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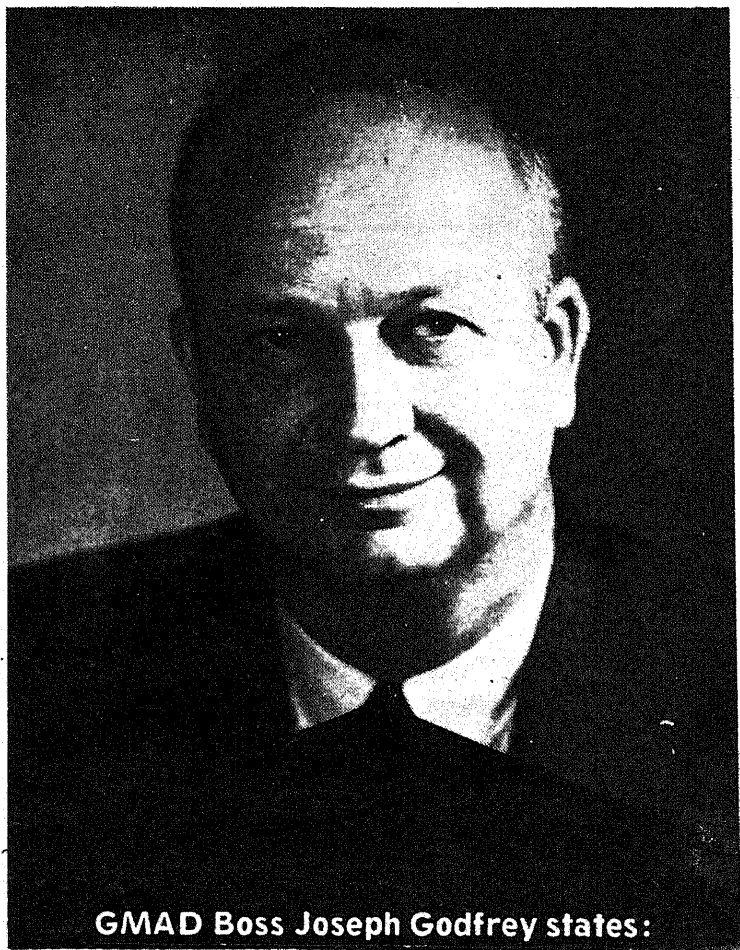
weekly organ of the workers league

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103

FIFT



GMAD Boss Joseph Godfrey states:

GM BOSS Boasts Plan To Smash Auto Union

"I am not pessimistic. . . some people are unsuited for assembly work, and they should get out. . . they complain, and yet if we closed Lordstown and then re-opened it we would get 50,000 applications. . . Workers aren't

motivated anymore. . . all these high benefit plans take desire away. . . It was political fighting with this shop committee that was behind the fight at Lordstown. . ."

See story on Page 3

Only Labor Party Can Stop

Wallace: The Savior Of Big Business

Bulletin reporters David North and Bruce McKay recently travelled to Alabama, the state which George Wallace has governed for eight of the last 10 years. The following article is the second of a series on where Wallace really stands.

No politician who depends upon the money of forces that are at war with the trade unions can speak in the interests of the working class. The labor movement cannot expect to be defended by a politician on the payroll of its enemies. Trade unions cannot survive if they share a candidate with the corporations that are out to destroy them.

Just as workers expect their union leadership to represent only the rank-and-file and to be independent of the employers, they must now demand a political leadership that is completely controlled by the working class, that owes nothing to anyone but workers, and that is rooted in the struggle of the trade unions against

unemployment, the Pay Board, and all the attacks on the fundamental rights of the working class. This type of leadership can be established only through a break with the political parties of big business—the Demo-

crats and Republicans—and the establishment of a labor party based on the trade unions.

The urgent need for the development of a labor party is posed by the growth of the George Wallace movement, which is financed by the most

bitter and vicious labor-hating industrialists and bankers in this country. Hiding behind the pseudo-populist demagoguery of Wallace are men who have hired armies of scabs, murdered workers on picket lines, and closed down plants rather than recognize unions.

These men are using Wallace to disorient the working class while they prepare the attack. They are taking advantage of the bankruptcy of the trade union bureaucracy, which refuses to present the labor party as an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

Wallace's claim to represent "the little man" is nothing but the smokescreen which big business uses while it sharpens its knives.



INSIDE The Trial of Angela Davis

Page 9

4 page article on the meaning of the trial

Hanoi Accuses Moscow Of Sacrificing Vietnam

BY MELODY FARROW

The government of North Vietnam has launched a blistering attack on the attempt of the Soviet bureaucracy to reach a deal with the head of U.S. imperialism at the expense of the revolutionary struggles of the world working class.

While Brezhnev and Kosygin were toasting the murderer of millions of Vietnamese workers and peasants as a man of "peace," the North Vietnamese paper, *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, denounced Nixon as a "blood-thirsty monster," an "international criminal" and a "sinister plotter."

Branding the Moscow trip as a "maneuver of division and duplicity," the newspaper attacked the Kremlin policy of peaceful co-existence and stated:

"Vietnam is the scene of the bitterest and most violent struggle of our times between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces, between the U.S. imperialists—the no. 1 enemy of mankind—and the Vietnamese people, the assault soldiers in the front line of the anti-imperialist front.

"The timely denunciation and resolute smashing of this counter-attack by the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam is the best and most correct way to defend world peace at present and in the future."

ATTACK

In a direct attack on the Soviet leaders the article continued:

"Communists always consider the revolution of each nation as an inseparable part of the world revolution. They never set national interests against the interests of the world revolution."

This is precisely what the Soviet bureaucracy is seeking to do. It is crystal clear that the Moscow trip was undertaken in arrogant violation of the will of the Vietnamese people and of the North Vietnamese government.

The Soviet bureaucracy is fully prepared to sacrifice the liberation struggle in Vietnam in exchange for security and trade agreements with imperialism that will strengthen its own position and privileges.

Above all, the Soviet Union has absolutely no power to halt the sweeping offensive of the revolutionary troops in South Vietnam. It is this offensive which has

forced an open split within the Stalinist bureaucracies.

PAYING

The North Vietnamese people are paying for this peaceful co-existence with their blood. As the paper *Nhan Dan* warned: "A few signs of weakness and softness would encourage the aggressiveness of the pirates."

In fact, almost simultaneously with Nixon's arrival in Moscow, American bombing raids were intensified to a new height. Brezhnev's mild rebuke over the bombing and mining, and his desire, no matter what, to preserve the Moscow talks has given Nixon the green light to destroy every inch of North Vietnamese territory.

Just two days before Nixon arrived, a massive bomb attack was launched against villages, schools, farms and dikes, killing many civilians. There are now at least 250 bombing runs a day.

After causing tremendous damage to North Vietnam's rail lines and bridges, the raids have been extended to include power plants and other industrial installations.

GEAR

Hanoi is being completely evacuated as the North Vietnamese gear for what may be a new vicious assault on civilian areas.

The Soviet bureaucracy has done everything to bury news of Vietnam and is playing the dangerous role of obscuring Nixon's real aims.

While Nixon sends his troops to crush the working class in every part of the globe, he piously remarks in Moscow:

"Looking towards the future, I reaffirm the commitment of America: The United States is ready to work in close contact with all nations to establish a peaceful world in which each nation will determine its own destiny."

From the beginning, the Russian workers have been openly hostile to Nixon's visit. In meetings held prior to his arrival, workers demanded to know why the Soviet leadership was "helping Nixon win the elec-

tion."

Again and again, Russian workers posed the question of Vietnam. During a scuffle with the police along the route of Nixon's motorcade from the airport one worker angrily demanded:

"Why all this fuss about Nixon? For Vietnam, he should be hanged at the corner lamppost and you try to put everyone in order."

This bitter hostility to Nixon and the Soviet bureaucracy broke through the surface at a ballet performance attended by Nixon and his wife.

As the ballet was ending, the wife of an Italian Communist Party member, expressing the sentiments of thousands of Russian workers, shouted: "Get out of Vietnam!" The Soviet police quickly hustled her out of the theater.

The visit is not simply a diplomatic maneuver or a gimmick to win the election, but a key part of Nixon's counter-revolutionary strategy.

Faced with a deepening economic crisis, Nixon seeks to use the Stalinists to hold back the working class from taking power. He seeks trade agreements that will provide outlets for American capital within Russia and hopes to use this as a base to destroy all the gains of the Russian Revolution.

DEAL

He desperately seeks a deal in Vietnam, not only to maintain the interests of imperialism in Indochina but to free his hands in order to launch a full-fledged attack on the American working class.

The deeper the crisis becomes and the greater the capitulation of the Stalinists, the more Nixon will sharpen his knives for all-out war against the Soviet Union and China.

The agreement on limitation of nuclear arms is a cynical and fraudulent cover for these plans. The real counter-revolutionary agreements being worked out in Moscow are being kept out of the press.

The Vietnamese people have

(Continued On Page 18)



British Prime Minister Heath smirks after speaking to crowd of Tory women about his plans to attack the working class.

SLL Calls For Councils Of Action For General Strike

BY MELODY FARROW

British Prime Minister Edward Heath is turning the statement he made to the United Nations in 1970 that this will be a period of "civil war" into a reality.

Heath and the Tory government are stepping up their plans to force a showdown with British workers as strike action on the docks and in rail becomes inevitable.

The results of the rail ballot, due May 29th, is certain to be an overwhelming Yes vote in favor of further industrial action for a higher wage. The compulsory ballot followed the expiration of a 14 day cooling off period.

DOCKERS

On June 2nd, dockers are pledged to close down the ports to resolve the question of container handling and other demands.

The attempt of the National Industrial Relations Court to force the leaders of the Transport and General Workers Union to halt the container boycott has been smashed by the rank and file dockers.

In the ports of Hull, Liverpool, Manchester and Preston, union officials pleaded in vain with workers to call off the boycott and obey the dictates of the Tory court. Led by militant shop stewards, whose authority and

rights are under attack by the court, thousands of dockers voted to defy the court orders and reaffirmed their June 2nd strike deadline.

RECALL

Forty four delegates at the annual conference of the railroad engineers union adopted a motion to recall the Trade Unions Congress to prepare a fight against the government "involving all forms of political and industrial action."

One hundred delegates of the Liverpool Trades Council also called for a recall of the TUC and added a special motion to set up a Council of Action "to organize an immediate response to government action against the dockers and to unite the whole of Merseyside in struggle against the Tory government."

Heath and the employers have arrogantly refused to even discuss the issues with the workers and have chosen instead to consciously provoke the working class into a general strike. The Tories have wielded the National Industrial Relations Bill in

(Continued On Page 18)

Canadian Unionists Call For NDP Government

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL—The Canadian Labor Congress held its ninth Constitutional Convention in Ottawa last weekend. One thousand eight hundred delegates attended, representing 1.7 million workers across the country.

The convention met in the midst of the crisis in Quebec following the passing of Bill 19 to ban the Common Front strike and the jailing of the three Quebec trade union leaders.

At the opening of the convention, an emergency resolution was unanimously passed condemning the actions of the Quebec government and demanding the repeal of Bill 19 and the release of the trade union leaders.

But the CLC leadership limited the effect of the resolution by offering to act as "mediators" between the government and the

unions in Quebec. This reactionary proposal was opposed by large sections of the delegates from every part of the country who demanded concrete action to support the Quebec workers.

BARRAGE

Delegates from other provinces, in outlining the barrage of anti-union laws they face, stated that if the Quebec government could get away with these attacks, no union in the country was safe.

John Clout of the UAW in St. Catherine's, Ontario stated: "Passing resolutions is not

enough and what we should do is tell the Quebec government that if Bill 19 isn't replaced and amnesty given to all the jailed trade unionists then we should close every plant, mine and mill in the country."

The resolution submitted to the convention by Vancouver Local 452 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was extremely significant. It called on the CLC to fight in the next federal elections to throw the Liberals out and to replace them with a New Democratic Party (the labor party of Canada) government.

The resolution cited the attacks launched by the Trudeau government against the working class and noted in particular that the government had "de-

liberately created mass unemployment to counter inflation."

CAMPAIGN

Many of the delegates wanted this resolution passed and an all-out campaign planned for the next election to force the Liberals out and bring the NDP to power.

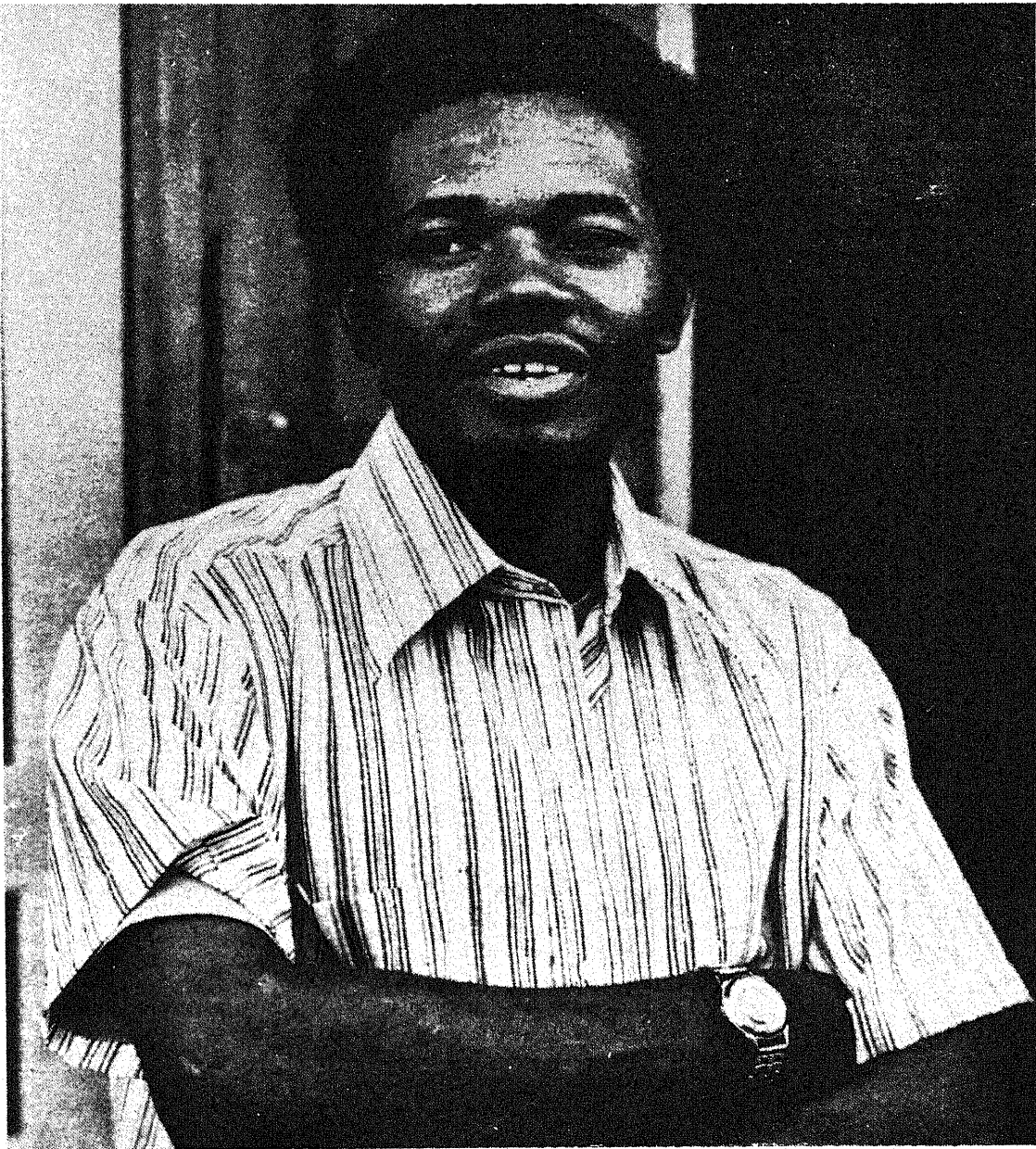
But the CLC leadership which officially supports the NDP, refused to bring the resolution up for discussion at the convention.

CLC President Donald MacDonald, in his address to the convention, pointed out the "vicious and deliberate" nature of the attacks that workers have faced from this government, but for him the solution did not lie in fighting to bring the NDP to power.

On the second to last day of the convention, David Lewis, federal NDP leader, addressed the congress. He suggested that the way the unions should counter this and establish "better industrial relations" was to abandon "extravagant demands" at the start of negotiations.

Lewis' remarks came in the midst of a campaign by the NDP leaders to witch-hunt militants in the NDP especially in the Waffle caucus in preparation for the coming federal elections.

Those delegates who posed the fight to bring the NDP to power show the way forward to defeat the attacks and defend the unions. But this means a fight against MacDonald and Lewis and against the right wing inside the trade unions and the NDP.



Rank and file caucus leader Nat Mosley at St. Louis GMAD plant won election to district committee.

Rank-And-File Leader Wins Vote In St. Louis UAW Election

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—Nat Mosley, Chairman of the UAW Local 25 Rank and File Caucus, defeated two opponents in the election held last week for District Committeeman.

Mosley ran for Committeeman in Departments Six and Seven night shift in the Corvette plant. He received 43 votes. The other two candidates received 38 and 20. Throughout the plant there were numerous upsets as many incumbents were defeated. There was a record turn-out at the elections reflecting the deep dissatisfaction of the ranks in this GMAD plant.

Mosley, running on the program of the Rank and File Caucus, centered the fight against the Woodcock leadership and a program for the 1973 national and local contract. The program raised demands for an end to unemployment through the 35 hour work week at 40 hours pay; retirement after 25 years of service regardless of age with \$750 a month pension and that January 15th, the birthdate of Dr. Martin Luther King be made a national holiday for all UAW members, Black and white.

Last year Mosley was fired from the plant when he led a wildcat called by the Black Caucus. He was reinstated in March of this year. He is the only worker who led a wildcat to ever be elected to a union position in the history of the plant.

RED-BAITING

The local leadership did everything it could to prevent Mosley from winning the election. They

started a red-baiting campaign and tried to discredit him as a "wildcatter" and a "Black racist."

Despite this, Mosley received an overwhelming vote from both Black and white workers. The workers in this plant are faced with increasing attacks under GMAD. Line speed-ups and layoffs have led to an increasing number of grievances.

These grievances have been piling up and have been swept under the rug by the present union leadership. Rank and file members are now turning to the Rank and File Caucus.

FIGHT

After the election members of the caucus told the *Bulletin*:

"We know that Nat on his own will not even have a say in the 1973 contract. We have to extend the fight throughout the plant, to win support for these demands. This means the building of a rank-and-file caucus. It even has to go further than that, it has to go national to do any good.

"We've got to get rid of Woodcock. Woodcock has not even issued one statement on GMAD, which is the most important issue facing auto workers today. Also he collaborated with the Pay Board for so long.

"The government is controlling the wages of workers through the Pay Board, while the companies are making huge profits. The bureaucrats are allowing this. The unions will only regain their bargaining power when they break from all ties to

the government, and this means from the two parties of the bosses.

"This is going to require a new leadership. A lot of workers are no longer willing to identify with the Democrats or the Republicans. Now, with the elections coming up, it is the best time to push for the building of a labor party."

UAW Isolates Norwood Ranks

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NORWOOD, Ohio, May 28—With the strike at the General Motors plant here entering its eighth week, no negotiations are taking place.

One picket stated that: "The International Representatives went back to Detroit last Tuesday May 23 and negotiations won't begin again until next week."

Another worker said: "They (the company) say they don't have to negotiate. Negotiations are getting nowhere. It looks like we'll be here till December."

INTERNATIONAL

The workers picketing the plant, united in their hatred of the company, are expressing increasing disillusionment with the International and the local leadership. The failure of the leadership to force the issue of a general shutdown of all the General Motors plants at the Convention has left the Norwood local out by itself without support.

When asked for his reaction to

GMAD Boss Boasts Plan To Smash Auto Union

BY JOHN WERNER

DAYTON, OHIO—James Good, Dayton Daily News Economic Editor and chief talker for the Dayton Frigidaire wage cut-speed-up plan, got together in Detroit with GMAD's boss Godfrey. It should be noted that Godfrey got his start as a boss here in Dayton at Frigidaire in the 30's.

Godfrey told Good:

"You people in Dayton know what can happen. Look what nearly happened at Frigidaire." (Frigidaire used the blackmail threat of plant removal to scare the IUE International and local leaders into surrender.) "I am not pessimistic." (General Motors' profits were the highest in history last quarter!) "I think we can solve our problems, but if we don't the auto industry may not be too far away from being a Frigidaire itself."

Godfrey told Good:

"If a man works 60 minutes an hour, that's full productivity. Youth isn't necessarily the problem, although we do know a little less about the long-hairs. Sure, some people are unsuited for assembly work, and they should get out. They know what they're getting into. They complain, and yet if we closed Lordstown and then re-opened it we would get 50,000 applications."

FRINGE

Godfrey while openly casting fond eyes on the so-called Frigidaire solution of contract-busting wage cuts, also has his eyes on destroying all the fringe benefits, gains the workers in auto have made through the years, stating:

"Workers aren't motivated anymore. There are pensions and subsistence pay insurance, workmen's compensation, all these high benefit plans take desire away."

Thus Godfrey has clearly stated General Motors' goal to

smash all the fringe benefits of the General Motors workers and reduce them to the level before the great sit-down strikes of the 1920's.

