

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER THIRTY TWO 241

APRIL 17, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

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BY DAVID NORTH

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This offensive has reduced Nixon's Vietnamization program to shambles. American military spokesmen are now conceding that the NLF controls the Northern provinces of South Vietnam; and the ARVN is being routed in battle engagements in other parts of the country.

At this point, the ARVN cannot even guarantee the safety of the capital city as it fights a losing battle against the NLF 25 miles from Saigon.

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that the government is attempting to prepare public opinion for a renewed escalation of the war including the reintroduction of US ground troops.

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UAW Strike Norwood GM

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NORWOOD, Ohio, April 10—The strike here by 3800 UAW members which has shut down the General Motors assembly plant is one more step in a massive eruption by the auto workers against the vicious campaign of speed-up and unemployment spearheaded by the management team known as General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD).

While the strike against speed-up at the Lordstown plant has been settled, at least for the moment, strike votes have already been taken at Buick in Flint, and at the GMAD plant in St. Louis. Other strikes are brewing at GM plants all over the country.

"It's going to be a long one." That was the feeling expressed by all of the pickets outside the

Norwood plant on the third day of the strike.

As at Lordstown, GMAD has been weeding out the militants, the so-called "trouble-makers" through disciplinary layoffs (DLO's) while increasing line speed since February to the point where the 3,800 workers are producing the same number of cars as 5,000 made last year.

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Pickets shout at scabs at Macy's where 8,000 workers struck. See story page 17.

Bus Drivers Threaten 'Civil War' In Jersey

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK, April 10—Transport of New Jersey rejected the contract proposal put forward yesterday by the Amalgamated Transit Union.

This comes immediately after the ATU ranks voted 3,239 to 465 to reject the company's "final offer," and continue their six week old strike.

Now New Jersey Governor Cahill is openly attempting to break the strike. He endorsed TNJ's offer—which would have meant a \$13 pay cut per week for the bus drivers—and stated that if the union rejected it, he would take away TNJ's franchises for the bus routes and hand them over to the smaller independent bus lines.

Today, the State Public Utilities Commission announced that it is permanently transferring the franchises of nine major bus routes in Essex County—Newark and surrounding cities—from TNJ to the independent lines, most of which are non-union and have much lower pay scales.

Cahill stated that this action will be extended to other areas which are especially affected by the strike. At the same time, he is also calling on the US Congress to enact an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act which would give individual states the right to declare strikes to be against "the welfare of the state."

Frank Armenante, President of ATU Local 819, which includes about half the 4,500 strikers stated in response to Cahill's moves to liquidate TNJ: "I don't know what the striking members will do. All I know is we've been holding them down for the past 36 days.

"I don't think we can hold them down any longer if other bus lines are allowed to run over TNJ routes. It'll set off a fuse."

Another union leader said that there would be "civil war" if other lines are given the franchises.

On the picket line, strikers told the Bulletin that they would make sure no buses would move if Cahill tries to transfer the franchises. One picket said: "I don't think the other drivers would allow their companies to take over our lines. If the independents tried it, they should be struck also.

"It would be hard to get the support of non-union drivers, but some of the lines are unionized. We need their support. They will benefit from our strike also."

STRIKE-BREAKING

Cahill's strike-breaking is aimed not only at the bus drivers, but the whole trade union movement. His proposed amendment to the Taft-Hartley would be a blow to the fight to defend the wages, conditions and jobs of the working class.

150-200 recalled. Another worker said that he had been put out in the streets six times in the last month and a half and that "out of 19 guys on my operation, 10 have been taken off."

The Local 674 Shop Chairman, Jim Young claimed that conditions here are even worse than they were at Lordstown.

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Pompidou Referendum Panics CP

BY MELODY FARROW

The referendum on the Common Market to be held in France on April 23rd is developing into a major political test for the regime of George Pompidou.

The stated purpose of the referendum is to allow the French people to vote on the proposed entry of Britain, Norway, Denmark and

Ireland into the Common Market.

Pompidou, no more than British Prime Minister Heath, has any concern for the wishes of the French working class. The referendum is in reality a plebiscite to win a majority in support of all of Pompidou's reactionary policies in preparation for the March 1973 elections.

The referendum is a typically Bonapartist move which Pompidou seeks to utilize to establish the kind of one man personal rule that DeGaulle, before him, had built up.

Turk Rulers Establish Dictatorship

BY A FOREIGN
CORRESPONDENT

The blood-smearing Turkish government has moved to abolish all political activity in that country. In a letter written last week to the leaders of the right-wing bourgeois parties, President Cevdet Sunay called for the establishment of dictatorial rule by decree.

Sunay, the former chief of staff of the army, stated in his letter that: "The Constitution must be amended to take the necessary steps and put the reforms into effect with speed. For a temporary period the government must be equipped with general authority given in advance to issue executive decrees."

Although martial law has existed in Istanbul for over a year—during which time the state has begun prosecutions against 1,977 "anarchists and communists"—Sunay asserted that he is seizing power because "the current state of affairs is endangering the democratic regime and the integrity of the country."

MASSACRE

Sunay's letter followed by a few days the army and police massacre at Kizildere of ten Turkish urban guerrillas and their three NATO hostages.

The guerrillas had kidnapped the NATO functionaries in order to save three of their comrades—Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan—who are awaiting execution after their death warrants were rushed through parliament and signed by Sunay on March 23.

The massacre and impending executions have set off a wave of protest among left-wing students that the Turkish regime now plans to drown in blood. Prime Minister Nihat Erim has declared that he "will never compromise" with resistance forces; and Sunay recently warned that he might close down all the universities.

It is not expected that parliament will resist the demands for dictatorship; so Sunay might be granted full powers just in time to greet Soviet President Podgorny, who is scheduled to arrive in Turkey next week for a "friendship visit."

Roy Jenkins, head of the pro-Common Market forces in the British Labour Party, resigned Monday from his position of Deputy Leader. Two other top Labourites also handed in their resignations.

Jenkins and all the other Labourite traitors who endorse the Tory attacks on English workers must be thrown out of the Labour Party.

The last time such a referendum took place was in April 1969 after the 1968 General Strike. The French working class responded with a massive No vote that led to DeGaulle's resignation and opened the way for new elections.

The upcoming referendum can now become the focal point in the

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These two Turkish women were sentenced to life imprisonment at a mass trial for their opposition to the blood-spattered dictatorship which controls their country. Others were sentenced to death.

Ceylon CP Accepts Bill To Convict Leftist Youth

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Just one year after the coalition government of Madame Bandaranaike crushed the rebellion of thousands of rural youth in the People's Liberation Front (JVP), the regime is faced with a rising tide of opposition from farmers, workers and youth all over the country.

In March, 1971, unemployed youth of the JVP launched guerrilla attacks on the government for failing to carry through its promises of a socialist program. Madame Bandaranaike retaliated by ordering a full-scale slaughter in which 1600 youth were brutally massacred. She did this with the military support of the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies.

Bandaranaike's attack was endorsed by her coalition partners, the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), a former section of the Pablotite United Secretariat.

Over 14,000 youth are still being held in Ceylon's jails supposedly for "rehabilitation."

The deepening economic crisis has stripped Bandaranaike of any support she once had. Prices have risen over 10 percent

and unemployment is now at 14 percent.

Social services have been cut and a curb on imports has been imposed. The government has done nothing about the disastrous rice crop this year which was hit by a severe drought.

The tremendous upsurge against the regime is coming to a head over the issue of the mass internment of the youth. Bandaranaike has been under a barrage of demands to release them.

The government has introduced the Criminal Justice Commissions Bill into Parliament which would set up special commissions to try the detainees by using confessions and hearsay as admissible evidence to convict them.

This proposal is aimed at convicting 700 youth by bypassing the traditional court system. There is absolutely no evidence against at least half of those

imprisoned. Strong opposition to the Bill has come from the trade unions, the Bar Council of Ceylon and the newly formed Civil Rights Movement.

Justice Minister Felix Dias Bandaranaike in presenting the Bill claimed that its purpose was to safeguard socialism and democracy and to do away with antiquated laws and imperialist systems!

TRIBUNALS

This law will also enable the government to set up special tribunals to try offenses such as rebellion and insurrection. The lesson of the Sudanese bloodbath makes it clear that this new law could be used to decapitate the Communist Party.

However, the Communist Party refrained from fighting this bill even though its daily paper, *Aththa* called it a fascist measure.

When the bill came before the Parliament, the Communist Party president did not speak and abstained from voting. The head of the Party's Youth League also abstained. The Communist Party Secretary voted with the government.

The real meaning of the Bill is a sharp move towards a dictatorship. The Emergency measures declared last year have never been removed.

At the same time, the government has answered the wave of strikes with restraints on unions and bans on strikes in "essential sectors." The press is rigidly censored and the coalition has clamped down on elections.

The traitors in the Communist Party and the LSSP are now preparing to back Bandaranaike in another vicious wave of repression against the Ceylonese workers and the detained youth. These parties played the role of giving her a leftist cover at a time when her regime was bankrupt and could have been toppled.

The international working class must be mobilized against any threat to liquidate the imprisoned youth in Ceylon and to expose and defeat the coalition government.

Nixon Recognizes Mujib

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Worried by the militant socialist agitation that is sweeping Bangla Desh, the Nixon Administration has extended official recognition to the new state in order to bolster the shaky regime of Sheik Mujibur Rahman.

"I want to reaffirm our intention to develop friendly bilateral relations and be helpful as Bangla Desh faces its immense task of relief and reconstruction," stated Secretary of State William P. Rogers at the recognition ceremony.

After having given unwavering support to the year-long effort of the Pakistani government to exterminate the Bengali people, the Nixon Administration has come to the conclusion that the task of containing the working class and peasantry of Bangla Desh now rests upon Mujib's shoulders.

Before the Pakistani invasion last March, Mujib used to boast that he was the only man who could stop communism in the area that is now Bangla Desh. Nixon has now decided to support him in this effort.

The United States is not being too coy about its motives. State

Department spokesman Robert J. McClosky admitted that the government is concerned about preserving "stability" in Bangla Desh.

Sheik Mujib's government is enthusiastic over the American recognition. It has been frantically seeking American financial aid to ease the domestic crisis. But even more important is its desire to establish closer political ties to countervail the left-wing forces.

Abdus Samad, the foreign minister of Bangla Desh, asserted that American recognition would make "some contribution to the maintenance of peace in the region."

Nixon is not the only bourgeois politician frightened by the movement of the masses in the Asian sub-continent. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is now seeking to restore working relations with Pakistan.

She stated that India is "prepared for talks" with the country defeated by her armies less than four months ago. Since the expulsion of the Pakistani army from Bangla Desh, the regime of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has been constantly threatened by a popular insurrection.

Rather than permit or seem to encourage another mass uprising, Gandhi is offering to ease the pressure on Pakistani in order to give Bhutto the chance to strengthen his position.

Revealing that her government is, in "direct touch" with Pakistan, Mrs. Gandhi stated: "I hope that India and Pakistan can both now turn their backs on the era of conflicts and confrontation."

"We never had a quarrel with the people of Pakistan. I think their only mistake was that they believed all the lies that were said to them about India."

New Gold Price Signals Crash

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The pompous statement made last Monday by Nixon, following his signing of a bill raising the gold price from \$35 to \$38 an ounce, that this was the first step to an international currency reform that would put the world's monetary system on a solid basis for the rest of the century, is a complete fraud.

The world economic crisis is today further out of control and nearer to a new 1929 collapse, only on a more disastrous scale, than ever before. It is above all this crisis, which was opened up with the collapse of the Bretton Woods agreement on August 15, that is behind the massive offensive of the working class that has broken out in Indochina and the United States and which now threatens to engulf capitalism all over the world.

In the United States, Nixon's whole game plan is a complete shambles.

Both inflation and unemployment here are completely out of control.

While Nixon's statisticians tried to project last month the

picture of an improved employment situation on the basis of a so-called rise in "total employment," the real situation was that unemployment shot upward from 5.7 percent in February to 5.9 percent in March and now threatens to rise over the six percent level.

Underneath this leap in unemployment is the massive international tendency towards recession and depression brought on by the breakdown of the world monetary system.

UNEMPLOYMENT

This massive growth in unemployment is now being reflected in plant closures all over the country like the Ballantine closure in Newark and in huge layoffs like those in Norwood, Ohio where UAW workers are



Connally at the Smithsonian.

now on strike over the speed-up resulting from the layoff of some 400 to 500 workers.

That this tendency will now only deepen is expressed in the recently announced five percent cut in GM sales for the month of February and the general decline in a whole series of business in-

dicators.

The upsurge of unemployment is only equaled by the surge in inflation. Official government forecasters now admit that all talk of reducing inflation to 2.5 percent by the end of the year as Nixon had promised is a utopian pipe dream.

The inability of Nixon to stop the forward march of the American working class against Phase II controls and his refusal to apply these controls to prices has left wholesale prices rising in the last six months at the fastest pace ever.

This has now created an impossible situation from the standpoint of even temporary maintenance of the fragile stability of the world monetary system which was pasted together at the Smithsonian Institute on Dec. 18.

The announcement two weeks ago that the U.S. trade deficit had leapt to a staggering 600 million, the highest monthly figure ever, simply express the crisis.

No sooner had the figure been

announced than the latest in a whole series of speculative waves, each one of which has nearly blown up the Dec. 18 accord again drives the dollar to its floor against major European currencies.

EXPLOSION

Everything now tends towards a new monetary explosion and a new massive devaluation of the dollar even before the ink on the devaluation bill just signed by Nixon is dry.

The center of Nixon's drive is aimed at Europe. Nixon, Connally and Volker are making more and more strident demands every day for new and more massive trade and currency concessions from the Europeans and Japanese.

Nixon in his speech following the signing of the devaluation bill, made clear that as far as he was concerned devaluation "could not stand alone" but that it had to be seen as a prelude to massive world economic reform

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Berrigan Case Ends In Mistrial

BY A REPORTER

After 59 hours of deliberations and unprecedented browbeating by the presiding judge, the jury of the Harrisburg Seven announced itself hopelessly deadlocked, and the conspiracy case ended in a mistrial.

But Judge Herman Dixon succeeded in wringing from the jury convictions of the Rev. Philip Berrigan and Sister Elizabeth McAlister on the lesser charge of smuggling contraband letters at the Federal prison in Lewisburg, Pa.

Although the defense lawyers declared that the conviction would be upheld in the higher courts, Berrigan could receive 40 years in jail and McAlister 30 years.

The Government prosecutor, William S. Lynch, did not say whether new trials would be sought. Sister Elizabeth said after the trial ended: "We have a feeling we are celebrating something of a victory. But the rejoicing doesn't hide our awareness of the shoddiness we've seen."

Jurors later told reporters that almost all of them had favored acquittal of the defendants on the fantastic conspiracy charges, but that the judge had confused them with his interpretation of what constitutes a conspiracy.

Judge Herman went to incredible lengths to force a guilty verdict out of the jury. He refused to dismiss women jurors who complained of sickness, ordered deliberations extended to twelve hour stretches, and refused to accept earlier reports from the jury that it could not reach a verdict.

Earlier in the week, defense lawyers had criticized the judge for charging the jury with "a summation for conviction."

The Government's entire case against the Harrisburg Seven—that they had conspired to kidnap Henry Kissinger and blow up heating systems in Washington—rested on the testimony of a paid FBI agent-provateur.



Boston University students demonstrate outside court against the Administration's attacks on student protestors. See story page 7.

CP Candidate Slanders Farinas

BY ANN JAMES

DETROIT—Communist Party Vice-Presidential candidate Jarvis Tyner spoke at a meeting here, sharply spelling out the Stalinist electoral campaign as an attempt to behead the movement of the working class and youth toward socialism.

The Communist Party seeks to reform the Democratic Party, now being ripped apart by the crisis, on the basis of support for liberals such as Chisholm, Hatcher and McGovern.

As Tyner expressed it, the aim of his campaign is to: "Isolate the candidates who stand for repression" such as Nixon and Wallace and raise the ante on those who say they stand for something fundamentally different. In order that no matter who is elected they will be forced to end the war, curb the fascist threat and lay the basis for a real people's party."

TROTSKYISM

In the discussion, the Workers League took up a fight for Trotskyism—for the formation of a labor party and the mobilization of the working class for power in opposition to the popular front

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Court Convicts Boyle To Strangle Movement For A Labor Party

BY DAN FRIED

In the guise of a purported campaign against fraud and corruption in the United Mine Workers of America, the conviction of UMW President W.A. (Tony) Boyle made by a Federal court represents the most serious blow by a court against the union movement since the conviction of Jimmy Hoffa.

Boyle was not convicted because he consistently used the UMW to feather his own nest; or because of his collaboration with the mineowners, his signing of sellout contracts, his dictatorial practices which earned him the justifiable hatred of thousands of miners.

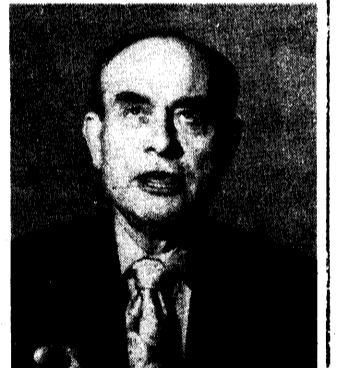
On the contrary, he was convicted as part of a massive campaign to hamstring, weaken and undermine the UMW which is part and parcel of the attack on the labor movement by Nixon spelled out in the program of George Wallace. Above all, he was convicted under the reactionary provisions of the Kennedy-Landrum Griffin Act outlawing union contributions to political campaigns, which is aimed against the movement of the working class for an independent labor party.

The conviction of Boyle is not aimed at Hubert Humphrey to whose campaign the UMW contributed \$30,000 during the 1968 election campaign, but at the U.S. working class which they fear will leap forward in a massive movement for a labor party in opposition to the deepening attacks by Nixon and the threat of Wallace.

Unlike the period during which Hoffa was persecuted and convicted, the campaign against Boyle comes at a time of this mounting offensive of the working class both in Vietnam and in the U.S. as reflected in Meany's walk-off from the Pay Board.

The liberal leadership of the insurgents in the UMW whose spokesmen are attorney Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., and Ralph Nader are aiding and abetting the government's strikebreaking attempt. When Rauh says, "We are going

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Tony Boyle

UEW Rally Hits 14% Offer

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

HAMDEN, Conn.—With hired company cops cruising around in unmarked cars and city cops with walkie-talkies stationed on rooftops, striking workers at Whitney Blake Co., a subsidiary of Continental Telephone, held a rally of mass picketing to protest the company's stand on negotiating.

The four week old strike of United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers, Local 299, began when the ranks voted overwhelmingly to strike—256-28. They rejected the company's offer of a two year contract calling for a 14.5 percent increase in wages and fringe benefits.

