the men agree with you that they are getting a bad deal. I'm sorry I can't sign my name. I am out on compo and it may hurt my pension when I get out. But if you look into their pension and annuity, and how they raised their pay while we were out on strike, you will see I am right.

Rank and File Member.



# The Liberal Philosophy of George Novack

By Alex Steiner

## 1 The Logic of Marxism

THE PERIOD WE are now in will be decisive for many generations to come. It is in this period that the Marxist movement will be faced with the greatest opportunity to end the rule of capital once and for all. It is, however, also a period of the greatest danger if the revolutionary party proves incapable of leading the working class to power. The capitalists will in that case reward us with the denouement of fascism.

More than anything else, the future history of mankind will be decided by the ability of the revolutionary movement to develop revolutionary theory. Only through the development of dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of the Marxist movement can the party find the proper orientation in the class struggles ahead. The party can only be built by continually confronting its problems and weaknesses, constantly relating this to the objective conditions in the world as they develop, and bringing all of the abstracted knowledge gained from the struggles of the past to bear on the present situation in order to intervene in the present as a consciously guided force and change the situation.

Of particular importance in this process is the theoretical struggle against revisionism. By probing through to the methodological roots of revisionism as it has historically developed within the workers movement we confront the struggle against bourgeois ideology at its highest point and we arm ourselves for the practical task of building a Marxist cadre within the working class—for all of the difficulties and problems involved in building a new leadership in the working class are precisely the same difficulties to which the revisionists have capitulated.

We propose in this series to critically examine the philosophy of George Novack, who is one of the leading theoreticians of the revisionist Socialist Workers Party. In doing so we shall be continually placing Novack's thinking in the context of the political history of the SWP and Novack's particular history within that party. We shall be confronting not Novack the individual, but the reflection of the SWP's capitulation to the method of thinking of the bourgeoisie, American pragmatism.

### EARLY DEFENSE WORK

Novack first came to the workers' movement out of a petty-bourgeois, university background. It is important to keep this in mind for Novack's initial activities with the workers' movement were that of an intellectual lending his services to various defense cases that were being

handled by the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, an adjunct of the International Labour Defense of the Communist Party. He later said of the period until 1933 that:

"As journalists, editors, writers, teachers, we had made our main practical contribution to the movement for socialism up to that point through defense work."

By 1933, Novack and several other members of International Labor Defense came into conflict with the policies of the then Stalinized Communist Party over the practical questions of carrying out defense work. This was the so-called "third period" of Stalinism which was characterized by extreme sectarianism combined with the most opportunist lapses into unprincipled relations. When Novack and his colleagues criticized some of the legal aspects of the ILD's handling of the Scottsboro case, they were forced to resign. It was shortly thereafter that this group joined the Trotskyists of the Communist League of America.

Novack reports many years later that this group of intellectuals came to Trotskyism primarily as a result of the Trotskyists' correct criticisms of the CP defense work. Cannon had been head of the International Labor Defense before being expelled from the Communist Party in 1928. It is more than likely, however, that these people were shaken by the events in Germany of that year and could see the correctness of the Trotskyists' criticism of the policies of Stalinism which precipitated the greatest defeat of the working class in history.

In any case, Novack's early years in the Trotskyist movement were devoted to defense work. The Trotskyists, together with the Musteites and the Italo-American Anarchists set up the Non-Partisan Labor Defense which functioned from 1934 to 1936. This body had to handle many defense cases that had been abandoned by the Communist Party. In 1936 when the Workers Party (the result of a fusion of the Trotskyists and the Musteites) entered the Socialist Party this committee was dissolved and replaced by the Workers Defense League, in which again Novack played an important role.

In 1937, the Trotskyists were faced with the vital political task of exposing the Moscow Trials for the frameups they were in the eyes of the workers of the world. For this purpose the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky was set up with Novack playing an important role. Novack helped establish the Dewey Commission of Inquiry, an impartial body of prominent figures in the workers movement and leading intellectuals who were committed to assessing the charges against Trotsky purely on the merits of the case. Trotsky's vindication by the Dewey Commission and its condemnation of the Moscow Trials became a tremendous blow to Stalinism.

### ROLE OF LEON TROTSKY

It was at this point, after the Trotskyist movement had been in existence for about nine years in the United States, that Trotsky was first able to personally intervene in its development from day to day, having just arrived in Mexico, from which he was in almost continuous contact with the leadership and rank and file of the movement.

The great challenge that had faced the Marxist movement from its inception in the United States had been to raise the American proletariat out of its theoretical backwardness. It is important to remember that the development of capitalism in the United States did not require a struggle against feudal-medieval institutions. Thus, the ideology that reflected the interests of the rising bourgeoisie did not have to develop out of a sharp struggle against medieval metaphysics, as was the case with French rationalism and materialism and with British empiricism.

This imperative to make a qualitative theoretical development was fully appreciated by Trotsky. Trotsky attempted to turn the party toward questions of philosophy from his first day in North America. This occasion was recounted by Novack in an article written on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of his assassination.

"...At one point Trotsky asked about the philosopher John Dewey who had joined the American committee set up to obtain asylum for him and hear his case.

"From there our discussion glided into the subject of philosophy in which he was informed I had a special interest. We talked about the best ways of studying dialectical materialism, about Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, and the theoretical backwardness of American radicalism. Trotsky brought forward the name of Max Eastman who in various works had polemicized against dialectics as a worthless idealist hangover from the Hegelian heritage of Marxism.

"He became tense, agitated. 'Upon going back to the States,' he urged, 'you comrades must at once take up the struggle against Eastman's distortion and repudiation of dialectical materialism. There is nothing more important than this. Pragmatism, empiricism is the greatest curse of American thought. You must inoculate younger comrades against its infection.'"

Novack did not at that time seriously take up the challenge of Trotsky, though the blame for this rested not so much on Novack as on the leadership of the party particularly Cannon and Shachtman. They failed to understand the urgency of philosophy, which Trotsky had considered to be the most important thing in the education of the younger comrades.

Shachtman, along with James Burnham, then the leading intellectuals in the

Trotskyist movement, never saw it as their task to educate the party as a whole in the method of Marxism. They devoted themselves primarily to debates with petty bourgeois intellectuals outside the movement such as Eastman and Hook in the pages of *The New Internationalist*, the movement's theoretical organ.

What most characterized the functioning of the intellectuals in the party was their "specialist" existence as a strata of intellectuals whose main activities were journalistic and literary. There had been no attempt made to integrate these intellectuals into the work of developing the party as a whole. This would have required of them a complete break from their petty bourgeois background through a struggle for dialectical materialism against all forms of empiricism and pragmatism in the construction of the party itself. That is to say, it was not just a matter of literary activity that was necessary, though this was necessary, but the conscious bringing together of theory with practice in all the activities of the party.

Because these intellectuals had not broken with the morass of petty-bourgeois democracy, had failed to educate the party and themselves against the methods of the petty bourgeoisie, they crystallized into a faction in the party that was looking for an accommodation with "democratic" public opinion by the time World War II had broken out. Under the pressure of the defection of the petty bourgeois democrats from the defense of the Soviet Union after the Stalin-Hitler pact and Stalin's subsequent invasion of Finland and Poland, Burnham, Shachtman and Abern formed a faction that was opposed to the continuing defense of the Soviet Union.

The elements of this bloc differed among themselves on basic programmatic questions, but they united, as Trotsky pointed out, as a bloc against dialectical materialism. Burnham was openly an opponent of dialectical materialism, and a defender of formal logic and positivism, a modern variation of empiricism. Shachtman, although nominally a dialectical materialist, did not consider dialectical materialism to be at all relevant to the solution of "concrete" political issues. He therefore denied that dialectical materialism was a theory of knowledge which is the source of all our programmatic positions. This theoretical capitulation to the bourgeoisie soon found its political expression in Shachtman's defection from the Fourth International into the so-called "third camp" of the petty bourgeoisie.

Novack was one of the few intellectuals in the party who had sided with the majority which was led by Cannon in this factional struggle. There is no indication that Novack took any active part in this discussion, which was so crucial to the theoretical development of the SWP. In

fact, the entire polemic, which is documented in Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism* and Cannon's *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, was conducted on the philosophical level entirely by Trotsky. In the course of this discussion, Trotsky was again to urge Novack to take up an active intervention in the party in order to raise its theoretical level. He wrote the following letter to Novack on January 16, 1940:

"Dear Comrade Warde,

"You are one of the comparatively few comrades who are seriously interested in the methodological questions of our movement. Don't you believe that your intervention in the discussion from this point of view would be useful?"

"Friends write me that the interest for dialectical materialism in our party, especially in the youth, is becoming very acute. Don't you believe that comrades who could orientate this interest should now create some purely theoretical association with the purpose of promoting in the party the doctrines of dialectical materialism. Yourself, Comrade Wright, Comrade Gerland (very well acquainted with the matter) could possibly form the first nucleus of such an association, of course under the control of the propaganda department of the National Committee. It is certainly, only a vague suggestion from afar which should be discussed with the responsible party institutions.

Yours comradely,

Leon Trotsky"

Trotsky had called upon Novack not to remain on the sidelines in the party struggle, but to take an active part in it by relating all the issues under dispute to their methodological and philosophical roots as Trotsky himself was doing. In addition, whatever the practical significance of his suggestion to form a theoretical association, it was clear that Trotsky felt it was the main responsibility of the intellectuals in the party to train the youth and its proletarian cadre in the Marxist method and pay less attention to their specialist literary activities which were aimed more at intellectuals outside the movement.

#### NOVACK'S LOGIC

The theoretical inadequacy of the American Trotskyists, which was so sharply exposed by their inability to fight Burnham and Shachtman, leaving it all to Trotsky, became much more serious a problem with the death of Trotsky. It became absolutely necessary for the party to break with the empirical and pragmatic methods of the American ruling class. Trotsky could no longer do the theoretical work of the party. The responsibility of Novack and others in the party who had a certain ability and knowledge of philosophy to develop the party theoretically became even more acute. We shall now examine the way this responsibility was taken up by Novack.

Little was done after the split with Burnham and Shachtman until 1942. This was probably due to some extent to the disorganization that the party suffered as a result of the split, followed shortly thereafter with Trotsky's assassination and the increasing war-fever that the bourgeoisie was injecting into the working class. In 1942, in the midst of the jailing of Cannon and other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party by the government for "subversive activities" Novack, who was also active in the defense case which had been organized, gave a series of lectures on dialectical logic which were studied in mimeographed form in all the branches of the party. These lectures have since been republished as a book titled, *An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*.

Looking back on Novack's other published writings since then, we feel that these lectures are easily the best thing he ever wrote. They represent a serious attempt on Novack's part to develop the party theoretically. That these lectures should be undertaken in the midst of government persecution of the party and all the other tremendous difficulties of that period is a lasting testament to the importance which the revolutionary movement ascribes to theory.

Novack's book in many ways is an excellent summary of the basic principles of dialectics, its historical evolution and its uses. It will be necessary, however, to

critically examine the weak points of this work. These weaknesses betrayed a tendency in Novack to compromise with empirical and pragmatic methods of thinking.

Before even dealing with the content of the work itself, we must understand that Novack conceived of developing the party theoretically by giving lectures. Though, as we said earlier, such lectures play an important role, if the struggle for theory is left at that level it becomes a sterile idealist enterprise. Theory must be brought into the center of every activity of the party. The party must develop the Marxist method in all areas of work. It is a pragmatic, idealist notion that says that theory is something to be developed in lectures while the party gropes around as usual in its day to day activity.

#### THE NATURE OF LOGIC

Novack begins his discussion by defining logic. He says:

"Logic is the science of the thought process."

He then adds:

"Logicians investigate the activities of the thought process which goes on in human heads and formulate the laws, forms and interrelations of those mental processes."

This conception of logic poses the whole subject very schematically. Logic is the conscious reflection of the process of development of nature and society. An investigation of logic must be concerned with its historical development—not an elaboration, more or less sophisticated of certain rules of thinking—but as the highest reflection in terms of man's thinking of the progress of man's understanding of the material world.

This involves examining the whole depth of man's development of science which makes possible the harnessing of nature for the ends of man. These developments, in the form of qualitative leaps in our knowledge of the world were in turn made possible at certain key points in the history of class society through the revolutionary transformation of social relations which freed the productive forces from the fetters imposed by the old forms.

Novack tends to see the development of logic and philosophy in terms of the idealist "history of ideas" taught in the universities, i.e., it is the history of certain "good" ideas replacing less adequate ideas. These ideas are conceived by certain individuals with more "insight" than their predecessors. Thus he writes of the development of dialectics:

"It came as the consummation of the brainwork of the outstanding philosophers of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Western Europe from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries."