CHEATED

GM's record of blocking all supplementary unemployment benefit pay for five years now can be seen in a new light. Norwood workers and all GM workers have been cheated out of this money consistently for years, even though it is part of their contract.

Godfrey views the smashing of all these minimal fringe benefits as essential to terrorizing the workers into accepting all-out speed-up. The withholding of the SUB benefits has been an important weapon in General Motors' "starve or surrender" policy.

POLITICAL

GM's Godfrey sees the resistance of Lordstown workers and their union as resistance to the state, stating:

"It was political fighting with this shop committee that was behind the fight at Lordstown."

General Motors, reacting to the collapse of the post-war monetary system, clearly poses to the auto workers the need to break from pure trade unionism and to build an openly political movement for state power, a labor party to smash General Motors' plans for destruction of the United Auto Workers.

the UAW Convention, a picket said: "It looks like they didn't do anything. Only four plants said they would support us. Willow Run said: 'They're gonna run,' but they settled without a strike."

BITTER

Several workers said that they should have gone out at the same time that Lordstown did. One group of workers were especially bitter against the union leadership, pointing out that: "We should have struck in February when we started making the Chevy Two's before the company had a surplus."

One worker in this group said: "Norwood is the fall patsy for the other General Motors locals. This is where the company can show that they can close the plant down and not hurt, as an example to the other locals."

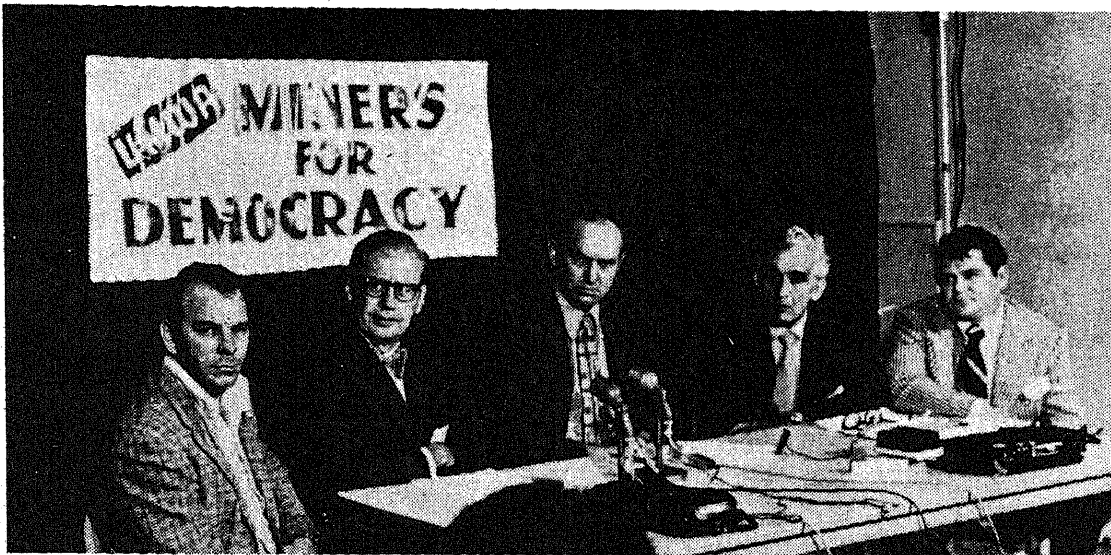
This arrogant attitude is now sharply expressed in the statements of GMAD head man, Joseph Godfrey.

Most of the workers summarized the situation by stating that: "We'll be back in the plant about July 4th with some of the demands settled. Then a few weeks later when the re-tooling starts we'll be laid off again."

A couple of the workers stated that: "When the changeover starts in September, the contract won't be any good because they'll change the jobs."

At the same time, most of the workers still show that they are looking for the kind of fight that can win them all their demands and are willing to fight to the end to win.

The most urgent need is to take this fight now into the UAW to shut down all of GM, beginning with those plants such as St. Louis GMAD which have approved strike deadlines.



MFD leaders speak at press conference during convention. 2nd from left, Joseph Rauh. Center, Convention Chairman Carl Caffon. Second from right, rank and file leader Mike Trbovich.

Crisis Erupts Inside Rebel Miners Meeting

BY DAN FRIED

WHEELING, W. Va., May 27—More than 450 registered delegates, members of the United Mine Workers Union, gathered here this weekend, in a convention called by the Miners for Democracy.

The central demand of the MFD is for the re-establishment of district autonomy under which all the district officers would be elected directly, rather than appointed by the International as is the current practice in most districts.

Joseph P. Yablonski, the founder of the MFD, was murdered together with his wife and daughter, allegedly by henchmen of UMW President Tony Boyle after he had launched this fight for autonomy and for a "Miner's Bill of Rights."

The aim of the convention, which brought together working miners from all the major coal mining areas, was to prepare a platform and select a slate of three candidates for the top offices of the International in a federal court ordered election, which will probably be held in December.

In the only contest for selection of nominees for the post of president, Arnold Miller, chairman of the West Virginia Black Lung Association, defeated Mike Trbovich of Clarksville, Pa. by a vote of 79.9 to 57.1.

Trbovich, formerly considered the front runner, was Yablonski's campaign manager in 1970 and perhaps his closest confidante. The election of Miller, who is not identified with the Yablonski group but has a longer history of independent opposition to Boyle, reflects the underlying distrust by wide sections of the rank and file of Yablonski and his group as simply another bureaucracy to replace Boyle.

The movement of the UMW rank and file against the Boyle bureaucracy now threatens to wipe out all bureaucratic control of the union in preparation for a political fight against the coal operators and their government lackeys.

It was the fear of such a rank and file movement which will pose the question of the defeat of the Pay Board, of the formation of a labor party and the nationalization of the mines, that was behind the expulsion of Bulletin salesmen and a Bulletin reporter from the convention grounds.

The expulsion, supported by the top MFD leaders including Trbovich, was carried out after a successful sale of the Bulletin and a great interest in the paper

had been expressed by the delegates at the convention.

SUPPORT

The basis for the widespread support among rank and file miners for the MFD is because they see the issue of democracy and corruption in the union as part of the struggle to stop sellout contracts, provide for mine safety, and establish better working conditions and retirement benefits.

This was expressed in discussions with miners from Mingo County after last month's MFD conference in Charleston, West Virginia. One of the miners who attended that conference told the

(Continued on Page 18)

Budget Crisis Threatens City Labor

BY KAREN FRANKEL

NEW YORK—In the face of a \$24 million deficit in the City budget, Mayor Lindsay is reviving plans for payless furloughs for City workers as well as program cuts aimed at laying off sections of civil service employees.

The need for cuts was announced after the Board of Estimate voted against raising

water rates.

Lindsay is pointing his knife at what he considers the weakest link in the chain of civil service unions. The Social Service Employees Union is in a dangerous position for two reasons: one is the newly elected right-wing union leadership headed by Bart Cohen, and the second is the weakening of the power of a section of the membership due to its loss of job function. Since the reorganization of the Department of Social Services and the replacement of high-paid caseworkers by clerical personnel, the caseworkers have become virtually superfluous.

CRISIS

This crisis was reflected in the first meeting called by the union leadership since its election. Cohen made it clear in his report to the membership at the meeting that he was going to continue on his capitulatory course with the City.

He had put up no fight when the City demoted a whole section of provisional caseworkers to clerical positions, and he stated his intention to allow the City to move excess social service staff wherever it wanted.

The Committee for a New Leadership led the fight against Cohen's retreat before the City.



Bart Cohen

A motion calling for non-cooperation with the movement of staff until the City's plans are fully negotiated and voted on by the ranks was passed overwhelmingly, as well as a motion calling for the rescinding of the position taken regarding the provisional caseworkers.

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IUE Militants Seek United Action

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON, OHIO, May 21—At the regular monthly meeting of International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 801 at Frigidaire held here today, the local leadership gave a report on the recent meeting of the IUE General Motors Conference Board.

This Board consists of local presidents and shop committee chairmen of all the IUE locals that have contracts with General Motors.

The main point of the report was to support a request that whenever any sister local went out on strike, the union dues of the other locals could be increased for the duration of that strike in order to support them.

The point was raised on the floor that there had been no bulletin posted prior to the meeting that a vote was to be taken on this issue. This is required by the local constitution.

Local 801 President Arnold Thompson replied that it was not a real vote, just a recommendation and that if the International Executive Board approved it, it would then be sent back to the locals for ratification.

In the discussion, the recommendation was opposed by militants in the local. District committeeman Tom Miller

posed the question: "Would it not be far more effective for the IUE to take out all their locals in support of the strike rather than give monetary support to an isolated strike?"

There was a long delay in answering. Thompson finally replied, attempting to twist and distort the point, claiming that this would mean a long drawn out strike of the entire IUE. But the point that Thompson could not answer was that if a single GM (IUE) local such as Frigidaire were to strike, then all IUE-GM locals should strike, because they are all faced with the same attacks. The fight to bring the GM auto workers (UAW) out in support could then be taken up.

The motion carried only by 4 votes, even though supported by the leadership.

Following the meeting, a discussion around this point took place. In reply to a statement by another committeeman that such a policy "would be against the

law of the land," Miller and a group of younger workers pointed out that the labor movement itself was built in a direct conflict with "the law of the land," and that "the laws of the land were designed and made for and by the rich and designed to curtail the movement of the workers."

The supporter of "the law of the land" was asked whether any of the delegates to the IUE national convention, to be held at the end of June, would raise the need for breaking with the Democratic and Republican parties and forming a labor party, at the convention. There was no reply.

The International Executive Board is expected to approve the dues increase motion which will be sent back to the locals for ratification. Local 801 militants are now preparing to defeat it and to take up the fight for the IUE to support the formation of a labor party.

Where Wallace Really Stands

(Continued From Page 1)

In those areas where poverty is most severe, one finds the greatest number of politicians claiming to be the best friends the working man ever had. This is certainly the law in Alabama, where there is a greater concentration of poor people and underpaid workers than almost anywhere else in the United States.

Former Governor James E. "Big Jim" Folsom taught a generation of Alabama politicians the wisdom of aiming public speeches at the working class population; and George Wallace was among his pupils. But this pupil soon surpassed his teacher.

Not long after winning a seat in the Alabama legislature in 1948, Wallace delivered an emotional address on the evils of the sales tax. It was, he declared, an unfair burden on the working man. As we pointed out in last week's *Bulletin*, George Wallace has imposed a greater assortment of sales taxes on the working people than any other governor in Alabama history.

Speeches don't mean very much in Alabama—or for that matter, in any other part of the United States. But George Wallace took the art of public lying to a new plateau.

His claim to represent the interests of workers contradicts all the facts of his political career. One of the reasons why it became so important for Wallace to portray himself as the "friend of the little man" was because his record was so openly pro-big business.

WALLACE ACT

There is a bill in Alabama known as the Wallace Act. It became law in 1950. George Wallace is very proud of it. What it does is allow a corporation to enter Alabama and set up shop without paying a cent. Under Wallace's bill Alabama posts bond in order to finance the plant and all the equipment it needs. The corporation is required only to repay its lease on very favorable and lengthy terms.

This law could not have been thought up by a man who is determined to end special privileges. The Wallace Act was the product of a man devoted to the corporations and the men who own them.

Naturally, Wallace tries to conceal this. But behind the closed doors of the State House or when speaking as the guest of honor at a banquet sponsored by industrialists, Wallace says what is really on his mind:

"Private property and the free enterprise system are under attack by the liberal-socialist-communist crowd.

"It's not the business of government to tell a businessman how to run his business.

"Our attitude on industry is best gauged by our recognition that profits are the key to continued industrial growth. We are dedicated to and believe in the free-enterprise system. Alabamians want state industries to operate profitably."

Are these the statements of a man really concerned with the needs of the working class? On the causes of inflation, Wallace blames the unions and the workers:

"If a wage increase is given and the production does not increase commensurate with the wage increase, you have inflation."

When it comes down to the essential economic issues, Wallace stands with Nixon, Humphrey, McGovern and all the bankers and big corporations who control the Democrats and the Republicans. He goes along with the lie that workers cause inflation by not earning their wage increases. No less than Nixon, George Wallace believes that the solution to the economic crisis is to be found in wage freezes, speed-up and unemployment. George Wallace did not win the votes of Michigan auto workers by admitting that he intends to punish them for inflation. In his demagogic speeches, he did not have one word to say about Alabama's low wages, high sales tax, low property tax, or the state's "right-to-work" law.

CONVINCED

But his positions on these issues are well-known to the wealthy bankers and industrialists of Alabama. In the course of his long political career, Wallace has convinced them that he can be trusted to resist the struggle of workers to improve their standards of living. There are many rich men in the South (and a growing number in the rest of the country) who would like to help Wallace in order to help themselves.

The campaigns of George Wallace are well-financed affairs. In 1968, running as a third party candidate, Wallace raised close to seven million dollars, perhaps even more. It is true that he does receive a large amount of money in small contributions. But the backbone of his drive for power are the large donations that only the rich can afford.

Not all of Wallace's big supporters contribute openly. It is extremely difficult to get the names of those backing him this year. Wallace is making an effort to cover up the openly racist and reactionary character of his campaign, and therefore the rich Wallaceites are writing checks less ostentatiously than they did in 1968.

RIGHT-WING

But by going over the 1968 supporters as well as the information available about his 1970



Nixon visited Wallace in Alabama in 1971 (above). Shortly after that, Internal Revenue Service dropped a case against Wallace's brother and Wallace decided to run as a Democrat instead of as an independent.

and 1972 campaigns, one can see more clearly the anti-labor and right-wing forces that are gathered around Wallace. Prominent among his supporters are men who have closed down plants to prevent unionization or have slashed wages.

Earl Goodwin, who supervised Wallace's national fund raising in 1968, is vice-president of the Bush Hog Manufacturing Company in Selma. The firm refused to bargain with a local of the United Steelworkers. Commenting on Wallace's close ties with Goodwin, Steelworkers President I.W. Abel stated: "Mr. Wallace likes to talk about law and order yet here is a case of a top Wallace lieutenant not only ignoring the law but provoking violence by recruiting strike-breakers."

One of the biggest contributors to the Wallace movement is the arch-reactionary billionaire, H.L. Hunt. He donated a large amount of money in 1968, and a Wallace aide reported that Hunt handed the candidate \$300,000 in Dallas last year. It is reported—though unconfirmed—that Hunt's son recently gave \$15,000.

In 1965, Hunt closed an oil plant down after his employees voted to affiliate with the Teamsters. Several months later, he reopened the plant but without 65 workers who had been involved in the union drive. The National Labor Relations Board examiner investigated the case and found that Hunt "feigned a permanent closing...as a device to get rid of the union and its supporters."

BRUTAL

Financier Edward Ball, the head of the two billion dollar DuPont Estate banking-industrial empire, created the "Committee For Integrity In Government" in order to back Wallace. Ball is among the most brutal labor-haters alive in the world. He owns the Talisman Sugar Co., where workers have been reduced to slavery and work beneath rifle-bearing taskmasters.

The chairman of the Committee, Claude Tomkins, stated in 1968: "We're pretty solid for Wallace. We figure he's our only hope." What Ball is hoping for is the destruction of the trade union movement. He ran the Florida

East Coast Railway for years as a scab operation rather than settle with striking railroad employees.

After the 1968 campaign, Wallace recognized the potential which existed for collecting huge sums from bankers and industrialists; and greater effort has been made to tap these sources. \$1000-a-plate dinners have been organized regularly to fuel Wallace with all the money he needs. For those who cannot afford a cool grand, there are private receptions that cost only \$500.

During his gubernatorial campaign in 1970, Wallace let it be known that he would be granting special favors to those who attended the fancy and expensive dinners. "One banker was so overjoyed at the prospect," reported an Alabama newspaper, "he is sending five persons—each with \$1000."

OVERFLOWING

This year, the Wallace campaign chest is overflowing with money. And a large part of that money has been collected at quiet luncheons like one held in Birmingham last February. Thirty five to 40 guests met with Wallace and paid \$1000 to \$2000 each for the sirloin steak they were served.

But they bought more than steak for their money. What type of promises does Wallace make to these union-busters at these luxurious banquets? It is not likely that he tells them that he will "end tax-loopholes" and make them "pay their way."

Nor is it likely that he tells them what he says to workers at rallies: "These big foundations that the super-rich have sheltered their funds in, such as the Carnegies and the Mellons and the Fords and the Rockefellers and the Ketterings and the Sloans, they ought to be taxed like the average business man is taxed, and the average citizen, and in my opinion, that will help overcome inflation."

As we have seen, George Wallace really believes that workers, not capitalism, are responsible for inflation; and that the solution is greater productivity, not the taxation of the corporations which pay next to nothing in Alabama.

It would be interesting to know

what Wallace discussed at the Governor's mansion an evening last March with 57 businessmen who contributed \$1500 each. Among those who attended the dinner were Tine Davis, a right-winger and vice president of Winn-Dixie supermarket chain, who has furnished his jet for Wallace's campaign; Horis Davis, a Montgomery real estate and insurance man who also owns a hotel; T.B. Hill, chairman of the board of directors of Union Bank in Montgomery; Ed Burgreen, a leading asphalt contractor; and Glen Ireland, president of Vulcan Materials of Birmingham.

Another big contribution came from the family of Leander H. Perez, the late Louisiana segregationist and anti-semiter. This contribution of \$15,000 continues a family tradition. Before he died in 1969, Leander Perez gave \$5000 to the Wallace movement. This notorious racist once declared that "the most dangerous group in America today are the Zionist Jews."

The men who finance Wallace are the men who control him. George Wallace is responsible to the Hunts and the Goodwins and the Balls; not the trade unionists to whom he makes his demagogic appeals.

Since he became governor in 1962, Wallace has rested upon the most reactionary sections of the capitalist class. Those billionaire industrialists whose guiding principle has been "No concession to the working class" and who have entered every confrontation with their employees fully armed for civil war, have nourished the political career of George Wallace.

The growth of Wallaceism into a national movement signifies the turn of broader sections of the capitalist class toward the policies of Hunt and Ball. Under the pressure of the deep financial crisis, capitalism as a whole begins to look to George Wallace as an alternative.

The political program of George Wallace is what H.L. Hunt understands it to be: a program designed to crush the trade unions. This program can only be exposed and stopped through the immediate construction of a labor party.

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

Gangs Cover Up Youth Oppression Under Capitalism

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

NEW YORK—There has been a recent rise in the development of gangs amongst the youth. In sections of the city such as the Bronx, Brownsville and in other areas throughout the country, these gangs have grown to large numbers in a short period of months. The Black Spades and the Tomahawks claim to have over 450 members each.

Already in the Bronx many have been arrested charged with possession of dangerous weapons and the reported beatings by the police of innocent youth are growing. Police agents and provocateurs are busily at work infiltrating these gangs and supplying them with weapons in order to set them up for raids and frame-ups in the very manner in which the Panthers were set up.

The development of some kind of leadership and organization amongst youth was inevitable because of the worsening conditions of poverty and unem-

ployment and the lack of leadership from the political tendencies that used to exist. It is from the very areas where the nationalists such as the Panthers and the Young Lords once had a base that these gangs are now emerging, and it is one of the most dangerous turns for the youth and the working class.

The break-up of the gangs in the early 60s occurred because youth needed a means in order to fight capitalism. This required a political turn and the nationalists filled the leadership role for a while. Some like the Young Lords Party were formed from gangs.

But the deepening crisis of

capitalism required another leap forward by these leadership. It required the turn towards Marxism and the history of the movement which Huey Newton began but did not carry out when he turned to dialectics. Because of this the nationalists could no longer provide the leadership required in this new period leaving the youth now open to all the attacks of the government.

STALINISTS

The revisionists and Stalinists played a central role in allowing this reactionary turn towards gangs. It was the Young Socialist Alliance and the Communist Party which adapted completely to nationalism instead of warning of the dangers that nationalism would lead to and fighting to break the youth and turn them towards questions of Marxism.

Now the nationalists are completely with capitalism. The Panthers are supporting the very Democrats and Republicans who support the attacks of the police on the youth and the Stalinists and revisionists have a major responsibility for allowing this.

If there was a need for youth to think politically in the early 60s, today it is a hundred times more urgent to do so. The gangs today while some members are political are not political as a whole.

The leadership which holds positions such as war-lords, peace counselor, and Supreme, are an elite clique whose decisions are not to be argued or even

Cops Invade Stuyvesant High

BY HANK PADRO

NEW YORK—Riot police invaded Stuyvesant High School last Tuesday clubbing students and breaking up a student strike. They were called in by the school administration after students walked out, blocking and chaining doors, in protest over the expulsion of Howard Straker, a member of the student government and the Black and Latino Union.

According to the school administration, Straker was expelled for loitering and cutting classes. Another student, Richard Nagan, a member of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, was suspended for his participation in a takeover of the principal's office. They were demanding to know whether Straker had actually had any record of loitering in the school files.

As police closed in in front of the door someone threw acid on the students sending 7 to the hospital. One girl reportedly had second and third degree burns.

Weekly 'Keep Left' Leads Fight To Oust Tories

The monthly newspaper of the British Young Socialists, Keep Left, has now developed into a weekly. This advance is, as the transformation of the Workers Press into a daily paper was to the Socialist Labour League, of tremendous importance to the building of the Young Socialists, and to the construction of the Trotskyist movement as a whole. The role of the revolutionary newspaper is to train and educate a cadre of revolutionaries, a cadre that will play a decisive part in the construction of a revolutionary party. That is the task that Keep Left is confronting.