One worker told the *Bulletin* that: "The contract is designed to take away all the gains made over the past 20 years." The union is demanding a 20 percent increase.

The company cynically claims that the union has rejected the richest pact ever offered. This is

a pact in which the employers refuse to meet decent retirement pensions after 35 years. As one worker said:

"One hundred bucks a month! Who can live on that? And they want a change in work rules in order to take away seniority rights. We walked and won before in 1958 and in 1962; it was for pennies, but they don't even want to give us pennies now."

STAKE

What is at stake now is the union itself. Harry Kaplan, UEW field representative, representing the Local said:

"The company had come there (negotiating session) not to

negotiate, but to dictate. With an arrogance unusual even for a corporation official, the company would not budge from its original position.

"If a company can dictate the terms of the workers' wages, working conditions and benefits, then the union is meaningless and no amount of double-talk can change that."

The growing strike movement in the New Haven area today shows that workers are not about to accept the dictates of the employers or the government.

About 80 workers from a different UEW local are on strike at MB electronics.

300 Riot Police Evict East New York Families

BY JORGE PABON

APRIL 6, 1972—83 Black and Puerto Rican families of "El Nuevo Mundo Tenants Association" were forcibly removed from the building they had taken over on March 17. Three hundred riot police armed with shotguns, tear gas, bullet proof vests, and machine guns, broke down doors and windows to gain entrance to the building. The takeover of these buildings, the Grace Towers owned by the Grace Baptist Church, was done to protest the growing housing crisis here in East New York as well as in other parts of the city, and also to expose the bribery and corruption of the state, the FHA, the HDA, and the pastor of the church, Reverend Underwood.

HDA Commissioner Ruskin was put in charge of investigating these allegations of bribery and corruption, but as one member of "El Mundo" said, "he refused to act because money talks." The people took over these buildings also because they refused to live in dilapidated, rat and roach infested burned out houses.

STORMED

At 9 a.m. the 300 riot police stormed the building on the corner of Pitkin and Pennsylvania Aves., pushing and hitting the families inside. They broke down doors with sledge hammers.

After evicting everyone the people went across the street to the Model Cities Relocation Office where they staged a sit down strike. Inside the office many speeches were made, but none posed a real alternative to ending the housing crisis and the system causing it.

The most dangerous and reactionary proposals were put forward by a group of Nationalists who got up and posed a series of reforms, stating that they were going to call up Lindsay and other city officials to meet their demands. This is the logic of nationalism—begging the Republicans and Democrats for

reforms, calling on the same Republicans and Democrats that voted for the wage freeze and supported Rockefeller in his massacre at Attica.

It was reported recently that New York City has the largest police force in the world. This statistic takes on a deeper meaning when it is understood that the New York police are not a conventional patrol force.

It is actually an elite-type military force equipped with the most sophisticated weaponry; and trained to battle an insurrectionary population. This training was put to use against the tenants last week.



Bulletin is sold to ranks at Chicago ILA Local 19 hall. See story page 17.

Farinas Committee Plans New Appeal

BY NANCY FIELDS

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee is in the process of making a two-pronged appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals on the motion for modification of sentence. This follows the rejection to grant a modification, which would allow Farinas to enter the Army, by District Court Judge Milton Pollack.

Farinas is presently serving a two year sentence in the Federal Penitentiary in Danbury Connecticut on framed up charges of violating the Selective Service Act. He was convicted for the sole "crime" of exercising his right of free speech.

One aspect of the appeal is a class action motion which contends that all persons convicted on draft violations should be given the option of serving their sentences in the Army or in some other form of service deemed to be in the "national interest."

In the initial trial, and throughout all the appeals, the government has never attempted to prove that Farinas refused induction but rather, it has convicted him for his attempt to distribute a leaflet. In fact, it was

the armed forces personnel in the Induction Center who prevented his processing for induction and ejected him from the Center.

Farinas has stated in his own affidavit for modification of sentence that: "I have been and am prepared now to peacefully accept induction into the United States Army." However, the government continues to ignore his position.

The second part of the appeal rests on the fundamental guarantees of free speech provided for in the First Amendment to the Constitution. It bases its argument on the fact that the conviction challenges a citizen's right of freedom of speech at precisely the moment when the expression of that right becomes absolutely critical.

The government's contention that Farinas no longer had the



Juan Farinas

right of free speech once he entered the induction center is a clear violation of the First Amendment.

The government's determination to single out Farinas, because he is a socialist and sought to build a leadership in the working class, has been clearly exposed by a special Justice Department study released last week. The report revealed that the criminal conviction rate for draft resisters has been sharply reduced in the past year.

In fact, while in 1967 75 percent of the men accused of draft violations were convicted, last year that rate dropped to 34 percent. Of the number of dismissals, 75 percent resulted from the defendants' decisions to submit to induction.

According to the New York Times: "Where Selective Service prosecutions are involved, not only has the conviction rate

(Continued On Page 18)

Tombs 7 Judge Backs Frameup By Prosecution

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The preliminary hearing of three of the Tombs Seven defendants concluded last week in Manhattan Supreme Court. The charges against these men spring from the October 2-5, 1970 rebellion at the Men's House of Detention, in which over 200 men participated in protesting against the inhuman, barbaric conditions of the prisons.

The seven defendants are Herbert Blyden, Curtis Brown, Nathaniel Ragsdale, Stanley King, Louis Cabrera, Ricardo DeLeon and Franklin Myers. In a conscious effort to avoid confronting the political nature of the case, the government has split up the defense and the present hearing involved only three: Nathaniel Ragsdale, Curtis Brown and Ricardo DeLeon.

The seven have been indicted with 76 counts of murder, kidnapping and coercion. The government has singled out these men for prosecution because they had begun to recognize the need to construct a conscious leadership within the prisons.

The case just came to court nearly a year and a half after the uprising. The prosecution has

continually stalled in order to have enough time to produce trumped up evidence against the defendants.

The defense is based on the question of identification. They intend to prove that the prison guards who identified Brown, Ragsdale and DeLeon as leaders of the rebellion did so on the initiative of the district attorney.

OBJECTIONS

The conduct of the hearing clearly reveals that the prosecution, in collaboration with the judge, will do everything in its power to prevent the actual evidence in the case from being introduced. When the defense attempted to question Mr. Kendler, a representative from the district attorney's office, about the origins of the photos of the defendants shown to the guards, the prosecutor continually objected. At all points these objections were sustained by Judge Birns.

CHARADE

At the conclusion of the hearing, the defense introduced a motion that all charges be dismissed on the grounds that the defendants had been denied their right to a speedy trial.

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Kremlin Bars Solzhenitsyn Nobel Prize

BY FRED MUELLER

The Stalinist bureaucracy, by its last minute refusal to issue a visa to Swedish Academy Secretary Dr. Karl Gierow, has made impossible the holding of a private ceremony in Moscow at which Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was to have received the Nobel Prize for Literature, awarded to him in 1970.

This action is a reflection of weakness and of fear. Solzhenitsyn himself, in an interview with the New York Times, had predicted that the government might interfere in the plans for the ceremony, and he labeled that possible interference a "shameful absurdity."

In his interview Solzhenitsyn states that: "The plan is to drive me out of my life or out of the country, throw me into a ditch or send me to Siberia, or to have me dissolve 'in an alien fog,' as they write."

Solzhenitsyn explains in detail the bureaucracy's slanders and methods. He refers to the listening "around the clock to telephone conversations and conversations in my home." He says: "I write a novel about Russia. But it is as hard for me to gather material as it would be if I were writing about Polynesia."

"We have throughout this country an established network of party and public indoctrination and a lecture network. Since 1966, the orders have gone out to talk about me: first, that I was

imprisoned under Stalin for something serious, that I was improperly rehabilitated, that my literary works are criminal, and so forth. As it happens, the lecturers themselves never in their lives read these works because the authorities were afraid to let them have them, and the lecturers were simply ordered to talk that way.

"The lectures are attended only by insiders. On the outside it's a peaceful paradise and no defamation whatever, while irrefutable slander is poured over the country. There are thousands of these lectures. The slander takes hold of peoples' minds."

As in Stalin's day, the bureaucracy continues to make use of

anti-Semitism. Much has been made of Solzhenitsyn's patronymic name, Isayevich, and the absurdly false story that his real name is Solzhenitser or Solzhenitsker.

In his recent public statements and most sharply in his recent open letter to the Orthodox Church, Solzhenitsyn revealed great confusion on the social character of the struggle against Stalinism.

But it is not for his illusion about religion that Solzhenitsyn is persecuted. The bureaucracy hounds the novelist because his works—particularly Solzhenitsyn's masterpiece *The First Circle*—exposed and condemned the crimes of Stalinism.



Woman in East New York (top left) spoke with Bulletin reporters about barbaric conditions under which workers are forced to live. Above are typical housing for working class families in the area.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

For the workers of East New York, housing is one of the great hardships of life. There are not enough places to shelter working class families. And even those who are lucky enough to find four walls face the most atrocious conditions.

"Because of the leaking, the woman across the hall has no lights," a tenant in a run-down apartment told us. "She's been getting electric shocks from touching things all over her apartment."

The statistics produced by the City Administration show that there are too few housing units, and that most of those which exist are not fit to live in. Of the 2,850,000 units in New York City, nearly 70% are over 40 years old.

Deterioration, abandonments and fire account for about 40,000 lost units every year. But the pace of construction, even during the boom period of the sixties, could not replace them fast enough to keep up with the growth in the number of households. The rental vacancy rate is below 1%; and a figure that seems on the low side states that 131,000 families await public housing.

STATISTICS

Statistics are not needed to tell the story of East New York. One only has to walk through the desolate neighborhoods where block after block has been torn down without anything being put up to replace the smashed buildings. It is often said that the rubble-strewn vacated lots resemble war zones after a bombing raid.

"When I moved here six years ago, there were houses standing all over," one tenant commented. "Now it's nearly all deserted."

While the City may collect statistics to document the suf-

fering caused by the conditions, it is unwilling to do anything to remedy the situation.

We were told by a woman who is paying \$200 a month in rent for an apartment that is plagued with power failures, fires, inadequate plumbing and a broken heating system:

DESPERATE

"I've been to the city to try to get into the projects or a decent building. They said they couldn't help me out unless I was burnt out of my apartment.

"I know that there are people who are desperate and who set fire to their apartments because the city leaves them no other way out. One woman who lived in this building is in jail now for doing that."

The residents of one apartment between Pitkin and Pennsylvania Avenues organized a rent strike because the landlord refused to make any repairs. Lawyers were called in by the landlord to intimidate the residents. Some were threatened with eviction notices.

"Why should I pay the rent to the landlord," said one angry tenant. "He didn't pay me back when I had to treat one child for lead poisoning caused when the plaster started falling off the walls. And now my little baby has come down with it."

A young couple living on the third floor of the apartment house

The Battle To Live In East New York



described their living conditions: "We've been looking all over for another apartment. But anything that is decent to live in is around \$250 if you have a family.

SERVICES

"Look at our bathroom. You wouldn't believe it, but this is around the best apartment here. We can't even use the bathroom."

Another tenant told us: "For a long time in the winter we didn't have any heat. My oldest son had to leave the house because he has asthma.

"If I want to use a bathroom, I have to go across the street to my mother because the one here

doesn't work. My kids have to go over to my mother to take a bath.

"The landlord says he won't do anything until he gets more rent money. I went to court because I wouldn't pay the rent, and had to go into the judge's chamber. I said that I didn't mind paying rent but that I had to have the proper service.

HOLES

"They started saying that we weren't paying our rent because we were going out partying and wasting our money. I've got nine kids—I don't know what it is to party. By the time I get finished with my kids, getting finished with dinner and getting them in order, I am tired. It's no fun, and you can imagine how I was doing

it when there was no heat.

"The landlord has a lot of violations on this building, but nothing is done. I've heard on hearsay that nobody really knows who owns the building. Whether it's the city or the landlord.

"It doesn't make a difference. I had a friend whom welfare put in an apartment. Then the city went and turned her gas off a week ago. Then they came back and threatened to turn her lights off. She's got till about April 5 in that building unless someone comes and buys the building. But she said 'What's the sense of staying.' They've got holes on top of the roof, and when it rains it just comes in on them.

"The government should provide decent housing."

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

YSA Forgives And Forgets CP Betrayals

On April 22nd the Young Socialists is mobilizing a massive contingent to take up a principled stand for the victory to the Vietnamese workers and peasants. It is only the Young Socialists who are coming forward now with this stand and mobilizing to turn the American working class into a fight against the government.

Every other tendency is now found panic-stricken in the face of the tremendous movement forward of the working class internationally. As the struggle deepens, the middle class radicals, who were so prominent during the student protest years, now try to pull out and move more and more to the right in the hopes that capitalism will resolve its own crisis. It is only the Young Socialists who have come out to defend the working class and fight all those who seek to betray it.

The fight on April 22nd will be against the Stalinist traitors within the working class and the revisionists that side with them by refusing to fight them.

It is the Stalinists who did everything in their power to prevent another offensive. The seven-point program which accepts a coalition government is still being offered by Hanoi.

In the U.S. we see the Stalinists supporting politicians of the Democratic Party while Wallace emerges from that very party.

The YSA's refusal to confront the question of Stalinism leads them into embracing these very traitors.

In the April 14th issue of the Militant, this becomes very clear. Even though the article is written as an attack on the C.P. not once do they mention the role of Stalinism today. Instead the YSA criticizes "the CP's sectarian refusal to participate." For the revisionists, Stalinism is no longer counter-revolutionary, it is sectarian. The complete abandonment of any principles of Lenin and Trotsky was shown when in the emergency SMC meeting, Peter Seidman of the SWP said: "We're not here to debate different positions on Stalinism...even though you should have one."

This despicable groveling before Stalinism that has characterized the YSA in this period was openly revealed both at the emergency SMC meeting of April 8th and the NPAC meeting the following day. When the question of support to the seven-point program was posed the YSA refused to expose it.

Instead Fred Halstead says: "We know we have lots of differences but let bygones be bygones." This is the clearest reflection of the complete degeneration of the YSA.

All the butchering, massacres, and defeats of the working class that Stalinism is responsible for is to be forgotten.

The Young Socialists is going to take a stand against the Stalinists and for the NLF.

The task of the youth is to come forward into the revolutionary movement in defense of the workers and peasants in Vietnam and in defense of the working class at home.

It is the youth who have been and will be sent overseas to die for capitalism. We call on every youth to join our contingent on April 22nd under the demands of:

- End the war with a general strike.
- Victory to the NLF. No Stalinist deals.
- Jobs for all—30 for 40.
- Free education for all.
- Stop the budget cuts.
- Build a labor party for '72.

Celebrate May Day with the Young Socialists

Come to the mass meeting to celebrate the day of international working class solidarity.

Friday, May 5

Time and Place to be announced

For more information, call (212)-924-0852

March With YS On April 22nd

BY YS REPORTERS

In every part of the country, the Young Socialists are fighting to make April 22 a day when the American working class demonstrates its solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants in the struggle against imperialism.

The tremendous responsibility that history has placed on the youth—to bring forward the conscious unity of the international working class—will be met as the YS demonstrates on the East Coast, West Coast and in the Midwest.

It is through the most bitter struggle against Stalinism and revisionism that the YS is mobilizing broad sections of youth and workers for the April 22 demonstration.

INTERVENTION

During the past week, the YS has made crucial interventions in conferences called by the National Peace Action Coalition and Student Mobilization Committee.

The Minneapolis YS won the endorsement of the SMC for the demonstration it will lead at the

site of the historic Battle of Deputies Run. Members of the Young Socialist Alliance, who have been invited to join the YS demonstration in common struggle against Stalinism, walked out of the SMC meeting upon realizing that supporters of the YS program were in the majority.

At a meeting of the New York SMC held Saturday, the YS demanded that the Committee take a stand for victory to the NLF while condemning the attempts of the Stalinists to betray the Vietnamese Revolution.

APRIL 22

"When we talk of April 22 we have to look at the new developments in Vietnam and Nixon's attacks on the American working class," declared Jeannie Cooper as she motivated the YS proposal

at the meeting. "Nixon is depending on the Stalinists to make a deal with him. The only way to defend that revolution is by bringing forward the working class against this capitalist government."

STAND

The YSA defended the bankrupt middle-class protest politics upon which it has based its movement, and refused to take a stand against Stalinism. "We are not here to debate different positions on Stalinism," stated SWP member Peter Seidman.

"The Nixon-Mao talks, the seven-point program, and the support to capitalist politicians make it impossible for anyone fighting for the victory of the NLF not to have a position on Stalinism," answered YS member Abby Rodriguez.



Young Socialist supporters fought at SMC emergency meeting April 8 for defense of Vietnamese Revolution against betrayals of Stalinists. SWP-YSA defended their capitulation to Stalinists.

Stanford YS Runs Candidates

BY A STANFORD YS MEMBER

STANFORD—The Stanford Young Socialists are running a slate of candidates in the Council of Presidents elections. John Kenney and Barry Porster are campaigning for President and Vice-President on a revolutionary platform aimed at mobilizing the working class and youth against the capitalist system.

At Stanford, there have been massive budget cuts by the administration which, together with EOP cuts, will force out the few minority and working class youth here.

At the same time, Wallace's allies, Professor Shockley, an open advocate of racist and genocidal theories of Black inferiority, and the right-wing Students for Responsible Action, are seeking to build a base for fascism at Stanford. They are backed by the administration, which defends Shockley's

"academic freedom," while it conducts a purge of radicals.

FASCISTS

The fascists, led by Chris Hocker, are running a slate in the elections, seeking to gain control of the student government in the manner of the Jewish Defense League in New York. In the face of this threat the campus radicals, led by Venceremos and the Stanford Rehabilitation Movement, have thrown up a slate called The Collective based on student power adventurism

and protest politics.

These people play the most dangerous and reactionary role. They pass off Hocker's group as a joke at a time when the capitalists turn sharply toward dictatorship and fascism to defend their system against the offensive of the working class.

The platform of the Young Socialists calls for a struggle to throw the fascists off campus, an end to all cutbacks in education, free higher education for all, an end to the administration's attacks on militants, defense of the democratic rights of all working class tendencies, the construction of a labor party in '72 pledged to jobs for all and the nationalization of basic industry, and the mobilization of a massive contingent from Stanford to march with the YS and the Workers League against the Stalinists on April 22.

YS Open Letter To SWP-YSA

Open Letter to YSA-SWP

"The liberation of workers can only come through the workers themselves. There is, therefore, no greater crime than deceiving the masses, palming off defeats as victories, enemies as friends, bribing workers' leaders, fabricating legends, staging false friends, in a word, doing what the Stalinists do.