The point is that although acknowledgment is given to the impetus provided to the development of man's ideas in the development of society and man's conditions of life, the actual historical course of this development is not traced, even in a cursory way. The result is a superficiality and sterility in approach to the subject of the development of dialectics. All the richness, the manifold diversity of the historical process, become liquidated into empty generalizations.

As an example, Novack quotes the following statement of Engels':

"The ancient Greek philosophers were all naturalborn dialecticians and Aristotle, the most encyclopedic intellect among them, had even already analyzed the most essential forms of dialectical thought. Nevertheless," he comments, "dialectics remained an embryonic element in Greek thinking. The Greek philosophers did not and could not succeed in developing their scattered acute insights into scientific shape."

Novack does not proceed to develop this point. He does not explain why the Greek thinkers could not systematically develop dialectics.

Engels did provide such an explanation in his essay on Feuerbach. He wrote:

"It was necessary first to examine things before it was possible to examine processes. One had first to know what a particular thing was before one could observe the changes it was undergoing. And such was the case with natural science. The old metaphysics, which accepted things as finished objects, arose

from a natural science which investigated dead and living things as finished objects. But when this investigation had progressed so far that it became possible to take the decisive step forward, that is, to pass to the systematic investigation of the changes which these things undergo in nature itself, then the last hour of the old metaphysics struck in the realm of philosophy also."

In this brief statement Engels sums up the whole history of the development of science and philosophy, rooting it in man's material conditions of life. This history itself develops dialectically, i.e., metaphysical science gradually accumulates more and more knowledge of the world until it is negated, through a qualitative leap, by dialectics.

This negation of metaphysics only became possible with the development of science and mathematics that began in the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, being the cultural expression of the rising bourgeois class. The development of the new science of physics systematized our knowledge of the universe into fundamental mathematical relationships of the behavior of bodies in motion. Nature and mathematics were brought together.

This was never achieved in the world of the Ancient Greeks because of the primitive level of technology and industry that had been developed. The Greek development of mathematics was divorced from any relation to nature and formal logic, which was closely related to Greek mathematics, developed in the form of the abstract and static "laws of thought." It was therefore no accident that for all their genius, the Ancient Greeks could never develop physics beyond a primitive empirical level of classification and comparison of the qualities of objects which had no quantitative relation to each other.

We shall have more to say about this subject later, but it is important to understand Novack's failure to probe the historical development of logic. It betrays a tendency to see things as they appear at any particular moment, abstracted out of their historical origins and development. (Novack's later political and philosophical evolution will manifest this tendency much more openly.) Thus, although Novack writes that in order to understand dialectics, we must understand formal logic first, he does not see this as a question of tracing the historical development of formal logic. Its limitations are the necessary limitations of a world outlook rooted in pre-capitalist society, and the consequent rise of dialectical logic is the expression of the new world outlook developing out of a struggle against the old world, its institutions, and the ideology that had justified it.

Instead, he proceeds to list the rules of formal logic (identity, non-contradiction and excluded middle), gives some examples of their usefulness, points out their limitations (i.e., that they are an incorrect reflection of the logic of the real world which is permeated with motion and contradiction). He then proceeds to list the rules of dialectical logic, (unity of opposites, transformation of quality into quantity, etc.) and then demonstrates their superiority to formal logic. This is the opposite of a dialectical understanding of the subject. Lenin had the following to say about how dialectics proceeds:

"...Dialectics must regard its subject matter historically, studying and generalizing the origin and development of knowledge, the transition from non-knowledge to knowledge."

A natural consequence of this schematic comparison of formal logic and dialectics is a pragmatic understanding of the relationship between formal logic and dialectics. Novack tries to show that while formal logic has its place—it is useful within certain limits—it is subordinate to dialectics which treats problems that formal logic cannot. He writes:

"These modern dialecticians did not look upon formal logic as worthless. Quite the contrary. They pointed out that formal logic was not only a historically necessary method of thought but also quite indispensable even now for correct thinking. But in itself formal logic was clearly deficient. Its valid elements became a constituent part of dialectics.



Friedrich Engels explained in his 'Ludwig Feuerbach' that the history of philosophy itself developed dialectically.

The relation between formal logic and dialectics were reversed. Whereas among the classical Greek philosophers the formal side of logic became predominant and the dialectical aspects receded in importance, in the modern school dialectics occupies the front rank and the purely formal side of logic becomes subordinated to it.

"Since these two opposing types of thought have so many points in common and formal logic enters as structural material into the framework of dialectical logic, it will be worth while to occupy ourselves first with formal logic."

This scheme does not see formal logic and dialectics as diametrically opposed. Dialectics is seen as a quantitative development of formal logic. This is implicit in the formulation that the "valid elements" of formal logic become a "constituent part" of dialectics, and that formal logic and dialectics "have so many points in common." This is the method of every empiricist, who sees all development in terms of gradual accumulation, who denies that qualitative leaps take place which transform objects in their totality and thus transform the "constituent elements" of objects because they are no longer elements of the same object.

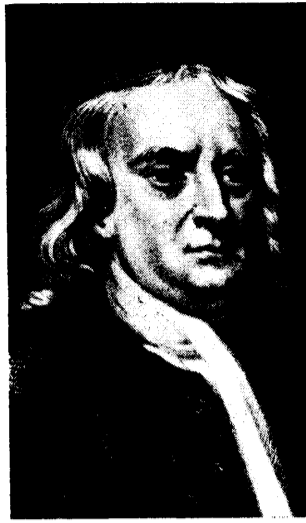
Thus the empiricist sees "certain points in common" between the present monarchy in England and that of Henry VIII. He will be sure to add that there are, of course, "important differences" as well. In either case, certain facts, or "constituent elements" are taken as given, isolated out of their social and historical context and mechanically compared to other "facts" that simply "exist" outside of any historical context. This is precisely Novack's method in discussing the relation between formal logic and dialectics. Dialectics is therefore seen as an extension of formal logic instead of its negation.

#### THE USEFULNESS OF FORMAL LOGIC

There is a whole section of these lectures devoted to the theme of the usefulness of formal logic. For instance, Novack writes:

"Isn't it an enormous step forward in social and political understanding when a worker discovers on the one hand that a wage worker is a wage worker and on the other hand that a capitalist is a capitalist? And that workers everywhere have common class interests that transcend all craft, national and racial boundaries? Thus a recognition of the law of identity is a necessary condition for becoming a revolutionary socialist."

Novack is really postulating here a two stage theory of the development of class consciousness. That is to say, the law of



Right, Leon Trotsky during Dewey Commission. He urged SWP to fight for dialectical materialism against pragmatism-dominated American thinking.



Newton (top center) and early European philosophers prepared breakthrough from Aristotle's logic by developing the natural sciences. This opened the road for the negation of metaphysics through Hegel's (above) return to dialectics though filled with idealism.



Above, Zurich library where Lenin studied Hegel and worked on Philosophical Notebooks, concentrating on dialectics and Marxism as a theory of human knowledge.

identity is accepted as a given, a first step that is valid in itself and needs only to be supplemented with dialectics. But on the basis of the law of identity we cannot go beyond the fixed categories of bourgeois ideology. For instance, any bourgeois liberal can agree that there are wage workers and there are capitalists. He will, however, have to deny that these two classes of people are engaged in an absolutely irreconcilable struggle and that it is this struggle that determines history today.

Formal logic and the law of identity denies all contradiction and insofar as it has to deal with contradiction, it places it external to the object. Thus if there is conflict in society, thinks the bourgeois philistine, that is a result of some accidental influence on society which is basically tranquil and good (such as greedy individuals, subversives, etc.) and would remain tranquil and good if only this external influence could be purged away. It is, of course, never the reflection of contradictions within society itself.

It is this denial of contradictions in things themselves, the essence of formal logic, which was pointed out in a passage Lenin marks in Hegel's Logic:

**"Ordinarily Contradiction is removed, first of all from things, and from the existent and the true in general; and it is asserted that there is nothing contradictory. Next it is shifted into subjective reflection, which alone is said to posit it by relating and comparing it. But really it does not exist even in this reflection, for it is impossible to imagine**

**or think anything contradictory. Indeed, Contradiction, both in actuality and in thinking reflection is considered an accident, a kind of abnormality or paroxysm of sickness which will soon pass away."**

Furthermore, it is incorrect to conceive of the law of identity as a fixed given thing itself. Man has learned the law of identity through millions of years of his social practice long before he was able to formulate it in terms of abstract general concepts. This law of identity is only a one-sided formulation of a process of relating that which remains the same through the manifold changes anything in nature undergoes.

This process went largely unnoticed for those who first formulated the law of identity in Greece. Though this process was not consciously grasped then it is important to understand that the laws of formal logic are the result of a process in which all conscious beings take part—but a process that was understood only one-sidedly and therefore incorrectly.

Novack does not treat the development of logic historically. He prefers to view logic as an eternally existing ahistorical reality. He simply takes formal logic in this way and looks at its strengths and its weaknesses. Dialectics is seen as superior to formal logic because it maintains its strengths on the one hand, and does not share its weaknesses, on the other hand.

The historical significance of formal logic becomes completely lost. In its time, the development of formal logic

was a great step forward in the history of man's scientific thinking. Until the bourgeois epoch, formal logic was the highest reflection in thinking of man's conquest of nature. It was totally progressive in its time. But to speak of its "good" or "bad" aspects abstracted from the necessary limits of thought that were rooted in the historical conditions of the time is sheer metaphysical nonsense.

The rise of the bourgeoisie and the consequent development of science and political thinking came into conflict with the fixed categories of Aristotle's science and metaphysics. The Aristotelian metaphysics, combined with Catholic theology, had become the main ideological prop of the landed feudal aristocracy and the temporal power of the church. The struggle of the bourgeoisie against these institutions provided an impetus for the critique of Aristotle and the search for a logic that was not imprisoned within his fixed categories. This assault on the traditional logic was reinforced by the development of natural science, particularly the revolutionary breakthroughs of Copernicus, Galileo and Newton.

This whole process had its culmination in Hegel and his systematic elaboration of dialectics which was in opposition to the whole range of the Aristotelian metaphysics. But Hegel's dialectics were still imprisoned in an idealist framework. It was not possible to develop materialist dialectics until after Hegel because of the limited development of capitalism at that time. Hegel's philosophy represented the limit to which dialectics could be developed by the bourgeoisie.

Hegel's appearance was shortly followed by the consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie in relation to the feudal aristocracy. From that point on the bourgeoisie became ever more cautious and fearful of the challenge to its domination by the emerging proletariat. It had less and less use for a revolutionary critique of the status quo.

Its increasing conservatism was reflected in its retreat from Hegel's dialectics. It went back to Kant and through Kant to Aristotle and formal logic. Today the bourgeoisie and their petty bourgeois ideological lackeys are the most consistent defenders of formal logic and of a fixed universe with fixed categories and all manner of metaphysical and religious obscurantism.

The only development of dialectics since Hegel has been through the Marxist movement, which put dialectics on a materialist foundation, rooting the movement of thought in the movement of nature and society. Materialist dialectics reflects the interests of the proletariat because the proletariat is the only class in modern society which demands a revolutionary critique of the existing social relationships in order to understand its own position in society. Dialectics is even more urgent for the proletariat than the critique of feudalism and religion was for the bourgeoisie in an earlier epoch, because, unlike the bourgeoisie, which was able to use its property to get a foothold in feudal society, the proletariat, having no property, can gain no foothold within bourgeois society in

the same way. Unlike the earlier development of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat cannot make any compromises with its class enemy because it has nothing with which it can effect a compromise. Every compromise which is imposed on the proletariat becomes a blow aimed against it.

It is the sharp edge of the theoretical struggle which Novack compromises when he grants formal logic, using the method of "good" aspects and "bad" aspects, a rightful place, though subordinate, alongside dialectics. Novack gives everything to the bourgeoisie.

Had he looked at formal logic historically and dialectically, he could then say that while formal logic was a progressive mode of thought in Ancient Greece, it is today completely reactionary. Its role today is to keep the working class tied to the bourgeoisie. Today, the fixed categories of formal logic reflect the kind of world the bourgeoisie wishes for, an eternally fixed capitalist world in which exploiters remain exploiters and exploited remain exploited. To compromise with formal logic is to compromise with the bourgeoisie. That is the essence of what Novack does.