In the first editorial of the new weekly it states: "At a time when the Tories try to impose virtual dictatorship of the state on the trade unions, we are confident of wide support from the working class. Rank-and-file dockers and railmen have shown their opposition to attacks on their standard of living by the Industrial Relations Court.

"Keep Left will campaign unceasingly to politically prepare the youth for the major class battles ahead. It will fight to mobilize the working class to force the Tories out of office."

Each issue has articles concerning the struggles that the youth are taking up. It runs stories about the events in the schools, such as the wave of protests against corporal punishment, the enforced use of uniforms, and the "disgusting" school dinners. It carries the fight against unemployment that is reaching tremendous heights among the youth in Britain, and against the conditions that force youth to take jobs paying only \$15 to \$20 a week. Frequently it interviews prominent disc jockies, actors—people involved with and around the youth.

This task is being carried out internationally by the Trotskyist movement. The American Young Socialists have only just started. The job before us is to build and expand the YS, develop it theoretically, and lay the foundation for a paper of our own. We must penetrate the youth, and at the same time fight with them politically for a socialist consciousness, for a revolutionary party, and a revolutionary paper.

The editorial board of the Young Socialist salutes the weekly Keep Left, the struggles that it has gone through in bringing about this development, and the struggles that it will undergo in the future in the fight for revolution. We draw from your history and carry it with us in the battle for our newspaper and party, in our struggle for revolution.

questioned as in the "Tomahawks." They treat the rest of the members as if they were so much dirt.

POLITICS

But the biggest obstacle is the suppression of political discussions amongst most gangs which at every point hinders the political development of these youths. This stifling of political discussion is necessary so that these leaders can maintain their privileged positions at the expense of the rest of the members.

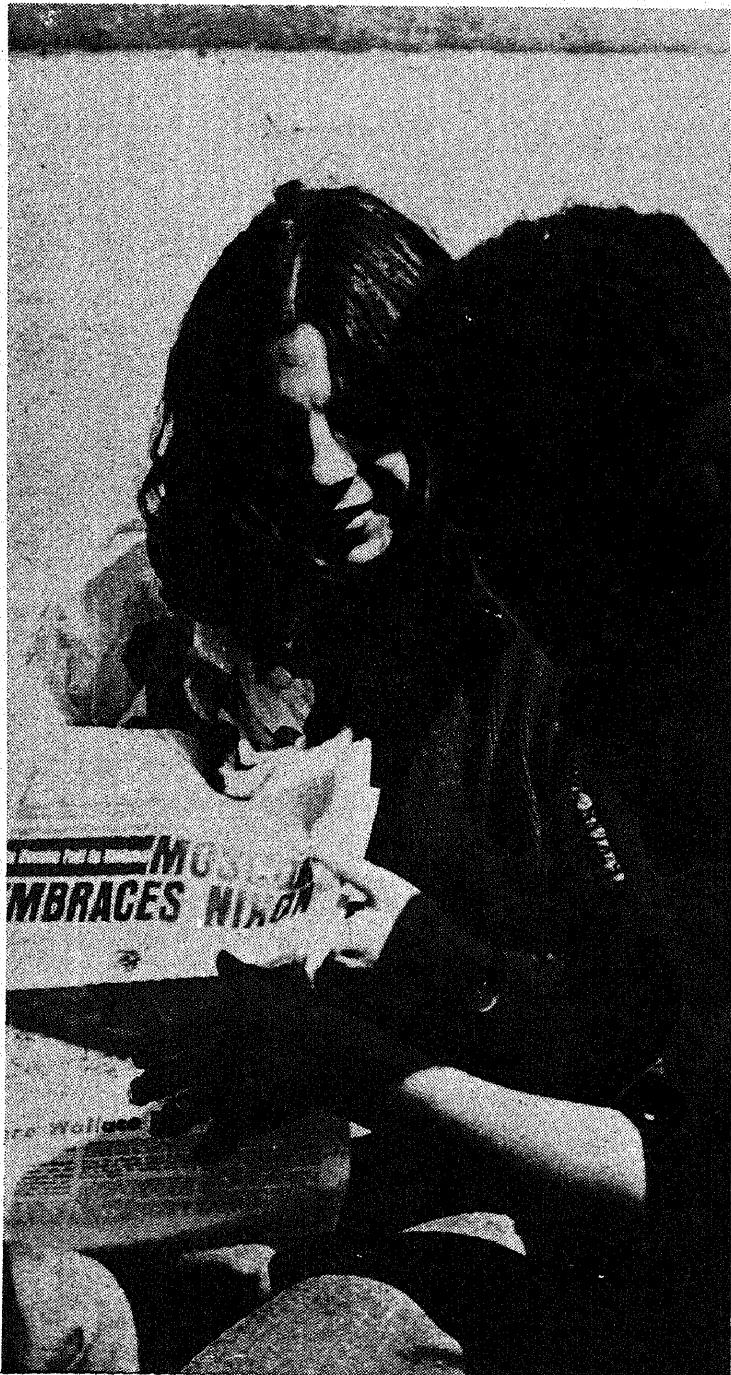
This makes these gangs agents of the very capitalist forces which oppress the working class youth.

Many of these gangs are waging a fight against the pushers in the neighborhoods. But this fight can not be effective without a fight against the entire capitalist system which allows and encourages the use of dope.

What is required now is a revolutionary movement built on Marxism and Trotskyism that can lead a fight against capitalism. The only way forward for these youth is through the Young Socialists who are fighting against unemployment and calling on the unions to do so. The Young Socialists have the only program which unites all youth and workers on a class basis against the government.

The call for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay can create more jobs for workers and youth. The call for the building of a labor party made up of workers and youth against the Democrats and Republicans is the only way forward.

There is nothing that youth can accomplish by themselves isolated from the power of the working class, the unions. Gangs will encourage more attacks by the police who would be very happy if this summer was to turn into a gang war between unemployed youth. The political questions facing these youth must be taken up by the members of these gangs and the program of the Young Socialists as the only alternative must be brought up.



YS discusses need for daily Marxist paper with Bridgeport youth. \$70 has been raised in raffle so far being held to aid Bulletin Fund Drive.



Nationalists rally several thousand in Washington during African Liberation Day last Saturday behind bankrupt reformist program.

Chicago Students And Teachers Protest Cuts

BY A YOUNG SOCIALIST REPORTER

CHICAGO—The Young Socialists here have opened up a campaign throughout the city mobilizing youth in support of the teachers union to fight for the restoration of all the cuts in teachers and programs.

This campaign is spearheaded against the recent attacks on the educational opportunities for working class youth. The announcement of the cutting out of art, music and gym in Chicago has been met with a series of actions by students and teachers.

Protesting the cuts, students participated in walk-outs involving around 5,000 students from 18 different high schools. 500 students marched from Lake View, Farragut, Marshall, and Crane High Schools to the offices of the Board of Education.

On Saturday May 20th a citizen's action group called S.O.M.E. which contains many music teachers called a rally to

protest the elimination of the programs at the schools. The protest called for students to march with instruments representing a death march leading to the Civic Center.

The strike by the teachers union that was scheduled has been called off. However, this is the only way to fight against the attacks on the living standards of workers and youth.

The YS is building a movement that can lead youth away from protest politics and towards the trade unions who have the power to confront the government. If the situation is bad now, without the added cuts, imagine how far worse it will be next year.

Young Socialist Budget Slashes Pose Need For Unity Of Teachers and Students

BY KIKI MENDEZ

New York City has announced that the city budget will be cut again. One of the city councilmen put forward the proposal of having extra students placed into classrooms of 28 and lower. This will mean that 1,750 teachers would lose their jobs, which would save the city 25 million dollars.

The last budget cuts left the schools with overcrowded classrooms, shortage of school supplies and the whole breakdown of school facilities. The current proposed budget would mean overcrowding of the classrooms which would make it impossible for the students to learn.

It is under these conditions that the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) was forced to merge with the American Association of Teachers creating the largest teachers union in the country.

The union is demanding a basic salary scale of 12,500 to 25,000 annually. The present salary scale is \$9,400 to \$13,950 after seven and a half years experience. This reaches far over the 5.5 percent increase allowed by the Pay Board.

Instead of using this force for a fight against the wage board, Shanker has put forward another proposal to campaign on. The union president has called for

safer conditions and the need for more cops in the school. The demand is for a trained security guard for every 175 high school students.

This is a vicious attack on the students and preparation for the sell out of the teachers.

With the largest teachers union in the country, which can wage a strong fight against the Pay Board and win its contract proposal, Shanker is scared of the political fight against his friends on Capitol Hill and completely dropped the major proposal inventing one which will only lead to the weakening of the teachers' union.

The NAACP and various nationalist organizations are preparing to take action against the union demand. They have issued a call to their members and Black teachers to keep the schools open in September in order to oppose a possible teacher strike.

At Jefferson High School in Brooklyn all of these elements are coming to a head.

The Jefferson teachers and students have a tradition of strong militancy. Throughout the years they have come out against the war and the killings on the campuses.

Recently the administrator had Louis Farrakhan as a guest speaking in favor of capitalism and community control. His speech centered on an attack on the teachers and used racist propaganda to create a racial disturbance.

Some teachers protesting Farrakhan's appearance drew up a petition against the principal who supports community control and used the Farrakhan issue to divide the teachers making it seem as if it is a white vs. Black issue.

The Young Socialists are calling for the teachers and students to take forward the fight against the government for decent working and learning conditions and salaries. The rank and file of the UFT has to take action against Shanker's proposal and his attempts to sell out the union.

YSA AND THE 'ANTI-WAR UNIVERSITY'

BY PAT CONNOLLY AND ED SMITH

Several months after the Kent State-Cambodia events, Socialist Workers Party National Organization Secretary Jack Barnes outlined the political method by which the SWP and YSA based their activities on the campuses. Speaking at the 1970 Socialist Activist and Educational Conference, Barnes stated:

"Many of the factors we look back on now as important were not clearly seen as such at the time...What is decisive is whether you are absorbing the new experiences, while you're trying to understand what is happening, and while you're applying class struggle principles to unanticipated forms of struggle, you act as revolutionists. If you act as revolutionists, you'll be able to absorb politically and theoretically what is happening and changing and affect it."

What Barnes outlines in capsule form here is the political method upon which the YSA based its practice during Kent State: that is, pragmatism. The historically developed theory of the revolutionary movement, Trotskyism, is thrown out the window. Instead the YSA enters the various surface movements thrown up by capitalist society, absorbs "new experiences" while "acting as a revolutionist," and sees what kind of activity works in terms of making some organizational gains in these surface movements.

The Transitional Program, the whole historically developed strategy of the Marxist movement is liquidated and the road is open for its replacement by the "new radicalization," the anti-war university and dissolving the

revolutionary movement into protest politics.

This turn to pragmatism by the SWP produced the whole struggle and split between the International Committee and the SWP. The SWP-YSA reunited with the Pabloites of the United Secretariat on the common ground of pragmatism. Pragmatism is the philosophical foundation of Pabloism.

This becomes clear when we examine the resolution on the student movement of the Pabloites presented by the United Secretariat, published by the YSA under the title, *The World-wide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International*.

It is significant that at the last Pabloite Congress there was a disagreement between those who wanted to completely liquidate the movement into Castroism, guerrillaism and the like, and others backed by the SWP, who saw this as "a departure from the road of Trotskyism." But both the opposed sides supported this resolution. From this resolution comes the SWP's approach to the student movement, including the anti-war university and its activities during Kent State.

The resolution is based on the neo-capitalist theories of Ernest Mandel. No development of a capitalist crisis arising from the fundamental contradictions of capitalist society is seen by the Pabloites. The movement of the students instead stems from the colonial repression of the capitalists, various structural

problems not yet ironed out in this new "neo-capitalist system" and the consequent feelings of alienation produced among the students and intellectual middle class.

Starting from a completely superficial and empirical analysis, the Pabloite resolution comes to the conclusion that whatever was happening during the 20 years of the capitalist boom would continue to happen. The resolution states:

"The enhanced social weight and political impact of the student movement derive from the fundamental changes that have taken place in the sphere of education under pressures from the scientific, technological and industrial advances involved in the 'third industrial revolution.' These economic conditions require larger numbers of better educated people not only among the administrators and superintendents of the productive process but also in the work force at all levels of industry and trade...It has also resulted in the increasing proletarianization of white-collar workers as intellectual labor is introduced into the productive process on a larger and larger scale and the relative weight of unskilled manual labor is reduced in the productive process."

The argument here is based on the assumption of the continuing of the postwar capitalist boom: an assumption now completely discredited precisely by the breakup of the boom with the collapse of the dollar and the necessity of Nixon and the Pay

Stop the killings! No more Augustas! No more Kents!

May 12—Just one week after the Kent State massacre, seven more young people are dead at the hands of the cops and national guardsmen, this time seven Black youth murdered in Augusta, Ga. Six were killed when state troopers and guardsmen attacked residents of the Black community protesting the killing of the seventh victim, a teen-age Black youth, in the local jail.

News of the Augusta event was just coming in as we went to press and only the barest facts are available. The official police version was that Charles Daiman, 16, died after two Black teen-age criminals hit him with a belt and shoe and knocked him against the wall. The Black community, properly contemptuous of such a story, marched in angry protest. In front of the municipal building demonstrators burned a Georgia flag, a modified version of the Confederate banner. Governor Lester Maddox, who announced that "...they'd better be prepared to meet their maker," unleashed the troopers and Guard. The victims were: Sammy McCullough, 20; William Wright, 18; Charles MacMurphy, 39; John Stokes, 19; John Bennett, 28; Mack Wilson, age unknown; and many others wounded.



Nixon's Cambodia gamble; why it's doomed to failure

— see analysis page 2 —

Antiwar universities keep spreading across country; focus on May 30 actions

May 22, 1970 front page of Militant, SWP-YSA paper, shows how revisionists' theory of "new radicalization" led to impotent protest before capitalists' attacks on youth and working class.

Board to begin the process of breaking down the unions and living standards built up by the working class internationally. In fact, the appearance of this breakdown on the surface was first manifested in this country precisely during the Kent State upsurge and the massive wildcat rebellion of the Teamsters in which the National Guard was brought out, as was mentioned in last week's article.

Basing themselves on the surface impressions of the boom, the Pabloites came to the conclusion that the major revolutionary class was the middle class, the "new working class" of students, intellectuals, etc. The industrial working class's

"relative weight" was "reduced" compared to the "new vanguard" of "revolutionary youth."

The whole fight against the bureaucratic leaderships of the working class is abandoned with these leaderships "bypassed." The whole Trotskyist perspective of the destruction of Stalinism and Social Democracy by fighting it out with these tendencies theoretically in the struggles of the working class is thrown aside in a completely sectarian manner.

When May-June erupted in France in 1968 with the greatest general strike in history, the Pabloites attempted to graft this (Continued On Page 18)

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Stem The Tide Of Pay Board Attacks

The longshoremen on the East Coast can give a tremendous lead to the rest of the labor movement in smashing Nixon's Pay Board. The Board has made it clear that it has absolutely no intention of backtracking on the cut it made in the ILA's settlement. Gleason, the head of the ILA, is now keeping the ranks in the dark on what the leadership plans to do.

The rank and file longshoremen must demand that the union set an immediate strike date to restore the increase. In this action the ILA will receive the support of West Coast dockers. Bridges told Gleason that although he did not approve, the ILWU would back up action by the ILA. But the ILA will also receive the support of the rest of the labor movement which is coming under the axe of the Board.

If strike action is not taken Nixon and his Board will be given the signal to go ahead with its wage cutting plans and its implementation of speed-up and unemployment and the destruction of working conditions.

The government used the capitulation of Woodcock and Schrade of the UAW with the help of the American Communist Party on the aerospace contract to pare down the longshore settlements. Nixon is prepared to use any surrender in longshore to take on the steelworkers and miners whose second year increase goes before the Board this summer.

At the same time the Pay Board's crackdown has slashed the wage increases of millions of workers in other industries. The Board itself has reported that the combined weighted increase for 6.6 million workers in large plants has been held to 4.2%. During April the increase for nearly two million rank and file workers in plants employing 5,000 or more workers was held to 2.5% by the Board including new contracts, deferred raises and retroactive boosts. Teachers, laundry, electrical, aerospace workers, bricklayers, are forced to have their wage increases already won cut or to settle for the Pay Board's guidelines.

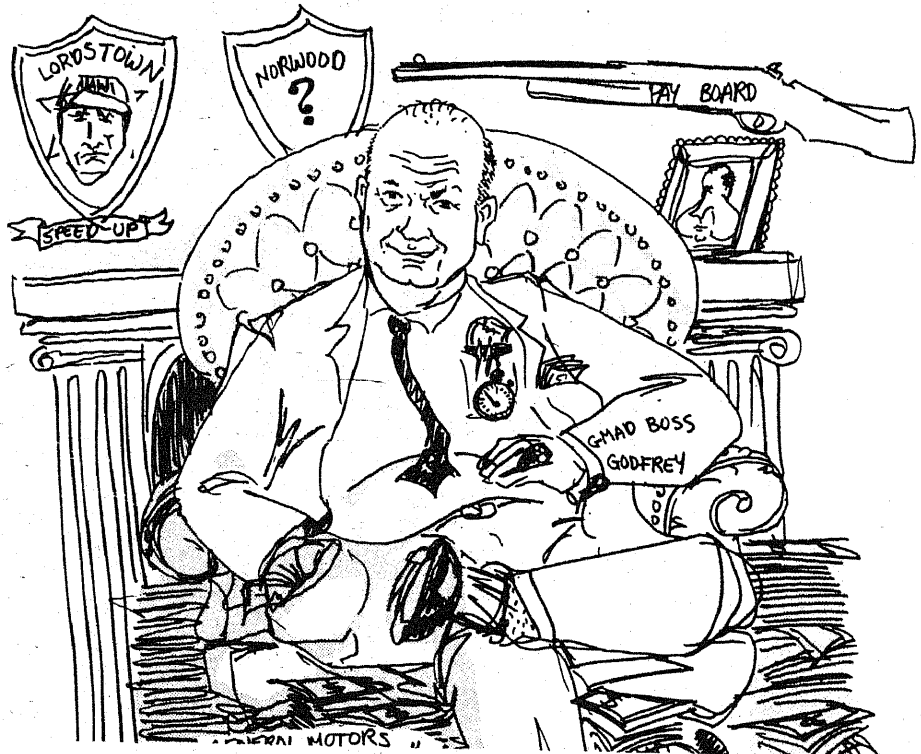
Now the government through the Cost of Living Council is seeking to literally take money out of workers' pockets. On Tuesday the Council announced that it would use the courts to force members of the International Typographers Union in New Haven to return to their boss the increase they won in their last contract and have been receiving since December.

Encouraged by the refusal of the trade union leadership to fight the Pay Board, the corporations and the government are moving ahead to implement new speed-up plans and work rules, laying off workers and making conditions inside the plants and on the docks intolerable. The NLRB recently ruled that contracts negotiated by a union will be held invalid if plants close down or are taken over by new management, throwing workers wages, jobs and pensions out the window.

The ILA is now at the center of this fight and by taking strike action can show a way forward for the rest of labor. Longshoremen have no other choice.

In Quebec last month thousands of workers went out on strike against the jailing of union leaders. They shut down and took over control of whole cities. This is the kind of movement in the US that can now defeat the Pay Board.

In the course of the struggle now to defeat this Pay Board, the unions must build their own party, a labor party, to defeat the Democratic and Republican parties and the corporations that stand behind them.



"Workers aren't motivated anymore... all those high benefit plans take desire away."

What we think

CP Endorses Moscow Betrayal

Parroting the statements made by the official organs of the Soviet bureaucracy, the American Communist Party is hailing as a "step forward" the accords signed last week by Richard Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev. In their support for the Kremlin's collaboration with imperialism, the CP brands itself as an accomplice of all the criminal betrayals prepared in Moscow.

The editorial published on May 31 in the Daily World is an example of the Stalinist treachery that is the foundation of the CP's politics.

In the first part of the article, the coexistence agreement, the limitation on armaments, and the call for a European security conference are rapturously praised as a "positive step in the long and dogged struggle for world peace." And in the second half it is casually noted that the United States is pressing ahead with the bloodbath in Vietnam.

That the Daily World can place in one editorial the claim that a great advance has been made toward peace as well as a description of the increasing ferocity of imperialism in Vietnam exposes the "Peaceful Coexistence" praised by the CP, for what it really is: the alliance of imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy aimed against the international working class.

The American Communist Party is the most obedient of all the Soviet bureaucracy's servants. Since the Stalinization of the Third International in the late 1920's, it has functioned without any independent political life.

Historically, this subservience of the American CP has been of critical importance to the Soviet bureaucracy. The Kremlin's objective of a pacified working class and stabilized relations between the Soviet Union and the United States cannot be realized under conditions where the workers of the world are turning toward the question of state power. It is for this reason that the American CP has exerted all its influence to prevent the formation of an independent labor party in the United States.

The importance of the American CP in the reactionary program of the Kremlin is underscored by Gus Hall's visit to Moscow last month.