"These means can serve only one end: lengthening the domination of a clique already condemned by history. But they cannot serve to liberate the masses. That is why the Fourth International wages a life and death struggle against Stalinism." (Trotsky: Their Morals and Ours)

The Trotskyist movement was born and developed in a struggle against Stalinism and its betrayals. The coming of fascism in Germany and in Spain, the murder of the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and Comrade Trotsky, the defeat of the Chinese Revolution in 1927, in short, the bloody murder of millions of workers are direct results of class collaborationist and popular front policies of the Stalinists.

But these betrayals belong not only to history. Today, these same Stalinists, with these same policies, are moving to sellout the Vietnamese revolution as they did in 1954.

This comes precisely at the time when the working class is on the move against capitalism internationally, expressed sharply through the new and powerful offensive launched by the NLF.

BETRAYAL

At the same time, your organization through the National Peace Action Coalition, aids in this betrayal by participation and agreement with a Stalinist-called conference in Versailles that seeks to bring back the Geneva Accords by "pressuring" Nixon into "negotiations."

More, the SWP-YSA openly begs the Stalinist-dominated Peoples' Coalition for Peace and Justice to join the NPAC April 22 demonstration based on class collaboration. The SWP-YSA has turned a life and death struggle into "a continuous, fraternal debate" to be conducted in a "serious and friendly way."

The SWP-YSA has sacrificed every principle of Trotskyism by building a popular front with the Stalinists that can only mean the destruction of the working class.

We will not stand by and watch that happen. The Midwest Young Socialists have called a march for April 22 in Minneapolis against the war and unemployment. It will end with a rally at the farmers' market, the site of the historic Battle of Deputies Run.

In the 1934 general strike, the Minneapolis working class was victorious because the Trotskyist leadership fought with the workers to understand that they could trust no one but themselves to win their demands.

In 1972, the American working class can only defend the gains of 1934 and all the gains won since by coming to this understanding.

FIGHT

April 22 will be a part of the fight for that understanding by mobilizing the working class in its own defense through the building of a labor party to defeat the parties of war and unemployment.

We challenge you to join us in that fight and mobilize on April 22 under your own banners in the Minneapolis march. We challenge you to return to Deputies Run, to the heritage of the Trotskyist movement, to the movement of the working class.

Signed,
Midwest Workers League-Young Socialists

Police Run Rampant At Franklin K. Lane

BY KIKI MENDEZ

Franklin K. Lane High School in Brooklyn is under the most severe economic and racist attacks from the capitalist class. The school consists of mostly Black and Puerto Rican youth and is situated in a white middle class community.

Conditions in Lane have gone from bad to worse. The drug problem has increased. The entire educational program has been liquidated into nothing.

FAULT

The news media recently made a probe report on Lane, in which they, in effect, stated that the problems in Lane were the faults of the students.

One student told the YS that: "The students are angry over N.B.C. probe reports on Lane, which said that there are prostitutes and big drug pushers in the building. They took pictures of drugs being smuggled in by students who were later busted by the cops. It is true that there are drugs in Lane like every other high school."

When asked what the education was like he stated that: "Hardly anyone goes to class. Even if you go to class you don't learn anything, all you have to do is sit in the class room and the teacher will pass you."

Most of the teachers in Lane have been pitted against the students. They are used for security guards more than as teachers. The cops can search students and give out suspensions and expulsions at will.

The majority of the youth are

unemployed. One student stated that: "Most people in Lane don't have jobs. There's this Job Corps in the school and all they can tell you is go to class because you can't find jobs."

Racism today is still being used. A student told us that: "The school is still divided Blacks with Blacks and whites with whites. The cops are using racism. They go around harassing Puerto Ricans by saying: "When are you going to start running?"

The nationalist ASPIRA club aids the administration by telling the students to accept the divisions on which capitalism thrives. Their call that "Puerto Ricans should just get together" as a solution is a complete fraud. It is as bankrupt as it was in 1968 and in the face of all the attacks coming down on both Blacks and whites it becomes even more reactionary.

What is needed in Lane is the unity of Black and white youth along with the teachers in a fight against their common enemy, capitalism.

This means the construction of a revolutionary youth movement built on Marxist principles. This means the building of the Young Socialists at Lane.

Young Socialist



YS Midwest Steering Committee meeting (above) drafted Open Letter to the YSA.

Liberal Calls Cops On Boston SDS

BY PAT CONNOLLY

BOSTON, MASS.—On Monday March 27, Boston University President John Silber called in the tactical police to break up an SDS demonstration of about 75 persons picketing the BU Placement Office against Marine recruitment on campus.

In the face of a vicious attack in which 33 students were arrested and several injured, including some who were bitten by police attack dogs, all of the middle class radicals have desperately tried to revive the reactionary and bankrupt perspective of student power.

But the conditions under which Silber called in the riot police are not the conditions of three or four years ago when student power was at its height. This attack flows directly out of the sharp moves toward fascism by Nixon as he attempts to confront and crush the most powerful working class in the world.

CONFLICT

This is what has been expressed at BU in the past weeks. Silber himself made it clear that what was at stake were not "campus issues" but part of the massive conflict of classes that now dominates all political developments.

As police dogs were unleashed and cops wielding billyclubs waded into the students, Silber said: "Civilization does not acquiesce in the face of barbarism; it calls the police." The students "must be taught that the real issue is not ideology, but respect for the law."

This is coming from a liberal. Silber is the man who introduced Shirley Chisholm at the Martin Luther King Memorial meeting

held on campus April 5th.

The role of the YSA in particular in response to the police attack was completely reactionary. They carried out on the campus the sharp rightward turn of the SWP toward the Stalinists, the Democratic Party, and the likes of Shirley Chisholm.

PERSPECTIVE

While students in their thousands attended mass meetings after the attack, a strike called for April 4 and 5 was less than 30 percent successful. The whole thrust of the strike was put forward in four demands: no recruiters on campus, no cops on campus, drop the charges against the 33, and no unilateral administration decisions. This perspective was incapable of mobilizing students to fight the attack.

The YSA at every point tailored not simply student power, but student government politicians and liberal hacks, fighting consciously to prevent the real meaning of the attack from being exposed. During every major meeting, they simply threw their support behind the liberal student government campus politicians.

In a Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley leaflet "Vote to Control Your Own University," they stated: "Last week's events clearly raise an issue which has been a focal point of our entire campaign for stu-

dent government—who should control the university?"

"We believe that for BU to become a democratic institution it is essential that decisions are made by the people actually affected—the students and faculty, not the administration."

While a mass meeting demanded "No cops on campus," the SMC issued a leaflet stating that: "Cops should only be brought on campus if the students want them for protection."

RIGHT-WING

The sharpness of the right-wing turn taken by the SWP-YSA is expressed by their dropping even the "Red University" slogan in favor of the "Democratic University."

"If Silber is interested in democracy, then he should let the whole university decide these issues," they state. "This can be done through a binding referendum."

SDS, which was active in the demonstration attacked by police, has been paralyzed throughout the events. Other than the slogan "Free the 33," they have proposed only confrontations such as sit-ins in Silber's office and picketing outside it to "demand an answer" from him.

The Spartacist League supported the student power perspectives of the YSA and SDS completely, only tacking on to the four demands of the strike that the U.S. military should not only get off campus but "out of Indochina"; and that the strike should solicit trade union support on and off campus and that campus workers who supported the strike should not be subject to administration reprisals.

The Young Socialists and the Workers League fought throughout the whole struggle around the perspective that Silber's police attack, and all attacks on students are part of the capitalists' drive to destroy the working class and that only the construction of the revolutionary movement based on Marxism can mobilize the working class and youth to smash Wallace and Nixon.

Cops Arrest Workers League Members

CHICAGO, April 9—Two members of the Chicago Workers League were arrested here today as they posted leaflets calling for Midwest youth to rally in Minneapolis on April 22. Charged with "criminal damage to city property," they were held on \$1,000 bail each.

According to the two, the officer who approached them seemed willing to let them go with a warning. They were arrested on the direct orders of the com-

manding officer, after the patrolman phoned in and read a copy of the leaflet.

Members of the Workers League and Young Socialists began an immediate campaign for support. Several new members of the YS, especially, saw the arrests as proof of the real urgency of building a revolutionary leadership among the youth, and plans were made to immediately intensify the fight for the April 22 march.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

The Solution To AFL-CIO Dilemma

The AFL-CIO has opened up a "Stop Wallace" campaign aimed at exposing Wallace's hostility to the labor movement on a more serious and extensive scale than in 1968.

At the same time AFL-CIO President George Meany recently remarked that labor would face a "real dilemma" in the '72 elections if Wallace gets the Democratic nomination against Nixon.

Meany's remark is of critical importance for the entire working class. The labor movement indeed faces a dilemma—a dilemma which can only be resolved by the formation of a labor party in '72. The labor party now is posed, not as a "better alternative," but far more seriously, as an absolute matter of survival.

The rise of Wallace, based on the capitalists' mobilization of the middle class against the labor movement, represents the formation of a fascist movement in the U.S.

There is only one answer to this threat. That is to mobilize the immense power of the U.S. labor movement politically through the formation of an independent labor party to fight for the interests of the working people.

It is the growing offensive of the working class, still only in its beginning stages, that not only forced Meany off the Pay Board, but now forces Meany and the labor bureaucracy, despite themselves, to confront the question of the labor party.

The "dilemma" of Meany is an expression of the most serious crisis facing the labor movement since 1940, when John L. Lewis, having broken with Roosevelt, raised the possibility of forming a labor party, but ended up supporting Wilkie.

But today, the crisis of the world capitalist system is far deeper than in 1940. The power of the working class internationally is unprecedented. It is precisely this power that prevents the capitalists from resolving their crisis in the old reformist ways, pushing them into civil war against the workers.

The Wisconsin primary reflected the frustration of large sections of the working class with the candidates up to now supported most by the labor bureaucracy—Humphrey and Muskie.

It is at this time, when the working class is straining at the bit of the Democratic Party, that the American Communist Party, representing counter-revolutionary Stalinism, comes forward to salvage the Democratic Party through its increasingly open support for McGovern.

There is only one choice before the American working class in 1972, only one way out of the "dilemma"—break with the Democrats and set up the most powerful independent labor party in history.



What we think

Stalinism And Vietnam

As at every other time in the past when the Vietnamese workers and peasants were on the verge of total victory, the forces of international Stalinism are working overtime to rescue the routed imperialists.

Every attempt is being made to transform the NLF offensive from a revolutionary drive for power into a class-collaborationist appeal for negotiations. The entire capitalist crisis which has brought relations between the classes to a breaking point and which caused the NLF offensive as well as the collapse of the Paris Peace Talks is being covered from the working class by the Stalinists.

The main concern of the Stalinists at this point is containing the NLF offensive and arranging a negotiated betrayal of the Vietnamese Revolution. A "Government of National Concord" that would leave the capitalists in control of the South is being trumpeted in the Stalinist press throughout the world.

What the Peking Stalinists began in February the Moscow Stalinists will attempt to complete in May. Brezhnev is rolling out the red carpet for Nixon to discuss the decisive betrayal of the Vietnamese. The talks to be held next month in Moscow will set the stage for the filthiest double-dealing since Stalin gave Von Ribbentrop the go-ahead sign for World War II in 1939.

The American Communist Party is acting as the all-important chorus to the attempt to liquidate all the gains made by the Vietnamese masses. At a time when the full strength of the

American working class can be brought forward in defense of the Vietnamese Revolution, the CP-backed People's Coalition for Peace and Justice is organizing a movement based upon the perspective of a negotiated settlement endorsed by the infamous Versailles Peace Conference.

The activities organized by the PCPJ are designed to maintain imperialism in Vietnam and to keep the struggle of the American working class within the framework of capitalist politics.

Last week, the Stalinists were active in Illinois trying to drum up support for an open letter by Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner in which the two CP candidates call on Senators Percy and Stevenson to bridle Nixon's war powers—and place those powers in the blood-stained hands of U.S. congressmen.

A PCPJ sponsored protest action in Philadelphia called on Muskie, Humphrey, Jackson, and McGovern to cut short their campaigning and return to Washington "to take action to stop the bombing, and end the war."

And the Stalinists waited with baited breath for Kissinger's answer to the suggestion of Le Duc Tho, a member of the North Vietnamese Politburo, that secret talks be resumed with Hanoi.

The Versailles Conference, the Moscow trip, the Hanoi plea for secret talks, and the activities of the PCPJ are all part of the efforts of Stalinism to prevent a defeat of imperialism in Vietnam.

Stalinism is directly responsible for the bombs that are falling on Vietnam today. It is because of Stalinism

that the Vietnamese did not defeat imperialism for once and for all decades ago.

In 1945, the Stalinist Vietminh was the most powerful political force in Indochina. The Second World War had destroyed the Japanese empire and drained the French colonialists of the power to reimpose their rule in Vietnam.

Acting on Stalin's instructions, Ho Chi Minh unleashed bloody persecutions of Vietnamese revolutionaries who demanded complete independence from France. "All those who do not follow the line I have laid down will be broken," he declared after murdering the Trotskyist Ta Thu Thau.

While Ho called for trust in the French imperialists, the colonialists gathered their strength for a new war. At the end of 1946, France unleashed war to recover the former colony—and the minister of defense who directed the slaughter was a member of the French Communist Party.

Maurice Thorez, the general secretary of the French Stalinists, boasted that he had not the "slightest intention of being held responsible for a sell-out of France's position in Indochina."

Even as the war was under way, Ho Chi Minh continued to appeal to France and went so far as to accept the puppet imperialist emperor, Bao Dai, as a senior advisor to the Vietminh government.

In spite of all the Stalinist maneuvers to coexist with France, the Vietnamese destroyed the imperialist troops at Dienbienphu in 1954. Once again, the way was open for a united Vietnamese socialist republic. But with the intervention of Moscow, the Geneva Accords handed half of Vietnam over to the Americans, who by now had filled the gap left by the French debacle.

These are the betrayals that have caused the deaths of more than a million Vietnamese.

When Madame Binh stated last week that Hanoi's "objective is still a negotiated settlement, but President Nixon's policies leave us no choice but to fight," she unwittingly summed up the historical contradiction between the aims of Stalinism and the needs of the working class.

The great offensive of the Vietnamese and the tremendous forward movement of the American working class proves that this is the period when this contradiction can be resolved through the destruction of Stalinism, in the fight to construct a Marxist leadership in the working class.

This is why I think labor needs a political strategy independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties. Here's an outline for such a strategy.

First, the AFL-CIO should call an emergency congress of labor, inviting representatives from the unions (in and out of the AFL-CIO), and the unorganized too. Ordinary rank and file should have an opportunity to participate.

This congress should serve as a counterweight to the anti-labor offensive currently under way. I don't think a plan for a, say, 24 hour general strike should be ruled out.

This strike could dramatize a set of demands worked out by the congress, such as:

- A crash program to provide a job for everyone;

- An end to wage controls;
- A tax on profits and interest;
- A shorter work week with no reduction in pay;
- A cost-of-living clause for every contract.

Second, the AFL-CIO, using the money it now contributes to the Democratic and Republican parties, should fund an independent electoral campaign by forming a labor party based on the unions. I don't think the fight for equity and a decent standard of life can be won in either of the two major political parties we have now.

Sincerely Yours,
Leslie Hill Bayless

Letters to the Editor

April 2, 1972
U.S. Penitentiary
Lewisburg, Pa.

Dear Editor:

This is an Open Letter to the leadership of the AFL-CIO. Copies of this letter were sent to George Meany, I.W. Abel, president of the Steelworkers Union; and Floyd Smith, president of the Machinists.

I approve heartily of the walkout of the three AFL-CIO representatives from the so-called "Pay Board." Labor never should have cooperated in the first place.

It is obvious that working people are the victims, not the cause, of inflation. Rising prices and unemployment are shoving down our standard of living while the corporations

and the banks profit from the one-sided controls.

What worries me is that the AFL-CIO won't do anything this year beyond backing some Democratic politician, Humphrey or Muskie, against Nixon. To my mind, this is no solution to the serious situation that labor is in.

The Democrats were the first to call for a freeze. Nixon stole their anti-labor program, and now they are complaining because there are some votes in it. This is cheap political opportunism.

Both of the major parties base their existence on their wealthy benefactors. In return they run the government in their interest. Everyone benefits, except the working people.

HOW HITLER CAME TO POWER

Jack Gale



How Hitler Came to Power

Not even the most acute economic crisis is by itself a guarantee of the victory of socialism. For that a revolutionary leadership, strong in theory and steeled in practice is required. Without this, the working class cannot win. This series of articles shows how the German working class paid the price for the absence of such a party. The price was fascism.

As Germany faced defeat in World War I, a coalition was formed (September 1918) under Prince Max of Baden. He pleaded with the Social Democrat leaders Ebert and Scheidemann to join it—and they didn't need much urging.

The Prince knew what he was about. On November 3, the sailors at Kiel mutinied, strikes broke out in Hamburg and workers' and soldiers' councils were formed on the model of the Russian soviets.

On November 9, a General Strike broke out in Berlin. Prince Max resigned and handed over the reins of government to Ebert. The Kaiser fled to Holland—although Ebert was, in fact, in favour of retaining the monarchy.

The Social Democrats came to the rescue of capitalism in Germany, and hence in Europe. Bloody clashes took place in Berlin. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were killed in the streets while under arrest by the soldiers.

As one bourgeois historian put it: 'To subdue the revolutionary workers, the provisional government (i.e., the Social Democrats) had to co-operate very closely with the military authorities.'

'It had to use the armed forces and volunteer bodies of ex-officers to put down the mob. The Social Democratic leaders had before them the example of what happened in Russia; they realized how Kerensky and the moderates of the first revolution had been overthrown by the second revolution of Lenin.'

'They were determined to prevent any second revolution in Germany. They were ultimately successful. But success meant retaining most of the conservative forces of the old Germany; the influence of the generals, the former imperial civil service, the industrialists and the great landlords in Prussia was still strong.'

Or, as Scheidemann put it himself:

'I saw the Russian folly staring me in the face—the Bolshevik tyranny, the substitution for the tyranny of the Tsars! No, no, Germany should not have that on top of all her other miseries.'

The Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919. It was dictated by the Council of Four—President Wilson of the United States, Clemenceau of France, Lloyd George of Britain and Orlando of Italy.

Under its terms Germany lost Alsace and Lorraine to France and also the ownership of the Saar mines. The Saar territory was put under the control of a League of Nations Commission.

Germany lost several small frontier territories to Belgium, Posen and part of Silesia to Poland and N Schleswig to Denmark. German colonies were placed under League of Nations' mandate. German armed forces

were radically reduced, her fleet had to be handed over and the Rhineland was demilitarized and occupied by Allied forces. Part of her merchant fleet was given up.