When Novack says that "a recognition of the truth contained in the law of identity is a necessary condition for becoming a revolutionary socialist," he is completely obscuring the issue. It is of course true that we implicitly use formal logic in our day to day common sense judgements, but that is only because we can relatively disregard the limitations of formal logic and get along reasonably well in such cases. For instance, we regard some object we handle, say a book, as being identical to itself, although strictly speaking this is not true. But when it comes to questions of science and theory, and revolution must be based on the highest development of theory, formal logic is not only inadequate, but absolutely incorrect. We must then deal with the dialectical development of phenomena through their inner contradictions. We must determine at what point in the development of phenomena does a quantitative change turn into a qualitative leap.

Trotsky has eloquently disclosed the necessity for dialectics in the revolutionary movement:

**"Dialectic training is as necessary to a revolutionary fighter as finger exercises to a pianist, demands approaching all problems as processes and not as motionless categories. Whereas vulgar evolutionists, who limit themselves generally to recognizing evolution in only certain spheres, content themselves in all other questions with the banalities of common sense."**

Again we see behind the whole approach to the law of identity Novack's compromise with empiricism. As Engels pointed out in the previously quoted passage from Feuerbach:

**"The old metaphysics which accepted things as finished objects, arose from a natural science which investigated dead and living things as finished objects."**

In the metaphysical scheme of things, the world was the sum of total given objects, and the task of science was to collect and classify these different ob-

jects into certain fixed categories to which they must belong. Now whereas the ancient Greeks had developed many brilliant insights that conflicted with this dead view of the world, the level of science of that period was insufficient to overcome it. By the time of the Middle Ages, science, insofar as it had any existence independent of religion, was completely restricted to this metaphysical outlook.

The Aristotelian logic, which did not admit of contradiction and development, of the transition of one quality into another, etc., was perfectly suited for this level of science. Aristotelian natural science (which was the dominant conception of science until Galileo) remained on the level of appearances, failing to probe the essential interrelation of everything in nature with everything else.

For example, the Aristotelian cosmology considered the heavens and the earth to be two essentially different realms, without any connection to each other. Diametrically different physical laws held sway in the heavens than those that applied to the earth.

Dialectics on the other hand probes the way all phenomena in nature and society are interconnected, their development, their internal contradictions, and the essential nature of anything that lies beneath its appearance. In treating phenomena in this way one delineates a field of investigation for science in which phenomena are taken in their essential connections, and not simply given to us, as they are for the empiricist.

The law of identity, along with the other axioms of formal logic, is negated by dialectics, not "incorporated within it as a constituent element." Dialectics replaces the law of identity with the unity of opposites. Identity is seen to be nothing but a moment in the eternal conflict of being.

Lenin emphasized the following passage in Hegel's *Logic* which deals with the law of identity:

"And similarly internal self movement proper, or impulse in general...is nothing else than the fact that something is in itself and is also the deficiency or negative of itself, in one and the same respect. Abstract self-identity has no vitality but the fact that Positive in itself is negativity causes it to pass outside itself and to change."<sup>1</sup>

Without self-differentiation within being, without the negative, there is no self-movement. The law of identity is true only in the trivial case when there is no self-movement. But all life, motion, activity, exhibit self-movement. The Greek philosophers maintained the law of identity only by denying self-movement, divorcing logic from nature. This was the basis for the value placed on abstract thought and the low regard for the sensuous world in Parmenides, Plato and Aristotle. Hegel's genius lay in demanding that abstract thought capture the self-movement of life and incorporate contradiction within itself, instead of denying it.

Lenin considered the principle of self-movement to be the central conception that Marx took over from Hegel. He writes:

"...The principle of self-movement, 'impulse'—the opposite of 'dead Being'—who would believe that this is the core of 'Hegelianism'...This core had to be discovered, understood, rescued, laid bare, refined, which is precisely what Marx and Engels did."<sup>2</sup>

This internal conflict, this struggle of opposites gives rise to a new determination. The law of identity denies this internal struggle, replacing living Being with "dead Being." On the basis of the law of identity, there is no transition of any determination into its own other.

In making an identity we separate out a momentary aspect, not recognizing the conflict of opposites beneath the surface appearance which is about to result in a new determination. Thus if we look at capitalist society as something that remains identical to itself, we lose sight of the class struggle that gives it unity and we can never understand how capitalist society is negated and socialism can develop. We can only take one or another moment of a phenomena or aspect of a phenomena and identify it

with itself. The essence, which is the unfolding of the various determinations out of each other is completely inaccessible to us.

We can now see that when Novack says "A recognition of the law of identity is a necessary truth for becoming a revolutionary socialist," he is denying the irreconcilable conflict of classes in society. He is also denying the necessity for a dialectical materialist understanding of the world that probes the essential movement of society. As Wohlforth points out:

"All the law of identity states is that 'A' equals 'A.' With it one can identify a wage worker with a wage worker, a white man with a white man, an American with an American, and a tool and die maker with a tool and die maker. But one cannot determine which law is fundamental."<sup>3</sup>

To learn what is fundamental, one has to probe beneath the surface appearance, to abstract out the essence of the phenomena.

#### ROLE OF CONSCIOUSNESS

There is another fundamental criticism we wish to make of these lectures. That is, a certain tendency to negate the role of conscious struggle by living men constituted in classes—a struggle that determines the history of society. This is the beginning of a trend to see history evolving "objectively," always moving to a higher and higher state, which is today so manifested in the SWP's theory of ever-deepening radicalization and tied to the notion of Pablo of the irreversible trend to socialism.

Novack is able to sum up human history in the following way:

"...The human being first appeared, not in its fully developed essence, but as an animal hardly distinguishable from its immediate ancestor—a man-ape. In the further course of biological and social evolution, the man-ape turned into an ape-man. Since then the human species has more and more discarded its ape-like characteristics and acquired its own distinctive ones."<sup>4</sup>

But this is only a one-sided presentation of the evolution of man. Man developed out of a struggle against nature. There were, in the course of this struggle, many setbacks and even reversals. Novack's tone, however, is almost teleological. This would be fine if we were discussing the history of the Hegelian Notion, but it is a distortion of real human history.

The concept of immanent teleology or progress has nothing to do with Marxism and was perhaps best criticized by Bukharin:

"Let us consider a certain type of animal. In the course of time, this type, by reason of a number of causes, alters and adapts itself more and more. Its organs are constantly being perfected, i.e., they are progressing..."

"...It is not difficult to ascertain the facts in the case if we regard the entire process of evolution as a whole, i.e., if we consider not only those forms and types (animals, plants, peoples, inorganic portions of nature), which have survived, but also those which have been destroyed. Is it true that this much vaunted progress is being accomplished in the case of all the forms? It is not true."<sup>5</sup>

Novack also has an objectivist view with regard to the development of the Marxist movement itself. He writes:

"Marxism, for instance, was relatively realized in each of the first three internationals, realized with ascending grades of perfection. It is being more thoroughly realized through the Fourth International, which is being created by a higher stage of working class struggle and bases itself upon the enduring achievements and critical appraisal of its predecessors."<sup>6</sup>

What is left out here is exactly the same thing that was left out in the description of the evolution of man—the conflict of opposites, the negation of the negation. Marxism has historically developed only through a conflict against revisionism—which is the negation of Marxism. The Third International was born out of the conflict against the revisionism that had developed and eventually dominated the Second International. The Fourth International arose out of a struggle against those who

would destroy the gains made by the Third International. In each case, it was only by confronting its own negation that Marxism was able to develop.

Novack views Marxism as a body of knowledge and rules for analysis which we can simply apply. Marxism then becomes little more than an orthodoxy, a dogma. That is really the main weakness of these lectures.

This was in fact, precisely the attitude the SWP had toward Marxism, i.e., that all you had to do was to defend orthodoxy. They did not treat dialectics as a method which has to be creatively developed through the construction of the party which is continually probing all the developments and difficulties facing the working class in order to consciously effect the development of the class.

Novack expresses this outlook in what he did not write as well as what he did. These lectures on dialectics nowhere deal in a serious way with the struggle against revisionism in the party. There are simply some references to the importance of philosophy in the 1940 struggle in the party and the necessity for all class conscious workers to arm themselves with dialectics. But the struggle against revisionism is conceived of as something that has already been settled in the past, or else it is a struggle against some group of revisionists out there, like the Shachtmanites.

Novack does not see that this struggle against revisionism must be constantly fought out within the party—that the class struggle has its reflection within the party when bourgeois ideology begins to characterize the methods of thinking and working of a section of the party. Only by exposing its weaknesses can the party develop. The basic principles which guide the party can only be defended through such an internal conflict in order to properly orient the ranks to a close study of the objective situation as it develops and to change the situation through consciously guided practice, from which new knowledge is always obtained. Because Novack does not see the crucial importance of this, he does not seriously deal with revisionism or its roots in the pragmatism characteristic of the American working class.

#### THE WORKER AND DIALECTICS

The practical conclusions of this whole discourse are drawn up in the final chapter called, "From Capitalist Ignorance to Socialist Enlightenment." Here Novack presents a whole schema of the worker moving from complete ignorance of his real role in capitalist society to the heights of class consciousness and dialectical materialism.

The worker is viewed as beginning with complete ignorance about the class struggle and his own exploitation. He goes through a series of experiences of struggle against the employer out of which he gradually becomes more aware of the class struggle. This process goes through a stage where the worker's understanding is limited to the particular struggle in a factory. Eventually he sees it in more general terms as the struggle between employers and workers throughout a whole industry. Finally he generalizes this to the point where the struggle is perceived as between employers and workers throughout society.

At this point the worker has achieved trade union consciousness. Eventually the worker generalizes the trade union struggle and extends it to the political field by forming a labor party.

Independent political action then goes through stages of reformism, centrism, and finally revolutionary socialism. This whole process takes place organically, within the working class. Novack summarizes it in the following terms:

"We propose to show how dialectics arises out of the every day life and struggles of the workers."<sup>7</sup>

Novack does not even mention the role of the revolutionary party in breaking the working class from bourgeois ideology. Rather the working class evolves to revolutionary consciousness by reflecting on and generalizing its own experience. Thus he writes:

"In the final stage of the struggle there comes a complete break with capitalist parties and politics. The working masses

have already made the judgment: Every class struggle is a political struggle. On top of that they make the further judgement: Our political struggle must be revolutionary, directed to the conquest of supreme power by the workers. At this point the workers, individually and collectively have revolutionized their mentalities. They are ready to join the revolutionary socialist vanguard."<sup>8</sup>

The revolutionary party only comes in at the end of the whole process. It is an organization that workers join after they have spontaneously attained revolutionary consciousness. The party is not seen as the vehicle for the transformation of the consciousness of the working class.

This represents, in its grossest form, Novack's capitulation to the spontaneity of the working class and the denial of the role of the party in transforming the consciousness of the class through a struggle against the methods of thinking that workers evolve spontaneously. Hence, Novack denies the central lesson of Lenin's *What Is to Be Done?* where Lenin shows that those who bow down before the spontaneity of the working class are capitulating to the bourgeois ideology which dominates the working class.

Contrary to Novack, the task of breaking the working class from bourgeois ideology is a very difficult one. It is true that the worker has a certain receptivity to dialectics, unlike the petty bourgeois intellectual, because he can more easily relate conceptions of struggle to the day to day conditions of his life. But the worker has been prejudiced against theory in the trade unions. In addition, he has been deprived of training in abstract thought in the universities, which is largely reserved for the middle class and the bourgeoisie.

All of these prejudices against theory, all the backwardness conditioned and reinforced in the pragmatic "bread and butter" politics of the trade unions must be broken down to the core. Yet Novack sees the worker naturally evolving into a Bolshevik. In this we see a prefiguration of the SWP's current theory that "natural Marxists" such as Castro can arise spontaneously out of a struggle.

The political conclusion drawn from this is that the revolutionary party supports the progressive ranks in the unions, who are naturally evolving to Marxism, against the reactionaries in the union upon whom the bureaucracy leans for support. This becomes a formula for capitulating to the progressives in the unions, who may be honest rank and filers, but as Trotsky pointed out, still vote for an imperialist for president once every four years. What Novack has done is to provide a theoretical justification for Cannon's opportunist trade union policy, which we have discussed previously.

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# FILMS

PHILIP BRANCHE

**DIRTY HARRY, Starring Clint Eastwood. Produced and Directed by Don Siegel.**

Hollywood films today, as always, are a cultural expression of the objective conditions existing in the economy and politics of capitalism. We can look back at the big musical extravaganzas of the 30's and see how films were used as a mass diversion designed to quell the misery and anger of millions of workers unemployed and depressed. We can see a predominance in the late 60's and early 70's of "despair" films like *Easy Rider* and *Midnight Cowboy*, all the films on student protest and Black liberation, films which all end up driving home the conditions of crisis, but always in one form or another, disarming the working class with pessimism, reformism, and paralysis. For films have long been valued by the bourgeoisie not only for their commercial return, but for their worth as conveyances of ideology.