Now, in this very critical period for the working class in this country and internationally, the American CP is acting as an accomplice to the Kremlin's attempt to betray the Vietnamese revolution.

It has not been all that simple for the CP to explain away Moscow's invitation to Nixon at a time when American imperialism is inflicting the most murderous attacks upon the people of North Vietnam. Almost up

to the day Nixon left Moscow, the Daily World did not even mention the trip. It was not until the Soviet bureaucracy published its official line—"We proceed from the belief that the improvement of relations between the U.S. and the USSR is possible"—that the Daily World could say anything about the summit meeting.

Indifferent to the needs of the Vietnamese and hostile to the developments within the American working class, the CP proceeds as if there were no other path than that blazed by Brezhnev. But unfortunately for the staff of the Daily World, its back issues do not automatically dissolve with each twist of the Kremlin line. The statements which it publishes tend to survive the political maneuvers for which they were created. For while the CP explains that "peaceful coexistence" goes full steam ahead—bombing or no bombing, there still exist on the printed pages of old Daily Worlds the CP's analysis of Nixon's trip to Peking.

In the February 19 issue, the following note was published: "President Nixon is 'not seeking peace' in Peking, Gus Hall, Communist Party General Secretary, told a press conference at the party's convention here. The President is seeking divisions in the socialist camp, Hall said, and to 'cover up his escalation of the war.' 'It is not for peace, for the friendship of the American and Chinese peoples,' he said. 'And it is accompanied by the most inhuman, savage bombing of Indochina. The noise of the bombs is so loud they may not be able to hear each other in Peking.'"

Now the situation has changed: Nixon is in Moscow rather than Peking. The Daily World hacks are applauding this new Soviet masterstroke just as vigorously as they denounced Peking's.

The position put forward by the CP in discussing the China trip did not represent a turn towards the interests of the Vietnamese revolution. Rather, it was an action in defense of the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy against the inroads of Peking. This is made completely clear by the fact that the period of the China trip and the weeks that followed was marked by an intensification of its reactionary peace campaign and an all-out assault on the Trotskyist movement.

While Nixon was in China, the American CP was participating in the Versailles Conference and supported the expulsion of the Pabloite FSI as a representative of the "Trotskyites." And during the same week, the Daily World ran an editorial linking Trotskyism with the CIA. This

type of filth showed the true character of the left noises made by the American Stalinists.

This witch-hunt was a cornerstone of the CP's drive for a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war on the basis of the peace plan of Madame Binh.

Never did the CP suggest that imperialism should be defeated and that the workers and peasants should unite Vietnam as a socialist state. No: the call was "Back to the Paris peace talks."

But even more damning are the latest developments. For months on end, the American CP has trumpeted the Madame Binh peace plan. It was the very basis of their April 22 rallies. It held Madame Binh as an example of the voice of reason. But now that she and the North Vietnamese government have been forced by blows of imperialism and the movement of the masses in Indochina to denounce the talks between Nixon and Moscow, their statements are kept out of the paper. The Daily World found space for the statements of the North Vietnamese only as long as they did not conflict with the needs of the Moscow Stalinists.

At issue are not mere inconsistencies. All the twists and turns of the American CP are rooted in its unflinching support for the ruling circle of the Soviet bureaucracy.

It is for this reason that we brand as an out-and-out lie the statement made by Gus Hall on May 21 in Washington: "Having just returned from Moscow and Warsaw, I can tell you on the highest authority that the continued all-out support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the just struggle of the people of Indochina will not be up for discussion or negotiations when Tricky Dick visits those cities."

Let the members of the Socialist Workers Party hang their heads in shame for sharing a platform with Gus Hall on May 21 and then compounding their crime by remaining silent when these words were spoken. Their collaboration with the CP shows how far the SWP has run from Trotskyism since its break with the Fourth International.

Today, the Fourth International stands as the only political force that is fighting to expose Stalinism and to destroy its influence in the working class. Founded by Trotsky in the heat of the struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy and against the background of terrible defeats, the Fourth International emerges in this period strengthened by the lessons it has drawn from the relentless battle against Stalinism. And therefore it stands as the only revolutionary leadership that can defend the Vietnamese revolution and safeguard the interests of the workers of the world.

THE TRIAL OF ANGELA DAVIS

BY NANCY FIELDS

ON MARCH 29, on the opening day of the trial of Angela Davis on charges of murder, conspiracy and kidnapping stemming from the Marin County courthouse shootout on August 7, 1970, Angela Davis stated:

"I am totally innocent. The prosecution's case is no case at all...It is entirely without substance. It is based on conjecture, speculation and guesswork. When all the testimony surrounding the events of August 7, 1970 is complete, the prosecution will certainly have demonstrated that in some way lives were lost and individuals were wounded. But this is ALL he will have proven. He will have proven nothing—absolutely nothing—with respect to my guilt."

The prosecution rested its case after seven weeks in which it presented 100 witnesses and 200 exhibits and indeed Davis' opening statement has been realized. The state has done nothing to substantiate the charges against Angela Davis.

Nevertheless, it presented a detailed case which filled over 6000 pages of court transcription. It did so for one purpose: to provide sufficient diversionary material to enable it to carry out its frame-up of Davis.

Contrary to the state's elaborate presentation, the defense attorneys called only 11 witnesses and rested their case after only three days. They did not even call the defendant to testify in her own behalf. The case now rests with the jury: a jury carefully screened by the prosecution to ensure that neither the working class nor the youth are seated on it.

At this point, the prosecution's closing submission to the court must be recalled for it clearly reveals the extent to which the state believes that it has carefully prepared the groundwork for a conviction. Chief prosecutor Albert Harris concluded his case to the jury with the declaration that: "The evidence compels a conviction."

This brazen confidence by the state, and the equal reflection of that confidence within the defense of the opposite outcome, requires an exploration of the background leading up to the trial, an examination of the issues involved in this case and an account of the role of both the state and the defense throughout the trial.

As the jury deliberates on whether Angela Davis will face life imprisonment (and quite possibly the death penalty) or go free, it becomes urgent to bring forward an understanding of the real nature of this case and the treacherous role of the defense in order that the only force that can free Davis can be unleashed: that is, the movement of the working class.

WITCH-HUNT

The case of Angela Davis cannot be abstracted from the surrounding history of the period. The issues involved did not begin with the shootout, nor with her

arrest, nor with the trial itself. Rather, they begin with the political background of Davis herself and the witch-hunt that is consciously being carried out today against all militants within the working class who seek to give leadership to the struggles of that class.

The witch-hunt against Angela Davis began one full year before the August 7, 1970 events. It was carried out in the state of California: a state dominated by the right-wing politics of Governor Ronald Reagan, the conservative Orange County Republican machine and the John Birch Society. The agency for this witch-hunt was the California Board of Regents which governs higher education in the state.

At that time, Angela Davis was serving as an instructor of German philosophy at the University of California, Los Angeles. When she accepted the appointment, she openly declared her membership in the American Communist Party.

The capitalist class reacted with tremendous fear to that disclosure: a real fear of the fact that Marxism might be brought to the youth—youth who were moving against the attacks of that class. Through their media, the ruling class whipped up a campaign characterizing Davis as an anarchist, a mad plotter of the Bank of America burnings, and the preacher of violent terrorism from the lectern at UCLA.

Daily headlines of the Los Angeles Times screamed hysterically about "that communist at UCLA," against the background of shootouts and raids on the headquarters of the Black Panther Party in South Central L.A. Following the most violent attack on the Panther's office, the capitalist press carried detailed accounts

linking the Panthers to Davis.

The hysterical fear of the government, in the face of the growing movement of a working class determined to beat back the attacks of capitalism, drove them to consciously prepare the atmosphere for the dismissal of Davis from UCLA's faculty. This dismissal occurred in July 1970.

Today, when the question of socialism becomes a matter of life and death importance for the working class, the ruling class must move to destroy all those who strike out against its system and take up the fight for socialism. Therefore, they realized that it was not sufficient simply to dismiss Davis from the university system. Thus, when the events occurred on August 7 in the Marin County courthouse, the government seized the opportunity to prepare an elaborate frame-up of Davis.

The actual events, which resulted in a nation-wide campaign by the ruling class against Angela Davis, occurred when Jonathan Jackson, the younger brother of Soledad Brother George Jackson, led an escape bid from the courthouse. Jonathan, along with William Christmas, James McClain and Ruchell Magee who were all on trial at the time, seized the judge, the prosecuting attorney and four jurors and fled from the courtroom. In the shootout in the parking lot outside the courthouse, Judge Haley, Jonathan, Christmas and McClain were killed.

Davis was subsequently placed on the F.B.I. "Ten Most Wanted" list and described as a dangerous criminal. Since the incident itself did not provide enough evidence for the state to prepare its legal lynching of her, it was necessary for the capitalist press to launch a massive campaign against communism, Black militants and all working class leaders. Davis was portrayed as a "wild-eyed revolutionary" bent on "terrorism," in order to create an atmosphere of hysteria and fear among the middle class.

Following her arrest and throughout the preliminary stages of the trial last year, this political witch-hunt was continued. The state's chief prosecutor, Albert Harris, presented a political, anti-communist case. Having no evidence upon which to carry out the prosecution, Harris intended simply to win a conviction by conducting a vicious, "red-scare" attack against the defendant.

THE TRIAL

The account of the proceedings of the trial itself will show that the state was forced to change its strategy. Since the arrest of Davis, the objective crisis within the capitalist system has changed and this change finds its reflection within the courts of the ruling class.

Today, not only is it absolutely necessary for the state to obtain a conviction but it is also critical that it avoid bringing out the political nature of the case. Thus, it has consciously sought to suppress the political questions raised and has rested its case on circumstantial evidence, "inference" and the absurd theory that Davis was driven into the murder-conspiracy because of her blind passion for George Jackson.

The details of the trial expose the fraudulent methods of the government and reveal the real nature of the frame-up against Davis. The trial itself has been conducted in an hysterical atmosphere whipped up by the capitalist press and reflected at the courthouse itself. Over \$700,000 was spent on security which has been designed to create the impression that Davis is a violent, desperate criminal.

Furthermore, from the outset, the government fought to ensure a conviction by seating a prejudiced jury: a jury rooted in the anti-communist, hysterical fears of the middle class. When the defense attempted to probe the prospective jurors concerning their opinions of communism and the defendant's past activities, the prosecution repeatedly objected and these objections were upheld by the judge.

The overt complicity of the judge with the prosecution was obvious throughout the jury selection. In one instance, a prospective juror, who was a former naval officer, admitted that his military teachings had included a description of "a great red wave sweeping across the world." He also stated that he might be prejudiced against the defendant because of her membership in the Communist Party.

Nevertheless, when the prosecution assured him that the Communist Party's



Above is a scene from the August 7, 1970 shootout at the Marin County Courthouse. The government is trying to use this incident to frame up Angela Davis.

aim to overthrow the government was "totally irrelevant to this case," the judge allowed him to be seated.

During this entire process, the prosecution was not only aided by the judge, but also received help from the defense itself. They only used two of their 20 preemptory challenges and did not really conduct a fight to obtain a jury representative of the area. In fact, when the all-white, middle class jury was seated, Davis herself declared that it reflected Santa Clara County and was the best that could be expected from that county.

The opposite was actually the case. The trial was occurring in San Jose which has one of the highest unemployment rates on the entire West Coast. It also has a large Chicano and white working class population. But the working-class and youth were consciously excluded from the jury panel.

Assured of a favorable jury, the prosecutor opened his case with an explanation of the circumstantial evidence he was to present in the following seven weeks. He stated that the jury could find the defendant guilty of the murder-conspiracy charge by inference from the facts.

However, he failed to produce any evidence which, even through inference, would prove that Davis was in any way involved in the events at the Marin County courthouse. In the first few weeks of the trial, Harris concentrated on calling witnesses who had been taken hostage there.

His intention was to show that Davis was responsible for the murder of Superior Court Judge Haley. He claimed that the testimony from the hostages would reveal that it was Davis who had planned and aided the escape attempt, provided the guns and ammunition and had the motive.

Central to the prosecution's case is the alleged existence of a plot that Jonathan Jackson and the other prisoners communicated their intentions to exchange the six hostages for the Soledad Brothers. Thus, Harris called his first witness so as to prove this plot.

But, from the very beginning, the prosecution's case has been riddled with contradictions. The first witness, Maria Graham, who was one of the juror-hostages wounded by the gunfire, claimed that Jonathan had repeatedly shouted demands that the Soledad Brothers be freed. Under cross-examination, she admitted that Harris might have refreshed her memory on some of the details of her testimony.

Furthermore, neither of the state's next two witnesses who were also jurors in the Marin County court, could say that any of those involved in the escape attempt had shouted anything about the Soledad Brothers.

Unable to establish the plot on this basis, the prosecutor then moved to link the murder of Judge Haley to Ruchell Magee and thereby to Davis through the framed-up conspiracy charge.

However, the state's own expert witness, Dr. John Manwaring exploded this attempt. He was the pathologist who performed the autopsy on Haley and stated in his testimony that he could not make any determination as to which bullet proved to be the fatal one.

Manwaring revealed that the judge suffered two wounds, one from a shotgun blast and the other from a single bullet that pierced his chest. Under cross-examination, he said that either could have been fatal.

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In the face of all this contradictory testimony, the prosecution became desperate in the closing days of its case. This panic drove Harris to invent the absurd theory that Davis planned the escape attempt and supplied the weapons because of her passionate love for George Jackson.

Harris intended to seal his case by introducing letters and a diary written by Davis to Jackson. Before these letters were introduced in court, the judge allowed them to be released to the press which excerpted them to whip up a sensational atmosphere and create a picture of Davis as a woman driven by blind passion. Harris placed the emphasis of his case on a portion of one letter where Davis said:

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"Had a state of mind by which she would undertake a conspiracy and undertake violent means to bring about the freedom of George Jackson."

Over the bitter protests of the defense attorneys, the judge allowed the diary and letters to be submitted as evidence. However, the diary was written a year after the shootout and even Harris admitted that the August 7 incident is not mentioned in it. Furthermore, Davis had not even met George Jackson until almost a year later, in July 1971. Thus, the letters are totally irrelevant to the charges and in fact are primarily political.

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"I am hoping for this verdict for all those anarchists involved. Our national courts need a verdict like this."

Her letter also expressed support for capital punishment.

Throughout the presentation of the state's case, the ruling class continued to use the press to whip up an atmosphere of hysteria against all militants. In the middle of the trial, the government used the murder of James Carr, who was a leader of militant prisoners and a member of the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee after his release, to construct a picture of all Black militants as crazed, gland-type individuals.

Furthermore, the press has consciously printed all the testimony of the prosecution's witnesses and evidence and has totally omitted the material revealed by the defense's cross-examination.

THE DEFENSE CASE

During the course of the trial, the role of the defense attorneys has been absolutely criminal. From the outset, they have conducted their defense on the state's grounds: that is, they have placed absolute faith in the courts of the ruling class. From not fighting to obtain a jury of the working class, to not bringing in the political nature of the case, the defense has proceeded as if Angela Davis is on

trial for her life on the sole basis of the evidence presented.

But the entire history of ruling class justice for working class militants, from the Haymarket Square case in 1886, to Sacco & Vanzetti in 1920, to Juan Farinas in 1972, has shown that the defendants are never tried and convicted on the basis of the evidence presented. Rather, they are tried because of their political beliefs and their sentence will always be a battle between two classes: the ruling class and the working class.

In fact, while the prosecution was forced to abandon its open "red-baiting" attack, the political issues were left unstated but lurking in the background. In all the publicity concerning the case, the capitalist press has continued to whip up an anti-communist campaign against Davis.

It is for this reason that it was crucial for the Davis defense that the political questions be brought into the case. At a time when the entire working class is coming under attack, it is urgent that the political nature of this frame-up be exposed not only as part of the individual campaign to free Davis but as part of the preparation of the working class as a whole for the attacks that are being prepared by the ruling class.

However, the defense itself did not want to fight out and expose the political issues. They have continued to isolate the defense from the struggle for revolution. It was precisely their reformist perspective which led them to seek to prevent the introduction of George Jackson's letters to the trial.

The letters between Jackson and Davis reveal both the nature of the Angela Davis Defense Committee and the sharp struggle that was being waged against the liberalism of that committee by Davis herself. As the Bulletin reported at the time of Jackson's murder, he saw her in struggle against the Communist Party or at least an element within it.

He wrote following the August 7 events: "When certain members of the party attacked Comrade Jonathan Jackson of the Black Panther Party for the 'practice' of his beliefs, Angela attacked them. No reactionary A.C.P. policy or ideology is safe from her censure. They have heaped criticism back on her in return."

It was in this period that Jackson broke from the CP elements within the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee. He labeled them opportunists and wrote that: "You took the wrong position August 7, public and private. I've heard all of the cowardly remarks bearing on my brother's judgment and sanity. Revolution is aggressive. The only reason some of you were allowed anywhere near any of the operations in the hopes that you would mature to an understanding of this."

"The objective of all our activity is in the end the creation of the people's army—not an acquittal here and there. Strangely you have missed the whole point—the revolution has begun! You cannot save me with reformist, reactionary steps backward to the techniques of the 1930's."

The "techniques of the 1930's" to which Jackson refers are the Communist Party's theories of popular fronts with capitalist politicians as opposed to breaking the working class from capitalist politics and starting on the road to class struggle action and revolution.



The prosecution called Marin County Police Chief Tersich (left drawing) early in trial. Above, Defense attorney Branton (center) cross-examines prosecution witness San Quentin prison guard Robert West (on stand at left). Prosecution tried to use witnesses to describe shootout and bring in

tremendous amounts of "evidence" whose only purpose was to overwhelm and confuse the jury. In refusing to testify, Jackson said: "I have lost two sons. I just don't want to take part in this proceeding."

However, the actual reason Harris reopened the case was revealed when he called George Jackson's father to testify for the state. He was quite aware that "image" in the eyes of the working class and youth.

In a conscious plan to avoid bringing in the political issues of the case, the defense did not even call Davis to testify in her own behalf. In fact, the full witnesses they did call simply offered further proof of the contradictions present in the prosecution's case. Their testimony did prove that the state's witnesses erred when they claimed they saw Davis with Jonathan Jackson during the days preceding August 7.

The defense attorneys are typical liberals and refuse to believe that the court or the jury would try the political opinions of the defendant. Thus, before the trial began, they moved to have Davis' case severed from Ruchell Magee's in order to be able to portray her to the liberal section of the ruling class as a respectable middle class college professor who was simply wrongly accused by the state.

When they have entered objections concerning the prosecution's case, they have done so from an outraged liberal perspective. Thus, when Harris introduced the letters into his case, defense attorney Leo Branton stated:

"I consider the entire session an obscenity."

"That is how sickening I think this whole procedure is here in which we are attempting to pry into the most intimate, the most personal expressions of another human being."

The defense attorneys then went on to state that they were shocked by the "sick game" Harris was playing.

But Harris is not playing a "game." As an agent of the capitalist system floundering in its deepest crisis, Harris is desperate to railroad Angela Davis by any means necessary. The state is determined to win a conviction in its conspiracy frame-up.

The nature and extent of the treacherous role of the defense was revealed when they rested their case in three days because they were so confident that the state had not presented any evidence against Davis. In fact, Branton went so far as to place the entire responsibility for the defense in the hands of the prosecution.

The defense believes that the reputation of courts of the ruling class will be "badly tarnished" if they were to bring in a verdict of guilty, and therefore they place their faith in the need of the institutions of the state to preserve their "image" in the eyes of the working class and youth.

The prosecution brought in rebuttal witnesses in its case when the defense rested its presentation on the technical issues which had been raised in the state's original examination. Harris made a fraudulent attempt to refute the defense's witnesses.

The defense witnesses had claimed that the prosecution's testimony which iden-

doubts in the minds of the jury.

This vicious maneuver was a last minute attempt to once again link Davis to Jackson. Harris has rested his entire case on this link because the jury is quite aware that George Jackson was a revolutionary and Jonathan is dead and did, in fact, participate in the August 7 events.

As the case goes to the jury, the defense has been left completely prostrate before the prosecution's maneuvers precisely because it sought to avoid the political questions.

Now, when the case rests with the jury, it is urgent to examine the role of the Angela Davis Defense Committee in order to prepare the working class for the fight that must be conducted to free Davis and all working class leaders whom the government will seek to condemn in order to beat back the offensive of that class and preserve its profit system.

THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The Angela Davis Defense Committee is led by the Stalinists of the American Communist Party. Thus, it follows the liberal, reformist line of that party and places Davis' defense in the hands of the liberal section of the ruling class.

When the Stalinists abandoned Marxism, they abandoned Lenin's warning issued in 1918 that:

"There is not a single state, however democratic, which does not contain loopholes or limiting clauses in its Constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the legal possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth, in case of a 'disturbance of the peace,' i.e. in case the exploited class 'disturbs' its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner."

The Committee ignores Lenin's characterization of the nature of the state and actually places its faith in that state. Thus, they have substituted the motions of lawyers and the petitions of liberals for the movement of the working class. The lessons of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, which was betrayed by the liberals of the Boston Defense Committee, serve as a sharp warning to such a method of proceeding.

From the very beginning of the case, the Committee has sought to whip up nationalism and deepen the isolation of the youth from the labor movement.