Enormous reparations payments were enforced, so severe in fact that P. M. Keynes, then the Treasury Representative at the Versailles conference resigned on the ground that Germany would never be able to pay.

The Versailles Treaty was signed in June, 1919, and just over a month later the constitution of the Weimar Republic was drawn up. (Ebert had chosen Weimar as the headquarters of the new National Assembly, because he felt that it could not meet in the 'red' atmosphere of Berlin.)

The Weimar constitution declared 'All Germans are equal before the law'—'Personal liberty is inviolable'—'The house of

every German is his sanctuary and is inviolable'—'Every German has a right to express his opinion freely'—'All Germans have the right to form associations or societies.'—'All inhabitants of the Reich enjoy complete liberty of belief and conscience'.

But, while the National Assembly was meeting in Weimar, revolutionary outbreaks in Berlin and elsewhere continued. In March, Noske—the Social Democrat Minister of Defence—again put down a communist rising in Berlin. Civil war broke out in Bavaria. On May 1, government troops brutally crushed a communist rising in Munich.

The crushing of the workers did not prevent the Social Democrats in 1920 calling on the Berlin workers to defeat the right-wing Kapp nationalist movement with a General Strike. But when Ebert returned to

Berlin—once the city was safe enough—the strike got out of hand. And communist risings took place in W Prussia, Bavaria, Württemberg, Liepzig, and—most serious of all—in the Ruhr.

Without hesitation, the Social Democrats once again turned to the military to put down the workers who had saved them. They could not, however, halt the crisis.

The mark had stood at the rate of four to the dollar at the end of 1918. By the summer of 1922 the rate was 400 marks to the dollar (by the beginning of 1923 it was over 7,000) and Adolf Hitler—inspired by the success of Mussolini's 1922 march on Rome—could declare:

'There are only two possibilities: do not imagine that the people will for ever go with the middle party, the party of compromise. The people will turn either to the left—and then God help us, for it will lead us to complete destruction, to Bolshevism—or else to a party of the right, which at last, when the people are in utter despair, is determined for its part ruthlessly to seize the reins of power.'

The German working class did turn to the left. In repeated revolutionary struggles, it sought to overthrow capitalism. It was not only betrayed by its Social-Democratic leaders, it was literally mown down by them.

How did the German Social Democratic Party—numerically and organizationally the strongest party the working class had created anywhere—become the hangman of its own followers?

Trotsky explains: 'History has been so shaped that in the epoch of imperialist war the German Social Democracy proved to be the most counter-revolutionary factor in world history. The German Social Democracy, however, is not an accident; it did not fall from the skies, but was created by the German working class in the course of decades of uninterrupted construction and adaptation to conditions prevalent under the capitalist-junker state.'

'The party organizations and the trade unions connected with it drew from the proletarian milieu the most outstanding, energetic elements, who were then moulded psychologically and politically. The moment war broke out, and consequently when the moment arrived for the greatest historical test, it turned out that the official working-class organization acted and reacted not as the proletariat's organization of combat against the bourgeois state, but as an auxiliary organ of the bourgeois state designed to discipline the proletariat.'

'The working class was paralysed, since bearing down upon it was not only the full weight of capitalist militarism, but also



Revolutionary German workers like those above went out into the streets in 1917 in a massive strike movement against the government as the German war effort collapsed. Top of page, Stalin looks on as German fascist diplomat Ribbentrop signs Stalin-Hitler Pact in 1939.

the apparatus of its own party. The hardships of war, its victories, its defeats, broke the paralysis of the German working class, freed it from the discipline of the official party. The latter split asunder. But the German proletariat remained without a revolutionary combat organization.

History once again exhibited to the world one of its dialectic contradictions: precisely because the German working class had expended most of its energy in the previous epoch upon self-sufficient organizational construction, occupying the first place in the Second International both in party as well as trade union apparatus—precisely because of this, in a new epoch, at the moment of its transition to open revolutionary struggle for power the German working class proved to be extremely defenceless organizationally.³

The other side of the contradiction had revealed itself in Russia. Here the rich history of the pre-Marxist revolutionary groups, the underground agitation of the pioneer Russian Marxists, the 1905 'dress rehearsal' and the theoretical struggles of the Bolsheviks prepared a revolutionary leadership, experienced in struggle and bound together in a worked out revolutionary programme and organization. Such a leadership was lacking in Germany.

The Manifesto of the Communist International to the Workers of the World, adopted at its first World Congress in March 1919, declared:

'If the First International presaged the future course of development and indicated its paths; if the Second International gathered and organized millions of workers; then the Third International is the International of open mass action, the International of revolutionary realization, the International of the deed.'⁴

The greatest task facing this International was the construction of a Bolshevik leadership in Germany.

The Struggle For A Communist Leadership

Lenin and the other leaders of the Communist International paid close and patient attention to the developing communist movement in Germany which emerged after the betrayal of the Social Democrats in the World War and was prominent in the revolutionary battles of 1918 and 1919.

In October, 1919, Lenin wrote: 'At last we see in Germany honest and sincere socialists who, despite all persecutions, despite the foul murder of their best leaders, have remained firm and unbending. At last we see in Germany communist workers who are waging a heroic struggle that really deserves to be called "revolutionary".'

'The Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Renners and Friedrich Adlers . . . have in equal measure proved to be petty-bourgeois. The followers of Scheidemann and Kautsky have shamelessly betrayed the proletariat in Germany and have sided with the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.'

'Hence we have differences that are really irreconcilable. There can be no peace, no joint work, between the proletarian revolutionaries and the Philistines . . . in practice they are at best puppets in the hands of the bourgeoisie and, at worst, direct hirelings of the bourgeoisie.'¹

An early split among the German communists was on the question of participation in bourgeois parliaments and in trade unions dominated by reactionaries. (This was a theme common to all the new Communist Parties, and is dealt with in full by Lenin in 'Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder'.)

Lenin's position was that refusal to participate in a bourgeois parliament, in a reactionary trade union and even in an 'ultra-reactionary workers' council dominated by the Scheidemanns'



Top and bottom left, German Communist leaders Clara Zetkin and Karl Liebknecht. Liebknecht was murdered with Rosa Luxemburg in 1918 by right-wing Freikorps with collusion of Social Democratic leaders. Above, German workers march in 1920's. Sign says 'There will come a time when we will avenge ourselves and we will be the judges.'

was a mistake. Such refusal went alongside syndicalist attitudes and—though wrong—was understandable in a militant, inexperienced and rapidly growing party, particularly in the light of the recent social-democratic betrayals.

To win the masses, Lenin insisted, it was necessary to fight against the social traitors and against reformism and opportunism in all spheres of struggle.

However, Lenin fought for the unity of the German communists: 'The differences among the communists are differences between representatives of a mass movement that has grown with incredible rapidity,' he said.

'The communists have a single, common, granite-like foundation—recognition of the proletarian revolution and of the struggle against bourgeois democratic illusions and bourgeois democratic parliamentarism, and recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power. On such a basis, differences represent growing pains.'²

In this letter to Paul Levi, Clara Zetkin, Eberlein and other CC members of the German Party, Lenin objected to the expulsion of the minority, even though they advocated boycott of parliament and were semi-syndicalists. They were young and inexperienced. Given agreement on the basic question of soviet rule against bourgeois parliamentarism, unity was possible and necessary.

The central question was the role of proletarian dictatorship: 'Proletarian dictatorship is the sole means of defending the working people against the oppression of capital, the violence of the bourgeois military dictatorship and imperialist war. Proletarian dictatorship is the sole step to equality and democracy in practice, not on paper but in life, not in political phrase mongering, but in economic reality.'

'Having failed to understand this, the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys proved to be contemptible traitors to socialism and defenders of the ideas of the bourgeoisie.'³

It was, however, not a hostile letter. Lenin considered that the mistake could be rectified and he concluded with 'a hearty handshake and warm wishes for success in your difficult work'. At the same time, he wrote to the group which had been

expelled and which had formed a separate party.

Again, he repeated that the basic issue was the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for soviet power. Communists who were in agreement on that, and who were implacably hostile to the Scheidemann and Kautsky groups, Lenin declared, could and should work in unison.

Accordingly, he offered the services of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in an effort to restore communist unity in Germany.

Contrast Lenin's patience and flexibility with the problems of the communists, with his implacable rejection of an official proposal for negotiations from the Independent Socialist Democratic Party of Germany (the Kautskys).

There was, he said, 'nothing of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the day-to-day agitation of the German Independents'. This rejection is contained in the 'Draft (or Theses) of the RCP's Reply to the Letter of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany'. (March, 1920).⁴

In Part 5 of these theses Lenin writes:

'The dictatorship of the proletariat means the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by a single class, the proletariat, and by its vanguard at that. To demand that this vanguard should first ensure the support of the majority of the people through elections to bourgeois parliaments, by elections held while wage slavery still exists, while the exploiters exist and exercise their oppression and while the means of production are privately owned . . . to demand this or to assume it is actually abandoning the standpoint of the dictatorship of the proletariat and going over to the standpoint of bourgeois democracy.'

And he concluded: 'In the opinion of the RCP there is no place for such parties in the Communist International.'

But Lenin's efforts to bring about the unity of the German Communists were unsuccessful. The 'left Communists'—the Communist Workers' Party of Germany (KAPD)—remained an anarcho-syndicalist tendency. Beginning with a membership of several tens of thousands, the KAPD lost its best elements

within two or three years and became transformed into a sect, hostile to the Communist International and to the Soviet Union.

The German Communists did make a gain, however, when the Kautskyite Independent Socialist Party split in 1920. Trotsky explained that this was due to the work of the Communist Party. The revolutionary masses, he said, were pulling along with them the best sections of the leadership.

Because the German working class found itself without a revolutionary party at its head when the epoch of revolution began, it was forced to try to create one in the course of open struggle.

This, as Trotsky explained, led to 'a whole series of offensives followed by retreats, of uprisings followed by defeats, transitions from attack to defence, and throughout: critical self-analysis, self-purification, splits, re-evaluation of leaders and of methods, new splits and new unifications'.⁵

But at its Third World Congress, held in June and July, 1921, the Communist International had to evaluate a changed world situation.

Throughout Europe, capitalism had survived the post-war revolution upsurge not through any strength of its own, but thanks to the treachery of the social democratic leaders.

In his main report to the Congress on 'The World Economic Crisis and the New Tasks of the International', Trotsky declared: 'When in the initial postwar period we observed the unfolding revolutionary movement, it might have seemed to many of us—and with ample historical justification—that this ever-growing and ever-strengthening movement must terminate directly in the conquest of power by the working class.'

'But now almost three years have already elapsed since the war. Throughout the world, with the single exception of Russia, power continues to remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie . . . the bourgeoisie has become stronger and more stable as the class in power, or at all events feels that way.'⁶

The crisis of capitalism had not, of course, been overcome. European capitalism was economically weakened—particularly in relation to the United States. It was to lurch ahead—assisted by the treachery of social democracy, and subsequently of Stalinism—to fascism in Germany, Italy and Spain, to the General Strike in England, the sit-down strikes in France, the great depression of the 1930s and finally the catalyst of World War II.

This was not an inevitable development. Nor did the 'breathing space' which had been granted to capitalism in 1921 make the task of the Communist International impossible.

In 1921 the overall picture

remained one of profound depression. But the relation between economics and revolution is dialectical, not automatic.

Trotsky told the Third World Congress: 'On the basis of this economic depression the bourgeoisie will be compelled to exert stronger and stronger pressure upon the working class.'

'This is already to be seen in the cutting of wages which has started in the full-blooded capitalist countries: in America and in England, and then throughout all of Europe.'

'This leads to great struggle over wages. Our task is to extend these struggles, by basing ourselves on a clear understanding of the economic situation. This is quite obvious. It might be asked whether the great struggles over wages, a classic example of which is the miners' strike in England, will lead automatically to the world revolution, to the final civil war and the struggle for the conquest of political power.'

'However, it is not Marxist to pose the question in such a way. We have no automatic guarantees of development. But when the crisis is replaced by a transitory favourable conjuncture, what will this signify for our development? Many comrades say that if an improvement takes place in this epoch it would be fatal for our revolution.'

'No, under no circumstances. In general, there is no automatic dependence of the proletarian revolutionary movement upon a crisis. There is only a dialectical interaction. It is essential to understand this.'⁷

From Lenin to Stalin

Lenin had always stressed that the Russian revolution's fate was linked to the struggles of the German workers. He saw the German revolution as vital for the overthrow of world imperialism:

'In 1918, Germany and Russia have become the most striking embodiment of the material realization of the economic, the productive and the socio-economic conditions for socialism on the one hand and the political conditions on the other.'

'A successful proletarian revolution in Germany would immediately and very easily smash any shell of imperialism . . . and would bring about the victory of world socialism for certain.'¹

The problems of building a Communist mass party in Germany and training a revolutionary leadership were therefore central to the work of the



Adolf Hitler speaks to fascist meeting shortly before he took power in Germany and crushed the workers' political parties and unions. Stalinists' anti-Marxist policies are responsible for German fascism.

Communist International from 1919 to 1923.

One of the key lessons to be learned flowed from the attempt by the German communists to call a General Strike and launch an armed insurrection in March 1921.

This was a time when workers in Berlin and Saxony, generally the most advanced, had become more cautious after their experiences of 1919 and 1920. Conversely, the usually more backward workers of Central Germany kept up a stream of strikes and demonstrations.

In this situation the German Communist Party—which had been formed early in 1921 out of a merger between the old Spartacus League and the majority of the Independent Party, who had broken from their Kautskyite leaders—decided correctly to move over to a more active policy of mass work.

It made the mistake, however, of calling for a General Strike in the face of repressions by the Social Democratic government in Central Germany.

Although the conditions for such a struggle existed in Central Germany, and the strike call there met with a response, this was not the case in other parts of the country. The Communist Party had not had the time to rally workers in such key centres as Berlin, Dresden and Munich.

There had been no real preparation for a General Strike. The party had never led an action of this magnitude and though growing rapidly (it had a membership of some 400,000 in March, 1921) it was still faced with two mass Social Democratic parties and a trade union apparatus hostile to it.

Trotsky made this point very clearly:

'During the period of revolution there were not a few blood-lettings in Germany and the police offensive against Central Germany could not in and of itself have immediately raised the entire working class to its feet.

'Every serious mass action must obviously be preceded by large-scale, energetic agitation, centring around action slogans, all hitting on one and the same point. Such agitation can lead to more decisive calls for action only if it reveals, after probing, that the masses have already been touched to the quick and are ready to march forward on the path of revolutionary action.

'This is the ABC of revolutionary strategy, but precisely this ABC was completely violated during the March events. . . . The offensive was in reality launched by the Social-Democratic policeman Hoersing. This should have been utilized in order to unite all the workers for defence, for self-protection, even if, to begin with, a very modest resistance. Had the soil proved favourable, had the agitation met with a favourable response, it would then have been possible to pass over to the General Strike.

'If the events continue to unfold further, if the masses rise, if the ties among the workers grow stronger, if their temper lifts, while indecisions and demoralization seize the camp of the foe—then comes the time to issue the slogan to pass over to the offensive. But should the soil prove unfavourable, should the conditions and the moods of the masses fail to correspond to the more resolute slogans, then it is necessary to sound a retreat and to fall back to previously prepared positions.

'Therewith we have gained this, that we proved our ability to probe the working masses, we strengthened their internal ties and, what is most important, we have raised the party's authority for giving wise leadership under all circumstances.'

The action of the German leadership meant that the revolutionary and dynamic minority of the working class was counterposed to the majority of the working class. A policy of defence could have united the workers. A premature offensive divided them.

Trotsky was not condemning the German communists for making mistakes. As he pointed out, the Bolsheviks made many mistakes during the 'July days' of 1917.

What he was fighting was the elevation of mistakes into a system, the development of what he called 'hysterical revolutionism' into which the KAPD had already sunk.

It was necessary to grasp why the leadership of a European Communist Party could make that sort of mistake.

Trotsky pointed out that the particular conditions of Russia—a weak bourgeoisie and a developed revolutionary party—enabled the power to be taken with relative ease. This led the leaders of the young mass Communist Parties in post-war Europe to underestimate the political and strategic tasks, in the struggle for power.

The conclusion drawn out of the discussion on the German question at the Third Congress of the International, therefore, was:

'Had there been in Germany in 1918 and 1919 a Communist Party comparable in strength to that which existed in March, 1921, it is quite probable that the proletariat would have assumed power as early as January or March 1919. But there was no such party. The proletariat suffered defeat. Out of the experience of this defeat the Communist Party grew up.

Once arisen, if it tried in 1921 to act in the manner that the Communist Party should have acted in 1919, it would have been battered to pieces.'

What the theorists of the 'offensive' were really saying was that the developing world crisis would revolutionize

workers, therefore as long as the communists kept up the offensive the 'economic lash' would eventually drive workers to its support. The strategic task of winning the majority of the working class could be ignored.

When, as happened later in 1921, capitalism's economic situation improved, these 'offensive' advocates were at a loss.

As Trotsky warned: 'Elements of this sort easily pass into their opposites at the very first turn of events'

The Communist International therefore turned the German Communist Party onto the tactic of the United Front. This opened up a new epoch of Communist work—agitation, propaganda, organization, winning the confidence of workers in day-to-day struggles.

Only by winning over the majority of the working class was it possible to create the political premise for the conquest of power. In this way, the Communists were able to win over many Social Democratic workers.

This was crucial as in 1921 and 1922 a tide of reaction spread over Europe. The Tories were victorious in Britain, Poincaré's right-wing national bloc ruled in France.

In Germany a bourgeois government with an admixture of Social Democrats in it, gave way to the direct bourgeois rule of the big capitalist Cuno, while 1922 saw Mussolini's assumption of power in Italy.

But in 1923, the situation in Germany changed drastically. When the Cuno government could not keep up the reparations payments fixed at Versailles, Poincaré occupied the Ruhr. The ensuing economic crisis cracked Germany's social structure.

Germany was again brought to the verge of revolution.

The mark's rate of exchange had been four to the dollar at the end of 1918.

● By July 1, 1923 it was 160,000 to the dollar.

● By August 1 it was 1 million.

● By November 1 it was an incredible 130,000 million to the dollar.

The working class faced starvation and middle-class savings were wiped out.

The Communist Party had won many members and gained the confidence of a large section of the German working class. The way was open for the conquest of power.

But, faced with a sudden change in the character of the struggle, the Party leaders clung to the old tactic. The United Front was transformed from a tactic into a fetish.

The entire extent of the German Communist Party's action was to form a coalition with the left Social Democrats of Saxony—a step which Trotsky had explicitly warned against, unless it was to be a prelude to the seizure of power.'