Now, as capitalism uses new weapons of repression against the resistance of workers and youth, we start seeing a whole new quality in films. They are being used not only to express the crisis in capitalism, but also as calls to action to the middle class and confused layers in the working class. *Dirty Harry* is just such a film—a call to action to usher in fascism, and a promise to the working class that their resistance to the capitalists' attacks will not go unanswered.

How can a film say and do all this? In the film *Dirty Harry* is a message skillfully cloaked in an absorbing and exciting intrigue, which has at its disposal all the latest technical effects and which succeeds as a tight, suspenseful thriller. *Dirty Harry* is the detective film of today—every moment is charged with violence and sadism, the detective "hero" is constructed to be cool, rebellious, and unorthodox in his methods, and the romantic angle that used to clutter the old detective thrillers has been swept aside in this film, as the ruling class rolls up its sleeves to get down to business.

## TERRIFY

The art to this film lies in the subtle way it attempts to terrify and enrage the audience into what amounts to its own destruction. Briefly, *Dirty Harry* is, on the surface, a story of a bloodrushing chase to capture an insane young rooftop sniper named Scorpio who is terrifying the city of San Francisco. *Dirty Harry* is the young detective who is notorious on the force for both his high percentage of captures and his unorthodox police procedures: thus, the title, *Dirty Harry*.

He'll torture his suspects, get information any way he can, he shoots to kill. In fact, as far as the Police Dep't is concerned, he's just what the doctor ordered for those "troublesome" situations that arise, like ghetto rebellions, etc., (although the P.D. wouldn't admit it, and even gives him an occasional slap on the wrist).

Scorpio too, is violent, but he is portrayed in a different way. Harry's violence, the violence of the capitalist state, is glorified and painted as virile and heroic, but Scorpio is so characterized as to enrage and brutalize the audience, to such a point that it will gladly accept the

terror of the police state which, it is told, brings order to chaos and anarchy.

The entire first three fourths of the film sets up the audience to involve it very intimately with the hunt for Scorpio. And after much pain, terror and suspense, when Scorpio is finally caught by Harry, culminating in a night chase sequence that is hard to forget, when it seems that the film is about to end, the grand climax comes crashing down, and the real meaning of all that screen sadism becomes clearer. Because the scene directly following all the brutality, screams, and blood, is set in the calm of the District Attorney's office with Harry being told that his "ordeal" in capturing Scorpio won't end up in convicting the known killer, because Harry has violated all the suspect's rights—breaking down doors, torturing, going beyond the due process of law. Scorpio can go scot-free.

## "LAW AND ORDER"

This scene is in reality the most insidious in the whole film, because it is

really saying to the audience, that in order to protect innocent citizens and preserve "law and order" today, the police are being hampered by the constitutional rights guaranteed to the people, and that if the people want to be protected from the "troublemakers" in society, they'll have to forego the few rights of old contained in the dying bourgeois liberalism. And who are these "troublemakers?" At a time when a generation of Black and working class militants is being sought for extermination through frame-up trials and street murders by the ruling class, there can be no question about the reasons for the racist and reactionary fears being incited now to justify these exterminations.

As the film itself indicates, the old ways of rule are not suitable for the bourgeoisie any longer. Every other cop, besides Harry is shown in this film as incompetent in meeting the tasks of reactionary "law and order." Only a fascist can take on the "troublemakers." But for these methods to be palatable, the ruling class must point to all the political as-

sassinations and press for gun control. It must incite the ghetto rebellions while the police stockpile urban annihilation arsenals, pass its "no-knock" laws and shoot-to-kill mandates. And at the same time try to cover the real face of the capitalist state—the My Lais, Ulster, Attica—preparations for the wholesale destruction of the workers and society as a whole.

And the ruling class must direct this propaganda to the middle class and confused workers in order to win them to preserving capitalism, and use them as battering rams against the working class, just as Hitler recruited his army from an atomized and pressured middle class, in the absence of a resolute proletarian leadership to win the confidence and allegiance of that middle class. In the same way, *Dirty Harry* has his .357 Magnum pointed not so much at Scorpio who is in reality just a diseased by-product of the sickness of capitalism, but at the working class itself.

# BOOKS

MICHAEL DEXTER

## The Age Of Energy



Troops cut down strikers protesting Eastern Railroad wage cuts of 1877. It was over the bodies of workers like these that American capitalism built its fortune and power.

**THE AGE OF ENERGY, VARIETIES OF AMERICAN EXPERIENCE, 1865-1915. By Howard Mumford Jones. The Viking Press. 545 pages. 1971.**

The conclusion of the Civil War in 1865—the second American bourgeois revolution—with the victory of the Northern industrial bourgeoisie, gave the United States the impetus for the tremendous economic development that occurred during the next fifty years.

The changes wrought in this era decreed that a highly industrialized and urbanized society was to replace one based largely on petty agrarianism and small scale production; that a monopolistic capitalism based on large scale production was to replace *laissez-faire*; that an aggressive foreign policy emphasizing the need to secure colonies as sources of raw materials and cheap labor, and a place to invest surplus capital was to replace the isolationist outlook which had predominated in the earlier period; that the growing productive power of the nation, which in this epoch leaped forward with breathtaking speed, was to transform the nation from a nation of near equal petty producers into a nation dominated by two mighty and conflicting social classes—the bour-

geoisie and the proletariat.

Constant invention and the application of scientific and technological knowledge to industrial processes was pushed forward at an ever increasing pace so that production could be rationalized and the amount of human labor involved in production cut down to a minimum. Workers were viciously exploited to speed up production in order to increase the amount of surplus value expropriated from them. The expenditure of huge amounts of mechanical, muscular, and intellectual energy during this period served the needs of the emerging capitalist order.

This point however is missed by Howard Mumford Jones who in his book *The Age Of Energy* sees the predominant feature of the age not to be the development of productive forces and the creation of antagonistic social classes, but that the predominant characteristic of the age was its manifestation of "energy." Jones defines the term "energy" in the following fashion:

"...I shall not use the term 'energy' with scientific exactness. The word has many meanings. It may refer to force or vigor in style, particularly literary style, as when one says that Emerson's style is marked by energy. One may refer by energy to the exercise of power, to the actual operation, working or activity of man or thing or to the product or the effect of such energy. One may mean by it personal vigor of action or utterance, as when one says that Theodore Roosevelt was characterized by energy. One may have in mind the individual power or capacity to produce such and such an effect, as in the phrase: 'At least he had enough energy to run away.' One may mean what the physicist tends to mean: the power of doing

work possessed by a body or system of bodies..."

Basing his entire thesis on this hazy definition Jones proceeds to analyze in minute detail the entire epoch, demonstrating how everything that was ever produced during this era, from arts and letters, to railroads, battleships, industrial machinery, and even the personal attributes of presidents and statesmen were all embodiments of this particular idea of "energy." The author exhibits an encyclopedic knowledge of the epoch he is dealing with, and manifests a thorough command of the era's culture ranging from music to esoteric novels and poetry, and from presidential biographies to songs sung in bars during the Gay Nineties.

For all of this however he does not succeed in separating out the wheat from the chaff; the essential features of the epoch from its secondary and tertiary qualities. To Jones it is not the development of objective forces in the material world that condition ideas and attitudes in people's heads; it is rather the appearance of a collective "spirit" in the heads of the masses that is objectified and transformed into something material.

Thus while Jones devotes an entire chapter to the development of science, industry, the corporation, and the trade union movement, he sees these as merely several factors among many which are but manifestations of the characteristic "energy" of the age.

For all its ponderous scholarship, the book tends to reduce itself to a massive compendium of historical impressions and minutia which at times becomes utterly tedious.

## Soviet Opposition

# American CP Slanders Samizdat

BY FRED MUELLER

The American Communist Party has gone one step further in its wholehearted support to the campaign against the opposition to Stalinism within the Soviet Union.

The February 22 issue of the *Daily World* contains an editorial which levels the old Stalinist slanders against those forces which are risking their safety and their very lives in the struggle for Soviet democracy.

According to the *Daily World*:

"Dr. Joseph G. Whelan, head of the Library of Congress' anti-Soviet operations, revealed last week that the 'samizdat' business is a CIA operation... when Senator William Fulbright, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, demanded that the U.S. quit funding Radio Liberty, a CIA operation in Munich, West Germany, Whelan complained that this would end the means of distributing 'samizdat' in the Soviet Union.

"This 'movement will unquestionably receive a serious setback,' Whelan said. The alleged cry for freedom for 'Soviet intellectuals' is thus revealed to be, as long suspected, just a fink CIA operation."

### SAMIZDAT

As the editors of the *Daily World* know full well, this is a vicious lie. Samizdat, translated as self-publication, is the means by which the opponents of the bureaucracy circulate their views and raise the fundamental questions which continue to haunt the Kremlin today.

The Stalinists' brutal persecution of all those who seek simply to express their devotion to socialism makes samizdat necessary. The complete official censorship gives the opposition no choice but "underground" means of communication. Type-written manuscripts and mimeographed copies are circulated hand to hand in the thousands.

The Kremlin lives in mortal fear of this movement. That is because it reflects the growing antagonism between the para-

sitic bureaucracy and the working class.

In spite of all the persecutions, the opposition grows. It continues to raise the slogan of Back to Lenin; it continues to expose the crimes of the regime while maintaining a principled defense of the conquests of the October Revolution.

### CONFLICT

The conflict between the privileged bureaucracy and the working class in Eastern Europe is growing daily. The Czechoslovak working class was bitterly hostile to the 1968 invasion of their country. It has refused to make its peace with the puppet regime imposed upon it by the Moscow-led invaders.

In 1970 the Polish workers rose up in a fight against the bureaucracy which sought to make them pay for their crisis. The bureaucracy is more than ever before a brake upon the productive forces. It stands against the revolutionary movement internationally, opposing the needs and the interests of the working class in the workers' states. It is squeezed more and more sharply by the world economic crisis.

It is this capitalist crisis, and the movement of the working class within the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe itself, which drives the bureaucracy today more and more openly into the arms of the imperialists and in vicious assault against the working class.

### REPRESSION

It is this which drives the Kremlin back to the open defense of Stalin and all the methods of Stalinism. The bureaucracy seeks to exterminate all principled opposition, all expression of the independent movement of the working class. It is forced to return to the most vicious re-



Retired Major General Pyotr Grigorenko was placed in a mental institution for his opposition to Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia. Others have had same treatment.

pression of the 1930s and even worse.

This is the meaning of the recent stepping up of the attacks on the opposition. Pyotr Grigorenko remains in a mental hospital after many months of mistreatment at the hands of the bureaucrats, who lyingly label their socialist opponents as psychiatric cases in order to remove them and avoid having to deal with the political questions raised.

Aleksandr Tvardovsky was removed from his editorship of the literary magazine *Novy Mir* and died some months later. His death was undoubtedly has-

tened, as pointed out by Solzhenitsyn, by the hounding of the bureaucracy.

Author Vladimir Bukovsky was recently sentenced to twelve years after a farcical one day trial in which he was convicted of "anti-state activities" because he fearlessly exposed the bureaucracy's use of mental hospitals against its opponents, as well as its other crimes.

Bukovsky's appeal was turned down despite strong protests at the extremely harsh sentence he received. This reflects the growing fear of the bureaucracy and its determination to embark on the road of mass terror once again in order to defend its position.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In Czechoslovakia arrests have been made for the crime of writing critical letters to the authorities. One hundred intellectuals are reportedly being held in prison. The more the Husak regime protests that there will be no show trials, the greater is the suspicion that these are exactly what the bureaucracy is today forced to prepare.

Moscow wants action. It wants the regimes in Eastern Europe not only to defend the crimes against the Soviet opposition but also to take the same brutal measures against the working class and the intelligentsia in their own countries.

All the historical questions are raised most sharply by the continuing crisis facing the Czech Stalinists. Working class opposition continues to grow, and it begins to link up with the lessons and experiences of the past.

In the 1930s Stalin accused the entire Central Committee of Lenin of being agents of fascism. But it was Stalin who secretly plotted with both Hitler and the "democratic" imperialists against the working class.