Franklin Alexander, the head of the Defense Committee, has repeatedly stated that the Committee has no "political ideology." But it does have an ideology: the ideology of the capitalist class. It is for

this reason that it continually puts forward the entire reformist line of the CP and covers this over with nationalist garbage about "the difference in consciousness between Blacks and whites."

Davis herself has sought to transform the class nature of the attack upon her into some sort of perversion or mistake. Further, she sees her struggle as separate from the struggles breaking out in the labor movement today and refuses to take up a role as a class fighter.

At all points, Davis' defense has been rooted in the middle class. In fact, the Stalinists have gone so far as to bow before organized religion and hold worship services in churches. Following one such service, the *People's World* had the audacity to declare:

"Amidst choir selections and thoughtful prayer was a reverence that transcended the four walls of the modern place of worship, a reverence for justice."

The justice that was paid "reverence" to that day was the justice of the ruling class which escalated its brutal attack on the workers and peasants of Vietnam and has instituted a vicious Pay Board to rip up the contracts and slash the living standards of the American working class.

But, the Defense Committee is not concerned with the working class. Nowhere in their campaign have they even mentioned the working class much less sought to mobilize it in support of Davis' defense. Rather, they emphasize that "public opinion" will bring about her freedom.

Furthermore, the Committee totally ignores the objective conditions which exist within capitalism today. At a time when the ruling class must move to destroy the working class, they bury their heads in the sand and declare that actually the ruling class has been entirely defeated and the working class has nothing to fear.

Thus, Henry Winston, chairman of the Communist Party, stated during the last week of the trial that:

"The frame-up of Angela Davis by the racists takes place on the eve of the total failure of U.S. policy at home and abroad. For example, since 1945 the policy has been to build up all kinds of aggressive alliances with the revanchists in Germany, NATO and aggressive military blocs. What is the situation now? The complete collapse of 27 years of effort by the administration."

It is true that the old alliances are no longer sufficient to contain the international offensive of the working class. It is for that very reason that Nixon is in Moscow forming new alliances with those very Stalinists whom Henry Winston supports: alliances based on their mutual interests to beat back the working class.

The Defense Committee has emphasized that their case will be won through

the success of public opinion and pressure on the courts. At the same time that Winston declared the complete defeat of the U.S. ruling class, he expressed the philosophy of the Committee when he stated that:

"The Angela Davis frame-up takes place under conditions where the peace movement is the majority movement. Unlike the period of McCarthy, the defense of Angela Davis is anchored in a mass movement of a size and type that never existed before. This makes it easy to expose the bankruptcy of the prosecutor's case."

This perspective is completely bankrupt. In the first place, there have been movements of a much greater size and qualitatively different from middle class protest politics that have risen to defend working class militants. The International Labor Defense, which mobilized millions of workers throughout the world in strike action against the frame-up of Sacco and Vanzetti, is the best example of such a movement.

In the second place, history has shown that movements rooted in the middle class disintegrate as soon as the fight becomes sharp. Thus, Sacco and Vanzetti were executed because of the treacherous role of such liberals who are today leading the Davis Defense.

By emphasizing the success of public opinion, pressure on the courts and through their faith in the liberals, the Defense Committee has created an extremely dangerous illusion: dangerous both to Davis herself and to the entire working class which is now facing the attacks of the ruling class.

PERSPECTIVE

In fact, at the very time that the Stalinists are expressing their complete confidence in "public opinion" and the institutions of ruling class justice, those very institutions have moved to strip away the mask of democracy completely.

Thus, it was no accident that the week before the jury received the case for deliberation, the Nixon-picked Supreme Court overturned both the Fifth and Sixth and even the Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

In the latter action, the Court overruled the traditions of English common law which employed the unanimous 12-member jury. They ruled that a unanimous jury verdict is not necessary for convictions in state criminal courts.

This decision signaled a change in the nature of the capitalist state as it prepares to take on the working class through the institution of Bonapartist measures.

It is extremely important in the Davis case since in the recent period, the only time an acquittal has been won in political cases has been because of a hung jury. Thus, when Huey Newton won his freedom following four years of imprisonment and three trials, it was because the jury found itself hopelessly deadlocked.

As the Bulletin noted then (Jan. 3, 1971 issue):

"The District Attorney referred to the dismissal as a 'frustration of justice' and bourgeois justice has no intention of remaining frustrated."

"The freeing of Huey Newton will only increase the determination of the state to obtain convictions of militants such as Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee and the Soledad Brothers."

With its latest rulings, the state has indeed found a way to carry out that determination.

The qualitative change instituted by the capitalist class can only be answered by a qualitative leap in the working class. The defense of Angela Davis cannot rest in the protest antics of the middle class. It must be taken into the working class and fought for through the independent mobilization of that class.

The Angela Davis case is not an isolated case, nor a mistake. It has been consciously prepared by the ruling class in its attempt to deal a decisive blow to the labor movement itself. Davis and the trade union movement as a whole can only be defended through the construction of a qualitatively different weapon.

This leap will require a break with the old forms of struggle, a break with the Republican and Democratic Parties; the parties to which the Stalinists of the Defense Committee seek to tie the working class. The only way to answer the attacks of Nixon and his courts is by bringing the working class to power. Today, that perspective must be implemented through the construction of a labor party based on a socialist program.

aim to overthrow the government was "totally irrelevant to this case," the judge allowed him to be seated.

During this entire process, the prosecution was not only aided by the judge, but also received help from the defense itself. They only used two of their 20 preemptory challenges and did not really conduct a fight to obtain a jury representative of the area. In fact, when the all-white, middle class jury was seated, Davis herself declared that it reflected Santa Clara County and was the best that could be expected from that county.

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It is for this reason that it was crucial for the Davis defense that the political questions be brought into the case. At a time when the entire working class is coming under attack, it is urgent that the political nature of this frame-up be exposed not only as part of the individual campaign to free Davis but as part of the preparation of the working class as a whole for the attacks that are being prepared by the ruling class.

However, the defense itself did not want to fight out and expose the political issues. They have continued to isolate the defense from the struggle for revolution. It was precisely their reformist perspective which led them to seek to prevent the introduction of George Jackson's letters to the trial.

The letters between Jackson and Davis reveal both the nature of the Angela Davis Defense Committee and the sharp struggle that was being waged against the liberalism of that committee by Davis herself. As the *Bulletin* reported at the time of Jackson's murder, he saw her in struggle against the Communist Party or at least an element within it.

He wrote following the August 7 events:

"When certain members of the party attacked Comrade Jonathan Jackson of the Black Panther Party for the 'practice' of his beliefs, Angela attacked them. No reactionary A.C.P. policy or ideology is safe from her censure. They have heaped criticism back on her in return."

It was in this period that Jackson broke from the CP elements within the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee. He labeled them opportunists and wrote that: "You took the wrong position August 7, public and private. I've heard all of the cowardly remarks bearing on my brother's judgement and sanity. Revolution is aggressive. The only reason some of you were allowed anywhere near any of the operation was in the hopes that you would mature to an understanding of this."

"The objective of all our activity is in the end the creation of the people's army—not an acquittal here and there. Strangely you have missed the whole point—the revolution has begun! You cannot save me with reformist, reactionary steps backward to the techniques of the 1930's."

The "techniques of the 1930's" to which Jackson refers are the Communist Party's theories of popular fronts with capitalist politicians as opposed to breaking the working class from capitalist politics and starting on the road to class struggle action and revolution.



The prosecution called Marin County Police Chief Terrence Branton (center) Defense attorney Branton (center) cross-examines prosecutor Robert West (on stand at left). Prosecution tried to use v

At the same time, Jackson made a serious turn to Marxist theory and stated that *Anti-Duhring* by Engels was the most important book he had read. *Anti-Duhring* is one of Marx and Engels' most fundamental works on Marxist philosophy. These developments are detailed in the correspondence between Jackson and Angela Davis and it is these developments that the Angela Davis Defense Committee wishes to cover up.

The defense attorneys are typical liberals and refuse to believe that the court or the jury would try the political opinions of the defendant. Thus, before the trial began, they moved to have Davis' case severed from Ruchell Magee's in order to be able to portray her to the liberal section of the ruling class as a respectable middle class college professor who was simply wrongly accused by the state.

When they have entered objections concerning the prosecution's case, they have done so from an outraged liberal perspective. Thus, when Harris introduced the letters into his case, defense attorney Leo Branton stated:

"I consider the entire session an obscenity."

"That is how sickening I think this whole procedure is here in which we are attempting to pry into the most intimate, the most personal expressions of another human being."

The defense attorneys then went on to state that they were shocked by the "sick game" Harris was playing.

But Harris is not playing a "game." As an agent of the capitalist system floundering in its deepest crisis, Harris is desperate to railroad Angela Davis by any means necessary. The state is determined to win a conviction in its conspiracy frame-up.

The nature and extent of the treacherous role of the defense was revealed when they rested their case in three days because they were so confident that the state had not presented any evidence against Davis. In fact, Branton went so far as to place the entire responsibility for the defense in the hands of the prosecution.

The defense believes that the reputation of courts of the ruling class will be "badly tarnished" if they were to bring in a verdict of guilty, and therefore they place their faith in the need of the institutions of the state to preserve their "image" in the eyes of the working class and youth.

The prosecution brought in rebuttal witnesses in its case when the defense rested its presentation on the technical issues which had been raised in the state's original examination. Harris made a fraudulent attempt to refute the defense's witnesses.

The defense witnesses had claimed that the prosecution's testimony which iden-



h (left drawing) early in trial. Above, witness San Quentin prison guard testifies to describe shootout and bring in

tremendous amounts of "evidence" whose only purpose was to overwhelm and confuse the jury. Bulletin artist Jim Webber has followed the Angela Davis trial from the beginning. He has done drawings of the trial exclusively for the Bulletin, including all those used on these pages.

tified Davis as being with Jonathan the week of the August 7 events was false.

However, the actual reason Harris reopened the case was revealed when he called George Jackson's father to testify for the state. He was quite aware that "image" in the eyes of the working class and youth.

In a conscious plan to avoid bringing in the political issues of the case, the defense did not even call Davis to testify in her own behalf. In fact, the full witnesses they did call simply offered further proof of the contradictions present in the prosecution's case. Their testimony did prove that the state's witnesses erred when they claimed they saw Davis with Jonathan Jackson during the days preceding August 7.

Carl Bloice, the editor of the Communist Party's newspaper *People's World* testified that at the time the guns registered to Davis were being smuggled into Haley's courtroom, she was doing some work in the newspaper office.

Furthermore, he offered proof that countered the prosecution's contention that Davis had been waiting at the San Francisco airport for a call from Jonathan Jackson and had fled when hearing that the plot had been aborted. He stated that he had driven her to the airport to catch a 3 p.m. flight for Los Angeles and had only hurried when a clerk told her that she could catch the 2 p.m. plane.

Another defense witness, Ellen Broms, stated that Davis had been in total shock when she learned of the news of Jonathan's death a full 12 hours after the shootout.

The testimony from Davis' roommate proved the defense's contention that Jonathan had acquired Davis' guns without her knowledge. She stated that the guns had been kept in a rack in a closet in their apartment and that Jonathan was in the apartment alone on August 1 and had received permission "to use the equipment." Following that day, she had not looked for the guns until August 8 when Davis and Franklin Alexander, then head of the Che-Lumumba Club in L.A., came to see if the guns were in fact missing.

The last witness was called to prove that any existence of a plot to free the Soledad Brothers was entirely false. Fleeta Drumgo, one of the Soledad Brothers, stated that he knew nothing of the alleged plan to force the release of the Brothers from San Quentin.

While all this evidence is crucial, it will be the political question upon which the jury will center its deliberations. And, thus it was necessary for the defense lawyers to mount a political attack on the state's case to demolish it. This they refused to do.

Lester Jackson would refuse to testify and he hoped that this in itself would create

doubts in the minds of the jury.

In refusing to testify, Jackson said: "I have lost two sons. I just don't want to take part in this proceeding." The complete cruelty of the state was then exposed as it held him in contempt of court.

This vicious maneuver was a last minute attempt to once again link Davis to Jackson. Harris has rested his entire case on this link because the jury is quite aware that George Jackson was a revolutionary and Jonathan is dead and did, in fact, participate in the August 7 events.

As the case goes to the jury, the defense has been left completely prostrate before the prosecution's maneuvers precisely because it sought to avoid the political questions.

Now, when the case rests with the jury, it is urgent to examine the role of the Angela Davis Defense Committee in order to prepare the working class for the fight that must be conducted to free Davis and all working class leaders whom the government will seek to condemn in order to beat back the offensive of that class and preserve its profit system.

THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The Angela Davis Defense Committee is led by the Stalinists of the American Communist Party. Thus, it follows the liberal, reformist line of that party and places Davis' defense in the hands of the liberal section of the ruling class.

When the Stalinists abandoned Marxism, they abandoned Lenin's warning issued in 1918 that:

"There is not a single state, however democratic, which does not contain loopholes or limiting clauses in its Constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the legal possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth, in case of a 'disturbance of the peace,' i.e. in case the exploited class 'disturbs' its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner."

The Committee ignores Lenin's characterization of the nature of the state and actually places its faith in that state. Thus, they have substituted the motions of lawyers and the petitions of liberals for the movement of the working class. The lessons of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, which was betrayed by the liberals of the Boston Defense Committee, serve as a sharp warning to such a method of proceeding.

From the very beginning of the case, the Committee has sought to whip up nationalism and deepen the isolation of the youth from the labor movement.

Franklin Alexander, the head of the Defense Committee, has repeatedly stated that the Committee has no "political ideology." But it does have an ideology: the ideology of the capitalist class. It is for

this reason that it continually puts forward the entire reformist line of the CP and covers this over with nationalist garbage about "the difference in consciousness between Blacks and whites."

Davis herself has sought to transform the class nature of the attack upon her into some sort of perversion or mistake. Further, she sees her struggle as separate from the struggles breaking out in the labor movement today and refuses to take up a role as a class fighter.

At all points, Davis' defense has been rooted in the middle class. In fact, the Stalinists have gone so far as to bow before organized religion and hold worship services in churches. Following one such service, the *People's World* had the audacity to declare:

"Amidst choir selections and thoughtful prayer was a reverence that transcended the four walls of the modern place of worship, a reverence for justice."

The justice that was paid "reverence" to that day was the justice of the ruling class which escalated its brutal attack on the workers and peasants of Vietnam and has instituted a vicious Pay Board to rip up the contracts and slash the living standards of the American working class.

But, the Defense Committee is not concerned with the working class. Nowhere in their campaign have they even mentioned the working class much less sought to mobilize it in support of Davis' defense. Rather, they emphasize that "public opinion" will bring about her freedom.

Furthermore, the Committee totally ignores the objective conditions which exist within capitalism today. At a time when the ruling class must move to destroy the working class, they bury their heads in the sand and declare that actually the ruling class has been entirely defeated and the working class has nothing to fear.

Thus, Henry Winston, chairman of the Communist Party, stated during the last week of the trial that:

"The frame-up of Angela Davis by the racists takes place on the eve of the total failure of U.S. policy at home and abroad. For example, since 1945 the policy has been to build up all kinds of aggressive alliances as with the revanchists in Germany, NATO and aggressive military blocs. What is the situation now? The complete collapse of 27 years of effort by the administration."

It is true that the old alliances are no longer sufficient to contain the international offensive of the working class. It is for that very reason that Nixon is in Moscow forming new alliances with those very Stalinists whom Henry Winston supports: alliances based on their mutual interests to beat back the working class.

The Defense Committee has emphasized that their case will be won through

the success of public opinion and pressure on the courts. At the same time that Winston declared the complete defeat of the U.S. ruling class, he expressed the philosophy of the Committee when he stated that:

"The Angela Davis frame-up takes place under conditions where the peace movement is the majority movement. Unlike the period of McCarthy, the defense of Angela Davis is anchored in a mass movement of a size and type that never existed before. This makes it easy to expose the bankruptcy of the prosecutor's case."

This perspective is completely bankrupt. In the first place, there have been movements of a much greater size and qualitatively different from middle class protest politics that have risen to defend working class militants. The International Labor Defense, which mobilized millions of workers throughout the world in strike action against the frame-up of Sacco and Vanzetti, is the best example of such a movement.

In the second place, history has shown that movements rooted in the middle class disintegrate as soon as the fight becomes sharp. Thus, Sacco and Vanzetti were executed because of the treacherous role of such liberals who are today leading the Davis Defense.

By emphasizing the success of public opinion, pressure on the courts and through their faith in the liberals, the Defense Committee has created an extremely dangerous illusion: dangerous both to Davis herself and to the entire working class which is now facing the attacks of the ruling class.

PERSPECTIVE

In fact, at the very time that the Stalinists are expressing their complete confidence in "public opinion" and the institutions of ruling class justice, those very institutions have moved to strip away the mask of democracy completely.

Thus, it was no accident that the week before the jury received the case for deliberation, the Nixon-picked Supreme Court overturned both the Fifth and Sixth and even the Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

In the latter action, the Court overruled the traditions of English common law which employed the unanimous 12-member jury. They ruled that a unanimous jury verdict is not necessary for convictions in state criminal courts.

This decision signaled a change in the nature of the capitalist state as it prepares to take on the working class through the institution of Bonapartist measures.

It is extremely important in the Davis case since in the recent period, the only time an acquittal has been won in political cases has been because of a hung jury. Thus, when Huey Newton won his freedom following four years of imprisonment and three trials, it was because the jury found itself hopelessly deadlocked.

As the Bulletin noted then (Jan. 3, 1971 issue):

"The District Attorney referred to the dismissal as a "frustration of justice" and bourgeois justice has no intention of remaining frustrated.

"The freeing of Huey Newton will only increase the determination of the state to obtain convictions of militants such as Angela Davis, Russell Magee and the Soledad Brothers."

With its latest rulings, the state has indeed found a way to carry out that determination.

The qualitative change instituted by the capitalist class can only be answered by a qualitative leap in the working class. The defense of Angela Davis cannot rest in the protest antics of the middle class. It must be taken into the working class and fought for through the independent mobilization of that class.

The Angela Davis case is not an isolated case, nor a mistake. It has been consciously prepared by the ruling class in its attempt to deal a decisive blow to the labor movement itself. Davis and the trade union movement as a whole can only be defended through the construction of a qualitatively different weapon.

This leap will require a break with the old forms of struggle, a break with the Republican and Democratic Parties: the parties to which the Stalinists of the Defense Committee seek to tie the working class. The only way to answer the attacks of Nixon and his courts is by bringing the working class to power. Today, that perspective must be implemented through the construction of a labor party based on a socialist program.



Carl Bloice (drawing on left), editor of CP's "People's World" testified for the defense. His testimony and that of other defense witnesses proved Davis was nowhere near the



shootout and did not even find out about it until 12 hours later. Judge Arnason aided the prosecution (D.A. Harris above with Arnason) against the defense throughout trial.

Angela Davis' Letter to George Jackson

June 2, 1970

Dear George,
I had abandoned all hope of ever seeing the two letters I have just finished reading. I sit down to write you, not knowing whether or how or when this will reach you. There must be a way.

It is already impossible to begin at the beginning. If I start by dropping the mask and say in all naturalness: I have come to love you very deeply, I count on you to believe me, George. I have used these words very seldom in my 26 years—because I could not have meant them very often.

Believe me it happened so abruptly, so spontaneously. I was not seeking love when I walked into a Salinas courtroom on Friday, May 8, 1970. And so it is difficult to articulate it further. But one thing remains to be said—my feelings dictate neither illusionary hopes nor intolerable despair. My love—your love—reinforces my fighting instincts, it tells me to go to war.

You are so right about the so-called black bourgeoisie—a pseudo-class consciously created by the white rulers as a force to further bridle our rebellion, as just one more instrument of repression. Whether they want it or not, all those black people who have "made it" are a part of that monstrous repressive apparatus—and not only in the ways described by Malcolm (a pool from which the white bourgeoisie draws counter-revolutionary leaders for the black community). Their very existence, their being-there is a very effective damper weighing down on our natural rebellious instincts. My Aunt, descendant of slaves, born in an unpainted shack on an Alabama cotton field, now lives in a 20-room mansion in the hills of Hollywood.

Before she disassociated herself from me (I was 17), I would try to run down to her why we are struggling for freedom. "Tell all those niggers to work as hard as I have. They can make it—but then most niggers are too lazy." Tragically it is that until recently, many blacks saw their wretchedness as a consequence of their own inabilities.

The existence, the being-there of the so-called black bourgeoisie has done not a little to advance the cause of racism in this country. The twisted minds of the bourgeoisie measure inner worth according to the ability of the individual to successfully compete on the market. The fact that a few blacks have "made it" is used to convince people that objective barriers do not prohibit blacks from entering into the mainstream. Why, then are the masses of black people still incarcerated in ghetto-prisons? Success is not their destiny, because the inner motivation is not there. After all, the Italians, the Irish, the Poles, etc. rose up from their downtrodden postures—it must be race...

Concerning Black Women: I am convinced that the solution is not to persuade the black woman to relax her reins on the

black male, not simply to the "be a good boy" syndrome into a "take the sword in hand" attitude. To eradicate all the shit which has been imposed on us from without, to combat all the shit we have unwittingly internalized, to take our first step towards freedom, we, too, must pick up the sword. Only "a fighting woman" can guide her son in the warrior direction. Only when our lives—our total lives—become inseparable from struggle can we, black women, do what we have to do for our sons and daughters!!