At one point, the party leadership did fix a date for insurrection, but its leader, Brandler, counselled against and the CC revoked its decision.

From being the vanguard of the working class, the German Community Party became the tail of the left Social Democrats. This permitted the initiative to be seized by the right.

Acting under the Emergency Powers Act, the central government ejected the 'red' Saxon government and proscribed the Communists. Brandler, Thalheimer and other party leaders fled to Moscow while American capitalism entered the scene with the Dawes Plan and the situation was again stabilized.

For the first time a communist mass party had remained paralysed when capitalism was disintegrating and a revolutionary situation existed.

But the situation in the Communist International was very different from what it had been at the Third Congress. Instead of the careful analysis, firmness and assistance being given to the German Communists, as had been the case in 1921, all the Fifth Congress did was to place all the blame on Brandler.

But Brandler was not solely to blame. The strongest advocate of not leading the German masses to revolution, but of actually holding them back was Joseph Stalin.

In a letter to Zinoviev, then

chairman of the Communist International and Stalin's ally against Trotsky, Stalin wrote:

'If today in Germany the power, so to speak, falls and the communists seize hold of it, they will fall with a crash. That is the best case. And, at the worst, they will be smashed to pieces and thrown back. The whole thing is not that Brandler wants to educate the masses but that the bourgeoisie, plus the right Social Democrats will surely transform the lessons—the demonstration—into a general battle (at this moment all the chances are on their side) and exterminate them.

'Of course, the fascists are not asleep, but it is to our interests that they attack first; that will rally the whole working class around the communists. . . . In my opinion, the Germans must be curbed and not spurred on.'

That was the voice, not of the Russian Revolution but of the privileged, conservative, bureaucratic clique then launching its onslaught against Trotsky.

That was the voice that was to trust the British trade union bureaucrats against the British workers, that was to urge the Chinese Communist Party along the 'bloc of four classes' that was to result in their massacre at the hands of Chiang Kai-shek, and that—nine years later—was to launch the bloody war of extermination against the leaders of the Russian Revolution.

The Nazi Menace

The defeat of the German revolution in autumn 1923, together with fascism's victory in Italy the previous year, heralded a decade of defeat for the working class internationally.

However, this was not inevitable. Despite the debacle of 1923, the German Communist Party still polled over 3 million votes in the elections of December that year.

At that time the Nazi movement was mainly a S German party with little support outside Bavaria. When they put up Ludendorff as their presidential candidate in 1925, they received only 211,000 votes out of 27 million.

From the latter part of 1923 until 1929 the German economy became more stable. This, however, was based entirely on American loans negotiated through the Dawes Plan. The inflationary crisis was conquered by mid-1924, the French withdrew from the Ruhr and the German frontiers were guaranteed by the Locarno Pact. Withdrawal of allied troops from the Rhineland began and in September, 1926, Germany was admitted to the League of Nations by unanimous vote.

By summer 1928 unemployment was down to 650,000. In the Reichstag elections of that year the fascists polled 810,000 votes compared to 3,265,000 cast for the communists and over 9 million for the Social Democrats.

Yet within five years, the fascists were in power. How did this come about?

The Wall Street crash had a devastating effect on the German economy, totally dependent as it was on the Americans. Unemployment rocketed upwards.

By September 1929 there were 1,320,000 out of work.

By September 1930 there were 3 million.

By September 1931 4,350,000.

By September 1932 5,102,000.

And by 1933 the figure was over 6 million.'

Not only the working class, but the middle class as well, was desperate. But this was not enough to produce an upsurge of fascism. For that, it was necessary for big business to come in wholeheartedly behind it.

By 1930 Hitler was speedily discarding his pseudo-anti-capitalism, which had appealed to some of the middle class. When one of his subordinates, Otto Strassen, supported a strike in Saxony, Hitler immediately repudiated him.

In that year Hitler issued an edict that no member of his party would take part in a strike. Hitler knew he had to get the backing of big business and he got it.

The means by which the Nazi Party obtained its subsidies from the capitalists were partially

revealed by Walther Funk's evidence at the Nuremberg trials after World War II. Funk, who was later to become President of the Reichsbank and Minister of Economics, had been editor of a leading financial newspaper in the 1920s.

He became the full-time 'contact-man' between the Nazis and industrial and business interests: 'My industrial friends and I were convinced in those days that the NSDAP (Nazis) would come to power in the not too distant future and that this had to be, if Communism and civil war were to be avoided,' he told Nuremberg judges.

Funk's claim is substantiated by Fritz Thyssen in his autobiography 'I Paid Hitler'. Thyssen, head of the United Steel Works, admits that he personally contributed 1 million marks to the Nazi Party.

Others behind Hitler included Emil Kirdorf, the biggest figure in the Ruhr coal industry, Albert Voegler of United Steel Works, Friedrich Springorum and Tengemann, Ernest Buskuhl and H. G. Knepper of the Gelsenkirchen Mine Company.

Among bankers and financiers who were involved with Hitler were Stein and Schroeder of the Stein bank in Cologne, E. G. von Strauss of the Deutsch Bank, Hilgard of the Allianz Insurance Corporation, and two more bankers, Otto Christian Fischer and F. Reinhart.

The Nazis also received finance from a powerful group of coal and steel producers in the Rhineland and Westphalia.

Other industries were represented in the list of Hitler's backers. August Rosterg and August Diehn of the potash industry; Cuno of the Hamburg-America shipping line; Otto Wolf and Robert Ley of the Central German coal industry; and Erich Lubbert of the transport industry.

Grauert, manager of the employers' association in the Rhineland and Westphalia, placed its considerable strike-breaking funds at Hitler's disposal.

The Nazi Party's press chief, Otto Dietrich wrote in his memoirs: 'In the summer of 1931 our Fuehrer suddenly decided to concentrate systematically on cultivating the influential economic magnates. . . . In the following months he traversed Germany from end to end, holding private interviews with prominent personalities. Any rendezvous was chosen, either in Berlin or in the provinces, in the Hotel Kaiserhof or in some lonely forest glade.

'Privacy was absolutely imperative, the press must have no chance of doing mischief. Success was the consequence.'

This campaign was accelerated in 1932. On January 27 that year, Hitler paid a visit to Dusseldorf, the capital of the German steel industry where he spoke to the Industry Club at the Park Hotel.

He stressed the threat of communism and undertook to protect capitalism against it: 'There is only one fundamental solution—the realization that there can be no flourishing economic life which has not before it and behind it a flourishing powerful state as its protection.'

The industrialists believed him and saw him as the man who would defend their interests against the communist threat and the unions. Large contributions from heavy industry flowed into the Nazi treasury.

But this does not account for Hitler's victory. The big capitalists, though wealthy, faced a strong and well-organized working class. They stood in fear of this class, otherwise they would not have turned to Hitler.

Armed with the industrialists' money, the Nazi party was able to expand. From 60,000 members in 1928 it grew to 178,000 members by the end of 1929, 389,000 by early 1931 and 800,000 by the end of that year.

But the Communist Party was a mass party too and the Social Democrats were even more numerous. The combined strength of the Communists and Social Democrats could easily outnumber the fascists.

Although the fascist vote went up to nearly 6½ million in 1930, the communist vote was over 4½ million and the Social Democrats were even more powerful.

TV

LOU BELKIN



Early in February of this year, David W. Rintels, a TV writer and chairman of the Writers Guild of the American Committee on Censorship, testified, along with other writers, before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, headed by Sam J. Ervin Jr.

The Senate subcommittee had been conducting hearings on freedom of the press. Mr. Rintels' speech appeared in a two-part article in the March 5 and March 12 editions of the New York Times. The article is important at this time because it reflects not only the direction in which television and the press is moving, but also the growing interference by government in broadcasting.

This must be seen in the light of the recent legislation on busing proposed by Nixon, which virtually nullifies the Bill of Rights and the US Constitution, and legalizes segregation.

Last year Spiro Agnew decried writers such as Rintels and others for presenting controversial material and ordered the Federal Communications Commission and the networks to crack down. The nature of the present period means that the vicious practices by the Nixon government within the cultural sphere must in fact be intensified.

NONSENSE

Mr. Rintels, in the first part of the article states quite openly that: "We look at these same figures and are horrified because we know, first hand, that 75 million people are nightly fed programs deliberately designed to have no resemblance at all to reality, nonsense whose only purpose is to sell snake-oil and laxatives and underarm deodorants." Further, after polling writers within his own guild and ascertaining that 86% indicated that: "They have never written a script, no matter how innocent, that was not censored. 81% believe that TV is presenting a distorted picture of what is happening in this country today—politically, economically and racially."

He states that: "The fact is that we do admittedly censor ourselves if only to prevent the networks from doing it to us" and cites numerous examples of such interference.

Although Rintels discussed at some length the TV series, Marcus Welby, MD and the medical distortions and the "everything turns out for the best" attitude the sponsors demand from the writers, his remarks on the FBI series illuminate most graphically the role of J. Edgar Hoover, Nixon and the capitalists who back him up.

He writes: "The FBI series, about to go into its eighth successful year, under the official imprimatur of J. Edgar Hoover and the F.B.I., formerly claimed that its programs were based on real FBI cases, when they frequently were not and even now claims that its programs are inspired by real FBI cases, which they frequently are not."

He added that: "sometimes the producers invent and write out, with the co-

operation of resident FBI agents assigned to the series, one-page notions which they then assign to writers." Rintels explains that once when assigned to write an episode he sought to fictionalize the Birmingham church bombing in the early sixties but after the FBI, the Ford Motor Company, ABC and the producing company discussed the matter, he was told point-blank that they all would be pleased with such an idea of a bombing—"only the church must be in the North, there could be no Negroes involved, and the bombings could have nothing at all to do with civil rights."

Rintels explained that he would not write such a program and asked if he could do something on police brutality: "Certainly, the answer came back, as long as the charge were trumped up, the policeman vindicated and the man who brought the specious charge prosecuted."

Rintels charged that the FBI has never done a program about civil rights, never portrayed an agent tapping a phone or "bugging" a home or utilizing the services of a paid informant. A writer must not submit a script alleging violation of anti-trust laws.

He added that all writers are screened by the FBI in Washington and "only those who are politically acceptable" are hired to write the show. Clearly Mr. Rintels will

never be hired to script one of the programs.

But Rintels is actually prostrate before the power of the capitalists and government whose only intention is to present a consciously distorted picture of reality or to appeal to the most backward sections of the population with programs such as *All In The Family* and *Sanford and Son* to name but two. He seeks to manifest pity for Norman Lear the producer of *All In The Family* and actually defends Lear and the program as a breakthrough.

After stating that "absolutely no facet of TV broadcasting, be it during the prime time hours or any other hour, is not censored," Rintels is at a loss to explain why *All In The Family* was "finally" approved.

He sees the censorship question and the fact that Archie Bunker is now a TV folk hero as contradictory. But Norman Lear's program is now on TV precisely because the industry and the government must now openly cater to the most backward and frenetic sentiments of the middle classes against the minorities and the working class and youth. At the same time, the masses are denied any access to culture and this decision is conscious on the part of the TV moguls.

It is simply not enough for Rintels to

hold an almost muckrakash position about the iniquities of broadcasting and censorship and to wistfully decry interference by "bit powers." He states panegyrically: "We want desperately to write about the subjects which interest us as writers and human beings, subjects which are not very different from those which interest you (Senators on the sub-committee-LB). But we cannot because the men who control television have decreed, we feel, in gravest error, that these matters do not interest the public."

ACCEPTANCE

Rintels begins with an acceptance of capitalism and of private control over television but he is asking the industry and network heads to be sensible, to bring Shakespeare, Bach and the truth about Vietnam to the public. But these men in control have far different plans.

There will be more and more censorship and presentation of fatuous and innocuous nature studies, idyllic true-romance episodes and documentaries about ants and earthworms, as Agnew openly demands. It is this degeneration of culture, and the imposition of stringent censorship laws that reflect the degeneration of capitalism and its democratic face. And that is the reality which must now be confronted and fought.

TV

BARRY WEST

The Dirty Harry With A College Education



Boston's "Soul Patrol" (above) is used to bring Blacks onto Police force in idealist manner similar to TV film "Rookies." Right, youth suppressed by cops shows reality.

THE ROOKIES starring Darren McGavin and Cameron Mitchell. ABC TV movie.

The TV movie, *The Rookies*, shown on ABC television on March 7 illustrates the crisis in the middle class today. Written and directed as a propaganda film for the Los Angeles Police Department's new recruiting campaign among middle class youth "with a conscience and a desire to get involved with the community," this film is a pilot for a TV serial to appear next fall.

The film attempts to portray the creation of a "new policeman." He is "well-educated, socially concerned and seeking community involvement." He comes from all types of backgrounds with all kinds of intentions. But in all cases, he is from the middle class.

He is an ex-Vista volunteer, oozing with hip talk and community concern. He is a Black nationalist who believes that upon his graduation from Cornell, he can use the police department's community relations program as a vehicle for a poli-

tical career. This same nationalist thinks that his presence in the police department "will stop white cops from leaning on my brothers."

IDEALIST

Each of these "rookies" is portrayed as a young idealist, a reformer, who intends to somehow transform the armed body of the capitalist state into an agency of better community relations. Each one professes his desire to "help people, to stop suffering." As the ex-Vista volunteer states: "If there can be a new kind of lawman, then this really counts for something."

The cynicism of the capitalist class lurks in the background throughout the movie, poking its head out at opportune moments to set these young idealists straight. When one rookie asks why they have to shoot at a silhouette of a man instead of a bull's eye during target practice, the training sergeant replies: "Because a robber of a gas station is not a bull's eye."

When another rookie protests that the police department is over-stepping its power in keeping a house where a group of radical students live under constant surveillance, a seasoned cop barks back: "They're probably making bombs in there. You'll feel the same way we do in a couple of days."

The remainder of the movie is devoted



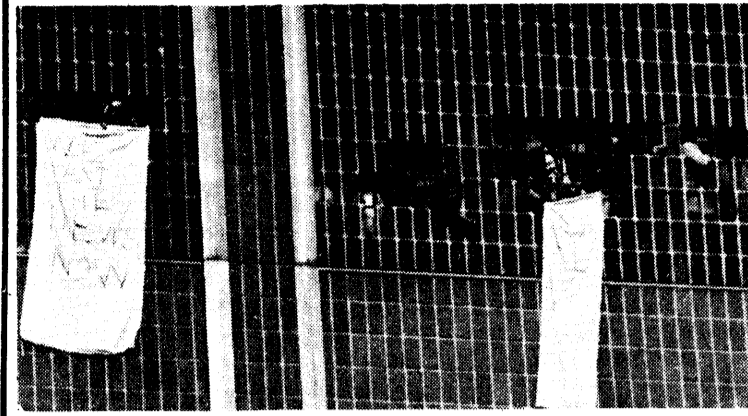
to the molding of these middle class idealists into real cops in the field of the class struggle. Not yet quite able to pick a realistic police investigation in this period such as the witch-hunting of militants all over the country under the cover of the East Village cop killings, the writer decides on a deranged, psychotic sniper as their first victim.

The training sergeant is determined to make "Dirty Harrys" of them all. But this takes time. In the end, one rookie is killed because he failed to shoot first and ask questions later.

Today, police departments throughout the country are attempting to recruit middle class youth. In some cities, it is done directly as in Los Angeles. In others, like New York, auxiliary forces are being established and middle class youth are being sought after to fill the posts.

One recruiting poster in Brooklyn reads: "Return the streets to the people. Join the auxiliary force of the New York City Police Department in your community." Jewish Defense League thugs often double as auxiliary policemen and fascist vigilantes that attack Black residents at random.

The theme of the movie is a very dangerous one. Middle class youth, seeking to find a "meaningful" place for themselves in a decadent capitalist society torn asunder by class conflict and violence, are turned into defenders of the ruling class and the state.



Letters from Prison

To my sister:

I write this to vouch my support to the cause of bringing down the destructive government of this government. I have recently become aware of the ways that the government (U.S.A.) have and are oppressing the poor—white, yellow, brown, black, etc.

This government brainwashing us, using us to do the dirty work, such as low wages, ghetto dwellings, unemployment, and war. I say: let us poor people unite to overthrow this governmental landlording of our bodies and minds; but not acknowledge their say, for it is false and destructive, as we wipe them and reset the land back to the people where it belongs originally.

Give the work places back to the ones who work them.

To this cause I donate myself physically, mentally, and spiritually. I shall dare not rest until this government crumbles and justice, once and for all, becomes a servant to the people.

I happened to get your address from Brother Hap; and maybe you people may help. I would like to know can you send me some literature of the oppressed people, which would educate me to aspirations and experience of the people, enabling me to enlighten my brothers in here also. Some whom are unaware, who should support the cry for a change in this world; in which I may help bring about...

Power to the People
Love sincerely,
"Red Diamond"

Dear Editor:

I am writing you this letter to let you know that I received your books and at the same time let you know that I really appreciate your sending them to me. You really made me feel good, to know that there are people like you who are really concerned about your Brothers and Sisters that are in these so-called jails. Since I have been in jail I have studied and acted to become a better man and a better revolutionary. I hope to be out soon again with my people and then I can elevate the struggle to a higher level, and to do what is necessary, to bring this disgraceful period to an end. I know that becoming a revolutionary is not a matter of theory or words, but action, and I know and feel that this is what I want to be. Well, I can't find too much to say even though I would like to go on, so until our next letter to each other you take care of yourself.

D.B.

Dear Editor:

I am writing your office at this appropriate time to request further information (books) concerning the socialist order. I am sincerely interested in this vital and enlightening movement.

I know if we do not unite we are doomed. The ignorant fear this unity because they have no knowledge of the power in num-

bers—they think individually. I have enlightened and will continue to enlighten my brothers everywhere I go to RESIST this ruling capitalist power.

I am striving for knowledge. We must continue to grow intellectually as we see the final countdown of this capitalist system beginning to crumble. If I could make the commitment, I would gladly give my one being to smash this system.

My brother is in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga. serving 20 years for being a leader in the Panther Party. I am for real and will readily give the cause of oppression's downfall my all, everything. We have suffered too long. We have been unaware too long, and we have been ignorant much, much too long.

But I know only a commitment, a total commitment will end the longing.

Comrade in Arms,
Yours truly,
Brother Al,
Freedom for Sister Davis!!

Power Comrade Juan,

I hope my letter finds you in strong body and mind. We brothers are fine.

It has been brought to our attention here at the Tombs POW camp about your misfortune. Like a lot of us comrade, they want you out of the way, by any means necessary. As you can see, they know we are against their system, and their capitalism is about to come to an end, if we're not stopped. So they'll do anything within their power to destroy us, or slow us down. Our task is still a hard one. Showing oppressed people still unaware of these pigs the real racist monsters they are. We are with you in your struggle.