Today the Stalinists accuse the opposition of the crimes for which they themselves must and will be called to account, as they prepare betrayals on an even greater scale than the 1930s. This is the meaning of the disgusting Stalinist diplomacy in Peking, in Moscow and at the recent Versailles conference.

The U.S. Stalinists remain absolutely faithful to their past, to their glorification of Stalin and their defense of all of the crimes of the bureaucracy. They defended the Moscow Trials and they defended the invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Now they repeat the slander of "CIA agents" in order to prepare the groundwork for new murderous repression and new depths of international class collaboration.

## 1972 Elections

# Democrats Court Wallace Vote

BY MELODY FARROW

The developments in the Democratic Florida primary are a sharp warning of the reactionary character of the Democratic Party and show the direction it is headed in.

George Wallace is now leading in the primary over ten other candidates and is already ahead in the Tennessee primary. In the most disgusting display of opportunist groveling, the Democrats, including the "liberals," are frantically trying to curry favor with the most right wing racist forces in the South.

Wallace is leading the field because the program of the other Democrats is virtually indistinguishable from his.

Wallace's strategy is to use the right wing shift of Muskie, Humphrey and the rest to deepen his demagogic attacks on liberals as a cover for his own racist campaign. He seeks to pit white and black workers against each other in order to weaken and destroy the struggles of the working class.

### DANGER

The danger that is posed in the growth of Wallace's strength cannot be underestimated. He is consciously basing his campaign on populist rhetoric, as "the

only real representation of the average man" and whipping up a racist frenzy over busing to lay the ground for an independent fascist movement.

Wallace told a Jacksonville rally that: "I know a lot of folks like to let on that I've changed, but the truth of the matter is that I'm the only man running in the Florida primary who hasn't changed."

He mocked the Democratic opponents as "a bunch of cats on a hot tin roof. They're a-hemming and a-hawing and they're about to break into the St. Vitus dance."

His speeches constantly denounce "the thousands of bureaucrats in Washington who don't do nothing but look after each other."

In a recent interview he claimed that: "I never was a racist. I just never was against black folks. I was unfairly labeled by the Eastern press and the liberals who don't know the difference between a racist and a man who believes in states rights." He claimed that he wants to reform the Democratic Party and return it "to the people."

Jimmy Carter, Governor of Georgia and an enthusiastic supporter of Wallace, revealed that Humphrey told a group of Governors in Washington that he had been wrong not to recognize the "legitimate" issues raised by Wallace such as busing and tax exempt foundations and that he had acted in "timidity" in not speaking out earlier.

Humphrey's position is that busing is justified if it improves the quality of education but not on the basis of racial balance. This is nothing but open endorsement of Wallace's position.

Humphrey's real colors were exposed when asked if he was taking a "conservative" turn towards Wallace's philosophy. He replied:

"Why let George Wallace pick up all the biscuits out here? Why let him be the only one for law and order? I was for law and order before he could spell it."

"Why let him run around her and wrap himself in the flag? I'm a patriot. I love my country every bit as much as he does."

Humphrey's open embrace of Wallace was only matched by Muskie's unrestrained delight when he was given a standing ovation at the Cook County Democratic Party meeting of Illinois. He was warmly introduced by none other than Richard Daley, mayor of Chicago, the same man who appears to be behind the murder of Black Panther Fred Clark.

And it is reported that Senator Henry Jackson does not have a chance in Florida because his opposition to busing is identical to Wallace's stand.

It is no accident that Wallace has stepped up his appeals to the "average man." Wallace now sees the strength and movement of the working class against the government's attacks. He seeks to build a broad movement based on the frustration and frenzy of the middle classes that can be used as a weapon against the working class and its organizations.

As the crisis deepens, all sections of the bourgeoisie are uniting in defense of capitalism and its profits. The only way that Wallace and his allies can be defeated is if the trade union leaders take up the fight now to launch a labor party in time for the 1972 elections.

# Bristol, Conn.



As unemployment soars in Bristol, Conn., jobless workers (top left) cannot afford buying like before. New shopping mall (right) is now deserted. Above, GM asks workers to accept layoffs peacefully.



BY A BULLETIN  
REPORTING TEAM

**BRISTOL, CONNECTICUT**—Bristol is located thirty miles west of Hartford in an area dominated by century old industry. The town of 56,000 faces conditions reminiscent of the Great Depression. In Bristol, unemployment has hit 23%!

One of the oldest plants in Bristol is the Bristol Brass Company. In the 19th century, it employed thousands of workers day and night producing the brass used in the castings for the clocks on which production here was once based. Recently, 200 of its remaining 400 workers were laid off.

The antiquated brass mill stands in sharp contrast to the center of town which is dominated by its modern shopping center, post office and city hall—all new concrete, glass and steel. Located in the center of these buildings is the \$13.5 million Associated Spring plant which is less than two years old. It is a product of the boom.

## BOOM

But the boom is over. Associated Spring has eliminated half its 1,200 workers from its new rationalized plant. The shopping center, with its enclosed mall and plastic trees, is very quiet and, according to one shop girl, "very slow." The center's managers have been putting up new metal signs which read "NO LOITERING". These signs are there for the 23% thrown out onto the streets.

What lies behind this turn around? How is it that a factory town which appeared to be gaining all the benefits of the suburban American dream is now being driven back to the "hungry thirties"? The answer is not to be found on Chippen's Hill where New Departure Hyatt is located.

Costing \$15 million for the basic

plant and a further \$6 million for the railroad and other essential facilities, New Departure took 27 acres of farm land and turned it into one of the most highly automated bearings plants, all for the production of super-profits.

In 1965, General Motors merged New Departure with Hyatt Roller Bearings Division and began the consolidation of three separate plants into the Chippen Hill facilities. It was on the basis of this new plant that a shortlived boom overtook Bristol. Sparked by the promises of new jobs and general prosperity from the plant, millions of dollars of federal funding poured into the town.

The character of this boom was revealed during the redevelopment itself. With only 80% of the work completed, the contractor declared himself bankrupt.

With the collapse of the boom this meant one thing: that was, an intensification of the drive for productivity. The profits could only be gained by dumping workers onto the unemployment lines.

One New Departure worker told the *Bulletin*, "They had a meeting of all the workers in the cafeteria and the plant managers told us not to waste any time goofing off, and to make more efficient use of our machinery, because the Japanese are taking away our business."

Another worker stated that: "There was even talk at one time that they might close the plant down!" Now a full third of those who went to the new plant have been laid off. Twelve hundred New Departure workers have been forced onto the scrap heap of the unemployment line.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

Collecting her benefits at the unemployment center, a woman who had worked at New Departure for several years described what the workers are now facing.

"The situation is terrible.

## 23% Without Jobs In Boom Town Of 1960's

There aren't any jobs. You're used to a certain standard of living and then they want you to work for \$1.85 an hour. I can't handle that with my two kids. Before everything was great. I was making good money, then New Departure laid me off."

The unemployment center was also part of Bristol's redevelopment. In the shadow of the abandoned Veeder Root factory, it is today one of the only places in town where construction continues. A second wing is being added to accommodate the overflow.

Workers come here from many places: from Associated Spring, and Bristol Brass as well as from numerous small spring machine shops which have been severely hurt by the mammoth cutbacks in Connecticut's aerospace production.

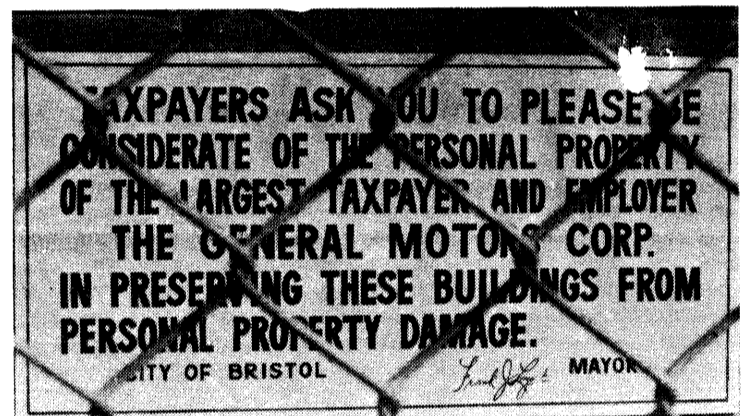
An older worker at the center had been forced onto the unemployment line when the General Time plant closed down. He had worked there for more than 20 years.

"I wrote up a resume and sent it to all the places around. I was a foreman and had a lot of experience. Now, forget it, I don't bother with the resume anymore. I just tell them I'll take anything and I don't even quibble about the hourly wage.

"It's ridiculous. I've made so many applications and then I don't even get a reply. There are so many out that they can afford to pick up only the younger workers. I'm 58 and they're forcing people to retire at 58 at New Departure. I think I'm going to have to sell out and move. I've just got nothing left to get along on."

## SMASHED

Unemployment has created conditions where the gains of a worker's lifetime are smashed up by the profit hungry companies. It is on the basis of the frustration created by these conditions that the National States' Rights Party chose Bristol as the place to hold a "whites only" rally and to try and build a chapter of an American Nazi movement.



But more and more the wrath of both the employed and the unemployed is being turned against those that the States' Rights Party seeks to defend: the capitalists.

When asked what he thought of a labor party, a New Departure worker said, "Sure, I'd vote for a party like that. If the owners can't run the factories right then the workers should do it."

Another older worker put it this way, "I don't begrudge businessmen anything. But it's crazy for them to make 20,000 or 30,000 dollars a year when other people make \$2.00 an hour. I worked for New Departure for 16 years and then they laid me off. I'm retired now, but what about the younger workers. How are they going to find a job?"

What about the younger workers? In the past, most of the graduates of the town's two high schools have found work in local industry. Many left school early to seek employment. Now with thousands of skilled workers thrown onto the streets there is nothing for the youth.

In the past few weeks there have been five bomb scares at Central High School, forcing the administration to dismiss school for several hours each time. One high school youth stated that: "There's no jobs at all. I'd be out and working now if there were. There'll be nothing for us when we get out either."

A son of a New Departure worker said he had absolutely no idea what he would do when he got out of high school. "I'd thought about going to college,

but you have to get a job to pay for it. So, I guess that's out the window now, too."

## GM

In a recent anniversary issue of the town's newspaper, GM's president, Edwin N. Cole wrote: "Society today expects more from business and industry than just doing a good job in manufacturing its products. GM's continuing objective is to insure that its plants contribute to the solution of problems and not be part of them. GM likes Bristol and we are looking forward to many many more years of doing business in such a fine community."

To the older worker who is thrown on the junk pile like some form of industrial waste and is forced to move from a community where he has worked his entire life to build the employer's fortune, these words are viewed with contempt.

They are also met with hatred by the younger worker who can't see any way to pay for the mortgage on the new home and by the high school youth who face the prospect of permanent unemployment.

It is GM, it is the employers and their government that are the problem. There is not, as Mr. Cole would have us believe, any rational community of interests working behind the developments in Bristol.

Rather, it is the irreconcilable interests of the two classes, labor and capital, which are coming into a struggle today of life and death.



# Sugar Bosses Plan UFW Lock-Out

## SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

**SOUTH BAY**—The United Farm Workers have given the Talisman Sugar Corporation one week to recognize the union before it begins a nationwide boycott of its primary customer, the Borden Milk Company.

Referring to the millionaire owner of Talisman, Chavez said: "Mr. Pawley apparently has got a lot of money. But we have a lot of time. If we don't get him this year, we will get him next year, or the next."

In sharp contrast to Chavez' patient pace, Talisman is fast organizing the sugar industry and Florida agribusiness in general to crush any attempt to organize farmworkers.

The Bryant and Clewistown

sugar mills owned by the U.S. Sugar Corporation are shutting down early in an attempt to stop the union drive. The president of the Corporation, John Boy, stated:

"So far as I know, we'll be the first mills to shut down for the summer, but I think some of the others will be following us soon afterwards."

### REACTIONARY

The most reactionary sections of the capitalist class are in control of the sugar industry. Last week, Boy consulted with Rep. John Ashbrook of Ohio who is the ultra-rightist challenging Nixon for the Republican nomination. Boy told Ashbrook that the sugar industry could never permit unionization without going bankrupt.

Ashbrook, after agreeing with Boy's claim that a 40 hour week

could never be granted, warned the sugar industry of the threat posed by the UFW. "You haven't seen anything yet, if he (Chavez) follows his California pattern."

Talisman has been using Jamaican workers as a substitute labor force for the striking field hands who have been picketing since January 11.

Milton Scot, president of the Maritime Union of Jamaica, stated that the sugar cane workers are being held by Talisman in "conditions of bondage." He supported Chavez' contention that Pawley used these virtually imprisoned workers in order to break the farmworkers strike.