My mother was overly protective of her sons and daughters. I could never forgive her for forcing my brothers (us, too) to take dancing lessons. George, we must dig into all the muck and get at the roots of our problems—Our understanding must be a radical grasp of things (radical in the etymological sense). When we are overly protective, we attempt to dissuade our loved ones from accepting the burden of fighting this war which has been declared on us, we cannot be dismissed as counter-revolutionary. You'd be surprised how many brothers would say this. Nor can it be said that we ought to blot out our natural instincts of survival.

Why, why, is our condition so wrought with contradictions? We, who have been coerced into performing the most degrading kind of labour—a sex machine for the white slave master. Rather than helplessly watch her children die a slow death of starvation, my grandmother submitted to the white mastery, my father's accursed father. We have scrubbed the shit from under the feet of the slave master. Taking into consideration the balance of forces at that time—would we otherwise be alive?

The reign of a barbarous capitalist society could not have been secure unless the continued subjugation of black people (and they would use any means necessary). "Divide and conquer"—it never fails. Rape the black woman, and make the survival of the black race dependent on that vicious rape. No recourse to the black male—except death. After raping the black woman, give her a piece of the pie. Make the survival of the black family dependent on a chasm within. Pound into the mind of the black male that his superiority, his manhood has been diminished, has been irreparably damaged by the female of his race. Give him no room, no work with which to objectify his potentialities. Convince the female that he is a lazy son-of-a-bitch. The chasm within.

To choose between various paths of survival means the objective availability of alternatives. I hope you don't take this as an apologetic stance. I'm only trying to understand the forces that have led us, black women, to where we are now. Why did your mother offer you reprimands instead of the flaming sword? Which is equivalent to posing the same question about every other black woman—and not only with respect to the sons but the daughters, too (this is really crucial). In Cuba last summer I saw some very beautiful Vietnamese warriors—all female. And we know that the Algerian war for national liberation would have been doomed to defeat from the very beginning without the active participation of Algerian

women.

In Cuba, I saw women patrolling the streets with rifles on their backs—defending the revolution. But also, young companeras educating their husbands, and lovers—demythologizing Machismo. After all, if women can fight, manage factories, then men ought to be able to help with the house, children...

But returning to the question—we have learned from our revolutionary ancestors that no individual act or response can seize the sceptre of the enemy. The slave lashes out against his immediate master, subdues him, escapes, but he has done nothing more than take the first step in the long spiral upwards towards liberation.

And often that individual escape is an evasion of the real problem. It is only when all the slaves are aroused from their slumber, articulate their goals, choose their leaders, make an unwavering commitment to destroy every single obstacle which might prevent them from transcribing their visions of a new world, a new man, onto the soil of the earth, into the flesh and blood of men.

Even dreams are often prohibited or are allowed to surface only in the most disguised and sublimated form—the desire to be white, the monstrous perverted aspirations of a so-called black bourgeoisie, created to pacify the masses. And then there is the unnatural system-oriented desires of a black woman who is relating to the survival of her children.

(I am rambling, dreaming that the words from my pen are sounds absorbed by your ears, regretting that I am lying on the only warm spot in this big double bed (it is 2:30 a.m.).)

The point is—given the vacuum created by the absence of collective struggle, the objective survival alternatives are sparse: ambitions of bourgeois gluttony or—like you said—unconscious crime. One path goes in thru the front door, the other sneaks in thru the back and is far more dangerous and seemingly far less likely to reach its destination.

A mother cannot help but cry out for the survival of her own flesh and blood. We have been forbidden to reach out for the truth about survival—that is a collective enterprise and must be offensive, rather than defensive—for us, the principle of survival dictates the annihilation of all that compels us to order our lives around that principle.

Anxieties, frustrations engendered by the spectre of a child dead of starvation focus our minds and bodies on the most immediate necessities of life. The "job" harangue; the "make yourself something" harangue. Exhortations grounded in fear, a fear brought into being and sustained by a system which could not subsist without the poor, the reserve army of unemployed, the scapegoat.

Survival perverted and mis-directed by a structure which coerces me to kick my jobless man out of the house so the social worker doesn't stop those welfare cheques which I need to feed my hungry child.

A labyrinthine network of murderous institutions in order to allow my man no flexibility, no room, lets me receive the

cheques, lets me in the back door to scrub floors (so the reserve labour force remains alive) and has the audacity to consider that a favour in return for which I must submit to the white rapist and-or subjugate my black man. The principle of (un)just exchange is omnipotent.

Frustrations, aggressions cannot be repressed indefinitely. Eventual explosion must be expected. And we, black women, have much more than our share of them. But if the revolutionary path buried beneath an avalanche of containment mechanisms, we, black women, aim our bullets in the wrong direction, and moreover don't even understand the weapon. For the black female, the solution is not to become less aggressive, not to lay down the gun, but to learn how to set the sights correctly, aim accurately, squeeze rather than jerk, and not be overcome by the damage.

We have to learn how to rejoice when pig's blood is spilled. But all this presupposes that the black male will have purged himself of the myth that his mother, his woman, must be subdued before he can wage war on the enemy. Liberation is a dialectical movement—the black woman can liberate herself from all the muck—and it works the other way around and this is only the beginning.

Is it coincidental that Leroy Jones and Ron Karenga, who are nothing but pig agents—and the whole lot of cowardly cultural nationalists—demand the total submission of the black female as rectification for the century-long wrongs she has done the black male. Like you said, George, there are certain obvious criteria for measuring the extent to which counter-revolution is being nourished by those who call themselves our companions in struggle. Their attitude towards whites is one criterion. Their attitude toward women another.

Women's Liberation in the revolution is inseparable from the liberation of the male.

I have rambled. I hope I have not been talking in tautologies.

Jon and I have made a truce. As long as I try to combat my tendencies to remind him of his youth, he will try to combat his male chauvinism. Don't come down on me before you understand—I never said Jon was too young for anything. I just mentioned how incredible it is that in spite of Catholic school, Georgia, etc. he refused to allow society to entrap him in adolescence. But still, he doesn't dig any mention of age.

The night after I saw you in court, for the first time in months, I dreamt (or at least the dream was significant enough to work its way into my consciousness). We were together, fighting pigs, winning. We were learning to know each other.

I love you
Revolutionary greetings
from Che-Lumumba and
the Soledad Bros.
Defense Com.

Angela.

Alex Steiner Books

In the first part of his review of Philosophy and Science in the Soviet Union, Alex Steiner discussed the destructive influence of Stalinism on the development of scientific research. This week, he concludes his review with an analysis of philosophical roots of the Stalinist attack on quantum physics.

PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE IN THE SOVIET UNION. By Loren R. Graham, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1972. \$15.00.

This bureaucratic stupidity of Stalinism led to attacks on many other areas of science, including relativity theory, quantum mechanics, structural chemistry. In all these areas, a dogmatic defense of traditional concepts led to a renunciation of important new discoveries.

The Stalinist hack Maksimov led the attack against quantum mechanics. In this case, real philosophical questions were posed, which the ideologists of the bureaucracy consistently avoided confronting and persecuted those thoughtful scientists that did attempt to do so.

Quantum mechanics, first developed by Schrodinger, posed great difficulties to the traditional mechanical interpretation of physical causality. The model for this causal conception took any determinate physical state to have been uniquely derived from a previous determinate state under certain definite conditions in accordance with a definite law of nature which expressed this relationship. Furthermore the time-space coordinates and parameters of motion could, in principle, be made as precise as was needed.

This strictly deterministic conception of motion divided nature into the realms of necessity, wherein these causal laws were strictly obeyed. Contingency, which could not be accounted for by strict determinism, was seen as something outside the objective world—as being unreal.

This model of determinism seemed adequate; all scientific progress pointed to a more and more comprehensive knowledge of the universe in accordance with strict causal laws—until the advent of quantum mechanics. Quantum mechanics, the physics of microparticles, discovered that a limit of precision had been reached in determining the values of particles in motion. If the momentum of a particle is precisely given, then its position cannot be and vice-versa. Furthermore, experimentation showed that under certain conditions, this physical phenomena exhibited the mutually exclusive characteristics of both particles and waves.

IDEALIST

This discovery encouraged idealist philosophers of science in the West to talk of the "liquidation of matter" and to deny the objectivity of the laws of nature. These scientists and philosophical interpreters of science, represented particularly by the Copenhagen school, claimed that quantum theory proved the primacy of the measuring instrument, the observer, over the matter observed. They put forth the openly idealist argument that whether quantum phenomena were waves or particles depended solely upon the kinds of measurement techniques carried out and had nothing to do with the intrinsic properties of quantum phenomena. In fact, they claimed that quantum phenomena were both particles and waves, though not simultaneously, and depending completely on the kind of experiment performed at different times.

Second, they took the statistical nature of quantum mechanical laws to pose some kind of intrinsic limit to the further development of science. Physics seemed to have reached an apex beyond which it could not go, whose roots lay ultimately in the limitation of the subjective observer to impose his concepts upon the world. They claimed that because deterministic causal laws ultimately broke down, the objectivity of the material world thereby had a limit.

REACTIONARY

This was clearly a reactionary interpretation which attempted to reintroduce subjectivism and scepticism back into science, and was even extended into other realms such as politics and ethics by some

of the more zealous adherents of the Copenhagen school.

Their mistake lay in their idealist method, which did not begin with the objectivity of the material world and struggle to overcome our historically limited conceptions about it in order to more adequately reflect this objectivity in our concepts. On the contrary, these idealists begin with their concepts, against which they test out the objectivity of the world. If their concepts are no longer an adequate reflection of the world in light of new scientific discoveries, then they see the problem to lie in the material world and not in their concepts.

The mechanical concept of strict determinism that excludes contingency was the root of this conceptual inadequacy. In considering a physical phenomenon, it is necessary to mentally abstract out the essential relations within a given sphere and consider the influence of other factors, of contingencies, to be nonexistent. However, the mechanical view of the world forgets that this necessary mental abstraction of an isolated system can never be carried out in the real world. It is in principle impossible to isolate a system out of its interconnection to the entire universe and all the forces and influences that act upon it and that it acts upon.

Thus, contingent events, which are in themselves objective natural phenomena, but which are beyond the scope of a particular, so-called isolated system, necessarily are an element in all physical phenomena. All physical laws of necessary relations express themselves against a background of contingent events. Necessity and contingency in fact imply each other rather than exclude each other.

DIALECTICAL

A dialectical understanding of the relationship between necessity and contingency leads us to reject the strict determinism of classical physics—all physical laws are of a statistical nature. They are for that matter, no less objective. They express the real essential relationships of different aspects of the material universe in motion.

Thus, the debates between bourgeois philosophers about determinism vs. indeterminism are totally metaphysical. The problem brought out by quantum theory is not whether the statistical laws of quantum theory imply an indeterminate universe or pose a limit to the further development of scientific knowledge, but in what way are the statistical laws of quantum mechanics qualitatively

Stalinist Mechanism Confronts The New Science

different than the statistical laws of classical mechanics, and what is its significance? The answer seems to lie in the fact that precise values can be ideally conceived in classical mechanics, but are intrinsically ruled out in quantum mechanics, where it would be self-contradictory to conceive of a precise value even as an ideal limit.

It seems to us that this situation arises in quantum theory because quantum theory deals with the lowest limit at which matter can be studied. The scientist studying phenomena of this order cannot ignore the real material changes that he himself introduces into the situation he is studying. It means, therefore, that there is no such thing as an observer who merely contemplates, who does not interact with his environment, who does not materially change it in the process of learning about it.

Furthermore, the fact that matter exhibits mutually exclusive properties, the properties of waves and the properties of particles, should not come as a shock to a dialectician who understands the unity of opposites in conflict. What does pose a difficulty, however, is the separate existence of each of these mutually exclusive opposites, the existence of particles without waves and waves without particles. This seems to point to a conceptual inadequacy in some of the most basic concepts of physics, such "particles," "waves," "position," "momentum," etc.

FOUGHT

Creative Soviet scientists such as Blokhintsev and Omelianovski attempted to combat the idealist interpreters of quantum mechanics by developing a dialectical view of it and integrating its critique of classical mechanics. They fought at every point against the subjective and skeptical interpretations of the idealists.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, on the other hand, clutched tenaciously onto the mechanical materialist conceptions of classical mechanics and strict determinism, and simply denied the progressive development of science represented by quantum theory.

A spokesman for the bureaucracy, the party hack Maksimov, played a leading role in the attacks against quantum mechanics. He drew a crude amalgamation between the idealist interpretations of quantum theory and quantum theory itself in order to discredit those in the Soviet Union who were attempting to develop a dialectical materialist understanding of quantum theory.

It is precisely the periodic crises emerging with new discoveries that engender a questioning and a conflict against the present level of scientific theory. It is this questioning which provides the basis for a development of theory. Only out of such a conflict does a new theory develop which negates the one-sidedness of the previous theory. The new theory is not simply the destruction of the old, but accounts for all the phenomena that the previous theory did and at the same time is able to account for the new anomalies by integrating them into a deeper conceptual understanding of matter in motion.

This was the case, for instance, in the development of the theory of special relativity where the old classical concept of "simultaneity," among others, is replaced by a deeper, richer concept. Our ability to consciously reproduce and direct these material processes confirms the validity of the new theory and leads to further development with the constant discovery of new "anomalies" and their collision with the existing level of theory.

ATTACKED

Stalinists such as Maksimov attacked quantum mechanics not from the point of view of struggling for a more comprehensive scientific theory, but precisely because quantum mechanics challenged physics to revolutionize its existing conceptions.

In contrast to the dismal suppression of the sciences by Stalinism, this book also brings out the great progressive developments in the sciences that were engendered by the October Revolution in the early years of the Soviet Union. Among the foremost creative scientists to have been inspired by the October Revolution and guided in their work by a dialectical materialist understanding of nature was the biologist Oparin and the psychologist Vygotsky.

It is not accidental that such pragmatically oriented endeavors such as behaviorist psychology and cybernetics are today growing more influential in the Soviet Union as they have been for many years in the West. A real renewal of Soviet science and culture demands an end to the repressive bureaucracy which continually stifles it.

The great merit to this book is that the author, despite his agnostic, anti-Marxist position, is able to bring out some of the rich history of the struggle for dialectical materialism among Soviet scientists against the dogmatic ideology of the bureaucracy.

Tim Wohlforth Books

The Period Of The Transitional Program



Leon Trotsky reads report in Socialist Appeal on Founding Congress of 4th International.

DEATH AGONY OF CAPITALISM AND THE TASKS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM. By Leon Trotsky. New Introduction by Lucy St. John. Labor Publications. May, 1972. 50 Cents.

The publication of a new edition of the Transitional Program in the United States with a new introduction is of the

greatest importance. As its title makes clear the Transitional Program was written for the general period of the death agony of capitalism. Today we enter into a new stage in this death agony, the stage of the greatest crisis in the history of world capitalism and therefore of the most momentous class struggles.

We enter actually into the period of the Transitional Program.

Lucy St. John points out in her Introduction that the American working class made a significant contribution to the writing of the Transitional Program. Trotsky drew on the experience of the Bolshevik Party and the Russian Revolution, on the bitter struggle for the program of the October Revolution against the Stalinists, but also on the actual experience of the American working class in the construction of the CIO in the 1930's.

Now we enter a period where the American capitalists can only maintain their system through a bitter battle to destroy the trade union movement constructed in the 1930's. This requires that American workers fight to construct their own political party precisely in order to defend these unions and thus themselves.

The Transitional Program is the program around which we must fight to construct such a party. It connects the immediate interests of the working class with the necessary task of coming to power, of destroying capitalism and establishing socialism.

This means that the Transitional Program must be viewed, not as an historical document, not even as an important educational tool, but as a **weapon** in our immediate struggle to bring about a labor party **today**.

Revisionist Crisis In Latin America

Lora-OCI Unity Blows Up Over Stalinism

By Lucia Rivera

The Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), which split from the International Committee of the Fourth International in October 1971, has completely capitulated to revisionism. This capitulation found its sharpest reflection at the recent Latin American Trotskyist Conference. The conference, attended by Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR, Bolivia), Politica Obrera (PO, Argentina), Liga Obrera Marxista (LOM, Mexico) and the OCI (France), proved to be a fiasco for the OCI.

The agenda included five points but the conference only dealt with the first two. The first point was the crisis of the International Committee (IC) of the Fourth International. All the organizations present at the conference were in agreement on one thing—on attacking Marxist theory and the Fourth International.

The OCI, which after the Banzer right-wing coup in Bolivia lost no time in attacking the analysis of the IC on the Bolivian situation, could not reach an agreement with its revisionist allies on the principled questions which arose from the first point of the conference, much less go fully into the second point of the conference on the strategy for the Latin American revolution.

According to an article in *Politica Obrera* (No. 107): "The alternatives of this discussion generalized the discussion towards old divergencies between both sectors, referring to the national problem, the anti-imperialist united front, Castroism and Stalinism in the backward countries."

Because they were related it was agreed to unite the first two points on the agenda. The POR and OCI both presented separate documents for discussion on the Latin American Revolution.

DIVISION

The document presented by the POR deepened the division between the OCI and the POR. It revolved around the question of the FRA (Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front) of Bolivia and the relationship of the POR to the FRA.

The POR and PO put out a joint resolution in which they show how the conference refused to take a position on the thesis presented by the POR on the significance of the Popular Assembly, the tactics of the FRA and the perspectives of the Bolivian Revolution. It states that the OCI and LOM wanted to continue discussing Stalinism and Castroism.

The resolution states:

"It is abnormal that a meeting, having two theses and other materials on the table and having devoted almost all its time to their study, did not conclude with a vote."

The resolution continues: "The aforementioned delegates (OCI-LOM) by not categorically declaring themselves before the conference on the topics in debate and particularly on the FRA, have adopted a wavering and centrist attitude with reference to the whole of the Bolivian experience."

For their part, the OCI and LOM see the conference as a progressive step in the struggle to "reconstruct the Fourth International." They state that all the organizations at the meeting confirmed their complete agreement on the politics followed by the POR in the Popular Assembly, during the events of August 19 and 20, 1971 against the coup of Banzer.

The discussion immediately afterwards centered on the problems linked to the political evaluation of Castroism, of Stalinism, the role of petty-bourgeois nationalist organizations in the backward countries and concretely the POR's politics as developed in the framework of the FRA.

The OCI's resolution ends with the statement that a series of misunderstandings were dissipated by the discussion but that no agreement was reached on the tactics of the POR at this time and that such a discussion would continue at the next meeting.

The OCI after breaking from the International Committee has dedicated itself to the "reconstruction of the Fourth International" with elements hostile to Marxism and to the international movement. Its first experience in this has been a failure.

The OCI supported the POR, which

party. The struggle is put into action between the majority of the Bolivian people, now subjected, and the reactionary dictatorship of Banzer. All forms of sectarianism are counterrevolutionary."

In Masas, the organ of the POR (March 1972) in an article entitled "Bolivia—the FRA—Tactic for a Worker-Peasant Government" the POR expounds with



Pierre Lambert of the OCI speaks at meeting held to support Lora and policies of POR.

contributed to the defeat of the Bolivian revolution, basing itself on a popular front with Stalinists and bourgeois nationalists in support of Torres, instead of organizing the working class independently for the taking of power. This has plunged the OCI into a crisis. It is now the OCI which is called "wavering" and "centrist" by the POR itself.

FRA

The FRA was founded in November 1971. It is made up of the Armed Forces loyal to Torres, the Stalinists, the Pabloites, the POR and other left-nationalist parties. In its manifesto it states:

"This is not a battle that is bound to the interest of only one sector of the exploited people, of only one class, institution or

great clarity its complete rejection of Trotskyism and of international revolution. According to Masas, "We are not directing ourselves toward socialism in an immediate way; our task is much more modest, to move the masses; to get them to pass from passive to active resistance."

How does the POR propose to attain this? It proposes to strengthen the FRA. According to the POR this is not the time to raise "bold slogans" but to be dedicated to the struggle for elementary democratic demands. "Together with this elementary struggle, there is the urgency to formulate wage demands, and demands that are relevant to working conditions."

In an interview with Guillermo Lora

(POR) which appeared in the OCI's *Informations Ouvrieres* on October 13, he defends his support of Torres' bourgeois nationalist government against the criticism of the IC.

Understanding the reactionary role that bourgeois nationalism plays in the backward countries, the International Committee wages an unconditional struggle against the illusions of the workers in this tendency. It appears that Lora has never heard of Bangla Desh, nor of Trotsky's writings on the Spanish Civil War.

The FRA cannot substitute for the revolutionary party as the POR states. The role of the FRA is to maintain the illusions of the workers and peasants in the national bourgeoisie.

ALTERNATIVE

In the interview Lora declares that "We often have found ourselves on the same ground as the CP knowing, however, that we are dealing with a counterrevolutionary party. Those who accuse us of having acted in agreement with the CP on certain problems forget to pose the question—who has capitulated to whom?"

The question was answered a month later when the POR constituted a popular front (FRA) with Stalinists, Castroists and bourgeois nationalists in defense of the bourgeois government of Torres.

The Manifesto adopted by the Fourth Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International offers the only alternative to the Bolivian working class and the international proletariat:

"In the epoch of imperialism in the colonial and semicolonial countries the most elementary demands for national independence and democratic rights can only be granted if the struggles in these countries is carried over into the socialist phase.