Comrade P.F.

P.S. Here's another letter for you and our unaware people:

We can never be part of the pig oppressors' world, as they couldn't be ours. But it's really a shame. How many oppressed people are aware of this fact?

Oppressors don't care about anyone or thing. Only their own selfish greed and needs. They're exploiting our oppressed people any way they see fit, to make a dollar. To keep us unaware of this. There's a lot of trickery used.

Look how they have oppressed people fighting among each other. When we all Blacks, whites, Puerto Ricans, etc. have to struggle to survive. Putting their drugs in our community to keep us down. When they lost control of heroin, they came up with methadone. Another drug to control heroin and our people.

Their so-called laws for those who oppose their capitalism. Which even they don't follow in their courts!

To protect your loved ones, or self, oppose their system, to survive are crimes dealing with capitalism.

You must understand oppressed people have nothing to do

with making laws! If we did half of us wouldn't be in their jails or penitentiaries.

Senseless wars, where they feel lives are worth nothing, to gain more power. Many of our men wounded, dead and still dying, not truly realizing what they were and are still fighting about.

Their churches and religion that teaches us to be against each other, not to take actions against our oppressors. But look the other way, and continue to pray for better days, that are still on the way. When will they get here is up to all oppressed people.

Plus we're taught we'll have peace as a reward, if we remain contented. How can we ever have peace? Knowing our kids are still struggling to live...What's so precious about this reward? So open your eyes and see! What happened to some of our people in the past can happen to you people in future days to come...

Power,
P.F.

Comrades:

In answer to Patrick V. Murphy's text "Sharing the Blame," published in the New York Times on March 24th:

In essence he tries to place some of the blame on this state's judicial system and rightly so because they are to blame also. By tossing the ball back and forth they have rocked the mass public back to sleep.

He said there is more crime, more criminals and more victims today than ever before, but who is the perpetrator of crime, who forces a teenage mother to prostitute herself so that she may feed herself and her children? Who forces a father to put a pistol in his hand when he cannot find gainful employment to feed, shelter and clothe his family?

Who lets dope run rampant in the ghetto where one only has to call out the window for a fix? Who has perpetuated the social conditions of racism, unemployment, inferior education and ghetto slum communities? The police and the judicial system play a part. But the true blame lies in the laps of the corporate monopoly capitalist ruling class.

Murphy has not exposed them because to do so would only destroy his position as lackey for them. We could write a book about this alone.

He stated that the police are far from perfect only because the Knapp Commission has uncovered so much of their dirty corruption. Murphy also said his department puts arrested criminals into the wide end of the criminal justice funnel or in other words, jails. But, in doing so, he has failed to mention the "quota system" that every policeman has to fill for the month so that they can remain in good standing, and move up the line of promotion ratings with the departmental heads.

Is there any wonder why the condition of overcrowding jails exists. He also fails to mention out of the 94,000 felony arrests

how many were so flagrantly illegal that even his counterpart, the prosecutor, had no other recourse but to dismiss the charges or try to plea-bargain just to get a conviction.

He studies the gun charges and states that it is a serious felony to carry an illegal hand gun, but is it a serious felony to protect one's self from death at the hand of a CIA sponsored drug induced junkie so he can fulfill the craving for a much needed fix?

Is it a felony to protect yourself from police repression and brutality? Or to protect one's self because of the lack of so-called adequate police protection? He states emphatically that the court system shares the blame. I myself am a victim of a court-imposed bail of \$50,000 because I only tried to help my brother citizens defend themselves at the hands of junkies.

Every man according to law is entitled to a reasonable bail. \$50,000 seems more like a ransom. Every man is innocent until proven guilty. Sit in the court one day and then tell me this cliché is right. My condition is only a part of the struggle that other politically conscious people in this country share in.

Overcrowding conditions, excessive bail, repression at the hands of brutal fascist guards, inadequate medical attention, inadequate recreational and law facilities and the suppression of human dignity all this was exposed by the Tombs Seven Brothers and they are now on trial for their lives because they dared to expose it.

Injustices that face those such as the Harlem Four, Soledad Brothers, Angela Davis and countless others that reside behind these walls because they fight for the economically and socially oppressed people. Do you think that reforms should be initiated?

Reforms have been theorized until they have been made to fall on deaf ears. We must change, but what? Change the system that allows underemployment, unequal education and housing facilities, and also allows racism, drugs and profit for a few to ride the crest of a seemingly insurmountable wave while labor cannot get a reasonable increase in wages.

Should the system be allowed to function where it jails teachers who strike for better wages or incarcerates men who oppose a morally unjust war? Should not we be allowed our human dignity and pursuit of life, liberty and happiness? Or should we just be slave wage earners so that the corporate capitalist monopoly pig can continue to make vast profits off of the blood, tears and sweat of oppressed masses?

Those of us that have become aware of the problem also seek to answer it with a concrete solution. We must commit ourselves in all walks of life to changing this decadent system of capitalism so that there will be freedom, justice and equality for all.

Oppressed workers unite—oppressed people unite in the struggle for victory!

Power to the Oppressed,
James C.

Dear Editor:

Here's hoping that these lines discover that you are well—physically and mentally. As for myself, I am as well as may be expected under these conditions in this unpredictable environment—one thing today, another thing tomorrow, and something novel the next day.

I am aware of the concern and assistance that you have shown

for many of us whom are in jail, yet whom were not aware of the force (Capitalism) which indirectly imprisoned us.

I was speaking one day about the dialectical approach in comparison with the pragmatic approach to discover the essence of opportunism applied to diversified forms of nationalism, when, unexpectedly, a voice modified by amplifier said: "Your cells will be opened—pack up all your belongings—everyone is to be moved off this floor." Our mouths flew open, everyone began speaking at once; we wondered whether or not we would be transferred together.

We decided to hope for the best and prepare for the worst. While wishing we would not be separated, we voted to let the literature remain with those who had received it through the mail. On the other hand, those of us without literature were encouraged to communicate with an outside source, if necessary. I wrote down your name and address. Then we waited to hear from fate.

With respect and appreciation,
N.W.

Dear Editor,

I'm writing this letter not really knowing if you will ever receive it, either way, I know where you are and you know where I'm at, and say, "Right On," to our Awareness.

I would like to convey a sincere feeling of thanks and gratitude, to you and your staff on an effort to put the truth as it really is because there are people (on the outside) that feel since we are getting—three (3) hots and a cot (food and a place to sleep) everything is alright.

The food here is hot and that's the only good-bad thing I can say about it, and as far as our cot, my dog has a better place to sleep. I could go on for hours and you still couldn't imagine how it is in here but then again you could but others wouldn't. The name itself is sufficient and self-explaining, "The Tombs" and what is put in a Tomb?? Mummies and Dead People and that's what we are, "the living dead," we just haven't layed down yet.

Thanks to a few books on Marxism and Leninism we have found new life, a better life, the life of a revolutionist—now the oppressor must find a new way to kill us but there is only one way for a revolutionary Brother or Sister to die—and I say, "Right on, bring it on."

"When a revolutionist is born, difficulties die."

Power to the People,
Bro. Bert S.

Greetings and Power,

I am one of the Queens (Kew Gardens) 7 who was recently transferred here to the Tombs.

I won't go into all of the particulars herein concerning the Queens 7 case and the reasons why they split us up and scattered the 7 of us all over the city in different jails so I will have to suffice to say that though they split us up and ripped us off for all of our books, etc. we will still manage to do our job and educate the imprisoned masses etc.

You can therefore rest assured that any books etc. that you may be able to send me will be greatly appreciated and will be divided amongst the 7 of us to enable us and aid us in holding P.E. classes and perpetuating the struggle.

Yours in Struggle,
Muhammed A.
Isabelle Auerbach Collective



Boeing Throws 100,000 Workers Onto Food Lines

UNEMPLOYMENT, USA

Seattle, Wash.

The sharpest expression of the collapse of the boom period of capitalism on the West Coast is Seattle, a city with a population of close to one million in the metropolitan area, and over 16 percent unemployed.

Among youth the figure is close to three times that of adults. The once "boom town of the West" and site of the World's Fair now stands among the highest in unemployment of major cities in the United States.

At the heart of the crisis in Seattle is the massive Boeing Company, which is the major industry here. The Boeing plants expanded tremendously during the "Cold War" frenzy of the capitalists to arm themselves to the teeth. Resting on NASA, U.S. government and commercial airline contracts, Boeing had predicted an ever-expanding market for its goods. The 747 was their prospect for commercial air travel.

But with the collapse of the economy came numerous cuts in government spending in space research, and cancelled orders from the airlines. Within months over 50,000 workers at Boeing were laid off.

In the 1960s Boeing employed close to 120,000. Now only 40,000 are working and the company is continuing its layoffs as orders for the 747 dwindle to nothing.

"The big layoff came in January, 1969, said Ken Manson, editor of the IAM's paper. 1968 was the peak. In the early part of January the Boeing Company an-

nounced that they were going to lay off 18,000 men. All their predictions were for ten years of rather sustained employment. They started laying off in March and have been doing so ever since.

"Now they have about 6,000 men working on commercial planes. They have orders for only 200 planes and they're already on the 180th. They are thinking of going over to a 20 day cycle which will mean that over half of those men will be laid off."

UNEMPLOYMENT

In 1968 Seattle had one of the lowest unemployment figures in the nation with less than three percent of the work force unemployed. One year later this had jumped to 12 percent and by June 1971 the figure was at 15 percent with over 100,000 without jobs. Simultaneously there were 18 percent fewer jobs, representing the closures at Boeing and the related industries around Seattle.

A young warehouseman who had worked for Boeing and was laid off told the *Bulletin*: "Yes, I know a lot of people who worked at Boeing. Some of them have found jobs. But many are doing what I am, taking whatever they can get. I don't keep up on what is happening with Boeing anymore. I'm pretty disgusted with them really. A lot of Boeing employees have gone out of Seattle to try and find work.

"A lot of them don't have the money to move. Like myself for instance. I could get a job in Minnesota, but I don't have a way to get there. I haven't got the car-

fare to get there myself, let alone move my whole family."

These interviews were taken at the unemployment center in Seattle, the busiest place in town. Every day it is jammed with people trying to get jobs or benefits. A 20 year old youth who had not been able to find any work in eight months told the *Bulletin* he had been at the center every day when he was first laid off and was unable to find any job at all.

He said: "Now I don't get excited when I get dressed up to go looking for a job. I take a pessimistic attitude and maybe that hurts me a little because when I talk to a guy about a job I don't really expect to get one. It is hard not to be pessimistic because there just aren't the jobs. About three or four years ago I could just turn around and it seemed jobs were just coming by. But now if you are not on unemployment you're hurting."

"When they cut me off of unemployment, I was down here every day and nothing came up. Here I am paying rent and trying to eat. Finally I wound up eating graham crackers for a whole week stretch. I went down to Welfare."

"I don't dig Welfare that much. But I went down there because I was hurting so bad. They told me that since I was under 40 and physically fit to work that they couldn't provide welfare. Now I get these emergency benefits. But if this hadn't come through I don't know what I'd be doing."

1930's

Unemployment in Seattle is so widespread that food lines reminiscent of the soup lines of the 1930's have been set up. An organization called "Neighbors in Need," run by various churches, has been set up to distribute food to the unemployed who cannot make ends meet with

unemployment benefits or whose benefits have run out. In King County alone there are 38 of these food banks, and the NIN has served over 600,000 people since it was organized in late 1970.

The Capitol Hill food bank, located in one of the highest concentrated areas of unemployment in Seattle, serves between 1,500 and 2,000 people three days a week. The unemployment level in the Capitol Hill area is 28 percent and only 5 percent of the jobless here receive public assistance. About 75 percent of the unemployed are between the ages of 18 to 25.

A construction worker who had recently been laid off told *Bulletin* reporters at the Capitol Hill food bank that: "This is just like the soup line, that's the only thing. And they are talking about the WPA days and stuff. It is right here now. Sometimes they give you something decent, wieners, canned food, things like that. If this wasn't here a lot of people would be suffering."

Another unemployed worker in the line said: "Back in 1932-1933 it was just like this, standing in line. This looks like a soup line to me except they don't give you soup, they just give you the stuff to make it out of. It's the same thing."

TREACHEROUS

In Seattle, the treacherous role of the labor bureaucracy is most openly exposed. The IAM leadership, whose members comprised over a third of the total work force at Boeing, refused to even protest the massive layoffs. "If there is no business, there is no work," they told their workers. The union refused to even consider a fight against layoffs and now collects food for their laid off members and constructs inexpensive housing for unemployed aerospace workers.

"We found that there were a lot of blue-collar workers who had never been unemployed for any sustained length of time now laid off," said an IAM spokesman. "All of a sudden they were experiencing just what the Blacks had been experiencing. They were going through what the minorities had been through when they were unemployed."

The Teamsters official that *Bulletin* reporters were able to speak with, Mr. Jim Clark, the coordinator of the Joint Council of Teamsters and administrator to the local president, told us that unemployment had a good side in that it "tended to stabilize the work force at different companies" and that the Teamsters were fighting against unemployment "by working on the various different commissions around, and we work with the state very closely. We are trying to negotiate contracts that are "realistic" and draw industry into this area."

He agreed with Fitzsimmons' participation on the Pay Board although he recognized that it was stacked against labor. "That's a foregone conclusion," he said, "and Fitzsimmons would be the first to admit it."

GENERAL STRIKE

When the executive Secretary of the Seattle Building and Construction Trades Council (AFL-CIO) was asked about labor and the Pay Board two weeks before the walk off by Meany and others, he stated that "There is no point walking off the Board unless you simultaneously say there is no recognition of the Pay Board. Then you are talking about a general strike. You have to do something to show your disapproval of the Pay Board decisions."

Pabloism And The International Committee

Pierre Franks Sneers At The Dialectic

by Cliff Slaughter, Socialist Labour League Central Committee member.

"Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." Lenin, and after him Trotsky, insisted upon this principle against every enemy, inside the revolutionary movement as well as outside.

In the Bolshevik Party, in the Communist (Third) International and then in the Fourth International, the middle-class attack on correct revolutionary strategy always had to be answered by deepening the struggle for basic Marxist theory.

Recently, in the International Committee of the Fourth International, political differences have once again come to the point of questioning the very foundation of Marxism, dialectical materialism.

The Socialist Labour League and the majority of the International Committee, basing themselves on the theoretical gains of the struggle against the empiricism and pragmatism of the Socialist Workers Party and other Pabloites who split from the Fourth International, have fought to consciously begin every task from the standpoint of developing Marxist theory. The Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of France and a minority of the IC have rejected this struggle.

They prefer to regard Marxist theory as something embodied in the programme of the Fourth International, in the direction of which the experience of the workers' struggle will tend.

The documents of this split are now being published in *Workers Press*. Meanwhile the enemies of Trotskyism in the self-professed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" in Paris (Pabloites) are trying, with little success, to take some comfort for themselves, no doubt to help obscure the raging difference in their midst.

One of the Pabloite leaders, Pierre Frank, writes in the March 6 issue of *Intercontinental Press* an article "Construct or Reconstruct the Fourth International." While consisting largely of stale and unfounded criticisms of the stand taken by the International Committee on the questions facing the Trotskyist movement since 1953, Frank's article is revealing, nevertheless, for what it reveals of his own theoretical (or rather anti-theoretical) starting-point.

Frank quotes in full the amendment proposed by the Young Socialists to the resolution presented to the Essen youth conference by the AJS (youth organization of the OCI) last year. This amendment placed the struggle to develop Marxist theory as the primary task of revolutionary youth.

The first point to note is that in his lengthy article, Frank nowhere says whether he agrees with this amendment or not! He is interested in it only in order to speculate and manoeuvre. The education of his own movement on the principled questions involved does not enter his head. We have noted the evidence for this absence of any attention to such fundamental questions earlier, in exposing the explicitly idealist basis of Tariq Ali's book, *The Coming British Revolution*.

Just as, in that book, one vital sentence ("...consciousness determines history...") was the clue to all the positions of Tariq Ali and the International Marxist Group, the Pabloite section in Britain, so, in Frank's article, his comments on the consequences of this amendment take us to the root of the whole Pabloite con-

ception.

Frank says: "Lambert's refusal to vote for this amendment provoked two remarks from Healy. In the first place, this response showed that Lambert was guilty of underestimating, of renouncing dialectical materialism. On this point, we are faced with one of Healy's customs. Every time he engages in a tendency or faction struggle he believes it is necessary to introduce the question of dialectical materialism. Why? Well because Trotsky dealt with this question in the struggle against Burnham and Shachtman in 1939.

"Trotsky did this because the question was introduced by his opponents, one totally denying dialectical materialism, the other declaring that it had no practical importance. Trotsky conducted many tendency struggles without introducing this question; but that matters little for Healy. For him, every internal struggle cannot help but pose the question of dialectical materialism. And if no one else is inclined to raise it, he will never hesitate to do so.

"Must we add that when Healy indulges in this bizarre idiosyncrasy, he succeeds most often in making himself look ridiculous?"

Pierre Frank could do well to read over the very dispute with Burnham and Shachtman to which he refers. Trotsky says:

"The opportunists, I am informed, greet with bursts of laughter the very mention of 'dialectics.' In vain. This unworthy method will not help. The dialectic of the historic process has more than once cruelly punished those who tried to jeer at it."

SUITED TO THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE, NOT TO THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Pierre Frank, Joseph Hansen and Ernest Mandel have long ago substituted impressions for Marxist analysis. This method, suited to the petty bourgeoisie, but not to the proletarian revolution, led these gentlemen to agree on the fact that "neo-capitalism" had so changed the proletariat that its revolutionary role would pass over to—at different stages—the revolutionary peasantry, a left nationalist revolutionary leadership *sui generis*, the students.

Frank boasts about the 1963 "reunification" of his own forces with the American SWP on the basis of this agreement. He says:

"...this period (of splits in the Fourth International) ended in 1963, when the principal Trotskyist organization in the world wound up advancing identical answers to those new problems and reuniting."

So desperate is Frank to avoid recognizing the dialectic of history which has made nonsense of the orientation to non-working class forces that he deliberately falsifies events. He knows that within months of the "reunification," Pablo himself and his supporters split from the Unified Secretariat!

He knows also that the Lanka Sama Samaja Party of Ceylon, hailed by him as the first mass Trotskyist party, joined a bourgeois coalition in 1964 and had to be expelled!

He knows that Castro, hailed as the epitome of a new "natural" revolutionary Marxian as the basis of the "reunification" went over immediately to the worst kind of Stalinist attack on Trotskyism.

If Frank continues shamelessly to sneer at dialectical materialism and to ignore the real history, it is because the dialectic has certainly found him out completely. Right at the time when the proletariat, written off by him, demands the development of Marxist theory, he laughs it off. That is to be expected.