Scot accused Talisman of deducting \$30 a week for food from the meagre pay of the laborers and of forcing them to purchase at the company stores. Even more brutal is the fact that wor-

kers are virtually interned in the boundaries of the fields. Only rarely do they receive permission to leave.

Pawley has denied these charges: "I don't want the citizens of Miami thinking I'm running a slave labor camp out there." But a slave labor camp is exactly what it is.

By his own admission, the grueling work pays only \$1.85 an hour with a piece work system also in operation. With incredible arrogance, Pawley cited as an example of his generosity the awarding of a silver-plated machete to the worker who cuts the most cane in a season.

In the meantime, both state and union officials have been denied permission to examine the farms where the Jamaicans work.

If Chavez retreats from the

strike to the boycott, farmworkers will suffer an enormous setback.

### UFW.

If the UFW adopted a strike policy and mobilized the support of the labor movement behind it, the sugar industry could be shut down. Any attempt to organize the sugar industry will mean, of course, open warfare between capital and labor. Chavez does not want to face up to that fact.

It is not enough for the UFW to organize in isolated sections. Rather than concentrating on Talisman, the UFW must organize workers in the rest of the sugar industry. Instead of fighting only Coca Cola, the struggle must be taken up with all citrus workers, especially, to begin with, those in the packing and processing plants.

## COAL BOSSES...

(Continued From Page 1)  
Workers, which includes the disaster area, also includes many other similar waste-sludge heaps which have already been identified as "hazardous" impoundments. There are 25 of them in Logan and Mingo Counties alone.

Of course, this area is known as the "billion dollar coal field" and the huge coal corporations are interested only in profits, not safety. This is the cheapest method of waste disposal for them.

These hazardous impoundments have been known of and reported on since a Federal investigation began in 1966. The threat of more of these impoundments destroying miners' lives and homes is very real.

And yet, District 17 President Joe Ellis told the *Bulletin* that "we cannot ascertain the question of blame yet. An immature judgment could even do harm."

Ellis is in no hurry to make an assessment because, he, like his mentor, UMW President Tony Boyle, is complicit in the continual violation of mine safety. Perhaps Ellis is waiting for hundreds more to be wiped out before he "ascertains the question of blame."

### AVOIDABLE

All the people the *Bulletin* spoke to in the area knew that the disaster could have been avoided. A miner for the LK Mining Company, also a division of Pittston, the largest mining company not owned by steel or petroleum companies, told the *Bulletin*:

"The whole thing was avoidable. My brother worked at the mine where this thing broke. He said there were three sludge ponds up there ready to break and he wanted to warn the people.

"But almost nobody was warned. I went up there last night even though they're trying to keep you out.

"Tracks were twisted up, trucks upside down. Even these big railroad cars were turned upside down and twisted up—concrete bridges, everything."

The *Bulletin* spoke with some retired miners—one of them with total disability—and an 18 year old youth from a mining family, at Yolyn. The young man said that he would like to get a job in the mines but that there were no more jobs.

The *Bulletin* reporter asked him what young people do when they leave school, or come out of the service. "They just leave the state," he said.

He said that everyone knew the

danger of the dam at Lorado and that "there's another one back there now of about five or six acres and that's really a lot of water. They're going to have to do something about that before it's too late.

"The National Guard and state police are keeping everyone out of the area. One guy wanted to get up there to find out if his family was still there and they wouldn't let him. He said he was going anyway and drove right into the Army jeep trying to get up there."

One of the retired men said, "I've got a sister and a niece up there. I don't even know if they're still alive."

Lee Hipshire, of the UMW local in Yolyn told the *Bulletin*: "Everyone knew that that dam was subject to break. The company wanted to drain it but the state wouldn't give them permission because they said it would kill the trout in the creek.

"It would have, but they didn't really have that many trout in that damn little old hollow. The company itself is at fault for damming the damn hollow up like that.

"It was all old 'bone'—that's what they call the slate they separate as waste from the coal—piled up. They just closed the whole valley off with that stuff.

"The companies don't care. If you did what the boss told you, there'd be a hell of a lot more men killed even than there are."

He explained how the union leadership under Boyle is in cahoots with the employers and government, not to enforce safety conditions. "It's just like our district safety coordinator. He made a statement right there in our meeting hall. We had a problem on safety.

"He said: I can't tell you to strike. The only thing I can tell you is not to violate the law. If I don't tell you that, I don't have no job anymore. They have a no-strike clause in the contract.

"These fines (on safety) don't mean anything to the companies. Now, what's a \$300 fine to one of these big companies. As far as the Federal Bureau of Mines is concerned, we simply had an incident here.

"The Federal Bureau of Mines man here said that we were right and the coal company wrong on a particular safety issue. The next day he was sent to Mississippi—transferred—and another man put in his place. The next day. And I don't even think they have coal mines in Mississippi."



Top, slag heap like the one that dam was made of scars valley in W. Virginia coal mining district where last week's flood killed hundreds of people. Above, Pittston mine which built the murderous dam. Government says at least 30 similar dams are as deadly. Companies think they are profitable.

What was clear from our discussion was that the Buffalo Creek mine disaster, like the thousands of deaths in the mines every year, like the slow death from black lung disease are not "acts of God" but rather acts of capitalism which puts profits before people.

Like the rest of the working

class, the miners are also hit with automation, unemployment and inflation and Nixon's attack on the unions which also flow from the needs of capitalism to make profits.

The companies, the state, local and federal governments, will do their best to whitewash the disaster. But it is clear that private

enterprise is not qualified to run the mines.

The interests of the miners and the welfare of the entire working class demand that the mines be nationalized, without compensation to the owners and operated under control of the miners with full safety protection and decent conditions.



Baltimore waterfront (top right), where longshoremen (lower right and left) are demanding full 40 hour guarantee. On Philadelphia docks, ranks argued with delegate (center) about guarantee.



## Boston Ranks Distrust Secret Contract Terms

BY PAT CONNOLLY

EAST BOSTON, FEB. 28—Little more than a week is left before the contract vote in the ILA locals here which will decide the fate of hundreds of longshoremen.

The tremendous willingness of the dockers to fight for their jobs and their survival is being met by a wall of silence and treachery from the union leadership.

### CONFUSION

The conscious attempt to keep the men in the dark and to spread confusion is reflected in the question of the guarantee. Some of the men interviewed say that Boston has no guarantee whatsoever; others have claimed that they get a completely inadequate guarantee which is now threatened by the new regulations such as double debiting to get rid of it altogether.

A Bulletin reporter who attempted to interview an ILA official at the union office this afternoon on the local issues in the contract, was told that the official was "not at liberty to say if the men were working with a guarantee or not."

One older worker told the Bulletin that: "If the West Coast had stayed out we'd have tied up the whole country. If we used our muscles we'd show Nixon exactly what he is, another little Hitler, and Louisa Day Hicks is right in there too."

Another worker speaking about the role of the leadership in refusing to mobilize to fight for the guarantee stated: "We need another Boston Tea Party, but tea isn't what we'll drop over the bridge."

### UNITED

The fight to keep the jobs of the Boston longshoremen means that there has to be a united fight with all other locals. The leadership is unofficially saying, via rumors, that everybody else has settled secretly.

They claim that the Boston dockers are isolated, that they cannot win anything, that they are too small. The ranks must take Gleason up on his promise to stay out until all locals are back.



# "The Outports" Fight For A Full Guarantee

BY DAN FRIED

"Looks like our officials are going along with a deal or something. That's the way it seems to me."

This statement by a Philadelphia longshoreman sums up the deep feeling of mistrust that exists among longshoremen in the East Coast "outports"—Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston.

All the dockworkers who spoke with the Bulletin on the Philadelphia and Baltimore waterfront were angered by the 30 day extension of the old contract that had been agreed to by ILA President Gleason. An older longshoreman in Philadelphia stated:

"When we were making headway before, the 80 day injunction came about. This time when we were making headway, it was the 30 day extension. It is a bad situation for us. The Taft-Hartley—that's no joke. Gleason asked for it. Why? Looks like he's on the other side to me. That's plain and simple."

The ILA leadership has set March 8 as the date for voting on the East and Gulf Coast master contract in all ports. But the critical issue, which is negotiated in each port as a "local" issue, is job security.

In Philadelphia and Baltimore, the 1968 contract only won an 1800 hour guaranteed annual wage, while in New York, the shippers were forced to concede a 2080 annual (40 hour weekly) income for most of the dockworkers.

### GUARANTEE

As they see unemployment on the rise, and the threat of automation, the men in Philadelphia and Baltimore are demanding their own 40 hour guarantees. All the ILA leaders from Gleason to the local bureaucrats have given lip service to this demand.

But the shippers in Baltimore and Philadelphia are preparing for a fight to resist the guarantee demand. In both ports, they used Gleason's 30 day extension to clean up the ports. Now they have reversed themselves and are only hiring a minimum of men in preparation for the contract votes.

Their strategy is clear. They are attempting to starve the men into accepting a sellout contract without the 40 hour guarantee under the assumption that the men will vote "yes" if they do not have any money in their pockets.

While the local leaders say they are for 2080, the men all complain that they are told



nothing about the negotiations. "What we get is slop anyway. Not real information. Only a few people know what's going on." "The officials know more about it than we do. Everyone seems to be in a fog. Every time you ask them something, they say 'We don't know yet.' Well, they give you a report—after it's all over."

### QUESTION

The central question being raised by the men is about the guarantee and increasing unemployment. A group of men told the Bulletin that even under the old contract which is supposed to provide for an 1800 hour GAI, nobody gets it.

"We don't get it. Nobody gets it. If you work 25 hours, you get paid for 25 hours. And I'm a regular union member. Every union man should be covered by the guarantee—a full 40 hours."

The men in Philadelphia and Baltimore all agreed that the number one need was for the guarantee because of the increase of containerization. "They're preparing for it," said a Philadelphia man.

"Take Parker Avenue, or in Camden, Northern Metal. They aren't buying all that equipment for nothing. Or, right up the river here—that means more jobs down the drain."

### STRIKE

At the same time, all the workers who spoke to the Bulletin in Philadelphia and Baltimore said they would vote against any contract that did not win the full guarantee and were prepared to strike.

In Baltimore, a young worker at the Baltimore ILA hiring hall complained bitterly, "Some guys here haven't even gotten any check. Here, look at my check—\$46.

"The 1800 guarantee we have is

worthless. They deduct everything. We only get guarantee money every three months. In the meantime, you've got to draw unemployment to live. They deduct that—they deduct vacation pay, they deduct everything."

### POLITICAL

The workers in both ports showed a tremendous interest in political questions which were raised by the longshore situation.

A young worker at the Baltimore hiring hall told the Bulletin: "Yes, we should go out if we don't get the 40 hour guarantee. That's all we can do. And if the Pay Board cuts wages, we should do like they did in England. I mean like the miners. Get them all to go out."

We brought up the question of the Pay Board and the threat to the dock contracts on both coasts. "I heard the worst thing I could have heard, on the news this morning," said one oldtimer outside the Baltimore hall. "The meatcutters. They're going to roll back their wage. Now how are they going to roll back wages on a man when he's been drawing them for three months? Now they are going to cut his wages."

Gleason's extension of the old contract, made under the pretext of a unified struggle of all the ports, is now running out of time. Gleason had hoped to settle everything with a sellout in New York which the men are not buying. A big "no" vote is being prepared.

In the outports, the shippers have refused to make any concessions. Gleason's professed strategy of "one port down, all ports down," must be kept. The men in the outports are ready to go out again to win the guarantee.

# TOMBS REBELLION. . .

one, to the man, on every floor is standing together.

The men are now setting fire to blankets, sheets, everything that is inflammable and throwing it out of their cells! There are many guards, in riot gear and tear gas cannisters, with Lester Maddox-type clubs running all over the people, not really knowing what to do. They have not bothered to feed us. And the irony is that it all started because we refused to eat! Ha ha. Because of their bureaucratic idiocy, because of their insensitivity, they continue to blunder.

The question I now ask myself, is what will they do tomorrow morning! Will they take a chance and let us out, knowing we will come out very angry! Many men will have to come out anyway, for courtroom appearances. Or will they continue to attempt to feed us in, hoping that we will be hungry enough to eat, that we will be tired, that our anger has been subsided! They will need the wisdom of Solomon!

Needless to say there is a "watch" in the front of my cage, decked out in riot gear. They will be glad to get rid of me. I am blamed for everything that occurs. It's not the system, it's not the conditions. It's the radicals!