"Stalinism cannot be reformed. It must be smashed, overthrown, through the mobilization of the working class under the leadership of parties of the International Committee of the Fourth International."

SWP Supporter Joins Argentine Social Democracy

The Moreno (La Verdad) faction of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (P.R.T.) of Argentina has recently liquidated itself into the Socialist Party of Argentina (PSA-Coral faction). Moreno took this action based on a repudiation of Trotskyism.

Moreno has been the main supporter in Latin America of the Socialist Workers Party's minority within the Pabloite United Secretariat. The other faction of the P.R.T. supports the United Secretariat majority led by Ernest Mandel. The latter faction organized the E.R.P. which was recently involved in a number of kidnappings and urban guerrilla activities.

This step, taken by Nahuel Moreno, old-time leader of the P.R.T. is linked to his whole past anti-Marxist method. He has refused to build a revolutionary party. Instead he has engaged in a frenzied search for a substitute in centrism, bourgeois nationalism and in the trade union bureaucracy.

Moreno and his group entered the Peronista movement with the excuse that it would fight for Trotskyism inside the Peronism. In the early 1960's, 90 percent of the Argentine workers were under the in-

fluence of Peronism. This centrism lasted for more than 7 years (1957-1964) in which the so-called "fight for Trotskyism" was abandoned, and the Moreno group was the one who accepted the hegemony of Peron.

"Only a madman can argue against the magnificent role that Peron played inside our movement," Moreno stated in that period. In their paper *Politica Obrera* (June 28, 1960), they even went further and held the position that Peron was in favor of workers' militias and workers' control even after Peron "saved the fatherland," giving a hand in the guerrilla coup d'etat.

PETTY BOURGEOIS

In 1964, Moreno joined ranks with the FRIP, a petty bourgeois group and together founded the P.R.T.

By this time, the Moreno group had split from the International Committee along with the SWP on the basis of "integration into the Castroist current."

The abandonment of Trotskyism and the attack on the permanent revolution went even further. In the book of Moreno's, *La Revolucion Latinoamericana*, he exposes his view clearly: "Life has proved the gaps, omissions and mistakes of the Permanent Revolution. The dogma that the only class that can resolve the democratic demands of the working class is false. Sections of the middle class and the peasantry, in some occasions, have proven themselves as the revolutionary leaders. History has proven false the theory, that in the backward country the working class is the revolutionary leadership."

Moreno, in his book, points out that the Transitional Program brings together the European revolutionary experience, but that this program does not even mention guerrilla warfare and deals very superficially on the question of the peasantry, nationalism and democratic

demands.

In July 1969 the Moreno faction (La Verdad) was expelled by the majority, the PRT-ERP. The PRT-ERP was recognized as the official section of the Unified Secretariat and the Moreno group was recognized as a sympathizer.

It was no accident that the SWP became a strong supporter of the Moreno group. Guerrillism had ceased to be a nice thing to speak about, it had turned into the "modus vivendi" of the PRT-ERP. With the right turn to capitalist politicians in the past years, the SWP felt uncomfortable belonging in the same movement with the terrorists of the PRT-ERP.

Moreno has taken SWP politics to its logical end. After its liquidation in the PSA (Coral), it is looking forward to forming a "socialist front" with the other PSA under the basis of support to Peron, but with a "socialist program," and in that way "radicalize the masses."

The independence of the working class from bourgeois nationalism is dropped. Support of a "progressive" bourgeois politician who would "radicalize" the masses is substituted.

The politics of Moreno are as opportunist and liquidationist as that of the PRT-ERP faction. In fact they are the same in method as those of Lora in Bolivia, supported within Argentina by the *Politica Obrera* group. All these various groups start from Latin American considerations and thus cannot free themselves from the national bourgeoisies of these countries.

The Trotskyist movement in Latin America must begin from international perspectives particularly learning the lessons of the struggle for the Marxist method against Pabloite revisionism within the Fourth International. This struggle is now beginning in several Latin American countries.

Class Struggle Sweeps Namibia

BY C. WOODS & P. MARTIN

Nixon's policy of August 15th marked the beginning of the capitalists' determined struggle to defeat the working class internationally by destroying the unions in Europe and the U.S. and by waging war in the colonial countries. The international working class offensive against imperialism is brought into focus in Africa by the massive strike action in Namibia, South West Africa.

The general strike that began December 13, 1971 and which continues today is a determined effort by the workers of Namibia to fight against the tyranny of the South African regime and to deal a heavy blow to the imperialist forces which have exported, in the form of profits and dividends, one third of its yearly Gross National Product.

Namibia, an extremely rich country in mineral resources located in the southwest tip of Africa, was colonized by Germany in 1889 after initial forays were conducted by missionaries armed with their Bibles. The German imperialists were met with a war of resistance (1904-1907) as were the Portugese (1916-1917). Owing to the superiority of arms and foreign capital, these wars of oppression reduced the population of Southwest Africa by two thirds.

As an occupied country, South West Africans were forced to fight and work for the German imperialists. After World War I South West Africa was handed over to the South African Union under a mandate of the League of Nations. This opened the door for the Allied powers to join in the exploitation of Namibian labor and mineral resources. What followed was a period of ruthless enslavement and exploitation by international capitalism which was challenged in 1922 and 1932 by popular uprisings.

SWAPO

The earliest organized workers' resistance to the colonial oppressors began in 1957 when Namibians working in the South African mines formed the Ovamboland People's Congress (OPC). This organization, through increased support of workers inside Namibia, became the Ovamboland People's Organization (OPO) in 1959 with Sam Nujoma as President. It was in 1960 that the OPO officially became South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) which is the present day organization of the Namibian workers.

The South African regime reacted to the threat of an organized, militant workers movement by firing into a crowd of peaceful demonstrators, killing 11 and wounding more than 50—the Windhoek Massacre. The leadership of SWAPO was broken up through deportations and relocation. A few, including Sam Nujoma, were rescued and sent into exile.

Throughout the early history of SWAPO's development, the goal of national independence was the main rallying cry and hopes for independence lay in their trust of "world opinion" and the U.N. to revoke the South African mandate and to place Namibia under a U.N. mandate. It was on August 26, 1966 that the

SWAPO leadership, in response to a negative ruling by the World Court, launched armed struggle in Namibia. By initiating guerrilla warfare, SWAPO turned its back on the workers and peasants who were looking for leadership.

South Africa answered the guerrilla threat by extending the "Suppression of Communism Act" into Namibia, followed a short time later by the "Ant-Terrorism Act." These so-called security acts were used to arrest, imprison, and torture 200 of Namibia's most militant workers. This sparked the student protests against South Africa and the learning of Afrikaans, the language of oppression. Students printed "Namibia" on the blackboards and walls in defiance of the increased repression.

HATED TOOL

SWAPO, its leadership in prison or exile, was cut off from the working class—chiefly the miners, fishermen and farm laborers who were about to go on the offensive against the South West African Native Labor Association (SWANLA), the hated tool of the capitalist corporations.

SWANLA, a South African government agency, takes care of labor recruitment for the big corporations operating in Namibia. The recruiters select workers and sent them without regard to their preference into mines, the fishing industries or to settlers' farms. The so-called contract that the workers are forced to sign is for a two-year maximum duration.

From the time of recruitment, the worker has neither the right to be absent nor to annul the "contract." Neither has he the right to live with his family in the work zone. Any tardiness or complete absence from work is considered a criminal offense. Workers are housed in barracks under extremely crowded and inhuman conditions. Abuse against workers has ranged from outright murder to theft of his meager savings. Wages, often a mere \$10 a month, are 20 times less than what a European worker gets for the same work.

REPRESSION

It was with the demand for the total abolishment of the contract labor system that thousands of workers walked off their jobs last year. The strike began in the mines around Windhoek and spread quickly to include the fishing industries of Walvis-Bay, the copper mines of Tsumeb in the North and soon included all work sectors of the economy. On the first day of the strike, 13 strike leaders were arrested and charged under the 1920 "Master and Servant Act": a law so heinous one wonders why it isn't simply called the "Legal Lynch Law."

In the face of all the repression that the



Top, SWAPO guerrilla checks out weapon in Namibia. Above left, SWAPO president Sam Nujoma. Right, Peter Mueshahange, General Secretary of SWAPO.

South African regime can muster—brutal beatings, arrests, torture, deportations, and relocations to the internment camps called "bantustans"—the Namibian workers are continuing their strike begun in December of 1971. The blow to the imperialist corporations, dependent on cheap labor for their gigantic profits, has forced them to offer modest reforms in the contract labor system. The "terms of agreement" accepted by puppet chiefs loyal to the South African government have been completely rejected by the strikers. An attempt to recruit scab laborers from the bantustans has totally failed as these peasants are in complete solidarity with the workers.

SWAPO, while claiming leadership for the workers' offensive, has failed to carry the struggle forward. The massive strike action by the Namibian workers is being channeled into reformism and the real question of seizing power through workers control of the mines is being ignored. This piecemeal approach to liberation comes at a time when capitalism internationally is being pushed against the wall. Any retreats that afford capital a breathing spell can only lead to betrayal of the working class internationally.

REFORMISM

The SWAPO leadership, faced with the task of applying its forces toward a socialist revolution, a revolution that would have tremendous repercussions for African workers in other countries as well as for workers internationally, has opted for national independence under its national bourgeoisie. This struggle for independence based on Castro-style guerrilla warfare can only lead to the defeat of Namibia's most revolutionary fighters.

Guerrilla warfare in Namibia is heavily

supported by revisionists and Stalinists who encourage the theory of a two stage revolution. The guerrilla fighters, by neglecting the workers and peasants and reducing their offensive to a secondary role, isolate themselves in the countryside and stage raids against the Cunene DAM Project in north-west Namibia and attack South African military installations in the CAPRIVI Strip. These military actions have created thousands of refugees who have fled into Zambia to escape brutal reprisals.

The revolutionary forces must begin with the objective conditions of the crisis in capitalism internationally. This is vital for an understanding of what has to be done now and in the immediate future. The strength of the workers in Namibia is reflected in how South Africa is being forced to shift its tactics from direct domination to national independence under South African capital.

In order for such schemes to work, it is necessary for South Africa to have its agents in the new regime. These agents come under the flag of the national bourgeoisie, a parasitic extension of capital.

The "Popular Front" advocates try to divert the revolutionary action of workers behind such slogans as "Independence Now" and "Defense of the Fatherland." These demands link the workers to the national bourgeoisie, creating a loyal opposition to be smashed at a later date.

The task of SWAPO is to break from the national bourgeoisie which is leading the workers and peasants to betrayals. The Stalinists must be exposed for their betrayals which led to the slaughter of millions of workers and peasants in Spain, Germany, and China and now Ceylon and Pakistan. This exposure can only take place through the building of a Trotskyist party.



"Speedy" Gonzalez addresses UAW convention.

UAW Convention

Dan Fried Talks To Action Slate Leaders

The following is an interview conducted by Labor Editor Dan Fried with Jimmy Zarello and Bill Janick of Local 735 UAW covering the General Motors New Departure Bearings plant at Clark Township, New Jersey. Both men were attending the recent UAW convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey. Zarello was delegate and Janick an alternate elected on the opposition Action Slate. The Action Slate ran A. (Speedy) Gonzalez for trustee against the Woodcock "Team." The Action Slate is based primarily among younger workers and blocked with the United National Caucus at the Convention on the proposal that union officers should be elected by a direct referendum vote of the membership instead of by the convention delegates. This is the second of a two part series.

Auto Worker: What you just said, that all roads lead to one thing—there's going to have to be a revolution. But we don't believe that.

Bulletin: For instance, how are you going to get to a situation where the government won't be able to control wages, won't be able to say "We have the right to reduce wages." How are you going to get to that?"

Auto Worker: You're not going to get that anywhere. Let's talk about one issue.

Bulletin: What issue? You can't get even one issue. What about the referendum? Why do you want the referendum? You say you have a Lordstown situation in your plant.

Auto Worker: We have a little different situation. Lordstown has mostly young guys, we have a lot of older workers. We have a different kind of rank and file, different kind of people working there.

Bulletin: But now there's Norwood. Norwood's the same as Lordstown. They're not so young, and it's the same issue. They're on strike now.

Auto Worker: It won't spread to our plant. Unless a lot of these people get out on the 30 and out.

Bulletin: I'm saying it'll spread to every plant.

Auto Worker: You don't know my plant. In my plant the majority of the people are old, and all they're looking for is their pension in 2 or 3 years. They could give a shit less about whatever else happens. If we went in to our plant and preached revolution, we wouldn't be here sitting with you now.

Bulletin: I'm not saying you should preach revolution. I'm saying you have to have an understanding of that. What are the issues. They elected you because they thought you could get them victories on these issues. The basic issue, one of them, there are others, and it seems to me that the Pay Board and wages is an issue for all workers—it has to be. In other words, let's not be short-sighted. Let's not say "Maybe it isn't today and therefore it won't be tomorrow." We know it's an issue, we know why they brought in the Pay Board. To maintain profits. But all of these questions are the issues. In a sense they're bread and butter issues that reduce themselves to a struggle over profits, or to a struggle between the working class and the capitalist class. Now I'm not saying you're going to change it by preaching that, separate from the struggle.

Auto Worker: How do you say it's going to be changed?

Bulletin: I'm saying it's going to be changed by basically changing the social system, by workers taking control over the economy. That's the only possible way.

Auto Worker: The only way that could be done is by the complete overthrow of the government, through revolution. Do you really believe this is going to happen? I don't believe it's going to happen.

Bulletin: That's right. I believe it has to happen. What's your opinion on what has to happen.

Auto Worker: I'm saying that you can get a lot of your things across in this establishment. I don't mean in only the union, but in this country.

Bulletin: But you have to tell me what's your program for unemployment, what's your program to stop the plant closings, to stop productivity, speed-up, etc. They have a program. I think their (Woodcock's) program is wrong, but I don't even think they're going to implement their program.



Issues that surrounded recent Lordstown strike (above) now face all auto workers.

"You're not the same as them. They voted for you."

"You know why? Because they made a mistake. They messed up too many people at the same time."

"These mistakes are not mistakes any more."

Auto Worker: He's against unemployment, he's for better housing, he's against crime. But he has no program.

Bulletin: He's for getting laws passed requiring corporations to do things. Some things are coming out, it's true. The guys are just trying to make a speech, but what they're saying has to be listened to.

Auto Worker: No, I don't say put them down. They should have been listened to Monday, even Sunday. That's when they should have been listened to, not to be given just one day.

Bulletin: What about your program on unemployment?

Auto Worker: We'll give you a program. We came down here with resolutions. These are programs for us. We have solutions. I can't give you a program on every single issue. I don't spend my whole day and every night sitting down writing programs. We work on a small level, on our particular problem, because this is the only way we're going to solve them—our problems. We can't talk about a worldwide problem, because we can't solve it. We're not in a position to solve it. So what we're saying is, let us handle our little thing, and if everybody would do that. . . .

Bulletin: Supposing there were a strike in your plant over the question of speed-up, unemployment. Supposing it was legal like at Lordstown, where they pressured the International into supporting them. Wouldn't this raise as it did in Lordstown and now in Norwood and some of these other plants the possibility of having a shutdown of all General Motors?

Auto Worker: Then they could use Timkin.

Bulletin: Then you'd have to shut down Timkin.

Auto Worker: As long as the U.S. Government is here you're not shutting down General Motors.

Bulletin: Are you saying that if you shut down General Motors the United States government would do something about it? Would you say they would intervene.

Auto Worker: I think so. They wouldn't let us shut down.

Bulletin: Supposing they shut down the docks. The U.S. Government might intervene. They haven't yet. They've only done it through the Taft-Hartley Act. But supposing it did happen. Would they pass a special law or an injunction?

Auto Worker: They're talking about it, aren't they?

Bulletin: Supposing the workers defy that injunction. Wouldn't they have the right, or have to, to defy some of these strike-breaking injunctions at certain points? It may not happen in General Motors, but it could happen in any situation where you get a confrontation with the Government.

young workers. It was a question of General Motors taking certain decisions to raise its profits not only by getting more work in production but even more, they want to weaken and even break the union entirely. They're looking at it like that.

Auto Worker: I don't see why they want to break the union.

Bulletin: I can see why. Because they feel a competitive squeeze. There is a pressure on profits in terms of increased costs. They have difficulty increasing their sales unless they can lower their costs too. Ford announced this morning that they increased their profits quite a bit and through productivity, squeezing more work per man hour, basically. The auto contract for all the weakness of the leadership wasn't exactly a defeat for the workers. Afterwards, the corporations felt something had to be done. Out of that is how the Pay Board came into being. They sort of felt they had to start reversing the tide. And since then General Motors not only is fighting through the government on things like the Pay Board but has decided to really put the screws on. They can only go so far in this if there is a union facing them. In other words, they got something, they got increased productivity, but they also are getting this resistance now. It could explode. You got Lordstown, etc. I'm not saying it's going to last till the next contract. I think a lot could happen.

Auto Worker: How do they want to destroy the union? Wipe it out completely? So there's no union? Or put it down completely so it's strictly a paper tiger. I think what they want to do is make them give up, show the unions that you can't beat us so "keep your little struggle where it is, don't go too far." I think they don't have to try too hard with the UAW. They've accomplished it. Over the last ten years.

Bulletin: But they haven't destroyed it. They've weakened it. But this convention is not the whole of the UAW, only a part of it. This convention is going on, and they had a settlement at Lordstown, but like I said, they didn't really settle anything. Because the guys aren't going to go back to the same conditions, they're not going to accept the conditions like in the other plants, and so it's not settled. And workers are going to create a certain dissension in the union. It's inevitable. They're going to start making demands. They're not going immediately say, "To hell with the union, there's nothing I can do," and look around for some other solution. Or they're not going to immediately say "We don't need unions, let's have socialism." We're not saying that at all. What they're going to say is, "Damn it the Union should be doing something." We have this Fedders strike in New Jersey. It's very significant because it's clear they want to break the union in that place. They can't do it all at once.

Auto Worker: Our company doesn't need any tricks to break our union. They've already done it, through the union leadership, and I think you would agree with that. Through the lack of intelligence of the leadership. I mean these guys just don't care. They were bought off a long time ago. You wouldn't believe the conditions there. The leadership is really terrible. You can't even talk to these guys, you can't communicate with them at all. But not only them, it's a lot of the guys that work there. The apathy. They voted for them because they are them. They didn't vote for us in the beginning.

Bulletin: Okay. But now there's been a big change. You're not the same as them. They voted for you.

Auto Worker: You know why? Because they made a mistake. They messed up too many people at the same time.

Bulletin: You said that to me the first time I met you. People say they made a mistake. These mistakes are not mistakes anymore. They have to make these kind of mistakes now because they're trying to take away from the working class what it's gotten since 1935. They were saying Lordstown was a "mistake"!

CONCLUDED

Hospital League Aims To Provoke 1199 To Strike

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The contract negotiations between Local 1199 and the League of Voluntary Hospitals have been broken off. The union has charged the bosses with refusing to bargain.

The union demands include a 15 percent or \$25 increase over one year, whichever is greater. 1199 has also declared that there will be no settlement in the voluntary hospitals without a settlement of the crisis in the affiliation hospitals. These are the city hospitals which are administered in part by the voluntaries, and where 2,000 Local 1199 members face loss of their union membership and benefits.

The hospitals have thus far offered a grand total of six dollars over a three year contract. They have refused to budge from this insulting offer. They are clearly provoking a strike. The task facing hospital workers today is to prepare for this battle.

Thirty-three thousand workers are covered by the contract between 1199 and the League of Voluntary Hospitals. Another 15,000 members in the New York metropolitan area will be directly affected by the outcome of this struggle.

ROB

These workers and their families will not stand idly by as Nixon, the \$40,000-a-year executives and the multi-millionaire Boards of Trustees seek to rob them of the gains they have fought for over the last twelve years.

Hospital workers believe that they are entitled to belong to the union of their choice and to bar-

Bethlehem Steel Hit By Wildcat

BY TIM STEVENS

SPARROWS POINT, MD., May 29—Coke oven workers at the Bethlehem Steel installation here are threatening to resume a one day wildcat strike, which ended two days ago, unless their grievances are resolved by this Thursday.

The Friday walkout was in response to the institution of speed-up, a reduction in incentive pay, unsafe conditions and racial discrimination.

At a meeting held on Saturday at the USWA Local 2610 hall, the men voted to return to work, but let it be known that the walkout would resume on Thursday if the grievances were not settled.

Federal Judge R. Dorsey Watkins issued a one week temporary restraining order against the strike, but it had little effect.

"Our demands are the same as they were yesterday," said a zone committeeman on Sunday, "and we are giving management until Thursday to make some real progress or we're walking out again."

gain and fight for decent wages and working conditions.

While the bosses cry poverty, they undertake huge building and expansion programs. They move to cut thousands of jobs in the critical patient care areas and then shed crocodile tears for the welfare of the patients.

MINIMUM

The \$155 minimum which the workers are seeking would barely reach the minimum income level for a family of four set by the Federal government itself. The hospital bosses are seeking to push workers back to the lowest subsistence levels with all their vicious propaganda about overpaid hospital staff.

Meanwhile the city's Health and Hospitals Corporation is coordinating its attack with the voluntary hospital managements. The rollback of 2,000 1199 members into District Council 37 of the State County and Municipal Workers is scheduled for July 1st, the same day that the contract expiration in the voluntary hospitals occurs.