His version of the 1939-1940 split in the SWP (Burnham and Shachtman) is, once again, dashed off in an irresponsible and carefully distorted fashion, very typical of the petty-bourgeois contempt for a truly theoretical revolutionary approach. Is it

true that Trotsky only raised the question of dialectical materialism because his opponents did? Let Trotsky speak for himself:

"...My first conversation with comrades Shachtman and Warde, in the train immediately after my arrival in Mexico in January, 1937, was devoted to the necessity of persistently propagating dialectical materialism. After our American section split from the Socialist Party, I insisted most strongly on the earliest possible publication of a theoretical organ, bearing again in mind the need to educate the Party, first and foremost its new members, in the spirit of dialectical materialism. In the United States, I wrote at that time, where the bourgeoisie systematically instills vulgar empiricism in the workers, more than anywhere else it is necessary to speed the elevation of the movement to a proper theoretical level...

"Let me also add that I feel somewhat abashed over the fact that it is almost necessary to justify coming out in defense of Marxism within one of the sections of the Fourth International!" (Trotsky, *In Defence of Marxism*, pp. 142-143.)

A hundred other quotations from the same book could be cited to show just how far away from Marxism Pierre Frank has gone. In suggesting that dialectical materialism is some separate "question," which only comes up by chance in certain struggles, Frank engages in a complete renunciation of Marxism.

Once having thrown out dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of the development of consciousness, Frank must inevitably fall back on the "common sense" method of a series of impressions. Each stage in the history of a party is then taken only on its own particular terms and concerns only the "concrete" questions which initially provoke a discussion.

In this way the unity of theory and practice, continuously negating and enriching each other is thrown away.

Dialectical materialism is challenged by all these revisionist forces, because it is precisely dialectical materialism which differentiates parties of the Bolshevik type from all bourgeois and reformist parties.

A CLEAR, FAR-SIGHTED, COMPLETELY THOUGHT OUT WORLD OUTLOOK

"In order not to give way under the pressure of bourgeois public opinion and police repression, the proletarian revolutionist, a leader all the more, requires a clear, far-sighted, completely thought-out, world outlook. Only upon the basis of a unified Marxist conception is it possible to correctly approach "concrete" questions." (In *Defence of Marxism*, p. 144.)

When Pierre Frank describes the SLL's concentration on dialectical materialism as "a bizarre idiosyncrasy" on the part of its national secretary, comrade Healy, and characterizes the result as "ridiculous," Frank is repeating virtually word-for-word the behaviour of the Burnham-Shachtman opposition in 1939, who went into fits of laughter at the mention of dialectics.

What is at stake is not simply formal education in philosophical texts, but the whole method of building revolutionary parties and developing revolutionary perspectives in the struggle for power. Dialectical materialism is not an abstract philosophy, separate from the sciences which deal with nature and society, but is the theory of knowledge based on the development of these sciences. Without a continuous struggle for dialectical materialism, revolutionaries cannot understand the relation between their own activity and consciousness, on the one hand, and the objectively changing class relations of which they are part.

The rejection of dialectical materialism, as surely in the case of Pierre Frank as of Burnham and Shachtman, is the surest sign of having abandoned this revolutionary practice in favour of poli-



Leon Trotsky

tical representation of the petty bourgeoisie, a class whose very position in society inclines it to consider its consciousness to be independent of and higher than the objective necessity of social development.

Finally, let us see how the crude empiricism which Pabloism substitutes for dialectics works out today. Look at Frank's own version of the possible sources of the split in the International Committee (as we have seen, he dismisses without even consideration the possibility that a difference over dialectical materialism could produce a split!). We have underlined certain expressions to emphasize the type of argument Frank uses:

"...a certain rigidity on Healy's part and Lambert's unbridled opportunism appear to clash. It would not be surprising if the source of this clash lies in the international situation in the two organizations and in the relation of forces between them.

"At one time Healy carried more weight than Lambert in the 'International Committee.' Now it seems to be the other way around. Also, Healy's organization may be losing some of its steam. In that case, his rigidity could be explained as a means of halting this development. Lambert's document alludes to this fact..."

In the history of the Marxist movement, surely no one has ever ventured into the explanation of political differences on a flimsier basis than this!

Lenin, for example, insisted in World War I that, in understanding the split in Social Democracy it was necessary to explain the class, economic roots (in imperialism) of the tendencies in Social Democracy, to trace the history of the differences, so as to produce a systematic analysis of the relation between revisionism, reformism, social patriotism and the struggle for a new International.

Trotsky similarly always probed to the class roots of tendency differences and traced out their origins. Without this dialectical method there is no Marxist approach to the question.

But Frank very deliberately simply compiles a list of impressions from the surface, together with his own hopes: the SLL "may be losing steam," "it seems to be the other way around," "it would not be surprising"! Then what "seems to be" becomes "a fact"!

As we saw in the first part of this article, Frank is equally cavalier in his attitude to the history of his own movement. Even to open up the question of the real history of the issues on which the Pabloites "re-united" in 1963 would blow them wide apart and would show that the struggle conducted by the International Committee at that time for dialectical materialism, against pragmatism and empiricism, was the only basis for a truly proletarian orientation.

It is precisely because the petty-bourgeois infection of the movement, via Pabloite revisionism, was so virulent, that all the basic questions of the Marxist method were raised.

What Frank may not recognize today is that the more he dabbles in the differences in the International Committee, the more he will expose his own role.

This is because the development of the working class now demands from the revolutionary vanguard a struggle to deepen and develop dialectical materialism as the method of the proletarian revolution.

SSEU Right Wing Calls For More Cops

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The City's drive to force Social Service Employees Union members out of the Welfare Department, as part of the whole reorganization scheme, is being consciously aided by the right-wing Cohen slate which is making a bid for power in the April elections.

Last week, a Cohen supporter and delegate from the Queens Welfare Center, Jim Appello, appeared on a television newscast brandishing a club, and boasting that this was the way they would deal with problems in the centers.

This same delegate organized workers in his center to take money out of their own pockets to hire private police protection. This completely reactionary business is nothing less than a reflection of the racist Wallaceite and Jewish Defense League movements inside the SSEU.

The Committee for a New Leadership took up a fight in the last Delegates Assembly meeting against the Cohen forces and exposed their whole reactionary campaign. The CNL counter-

posed to Cohen, a fight for a protracted walkout based on the demand to bring the workloads in the Income Maintenance units down to 750, and meet the quotas for moving staff back into the service component.

SSEU President Hill put forward a proposal for an all day demonstration on April 20, as a first step toward this kind of protracted action if the City refuses to move on staffing demands. Hill condemned the right-wing for their pushing of cops and clubs instead of demanding staff.

Mary Pinkett, candidate on the Cohen slate for Executive Vice President of the union, in trying to cover herself viciously attacked the CNL, calling them fascist.

If these Cohen forces are elected, there will be a vicious

red-baiting witch-hunt of all militants in the union. Under conditions where the City has just instituted a new procedure calling for the investigation and interrogation of all workers who had clients who were in any way involved in any fraud in relation to their checks, the emergence of a reactionary force inside the SSEU is particularly dangerous.

What is required in the trade union movement in order to defend the gains of the working people and prevent the Wallace's from taking power is a political offensive.

Such a fight cannot take place if reactionaries are allowed to take over the union. It is with this understanding that the CNL is carrying out a defeat Cohen campaign and calling for a vote for the Hill slate.

Chicago ILA Ranks Demand Hiring Hall

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

CHICAGO—At a recent meeting Local 19 of the International Longshoremens Association voted to extend their old contract, including the no-strike clause, during negotiations with the Marine Association of Chicago and independent employers.

The vote was a direct result of the refusal of the union leadership to take up the fight for unity needed to gain the demands of longshoremen across the nation.

Just like Bridges and Gleason, the President of Local 19 is balancing precariously between the needs of the workers and the demands of the capitalist class. President Sikes summed this up when he stated that: "We'll have to wait and see what happens. I don't know what we'll do if the ILA is turned down by the Pay Board and the International orders a strike."

WILDCATS

Just before the shipping season closed last fall, there was a series of wildcats on questions of security rules. Every worker on the docks knows that the shippers' policy of blaming the last port where stock is handled (usually Chicago) for any shortages found is just designed to pit the workers along the Great Lakes against each other.

The sellout of these wildcats in Milwaukee and in Chicago was completely due to the union leadership's failure to tackle the underlying questions.

The situation is the same with the question of the guarantee. Rather than fighting to make sure that Chicago dockworkers have a genuine guarantee, the leadership blames the workers for the fact that there is no guarantee at all in Chicago.

But try as they might, the leadership cannot keep the ranks from dealing with these questions. At the recent meeting, the essential questions came out in a bitter battle over the instituting of a hiring hall, similar to the West Coast's.

As things stand now, each man

calls in, and a recording tells them how many positions are available at the Calumet and Navy Pier Docks. Obviously, under this set-up, there are no seniority rights at all, and the men also are aware that this procedure keeps them from getting together to share their grievances and form rank-and-file movements.

When it was posed that the other unions were going to be smashed too if he did not take up the fight now, he looked startled, and quickly agreed that: "Yes, they're the next in line." One worker very urgently told us not to ignore the Nazis—"There are a lot of them still around, you know, just waiting to get powerful again."

1199 Leader Accepts 5.7% Wage Limit

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

The complete bankruptcy of the Local 1199 leadership in the face of Nixon's wage controls was revealed in a recent contract settlement for a group of workers at Kings County Research Laboratories, a private clinical lab in Brooklyn.

These workers are represented by Local 1199, which also represents some 40,000 hospital workers in the New York area. On March 1 the Kings County workers voted by 45 to 14 to accept a 2-year contract settlement providing for a 5.7 percent wage increase in the first year, a one percent increase in the employer contribution to the Benefit Plan, and a night shift differential of 7.5 percent. The second year of the contract

Bridge Men Vote Strike

BY A LABOR REPORTER

Following a strike authorization vote last week, Teamster Local 237 President Barry Feinstein warned the City that operation of the bridges would continue on a "day-to-day basis."

The possibility of a strike by city employees that would mean open defiance of the reactionary Taylor Law has been raised by the refusal of New York to meet the workers' new contract demands.

Feinstein, who has been indicted for his leadership of the June 7-8 strike of bridge workers, declared "We are not a strike-happy union but the continued refusal of the City to bargain in good faith will leave us no alternative but to strike."

He added that "the only language the City's negotiators understand is the language of confrontation."

provides an increase even less than the Pay Board guidelines.

According to a Kings County worker interviewed by the Bulletin, there was tremendous disgust with this settlement. The negotiating committee did not recommend approval. But the 1199 leadership insisted that the 5.7 percent was "the best we can get," and many workers did not see how they could fight back.

1199 Rank and File Committee candidate for union president, Fred Mazelis, issued the following statement on the Kings County settlement:

"This settlement amounts to a complete capitulation to Nixon's Pay Board and will cut the real wages of these workers. 1199 President Leon Davis has made much of his intention to fight the wage freeze, but at the first opportunity he has caved in completely to the bosses' offensive



Macy workers picket store in Manhattan where management is trying to keep store open and break the strike.

Workers Strike Macy's Stores For Wage Hike

BY DAVID NORTH

NEW YORK—A strike by 8000 employees against Macy's, "The World's Largest Department Store," has turned it into one of the world's emptiest.

Picket lines went up around six Macy's stores in the city and White Plains last Wednesday after contract talks broke down between the owners and Local 1-S of the Department Store Workers. The strike was the first called by Local 1-S against Macy's since 1956.

The company's final wage offer to the workers, who on the average earn less than \$116 for an 37½ hour week, was well within the guidelines of Nixon's Pay Board.

Local 1-S demanded a 35-hour week, improved pensions, and a raise in the minimum wage.

"What Macy's offered us was a

poverty package," declared one striking worker who has been employed at Macy's for 14 years. "We do four times as much work as we did before because of speedups and layoffs, and they offer us a contract that amounts to a paycut."

Macy's has attempted to keep the stores running by putting executives and their families behind the sales counter.

TEAMSTERS

Macy's plan for business-as-usual was given a crippling blow when United Parcel Service drivers of Teamsters Local 804 refused to cross picket lines at the six stores. In 1956, the Teamsters ignored the picket lines.

A woman who has worked at Macy's for 21 years described the conditions:

"We don't only have to sell. We're cashiers, wrappers and also have to do the job of stock-boys. And they don't even pay us for that work."

"If you complain, the management accuses you of insubordination. In this store they don't treat you like human beings."

The pension of most workers, especially of those on part time, cannot even begin to meet the minimum financial needs. One saleswoman, who has worked part-time (25 hours) for 28 years, receives a pension that totals \$20 a month.

"I thought my son was crazy when he took over a college building a couple of years ago," a saleswoman told the Bulletin, "but I'm more radical than he is now."

and has taken a position worse than that of the Meany bureaucracy.

"If he will not fight Hoffman-LaRoche we cannot expect him to fight the hospital bosses. Although this contract involves only 90 workers, the 40,000 workers who will be affected by the strike deadline in the city's voluntary hospitals this July 1 had better pay close attention to it."

"The betrayal of the Kings County workers is the handwriting on the wall for 1199 members. It comes just a short time after the 1199 Executive Council voted a \$500 contribution to financially-troubled Knickerbocker Hospital, and union members at that hospital were pressured into making weekly contributions to the bosses supposedly in order to save their jobs.

POMPIDOU . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

fight not just against the Common Market but against Pompidou and the whole capitalist class. It comes at a time when strikes and sit-ins have erupted throughout the country over growing unemployment and demands for wage increases.

All of the major parties recognize the true purpose of this referendum. It throws every organization which claims to be opposed to Pompidou into crisis, and threatens to explode the attempts of the Communist Party to form an electoral coalition with the Radicals and the Socialist Party.

The bourgeois Radical Party, led by Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber which stands for unity of the European capitalists against the United States is calling for a "Yes" vote because it "represents an explicit disavowal of the foreign policy of General DeGaulle" who was opposed to Britain's entry.

The Socialist Party which is considering a common electoral program with the Radicals favors British entry but is calling for abstention on April 23rd.

The only organization to campaign for a "No" vote is the Communist Party.

The Communist Party has been forced into this position because of the tremendous hatred of the French workers in the CP to Pompidou and the Common Market which they correctly see as a conspiracy of the European monopolies to strengthen their control over the working class.

The Stalinists desperately seek to avoid a political confrontation with Pompidou and a repetition of the General Strike so they consciously limit the "No" vote to a protest instead of utilizing it to bring down the government.

Its stand on the referendum places it in the uncomfortable position of appearing to be in the lead of the fight against Pompidou independently of the Socialist Party and the Radicals at a time when they are trying to form a Popular Front with a sec-

tion of the bourgeoisie.

The CP is trying to get out of this by calling for urgent talks with the Socialist Party to work out a united position on the question. It is still possible that the Stalinists will drop their opposition in order to preserve their alliance with the PSU.

The difficulties of the CP are compounded by the fact that the Soviet bureaucracy, which has refused to even recognize the Common Market, is now accepting it.

The fight to expose the CP's refusal to wage an independent struggle for power in the referendum is completely undermined by the Pabliste Ligue Communiste and the Maoists Alain Krivine of the Ligue Communiste called for a "massive boycott on the part of all workers in order to show their contempt for the operation."

In a statement which gave open support to the possibility of a left wing electoral coalition Krivine stated:

"The unity of the left corresponds to a desire for change and for unity in the absence of a credible revolutionary alternative. If the left union won the next elections, the Ligue Communiste would carry on a campaign of wariness regarding the new government while placing itself at the heart of the struggles to strengthen it, but the Ligue would support governmental measures directed against the right."

The Pablistes' position is that the Stalinists and the Socialist Party can be pressured into taking up a fight against the bourgeoisie and therefore an independent Trotskyist party is not necessary.

The only way to bring forward the independent fight of the working class for power is by exposing the Stalinist protest campaign on the referendum and by demanding that a "No" vote be the beginning of new elections in which the Communist Party must fight to form a workers' government.

FARINAS . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

dropped, but also judges have become markedly more lenient toward those who are convicted." Even the Selective Service System itself has changed its position on draft violators.

In a recent statement from Danbury, Farinas expressed the political nature of his conviction and placed his case in the perspective of the fight being waged today by the working class against the attacks of the capitalists. He stated:

"Today, when according to the

New York Times, 75 percent of the draft cases are dropped, Judge Pollack's decision against my modification of sentence plainly constitutes a politically motivated attack against the revolutionary socialist movement.

The growth of this movement, of the Young Socialists and the Workers League, means that despite their desperate attempts, the fate of this corrupt, racist and oppressive capitalist system is sealed. It is the working class and the youth, organized around the YS and the WL, that will win my freedom."

BOYLE . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

to clean up this union and send Boyle to jail," he joins hands with all those enemies of labor including "housecleaner" George Wallace and the New York Daily News who are preparing for fascism.

Hoffa was convicted foreason and one reason only—to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the government against the labor movement in preparation for new attacks. Prior to that, the prosecution of ILA President Joseph Ryan, and the NY crime committee investigations leading to the establishment of the Waterfront Commission in 1953 allegedly to eliminate "corruption" from the waterfront, were initiated for one reason alone—to weaken and destroy the ILA, a task which the government is attempting to con-

tinue through the Pay Board today.

Now, the government comes forward in a campaign to put Boyd in jail in order to smash the union, in the interest of the enrichment of the profits of the mine owners and steel corporations—of the entire capitalist system. They could care less about the "corruption" of Tony Boyle.

The liberals and muckrakers who applaud the conviction of Boyle deserve the justifiable contempt and hatred of every rank and file miner whose class solidarity demands that he defend his union which is now under attack.

It is the miners very lives themselves that are threatened by this conviction of Boyle. They can only defend their union with a campaign to demand the imme-

VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

the U.S. military command will no longer make daily reports on American bombing raids.

The collapse of the ARVN has been almost as swift as the offensive. Two major divisions, the Third and the Fifth, have been badly mauled by the NLF. One American described the situation:

"Let's face it—the Third Division was routed. It was nothing but a mad rush to the rear once

the North Vietnamese started shelling them. Thousands of them came running here those first days as fast as they could."

BOMBING

It is clear that the Saigon regime could not last through April without the massive American bombing. But, because of the effective use by the NLF of new anti-aircraft SAM missiles, not even American air power can ensure the survival of the Thieu government.

NORWOOD . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

plant for 16 years since he was 17. "The conditions are worse than any time that I can remember. I come out of here so tired and come home so depressed I can't even get along with my family," he said.

"Where there were six or seven men on a job as in the cushion room where I work, they are now down to four. Where there were two or three on a job now there is one. When a man can't keep up with a job they give him a layoff slip."