Should there be a press conference or investigation on this we will place the thing in its proper perspective. We will point out that things have changed: the situation is now worse than it was during the prison outbreaks of October, 1970.

H—

Dear Editor:

All sorts of strange things are going on around here (the Tombs).

Of course you know about the incident with the inmate's children who were killed in a car accident while coming to visit him. And that his wife (who was 7 months pregnant) suffered a miscarriage. Well, the Department of Correction submitted their version along with the claim that it was a "hoax." The news media (N.Y. Post, Black News, etc.) accepted the official view without bothering to check it out. Had they done so they would have discovered a credibility gap between the Department of Correction and the public. But the news media, as in this case, always accepts the "official" version.

In the aftermath of this incident a large group of guards, led by a Captain Ellis, provoked an incident on the 7th floor. The guards assaulted an inmate, Bert Scott, and then placed assault charges on him to cover up their deeds. This is something that they always do. And it is always sanctioned by the courts. The

judge, the district attorney, and the Legal Aid lawyer will, acting in concert, force the defendant to enter a plea, or they will get retribution on his pending charges. This is now the case with Bert Scott. The judge and the Legal Aid lawyer are trying all sorts of maneuvers to prevent him from filing a counter-charge against the guards.

This Captain Ellis is the same guard who was found guilty, after a Departmental hearing, of brutalizing inmates during and after the prison disturbances in 1970. This took place in Kew Gardens, Queens. He received a slap on the wrist and was appointed Captain; strange way of receiving a promotion! He seems to have a license to continue his activities here. Everytime there is an accident he seems to be somewhere in the background. The new strategy now seems to be to place criminal charges on an inmate whenever he seeks his constitutional rights. In nine cases out of ten the charges are fabricated.

Yesterday, the sentenced prisoners approached the administration, asking that something be done about the fact that they have to work something like 12 hours a day, seven days a week, and are paid approximately 10 cents per week! The spokesmen for the sentenced prisoners, although they laid for their grievances in an orderly, intelligent manner, were placed in the "bing." They were also deprived of "earned time." Captain Ellis.

This morning, in support of the men who were placed in the "bing," the rest of the sentenced prisoners refused to go to work, to serve the food. To deal with this the guards took the homosexuals out of their segregated area and placed them on the food line. Funny way to break a strike.

Anyway the guards locked us out for chow. When we saw who was serving the food we entered a verbal protest to the guards. We were advised that we had to accept the food or not eat. We, collectively, refused to accept the food and returned to our cells. Ten minutes later a captain came up to the floor and asked us why we refused to be served food. Another inmate explained that we did not refuse to be served food; we refused to be served food by that segment of the population. We did not question their sexual preferences, we questioned their hygiene. This inmate went on to point out that some of those passing out the food had just come in off the streets. At this point the captain replaced them and the guards crudely passed out the food.

This afternoon, during lunch, the homosexuals were again placed on the food line. We again

refused to accept the food and returned to our cells in an orderly manner. A guard came to my cell and advised me that I was in "bing" status, along with Nathaniel Ragsdale, pending investigation. I asked the guard who locked me up and why. He said "orders from Captain Ellis. You refused to accept food." I asked him since when is it a crime not to want to eat? And why is it that we were the only two who are in the bing when everybody, without encouragement, refused their food? No answer. We asked to see a deputy warden and none other than Captain Ellis showed up. He wanted to take us to see the "doctor."

Presently we are in administrative segregation, on orders from Captain Ellis, despite the fact that we committed no infractions. The same is so with the other men who are here.

Several weeks ago Ragsdale had criminal charges placed on him, which was instigated by Captain Ellis, although no crime had been committed. Another inmate was placed in adminis-

## ITALY. . .

point not seen since the fall of fascism at the end of World War II.

### ACTIONS

In the latest of a series of widespread industrial actions, the workers at the nationalized Alfa Romeo sports car plants have occupied the work sites in opposition to a new employers' attack in the form of changes in work rules. They are demanding increased pay.

The 20,000 autoworkers have formed a "workers' Militia" which controls who enters or leaves the plant. The government says if the occupation continues, the whole company may be closed down.

Significantly, when a "left" Christian Democrat delegate—an obvious candidate for Longo's "popular coalition"—offered funds in solidarity with the strikers, the workers angrily re-

## BRITAIN. . .

prices will depend on more productivity.

Malcolm Gregory, the President of the Bold colliery stated: "It's a pity that the Tories are still in. I think the TUC (Trades Union Congress) should have called a national strike. But it's a victory in that we smashed the Tories' wage norm."

"The NUR (National Railwaymen's Union) is next. We'll support them every inch of the way. The Tories still have to defeat the working class."

## BALTIMORE

the contract challenge: "In a broad public sense, it is gratifying that the Department of Justice has begun putting teeth in the inflation control program with respect to wages.

"Viewed from the particular standpoint of private business, naming A&P as a codefendant is unfortunate.

"They want to sound good so they wave the flag," he said.

When asked what he thought about a labor party to kick out the Republicans and Democrats in the '72 elections, Menapace replied: "It's not going to happen as long as the present AFL-CIO leadership is in power. They're welded to the system tighter than rivets to a drawbridge."

trative segregation by Captain Ellis. His "crime"? Teaching his fellow prisoners how to read and write. He was accused of "holding meetings" when even the warden conceded that he not only had established a self-help educational program, but was receiving dictionaries, remedial readers and spelling books, as donations, from outside sources. And why did Captain Ellis single him out? Because he happened to be in Kew Gardens during the prison disturbances.

It is a known fact that the "Tombs 7" case is scheduled for trial very shortly. Is it possible that someone, or some agency is attempting to provoke a situation so as to cast a shadow of doubt upon the defendants? Or is this the act of one individual, seeking to further his career on the backs of imprisoned men? In the interests of the public someone should investigate this matter before more damage is done, and the possible loss of lives.

As ever,  
Bro. C.B.  
Tombs

# CHINA. . .

documents as in the actual practice of Maoist foreign policy.

First of all, it is important to understand that Nixon consented to visit China only after he became thoroughly convinced that his hosts no longer served the cause of revolution. If anything, he is a cautious man, and he never would have stepped into China if he thought that Red Guards might be roaming the streets.

That Nixon's faith in the reactionary character of the Stalinist regime has deepened is shown by the fact that the United States will now move toward diplomatic relations with Peking. With the establishment of embassies, the long probationary period during which imperialism tested the Maoist bureaucracy will come to an end.

In the course of this probationary period, Mao supported Bandaranaike's bloodbath in Ceylon, Numeiry's decapitation of the Sudanese communist movement, and Yahya Khan's slaughter in Bangla Desh.

### WELCOMED

The manner in which China has been welcomed into the United Nations and achieved recognition as a reliable force for world capitalist stability almost parallels the earlier example of the Soviet Union. It was not until Stalin had the betrayal of the English, Chinese, and German revolutions under his belt that Roosevelt granted diplomatic recognition.

According to the Peking Stalinists, it is only the question of Taiwan that is "obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States." This position reflects the bankrupt strategy of "socialism in one country."

In order to ease the pressure they feel from Taiwan, the Maoist bureaucracy prepares to abandon the cause of the Indo-Chinese workers and peasants.

### TREACHERY

While the Vietnamese masses will be the first to bear the brunt of the Stalinist treachery, the entire international working class is threatened by the past week's dealings.

The Maoist bloc is a blow against the working class in the workers states.

Furthermore, as the signing of a union-busting bill in Peking proves, the support of Stalinism provides Nixon with ammunition against American workers.

## MINNEAPOLIS. . .

of teachers from and to inner city schools.

Throughout the contract proposals of the board, rights that the teachers automatically had are now replaced with the language "with approval of the principal."

### ATTACK

The board remembers with fear the tremendous solidarity that developed between the teachers of Local 59 and the parents and students during the 1970 strike—during which the Minneapolis Education Association scabbed.

That is why at the same time that they open up the attack on the teachers they encourage a vicious and racist hysteria to be built up in the capitalist press to seek to divide the teachers from support of the students and parents.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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# West Coast News



SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

**SAN FRANCISCO**—Some 75 young workers and students attended the Bay Area Conference of Revolutionary Youth, held at the Mission YMCA here on February 26th. The Conference voted to form the Young Socialists on the West Coast. Other conferences will be held in Southern California and in the Pacific Northwest at later dates.

There was a large turnout of Chicano and Black youth from San Jose's East Side. Also represented were youth from East Palo Alto, Pittsburg, Mission District of San Francisco, San Francisco State and Cal at Berkeley.

Greetings from the Workers League and a political report was presented by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary. Comrade Wohlforth emphasized the sharpness of the crisis which now is not only denying any possibility of a future to working class youth but attacking masses of older workers. He stated that this posed the question of survival itself and that the only possible road forward was socialism.

### CONSCIOUSNESS

Wohlforth discussed the question of consciousness. He explained how masses of workers today were beginning to question capitalism in the course of the attacks coming down on them. Within this framework youth have the central role to play. A section of youth which consciously takes up a study of Marxism and the struggle to build the Marxist party can bring about fundamental changes in masses as the struggle deepens. The key is the development of a Marxist youth cadre now which fights among masses of youth only beginning to move towards politics.

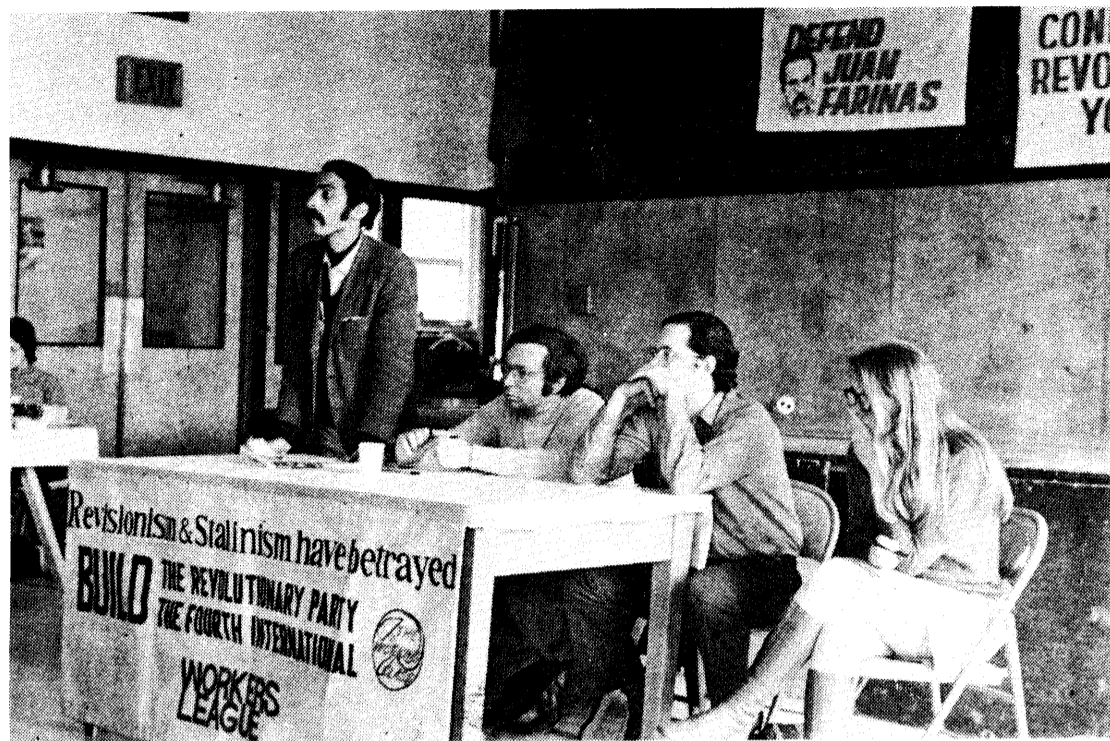
Wohlforth explained how youth think with a bourgeois ideology. He also explained that this ideology is reflected within the workers movement itself particularly in the form of Stalinism. He discussed the role of Nixon and Mao conspiring against the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

Ann Kaldenoch of Palo Alto gave the report on the Young Socialists. She explained how

Stalinism is reinforced by the revisionists of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party who will not fight Stalinism and who build reformist movements like the anti-war movement. She discussed the situation facing youth in the Bay Area where on the campuses there is the rise of right wing and fascist groups while the State slashes the EOP program which has allowed minority youth to attend college.

She also discussed the efforts of the cops to harass unemployed youth and arrest them for nothing, the decay in the high schools and the tremendous unemployment throughout the whole area. She stated that all these attacks were rooted in capitalism and its decay. She posed that the only way forward was to build a socialist youth movement of all races and nationalities dedicated to bringing forward the whole of the labor movement against capitalism and to overthrow it.