Another worker likened the plant to "a penitentiary. You can't talk. You can't smoke or get a drink of water. They'll take one man that's on this job, give him two weeks off, put two men on his job. When he gets back they tell him to either do the job by himself or get fired."

A number of workers who talked to Bulletin reporters on the last day of work before the strike stated that "The company is trying to bust the union, and Lordstown was the first step."

While everyone saw the power of the Lordstown strike, many men were unsure about the settlement there, feeling that their Local leadership had kept them in the dark.

The reaction to our report that the International, along with the local leadership at Lordstown, had returned with only 150 out of 800 laid-off men hired back, that a number of major demands of the union were given up, and that 400 DLO grievances were not settled, was bitter. A group of Norwood workers said that there was a deep distrust of the International in Local 674 dating back to the 1970 GM strike.

The role of Woodcock, as well as that of the local bureaucrats, is being exposed as the workers come forward in the battle against GM, Ford and Chrysler. This is expressed in the movement to unseat Paul Shrade as regional director in California.

Against the disastrous policy of

Woodcock, who attempts to separate and break up the struggle of the GM workers, a fight must be taken into the UAW Convention on April 23 in Atlantic City, to shut down General Motors entirely—to take forward the fight for a Marxist alternative to Woodcock around the program:

- Industry-wide strike of GM until all grievances on speed-up (paragraph 78) and discipline are settled to the workers' satisfaction;

- 30 for 40 with time and one half over 6 hours per day;

- Nationalization of runaway shops under workers' control;

- A general strike by the entire labor movement to smash the Pay Board and win the full wage increase for the aerospace workers;

- No support to Democrats or Republicans in '72—fight for a labor party against Nixon and Wallace;

- A rank and file caucus must be organized at Norwood and throughout the UAW to take forward the fight for this program.

TYNER . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

policies of Stalinism, which were responsible for the victory of fascism in Spain.

The Workers League spokesman pointed out that the capitulation of the Stalinists to imperialism can be seen today in the CP's hostility to a working class defense of political prisoners, particularly in the vicious attack by Tyner himself against Juan Farinas. Farinas is a Workers League supporter now serving 2 years in a federal prison for his opposition to the imperialist war in Vietnam.

The hysterical response of the Communist Party was led by Jarvis Tyner. After shouted abuses from the CP hacks in the audience and Tyner's attempts from the chair to silence the Workers League speaker failed, Tyner took it upon himself to answer this confrontation with a string of slanders against Trotskyism.

Most serious, however, was the deepening of the attacks he had made on the West Coast against the defense of Juan Farinas. He claimed that Farinas was a "masquerader" and a "provocateur," "probably a secret capitalist agent."

Tyner said that he didn't trust "Trots" and that his information came from the MPI, a tendency with which they politically agreed.

This is the same MPI that stands openly against the fight for socialism in the struggle for Puerto Rican independence, and who answered our principled fight against their betrayal of the movement of the Puerto Rican workers and youth with a knife attack on Bulletin salesmen, including Juan, that hospitalized three.

A total defeat of American imperialism is being forestalled by Stalinism. Even as the Hanoi bureaucracy guides this offensive, it is attempting to cajole Richard Nixon back to the negotiating table he abandoned last month.

DANGERS

There are dangers that this collaborationist political line, which contradicts the whole character of the struggle in the South, could undermine the military progress of the NLF.

Le Duc Tho, a member of the North Vietnamese Politburo, told a delegation of American labor leaders that his government desires a "peace with honor for America."

The North Vietnamese Stalinists sent David Livingston of District Council 65 back to the US with the message that Hanoi would like to reopen secret talks with Henry Kissinger.

MOSCOW

While Le Duc Tho was promising to "heal the wounds" of American imperialism after the misunderstanding in Vietnam is cleared up, the Nixon Administration was admitting that it is anxiously awaiting the President's trip to Moscow. The New York Times reported that:

"Mr. Nixon had told his principal aides that he does not want to let Hanoi's major offensive against South Vietnam ruin his prospects for what he believes could be a productive meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Communist party leader, and other officials in Moscow."

The reason for Nixon's eagerness was given by Melvin Laird, who stated that the key to a favorable settlement of the war "rests, it seems to me to a major degree, with the Soviet Union."

ECONOMY . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

In his most provocative threat to date, Connally has now threatened to sell off the remaining U.S. gold stock on the free gold market in flagrant violation of the March 1968 two-tier accord. This is a step that would dash all European hopes of a return to dollar convertibility.

Nixon's plans for the most massive trade war in history are by no means simply limited to Europe but now embrace the entire capitalist and non-capitalist world.

Eugene T. Rossif, Assistant U.S. Treasury Secretary for Enforcement of Tariff and Trade Affairs has now called for the virtual break-up of the 90 nation General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. He said that in order to "achieve a freer and fairer competition in international trade" that the U.S. would not only have to examine GATT rules more closely but "even question the nature of the rules themselves."

The fundamental crisis in the sphere of capitalist exchange provoked by this collapse, a crisis in which no capitalist knows the value of the others' money, has in turn provoked massive breakdowns in capitalist production. It is this which is behind the recessionary trend gripping the whole capitalist world forcing bankruptcies, plant closings and massive unemployment.

It is this that lies behind a spectacular falloff in the volume of world trade from annual growth rates of 15 percent in the boom years of the 1960's to a meager 5 percent this year.

Liberals Desert SWP For Stalinist March

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—In their headlong movement to betray the Vietnam revolution, the Stalinists have broken their alliance with the Socialist Workers Party in the peace movement. The setting up of the Stalinist dominated PCPJ peace demonstration on April 22 in San Francisco, in opposition to the NPAC demonstration in Los Angeles, has thrown the SWP and YSA into a crisis.

These are the fruits of the SWP's abandonment of a principled Marxist fight against the war, its refusal to raise the program of Trotskyism in battle with the Stalinists within the anti-war movement.

STALINISTS

The Stalinists are building their San Francisco march on the basis of the seven point program of Madame Binh, the head of the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris peace talks, posing this as a "left" alternative to the SWP which refused to take any position on a program for victory for the NLF.

The SWP is now virtually isolated in its Los Angeles march. All the liberal support given to

Local 400 Takes Action On Caseload

BY A

LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 200 welfare workers here united in a work action to refuse to handle food stamps.

Several years ago case loads in San Francisco were down to a maximum of 60 per worker. Today most workers carry nearly 200 cases and are paid up to \$200 a month less than their counterparts in 1970.

On top of this, the administration wants to dump the entire food stamp program in the laps of these already overburdened case workers which would double their case loads.

A similar situation is developing in the probation department regarding case load sizes. But, instead of hiring more workers, the city is using people recruited by the Voluntary Bureau of San Francisco to "assist" the probation officers.

DEFENSE

Workers in the AFDC (Family Building voted for a resolution that no food stamp budgets would be processed until case loads were reduced to 75 per worker, and a committee was formed in order to defend any worker who was reprimanded for not doing all his work.

Mayor Alioto has plans next month to push through his anti-labor Employee Relations Ordinance which takes away all the basic rights of the unions, including the right to strike, and sets up a miniature pay board with life and death power over city employees.

But isolated work actions are not enough to defend jobs in this period. The only solution to this incredible speedup is a demand for more workers.

the NPAC marches in the past is now going to the PCPJ demonstration. Ron Dellums, one of the CP's favorite liberals has come out against the Los Angeles march and for the PCPJ march in San Francisco.

The response of the SWP to these attacks is a panicky stampede to embrace Madame Binh's Seven Point Program and to deny any difference between the two demonstrations.

The SWP is now in a situation where it can find hardly any support to its Los Angeles march. All those middle class forces which the SWP welcomed into the anti-war movement no matter what their politics stand behind the liberals.

ALTERNATIVE

The only alternative to the betrayal of Stalinism and the capitulation of the SWP is the counter-demonstration of the Workers League and Young Socialists in Golden Gate Park on April 22nd.

We call on the SWP and YSA to take a stand against Stalinism and to join our demonstration. Our demonstration will demand the victory of the NLF, and the mobilization of the American working class in a general strike against Nixon and the Pay Board for the construction of a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans in 1972.



Los Tres del Barrio (from left to right—Alberto "Beto" Ortiz, Rodolfo "Rudy" Sanchez and Juan Ramon Fernandez) were sentenced to combined 95 years in prison for defending themselves.

Los Tres Get 95 Year Term

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Consistent with the ongoing attempts of the Los Angeles Police Department in conjunction with Federal authorities to harass and destroy militants, Los Tres Del Barrio were recently sentenced to a combined 95 years in prison.

Los Tres—Rodolfo Sanchez, Alberto Ortiz, and Juan Fernandez, activists in "La Casa de Carnalismo"—were the target of repeated attempts by the police to eradicate what they have termed the "Chicano Liberation Front."

La Casa is a youth organization founded in Los Cuarto Flats Barrio in 1969 with the perspective of ridding the community of drugs. Drug use

UAW Militants Form Caucus To Oust Schrade

BY A UAW BULLETIN REPORTER

LONGBEACH, CALIF—A rebellion among the secondary local leadership of UAW Region 6 (West Coast) is intent on replacing the present Regional Director, Paul Schrade, at the 23rd International Constitution Convention to be held in Atlantic City later this month.

A West Coast "Concerned Members Caucus" has been formed and its members met in Los Angeles March 30-31 to spearhead a drive for this upcoming convention fight with the goal of replacing Schrade receiving top priority.

NEEDS

Thus far, this formation has attracted significant local support and has received committed delegates from Locals 216, 509, 560, 645, 887, 923 and Local 1364 with a total pledged delegate vote of 2,940. Those in attendance stated that they "wanted a director who will meet with the local union officers, who will spend time organizing and servicing the mounting problems of our locals and who will be concerned with what our members think and need."

This statement obviously is aimed at Schrade's "outside preoccupations" with forming coalitions with liberal-academic, popular-front type conferences, as well as his preoccupations with middle-class protest politics, to

the detriment of auto and aerospace workers in light of the recent Pay Board reversal of aerospace contracts.

Leading this fight is Virgil Collins, Financial Secretary of South Gate GMAD Local 216 who was elected as Temporary Chairman of Concerned Members Caucus and Hank Lacayo, President of the huge Amalgamated Aerospace (North American Aviation) Local 887 in Los Angeles, elected as Temporary Secretary of this caucus formation.

As a reflection of the rank and file anger over the recent aerospace pay rollback, Lacayo has successfully pulled Schrade's home base local out from under him and has thus far committed a total 887 delegate voting strength to assuring Schrade's downfall.

DUNN

Emerging as this caucus' contender for Schrade's job is Harold Dunn, Service Representative, who attempts to represent and reflect the mounting

anger over the government Pay Board interference, plant closures, job elimination and speed-up, and lack of democratic control over our union.

30 FOR 40

Dunn has stated his support for the referendum, one man one vote, for all top officers of the International including Regional Directors and Service Representatives, rollback of all dues increases, fight against government pay boards and a total commitment of all of the union's resources for an all-out fight to win a four day work week at five days pay.

ANGRY

Local UAW officers on the West Coast are angry at Woodcock over the promises that he made to all the locals here, before the GM strike, "that absolutely no local would go back to work until every local had resolved its local issues and problems." The locals out here refuse to forget this.

Woodcock is guilty of bold-face lying and betraying these locals.

Davis Trial . . .

slowly pulling away from his skull."

Thomas says he then took a gun from Jackson's hand, shot Jackson, then McClain, then turned towards the end of the van, shooting at Christmas and finally at Magee.

He yelled out please stop firing to the guards surrounding the van, then his legs gave out and he crumpled down. The guards have denied charges that they are responsible for the deaths and injuries which took place.

DEFENSE

During the cross-examination, the defense attempted to show that, with the exception of shots fired by Thomas, all shots came from outside. This testimony bears directly on the case pending against Ruchell Magee, who is waiting trial for the murder of Judge Haley.

The coverage in the bourgeois press has frequently been to carry reports only of the direct testimony and none of the cross-examination. However the San Jose Mercury stated: "Thomas was no help to a state charge that the escape attempt was motivated by Miss Davis' "passionate" desire to free the Soledad Brothers."

The inconsistencies and contradictions between the state's own witnesses reveal the bankruptcy of the prosecution's case against Angela Davis.

The pusher turned out to be a Federal Narcotics agent, Robert Canales, and when Los Tres unknowingly confronted this agent provocateur, he drew his pistol and they dropped him in self-defense.

During the following court proceedings, the law was utilized by the state to destroy the lives of Los Tres.

A recent motion to set bail on appeal has been denied for Juan Fernandez

has increased as unemployment has risen. One third of the youth in East Los Angeles and two-thirds of the youth in Watts are jobless.

La Casa's members have been branded by legal authorities as "communists that are trying to get the kids to become revolutionaries against America." They have been beaten and harassed.

One incident surrounded the attempt of Los Tres to run an admitted pusher out of the Barrio.

West Coast News

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



Angela Davis enters courthouse last week in frame-up trial.

Davis Trial Exposes How Judge Died

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

During the first week of testimony in the Angela Davis trial, the prosecution brought seventeen of his intended 104 witnesses to the stand. The witnesses included those who were taken hostage as well as persons in the corridor as the hostages were being led out of the courtroom.

Judge Harold Haley, also a hostage, was killed in the shootout which followed, along with Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas and James McClain.

Angela Davis is charged with planning the escape attempt, providing the guns and ammunition and with the murder of Judge Haley. Absolutely nothing has been produced to link Angela to the escape attempt.

Central to the prosecution's case is the alleged existence of a plot, that Jonathan, George Jackson's younger brother and the other prisoners communicated their intentions to exchange the five hostages for the Soledad Brothers at 12 noon.

The only witness to hold up under cross-examination was James Kean, a photographer with the San Raphael Independent Journal. Besides being a close personal friend of Judge Haley, Kean had been scabbing on the strike of the International Typographical Union at the time of these events.

He testified that McClain told him to take all the pictures he wanted, for "we are the revolutionaries."

It is the contention of the defense that before leaving the

corridor, the inmates as a parting gesture may have shouted the slogan "Free the Soledad Brothers and All Political Prisoners" as one would say "Free Angela."

On Wednesday, the state called its key witness, Marin County Assistant District Attorney, Gary Thomas, who was also a hostage. Thomas was wounded in the shootout in the van which resulted in his being paralyzed from the waist down.

EVENTS

Thomas related a step-by-step account of all the events on August 7 in an extremely calm, detached manner.

He is the only witness to give testimony on the events which took place inside the van. Thomas' version was that the van went only a few feet when it stopped suddenly. He then saw Jackson, who had a revolver in his hand, put his hand out the window. "I heard a few shots. I don't know where they were fired from, but they did not come from inside the van. When Jackson pulled his hand back, it had blood on it. I turned and looked at Judge Haley. I saw his face and he was alive. An instant later, I saw the right side of his face

(Continued On Page 19)

Shippers Press New Job Attacks

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

An extremely explosive situation is building up on the docks here. In effect, since the ILWU has refused to accept the wage cut decision of the Pay Board, longshoremen are working without a contract.

While many "A" men are getting only four days of work a week, "B" men are scrambling to get in a single day. All negotiations with the PMA are at a standstill and the employers are going all out to beat down conditions even further.

PROMOTIONS

They are insisting on the right to call for "steady men" by name and are refusing to even discuss the question of promotions with the union, insisting that this is a management prerogative.

The PMA is determined to use every hesitation and retreat by the leadership to beat down conditions even further. So far Bridges refuses to even cancel the contract which is the ILWU's right under conditions in which the agreement has not been approved by the Pay Board.

LASH

Longshoremen are only getting a hint of what is to come. The completion of a new LASH terminal and the introduction of a fleet of six LASH vessels by Pacific Far East Line will increase the unemployment and the drive of the employers for "steady men."

Mass unemployment and the destruction of the hiring hall and working conditions, all backed up by a government ban on strikes, is what is being prepared now.

The leadership is trying to give the impression that these developments can be fought on a local level. In deed the Local 10 Bulletin, written by Stalinist Archie Brown, suggests the possibility of the local taking action on the question of "steady men" and promotions.

GENERAL STRIKE

Meanwhile Brown urges the ranks to stand by until Bridges proposes some action. However, Brown puts his finger on the real question when he states that the Butchers and the Chemical Workers Union called for a general strike against the Pay Board. "Perhaps this is what it will take to straighten out the mess."

Brown knows very well that this is precisely what it will take but he refuses to fight for it seriously.

It is the most dangerous nonsense to speak about solving any question on a local level when the government is moving to impose a stranglehold on the union.

Brown is simply playing Bridges' game of stringing along the ranks and stalling for time to sellout. It is criminal to propose waiting for the ILA settlement to be processed by the Board. This

only gives Gleason more time to hold back the ranks in the hope that his settlement will be passed.

Only a strike can reverse the wage cut. The ILWU ranks must force Bridges to cancel the contract and shut down the West Coast. The only way to force the solidarity action of the labor

movement is to take action now to bring it about.

- Shut down the West Coast for full wage settlement!

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Press Tries To Link Angela To Carr Killing

BY BARRY GREY

SAN JOSE—Last week Jimmy Carr, a close friend and former cell-mate of George Jackson, was gunned down outside his home in San Jose. Carr, a leader along with Jackson of militant prisoners, became involved in the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee after his release.

The police and the bourgeois media are whipping up a witchhunt atmosphere around Carr's slaying. In one way or another they are implicating virtually every Black militant, from Bobby Seale and Huey Newton to Angela Davis.

Clearly they are laying the groundwork for a legal lynching of militants, while they feed the fears and insecurities of the middle classes in order to create a fascist, law and order hysteria.

On the flimsiest of evidence, the police and the media have constructed a lurid story of gangland violence within the revolutionary movement. The San Jose Mercury has openly called Carr's murder a "hired job."

It reports that he was reputed to have been Huey Newton's bodyguard, that he was cited by an informant as the executioner of Panther Captain Fred Bennett, and that he was in on the planning for the Marin County Courthouse escape attempt.

The sources for these alle-

gations are unnamed, and there is absolutely no evidence put forward, other than a letter supposedly found in one of Carr's pockets the week following Jackson's murder which discussed a possible escape route for Jackson.

The allegation that Carr helped plot the May 7 Marin escape is particularly vicious because it gives support to the crumbling prosecution case against Angela Davis. The prosecution must prove that there was a plot in order to establish a legal basis for its conspiracy charges, and so far its evidence has been exposed as completely fraudulent.

The Los Angeles Times even went so far as to allege that Carr was murdered for stealing funds from the Angela Davis Defense Fund, thus implying that someone connected with Angela's defense was responsible for his death.

Two suspects have been taken into custody: La Marr Lloyd Mims and Richard Rodriguez. Rodriguez at one time was with the Panthers.

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