She proposed two motions: that the program of the Young Socialists be accepted and the Young Socialists formed on that basis, and that the Young Socialists build a mass contingent to march in Los Angeles on April 22nd against the war and



## BAY AREA CONFERENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH



Seventy-five working class youth and students met in San Francisco and voted to organize Young Socialists on West Coast. Top, Jeff Sebastian opens Conference. Below, discussion on Marxist theory and building the YS as a revolutionary leadership among youth. Band provided music for dance later.

against the class attacks on the youth and trade unions.

Several teamsters intervened in the discussion stating that the current Coca Cola strike illustrated what was said about the attacks of the capitalists and government on the workers. They urged broad support for the strikers who have faced cops, dogs and guns protecting scabs.

An important discussion broke out in the afternoon on the question of nationalism and its relation to capitalism and to middle class radicalism. The discussion was initiated by three middle class radicals from the Berkeley-Oakland area who reflected the views of Spartacist. They had nothing to say on the crisis, on what youth faced, on a program around which to struggle. Instead they stated that there should be separate organizations of Blacks and for women because of the special oppression these sections faced.

This represented a concession to the bourgeois ideology of nationalism at a point when the Workers League was fighting to bring about the unity of working class youth in a common revolutionary organization.

One unemployed youth from Pittsburg, California, a town built around a United States Steel

plant, took this opening to defend nationalism. He stated that he had to fight for his thing while others could fight for theirs.

He was forced by the logic of this position to finally state that he wasn't for socialism anyway realizing that for socialism a united struggle and common class party was necessary. "Perhaps we can do it the way the capitalists did and pull together our resources to build our own capitalism. Or, maybe, we can have our own socialism in our own community."

Comrade Wohlforth pointed out that nothing would change in Pittsburg without jobs at U.S. Steel, and nothing would change in San Jose and East Palo Alto as long as they were laying off at Lockheed.

"They are not going to give you the U.S. Steel plant, the Lockheed plant, and GM Fremont plant. And when they are going out of business and cutting back, the Blacks by themselves could not build their own plants. The only way forward is nationalization of U.S. Steel, Lockheed, General Motors and for that you need a Marxist party representing the working class as a class fighting throughout this country and internationally. To say anything less than this is to

aid in the oppression of workers—Black, Chicano and white."

Significantly, while noting a "difference" over capitalism versus socialism, the middle class radicals continued their support and encouragement of the bourgeois ideology of this youth.

Some of the youth reacted to the sharpness of the fight with the Berkeley-Oakland people and this in turn showed to them the importance of the fight against revisionism and its class character. One young girl from San Jose, who found herself at first siding with these middle class radicals even though she wished to build the Young Socialists, left the room in confusion only to come back in and pledge \$25 from her small salary for Juan Farinas' defense.

At the conclusion of the discussion all the working class youth voted to establish the Young Socialists. One of the hostile radicals voted against and two abstained. Some \$232 was raised for Juan Farinas who spoke on his appeal to the Supreme Court. The film of the British Young Socialists was shown. In the evening a dance was held to the excellent sounds of the California Bush, a band from Pittsburg, California.

# West Coast News

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

## Angela's Trial Opens

**BY JUAN P. FARINAS**  
SAN JOSE, Feb. 28—The trial of Angela Davis opened here today. Angela was freed on \$102,500 bail after spending sixteen months in prison—awaiting trial on frame-up charges of murder, kidnapping and conspiracy.

The trial itself opened up in an atmosphere resembling a concentration camp more than anything else. Visitors have to go through a 10 foot high wire fence and give their name, address and proper identification.

Then they are frisked, photographed and passed through a metal detection mechanism before going into the heavily guarded courtroom. All these measures are intended to intimidate and turn away people from the trial.

The trial is taking place in a city with one of the highest unemployment rates in the entire West Coast and where youth, just a few blocks away from the courthouse itself, face absolutely no future at all.

The selection of the jury began with the excusing of an older woman who, after questioning by the defense, admitted that she could not be "fair" to Davis because of her admitted membership in the Communist Party.

The prosecutor, Albert Harris, continuously objected to the defense's line of questioning prospective jurors about their feelings towards Communists and Angela's past activities. Supposedly these questions are not related to the "real issues" in the trial and that "the Communist Party is not on trial here."

The recent California Supreme Court decision outlawing capital punishment removed the entire legal basis for denying Angela bail.

But behind Judge Arnason's decision in favor of bail was the tremendous support for Angela among youth and the growing support within the labor movement.

Though forced to grant Davis bail, Judge Arnason imposed the most vicious restrictions, aimed at silencing her for the duration of the trial. She is restricted to travel in the Bay Area.

She is forbidden to attend or participate in public rallies or meetings without Arnason's permission. She cannot possess or use any firearms. She is forbidden to discuss any aspect of her trial.

A court spokesman told reporters that the \$700,000 worth of "security" measures would be continued. And Lt. Donald Tamm

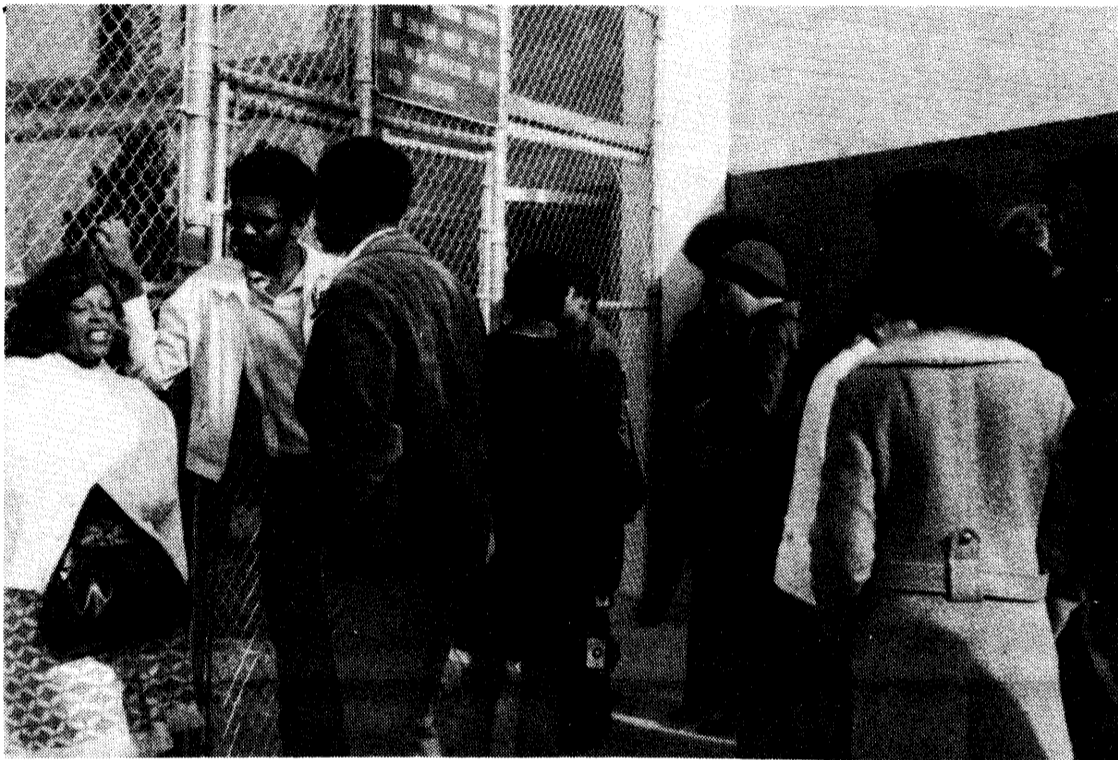
of the Sheriff's Department was quick to state that the special woman's cell and facilities constructed for Angela in the County Jail in San Jose "would not be wasted."

Even as Nixon proceeds relentlessly towards the goal of stripping away the democratic forms and instituting a naked dictatorship in order to smash the

working class and youth, he is confronted at every point with the determination of millions to defend their rights.

Above all he fears the development of a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

The fight to free Angela Davis and all political prisoners is therefore more urgent than ever.



Supporters of Angela Davis defense wait outside court building in California for trial to start.

## Unionists Defend Teamsters Pickets

**BY A BULLETIN REPORTER**

SAN FRANCISCO, FEB. 26—Teamster Local 896 officials, using the wives and children of striking Teamsters beverage workers as sponsors, called for a mass Bay Area trade union picket line to protest police violence and a court injunction limiting picketing at the Coca Cola bottling plant in San Francisco.

In response to this little publicized rally, 500 supporters showed up from various Teamsters' locals including Longshoremen from the ILWU and UAW auto workers from GM Fremont.

**GOON SQUAD**

As the various political tendencies attempted to sell their press and distribute their leaflets, they were met by an "official" Local 70 goon squad who ordered them to stop, desist and leave the area under threats of physical violence.

The goons also ordered their own rank and file TURF group to stop selling their newspaper called the Fifth Wheel. A Teamster taxi cab driver intervened on the right of political tendencies to sell and distribute their papers.

The "squad" leader replied angrily: "I have had enough of your sticking your damn nose into our business. I am inviting you to leave with your political friends."

**INTIMIDATION**

The taxi cab Teamster, angered by this blatant intimidation, stood his ground and declared that this goon squad was in no way impowered to act in behalf of the striking beverage workers but were representing the "Local 70 bureaucrats standing safely across the street, who are afraid of arrest."

With this they closed in menacingly and began to push the taxi cab driver. As the longshoremen and auto workers tried to pull off the goons, they too were attacked as the whole fight threatened to break into a riot.

As an uneasy truce settled over the demonstration, the general consensus of opinion from the ranks was that their "leaders" should spend their time fighting the beverage companies strike-breaking attempt.

One TURF spokesman stated that: "This is the kind of intimidation we have been receiving from Teamster officials who fear a rank and file movement such as ours that openly questions their strike strategy and is out to change the Teamster leadership."

## Fascist Youth Build Club At Stanford

**BY JILL ROSS**

STANFORD—On Feb. 22 at one of the richest and most elite campuses in the United States a rally was held to launch a fascist movement.

The program of the Students for Responsible Action is to reinstate the ROTC, to halt war protesting, to expand defense research and to end "irrational acts."

The speakers at the rally put forth their reactionary program under a thin cover of liberal verbiage: that is, recruiters must be allowed on campus so people can enjoy the "right to chose." Behind this so-called right is really a defense of William Shockley, a racist professor who is spreading his murderous theories all over Stanford and to

reactionary tendencies nationally.

The S.R.A. will hold a "series of forums" as part of their campaign to "resist the left." These forums will not be for the purpose of having "constructive dialogue" as they claim, but to actively build and recruit a fascist movement at Stanford which is aimed at rescuing the capitalist system by viciously attacking workers and youth and wiping out any and all left organizations and parties.

The campus liberals, Venceremos, and other radicals are

totally incapable of confronting the S.R.A. because they basically share the same perspective of hostility to the movement and strength of the working class.

The liberal Stanford Daily press welcomes W. Shockley to perpetrate his racist filth in their columns, and the "Symposium on Imperialism" invites the S.R.A. to speak.

The Stanford Young Socialists are the only ones fighting for a massive campaign to drive Shockley and the fascists off campus.

## JUAN FARINAS TOURS BAY AREA

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SAN FRANCISCO—The fight to force the Supreme Court to hear the appeal of Juan Farinas was taken forward with a one week tour of the Bay Area.

Farinas spoke at a number of meetings in San Jose, Berkeley, Palo Alto and San Francisco on high school and college campuses.

The purpose of these meetings was not to appeal to the liberals but to confront the working class and the youth with the fact that

the attack on Farinas is part of the capitalist preparation for Bonapartism and fascism and threatened the very survival of the labor movement and the future of the youth.

The meetings made it absolutely clear that the defense of Farinas was based entirely on the strength of the working class and the fight to construct the revolutionary movement to lead the fight for power.

There were important developments at a number of these meetings. At San Francisco State a spokesman from the Black Students Union spoke in defense of Juan by relating the attack to the attack on the entire international working class from Africa and Asia to Ire-

land and the U.S.

He spoke of the struggle of the youth for their very survival and of the growing resistance in the working class preparing the way for a general strike movement and a fight for power.

At Stanford University virtually the entire MECHA organization turned out in Juan's support. These students face cuts in the Economics Opportunities Program that will make it impossible for minority students to remain in the colleges.

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