UNION-BUSTING

DC 37 head Victor Gotbaum has emerged as the open accomplice of Lindsay in wage cutting and union-busting. Gotbaum demands that the 1199 members in the city hospitals accept a wage cut of up to \$40 a week!

At present, 1199 is under injunction by the courts to desist from any further work actions as a result of the mass sick-in at the city hospitals. Using the Taylor Law, the government has warned the union of heavy fines if they defy this order.

This July, hospital workers will be in the front line of the fight against Nixon and the Pay Board. The basic right to a living wage now means a head-on collision with the government.

This contract fight takes place at a time when millions of trade unionists face a showdown with the Pay Board or have already had their wages slashed.

In this situation, a fight by 1199 to destroy the Board and win their demands can mobilize the overwhelming support of millions of workers behind it.

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

PUERTO RICO—More than 1750 members of the Insular Workers Union of the Electric Construction and Industry (U.I.T.I.C.E.) struck against the Agency of Water Supplies of the government last Thursday. The prior Saturday, the union membership had given a strike vote to the leadership.

Two days before the strike, members of the union were not allowed to enter the shop by the



Several other unions joined Whitney-Blake strikers in rally at Hamden plant against the bosses' union-busting tactics on the day before the contract vote last week.

UE Rams Through Pension Sell-Out At Whitney Blake

BY SHEILA BREHM

HAMDEN, Conn.—Members of United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Local 299 voted to end their 11 week strike against Whitney Blake Co., a subsidiary of Continental Telephone Co. The two year contract was approved by a vote of 107 to 60.

This 300 member local is the only unionized shop in the conglomerate. The local originally went out rejecting the company's offer of a 14.5% increase in wages and pensions.

The contract accepted represents little change from the company's first offer; the only real change came in a 50¢ increase in pensions along with other improvements in the pension plan. This pension agreement now brings Whitney Blake workers up to the average plan in the area. The wage increase for the first year amounted to a 19¢ an hour raise for day workers; and 14¢ for flat workers—which is 5¢ less than the company's original offer. The wage increase amounted to 5.5%.

REACTION

In spite of the acceptance of the contract, the overwhelming reaction from the ranks, both from those who voted for and

against, was that it is not a good contract. It is now clear that the contract was pushed through by the UE leadership.

RALLY

One day before the contract vote, the UE held a rally in front of Whitney Blake and mobilized about 75 workers, including members of other locals in the area. At the rally the negotiating committee said repeatedly that the latest contract offer of May 24 was far from adequate and urged a "No" vote. But at the union meeting only one day later it was a different story.

According to a Local 299 member:

"I don't think the contract should have been approved, but the negotiating committee did it. They were on the side of themselves. At the rally they said "Vote No" and tonight they were

wishy-washy. I guess they felt which way the wind was blowing. That's probably why a lot of people voted for it. They sold us out, but they put the full weight on us."

PAY BOARD

From the first day of the strike UE field representative Harry Kaplan said "The company is out to break the union and this local will not accept the dictates of the company." But then the leadership accepted the dictates of the government's Pay Board, its main purpose being the destruction of the American trade unions, and from the beginning of the strike agreed to only a 5.5% wage increase. This capitulation forced the younger workers off the picket lines; the 5.5% was not enough to make up for the tremendous financial loss coupled with the lack of strike benefits.

P.R. Government Locks Out Water Workers

supervisors who said that they (U.I.T.I.C.E.) were on strike. A couple of hours later the union leadership called and said that they were not yet on strike.

CARRETAS

As was pointed out by the secretary of the union, Rodrigo Carretas, this "is the first time in the history of the labor movement in Puerto Rico that the employer declares a strike when the union leadership hasn't yet done it."

What is behind this is the

refusal of the government and its agency to negotiate demands of the workers. Those demands are an increase from \$1.71 to \$2.30 for unskilled workers and on top of this an increase of 44 percent in the 3 year contract (15-15-14); one month vacation after a year and increased sick leave from 15 days to 18 days and job security; job classifications and their meals to be paid for when they have to travel. They are demanding that the Christmas bonus be increased from 4 percent to 6 percent.

According to the government,

the demands of the union will amount to \$26,000,000 and they are willing only to give \$6,700,000 in wage increases and fringe benefits.

EL MUNDO

The strike of the U.I.T.I.C.E. comes at the moment when the El Mundo strikers have been out for more than four months. The question of a general strike is posed to the labor movement in Puerto Rico in its fight against the Pay Board and the Ferre government.

ENGLAND...

(Continued From Page 2)

order to deprive workers of their most fundamental rights won in 200 years of struggle.

SMASH

In secret talks with the judiciary, the Confederation of British Industry and the military, Heath is consolidating his plans to smash the unions in a general strike situation.

Under the Emergency Powers Act, passed in 1920, the government would sweep away parliamentary rule and declare a national state of emergency under which the Tories could rule by decree.

This Act would enable Heath to virtually abolish democratic rights overnight. Troops would be moved in to break the strike and keep "law and order." Even the right to speak out against the government would become a crime.

New classes of offenses could be established at the Tories' will. Working class and socialist organizations and their press would be ruthlessly suppressed.

TROOPS

As the Socialist Labour League of Britain has warned, British troops are now being groomed to apply the brutal tactics they learned in Ireland to British workers.

Reports reveal that the top army brass is increasingly preoccupied with countering "subversion." A major general declared:

"The more discerning of us are extremely depressed about the way things are going. We seem nearer and nearer to anarchy all the time."

'ANTI-WAR UNIVERSITY'...

(Continued From Page 7)

into their scheme by stating that the examples of the students fired by their alienation and the example of the colonial countries would "detonate" the working class to revolt.

ABANDONMENT

What the Pabloites come up with is an abandonment of the historic revolutionary role of the working class and with it the Transitional Program. Once again the old political hallmarks of Pabloism erupt in a new form.

"The new generation of radicals begins by rejecting Stalinism and Social Democracy, and bypassing them in action. In doing so they usually come to see themselves initially not so much as a clearly defined ideological current but as an alternative political vanguard, united in action around particular issues."

PERSPECTIVE

What was the result of this unprincipled perspective in practice? One month before May-June the French Pabloites were writing in their magazine that due to the new realities, revolutionary struggles of the working class were far distant and the task was to mobilize students to build "a wall of hate" against imperialism.

When May-June arrived, they did not change their perspective to one of a principled fight for political principles inside the working class by taking up the battle to break the class from Stalinism and within this context to win the students to this fight.

Instead, acting on their "experience" in the student protest movement with the Cohn-Bendits and the Maoists, the Pabloites

The feeling among the army chiefs is total contempt for all politicians and an impatience to get rid of any obstacles in the way of smashing the working class.

These developments indicate the dangerous situation facing the working class. The military, together with sections of the Tories are now becoming spokesmen for a right-wing fascist movement.

This showdown may take place within the next few weeks. Heath is absolutely prepared to go through with it no matter how much the frightened trade union leadership promises to "cooperate" with Tory legislation.

The call adopted by the Liverpool Trades Council for Councils of Action must now be taken up throughout the country. The fight for these Councils has been put forward by the Socialist Labour League.

Their aim is to prepare for the general strike to defeat the Tories by demanding a recall of the Trades Union Congress.

They must function in the general strike as organs of defense against the Tories and to fight a counterattack after the election of a Labour government.

Above all, they must become the center of the political fight to force the Labour government to carry out a true socialist program by fully expropriating the capitalist class.

Through this struggle, the working class will be forced to confront the need for a break with the labor bureaucracy and the construction of the revolutionary party, the SLL, in a fight for power.

developed a new "student strategy"—the "Red University," or in the U.S., the "anti-war university."

ANTI-WAR UNIVERSITY

In the context of May-June, as well as Kent State, the "Red" or "anti-war university" served as the best means of redirecting students back into reactionary student powerism, the idea that the role of students is somehow to reform the campus. The utopian conceptions of a "liberated" Sorbonne as a "Red University" in 1968 becomes the "anti-war university," a strategy for turning the students away from the struggles of the working class into a reformist attempt to extract facilities from campus administrators to continue the same reactionary protest movement that thousands of students were already seeking to go beyond. This is the way the YSA sought to channel the movement after Kent State back into reformism.

Thus, in a statement issued by the Student Mobilization Committee during the Kent State strikes carried in the *Militant* of May 19, 1970, there is a call on: "The united campus communities to reach out into all communities—into the neighborhoods, the labor unions, the Afro-American and other Third World organizations, the churches and synagogues, the women's groups, the political associations, the military installation—and organize the new, united antiwar movement that will have the power to actually compel an end to the killing abroad as well as at home."

The turn away from the class perspective of Marxism here leads straight into the swamp of

MINERS...

(Continued From Page 4)

Bulletin: "The last year that I worked I made over \$10,000. Why shouldn't I be entitled to half of my salary when I retire?"

While the platform adopted by the MFD at the convention raises the demand for 25 and out at any age or 20 years retirement at age 55, the base figure of only \$200 per month after 25 years is far too low especially since other unions such as the UAW get \$500 per month after 30 years.

BLACK LUNG

Another miner who was secretary of the Mingo County Black Lung Association told the *Bulletin*: "If we had a decent union, if we had a union like we should have, there wouldn't have been any need for a Black Lung Association or for a Disabled Miners Association because the United Mine Workers could have taken care of it. They could have enforced the safety law and made every mine safe to work in."

ENFORCED

"They could have enforced the power to have a law to compensate every disabled miner that has to leave the mines. I was on the safety committee in 1953.

"I thought I had the power to stop that mine if there was any immediate danger. And when they signed the contract in 1953, they took that power from the men that worked in the place. That's the same as cutting the wrists or the people's throats."

The role played by the federal

government against the interests of the miners was one of his central points: "A man does not have any say so whatsoever while they're collecting this Social Security from his daily wages. But then when you become disabled, then you're absolutely denied aid."

FIGHT

"You've got to fight for everything you get from this federal government. The Democrats and Republicans both are involved in it because they don't want to give the working man nothing."

DEMANDS

In addition to the section on pensions, other important demands were raised in the platform on the question of organizing the unorganized, strip mining reclamation and on safety. The platform included the statement that: "The best way to make the mines safe is not to work when they are unsafe."

Another important demand stated that: "The next contract should include a six hour day with four work shifts, including a mandatory safety maintenance shift. This would increase employment opportunities and at the same time would force operators to take the proper time to do safety maintenance work."

PLATFORM

The platform of the MFD, especially the fight for a six hour day at eight hours pay, will require a head-on confrontation with both the coal operators and the government in the next contract.

But the central political questions facing the UMW and the

entire labor movement, the Pay Board and the other attacks by the government on the working class, are ignored in the platform even though the UMW will be threatened with a second year contract wage cut by the Pay Board.

LESSONS

The lessons of the murder of Yablonski have to be learned. It is no accident that the most corrupt and dictatorial labor bureaucrats, Boyle and Joseph Curran, president of the NMU, among others, have both attacked the *Bulletin* in their union journals in the last few years.

They use red-baiting and "anti-communism" as a smokescreen behind which they surrender to the interests of the employers. In one of his attacks, Boyle took up the *Bulletin* for the high "crime" of calling for nationalization of the mines under workers control.

NATIONALIZATION

But it is precisely the question of nationalization which is posed by a serious struggle for decent pensions, safety and a shorter work week which must be taken up in the next contract.

At the center of this struggle is the fight for a political alternative: the formation of an independent labor party based on the trade unions which the Workers League is campaigning for.

VIETNAM...

(Continued From Page 2)

dealings by scoring new victories in the South.

Anloc is on the verge of being taken by the NLF. The heaviest fighting is taking place south of the town on Route 13. On May 27th, in the biggest blow to Saigon since the Anloc battle began, liberation troops destroyed an armored column that was evacuating wounded soldiers to the South.

North Vietnamese troops have broken through the defense lines of Hue on the My Canh river forcing the Saigon troops to pull back.

The liberation troops also ran over firebase 41 south of Kontum where they now occupy sections of the town and have control of the airport.

The feelings of the Vietnamese workers was summed up by one factory worker in Hanoi who told a French journalist: "I trust you understand that we will never give in and we will fight until we win."

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY

The counter-revolutionary forces of imperialism and Stalinism come together now at a time when their interests are threatened by the combined struggle of the colonial peoples and the working class of Europe and the United States. This powerful upsurge has thrown Nixon and the Stalinists into a panic.

Nixon must now turn his weapons against the American workers who have and will continue to bitterly fight against any attempt to attack their living standards and their basic rights.

American workers must learn the lesson of the bombing of North Vietnam. Nixon will stop at nothing to preserve capitalism, in Vietnam and within the United States.

The construction of an American labor party based on the trade unions will be the biggest blow against Nixon's genocidal plans in Vietnam and the only way to defend the working class here.

liberalism. The working class is dissolved among the churches and synagogues, women's groups and "political associations" (i.e., the Democrats and Republicans). By continuing student protest, the new vanguard will end the war.

PERSPECTIVE

The Workers League started with the direct opposite of this middle class impressionism and reformism. It started during Kent State with the perspective of the Transitional Program:

"The turn is now to the proletariat, i.e., chiefly to its revolutionary vanguard. The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership."

In opposition to the YSA and its anti-war universities, the WL insisted that not a single question could be dealt with on the college campus. What was required was to begin with the fundamental breakup of capitalism and the consequent movement of the working class.

STRATEGY

Into this movement must be brought the strategy of the Marxist movement, to bring into the struggles of the class the understanding that the struggles could not be taken forward without establishing the political independence of the class.

Thus, the WL centered its struggles on the campuses on the fight for the labor party. In this way the fight against the war could be brought in a living way into the actual movement of the class instead of being dissolved into middle class protests once more as the YSA was trying to do.

What all the talk about the anti-

war universities resolved itself into was revealed in an article by the then-National Secretary of the YSA, Susan Lamont, in the May 19, 1970 *Militant*:

"The present eruption comes not unrelatedly at a moment of acute crisis for the American capitalist class. Reeling under the blows they are suffering in Indochina and at home, the swiftly increasing conflict within the ruling class qualitatively expands the opportunities for those who oppose them. Now is the time to drive the wedges among the rulers deeper and deeper, to accelerate the struggle, to expose the disqualification of the imperialist rulers to govern a truly human society, culminating May 30, far more massive than anything previously conceived."

OPPORTUNITIES

Here is the logic of pragmatism. Beginning from the movement of the middle class and seeking to maximize their opportunities within that movement, the Pabloites ended up in complete hostility to Trotskyism and the working class. Pabloism ended up in Kent State-Cambodia playing the most reactionary role among the students, diverting them away from the struggles of the working class and the fight for a revolutionary alternative leadership.

It became the greatest promoter of the bankrupt and dangerous deadend of student protest, based not on the fight for a revolutionary change in society but a reformist and reactionary, essentially liberal pressure movement for concessions from the capitalist class.

TO BE CONTINUED

West Coast News

Labor Banquet On War Refuses To Take Action

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 400 Bay Area labor officials attended a dinner here at the Del Webb Towne House to hear David Livingston, President of District 65 and Clifton Caldwell, Vice President of Butchers Union report on their recent trip to Hanoi. Harold Gibbons of the Teamsters was absent because of ill health.

Among those on the platform were Einar Mohn of the Western Conference of Teamsters, Harry Bridges of the ILWU, Don Del Carlo, head of the San Francisco Building Trades Council, Art Carter secretary-treasurer of the Contra Costa Labor Council, Tony Ramos, head of the State Council of Carpenters and William Ferguson of the IAM.

Far more significant than what was said at this gathering is the fact that anti-war sentiment and the pressure on the unions is now so great that virtually every major labor leader in the Bay Area was in attendance at this gathering.

Democratic Party and the conditions facing the rank and file worker were hardly mentioned by this well-fed complacent crowd as they complimented one another for their courage in daring to meet together on the

war. The working class is preparing for action that will mean quite a bit of indigestion to those that think the way to fight against imperialist war is to conduct an eat-in for peace.

CWA Calls For Walkout After Suspension

BY A CWA MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—The firing of Loren Blasingame, President of Communication Workers of America, Local 9415-Oakland, and the suspension of 19 workers, including stewards, for 30 days, has forced the Oakland local to call on all Bay Area and Los Angeles locals to strike Pacific Telephone Company on May 31.

The dismissal and the suspensions are attempts by the company to force a showdown with the union. They are trying to speed up and mechanize the traffic department.

These actions stem from a walkout of nearly 600 people protesting the suspension of 19 operators. They had walked out last month when a trainee was fired for being too slow in learning.

Also at issue was the computerization of the supervisory process which mechanically assigned times out for individuals to use the bathroom.

While Blasingame declared that the walk-out was not a strike but a "union holiday," the company sees it differently. It termed the walkout illegal.

FEARS

What the company fears is that Bay Area workers are ready to strike again. Every telephone worker knows that every cent of the contract won last summer is gone, eaten up by the cost of living and taxes. Suspensions meted out as disciplinary actions have been on the rise in most offices.

As one toll operator put it: "I can't afford a walkout, not even for one day. But if they can get away with this across the Bay, they'll try it here next. So we

have to go. "But the whole area should go out. That way it won't take very long for the company to give in."

WEED OUT

A Black plant woman in West Berkeley claimed: "The company does this to try to weed out the militants of the union first. They didn't stop there though. By firing Blasingame, they show they are out to get us all. It is part of what goes on in this country now."

"They may try to cool things down to get Nixon re-elected but after that things are going to get worse. We don't have very long to get it together."

PT&T is taking its lead from Nixon's Pay Board. Having dealt a blow to the CWA nationally by forcing through a clause in the New York contract calling for the firing of any employee even accused of a misdemeanor, they now move in on the other traditionally militant district—the Bay Area.

EXPLOSIVE

The union leadership here is now on the hot seat. The explosive situation demands that they quit knuckling under to the threats of the International and take up a fight against the company.

POWER

This is the only power the union-busting employers and the judges with their fines and injunctions will understand. The "general strike committee" must act.

RESPONSIBILITY

The responsibility is now on the

FEARS

The speakers revealed with every sentence their fears of the rank and file and their determination to keep everything under control. Caldwell indicated that the leaders of North Vietnam were workers just like him and there was tremendous rapport, honesty and frankness.

He stressed that he did not approve of the North Vietnamese invasion and indicated that Nixon should be discussing an agreement for both sides not to provide weapons while in Moscow.

IGNORANT

Neither the speakers nor any of the labor leaders in the audience ever so much as mentioned the ranks of labor as anything but an ignorant mass. Harry Bridges was most blunt. He proclaimed that workers were interested only in "pork chops," did not want to fight their government and would not accept any program unless it was dressed up as properly American.

INSISTENT

All of the leaders were insistent that any actions taken on the war must be peaceful and orderly and there were strong hints that demonstrations were suspect in this respect and that the way forward was to educate the ranks to exercise their will "through their representatives and the ballot box."

The wage freeze, strike-breaking, the break-up of the

BOTTLERS . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

able to go beyond a policy of pressure on the bureaucracy.

A "general strike committee" of stewards and strike leaders was set up to meet and work out a strategy but it continues to function with the idea that it can pressure the bureaucracy to take action.

CRITICAL

The strike is now at an extremely critical stage. If it is left in the hands of the Jack Goldbergers, who led the Independent Journal struggle in San



Workers of Bookbinders Union picket company in San Francisco strike.

Bookbinders Fight Job Phase-Out Plan

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The Bookbinders and Bindery Workers Union of Northern California, Local 3, is on strike against companies belonging to the Printers Industry of Northern California (P.I.N.C.) and the Associated Printers Industry (A.P.I.)

The employers are trying to break the union by reclassifying the union specialty workers so that they would be allowed to do all of the many and varied jobs of the skilled journeymen. There is a national effort on the part of the employers to label bindery workers as unskilled in order to reduce wages.

If the employers' plans succeed, it means the immediate phasing out of journeymen and an end to the apprenticeship program.

Nationally, the Bookbinders Union is attempting to get at least 70 percent of men's wages for women. The employers are attempting to drag the women down to 50 percent of journeymen's wages.

While bindery workers have had a 35 hour week for years, the employers demand a 37½ hour

week. The wage demands of Local 3 are an 8.5 percent increase and no lower than 5.5 percent in a one year contract.

STRENGTH

The strength of the union can be seen in the fact that about one-third of the 33 companies in the P.I.N.C. and A.P.I. have withdrawn from these two associations and have signed interim agreements with the union. Also the strike was called without notice to the employers and some shops are full of work to be done.

But the fact that the majority of bindery shops are in neither of the two Bay Area employers' associations and are therefore not on strike and also negotiate separate contracts is a danger to the union.

Some work is being sneaked into non-striking shops. The union bureaucracy has warned bindery workers to be on the look out for "unusual jobs" coming in and to notify the union.

Bindery workers must fight to remove the policy of separate contracts for each shop so that a united strike can take place to guarantee equal gains for all bindery workers.

MCGOVERN-HUMPHREY . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

War II fighter bomber record and pledged never to see the United States inadequately defended.

On his welfare legislation, McGovern revealed that he did not even support it but put it forward in the Senate only "so it could have a hearing."

SUPPORT

The most embarrassed support for McGovern has been coming from the Communist Party and the People's World. They are busily advising McGovern on how to improve his labor image.

The latest People's World contains an incredible editorial by

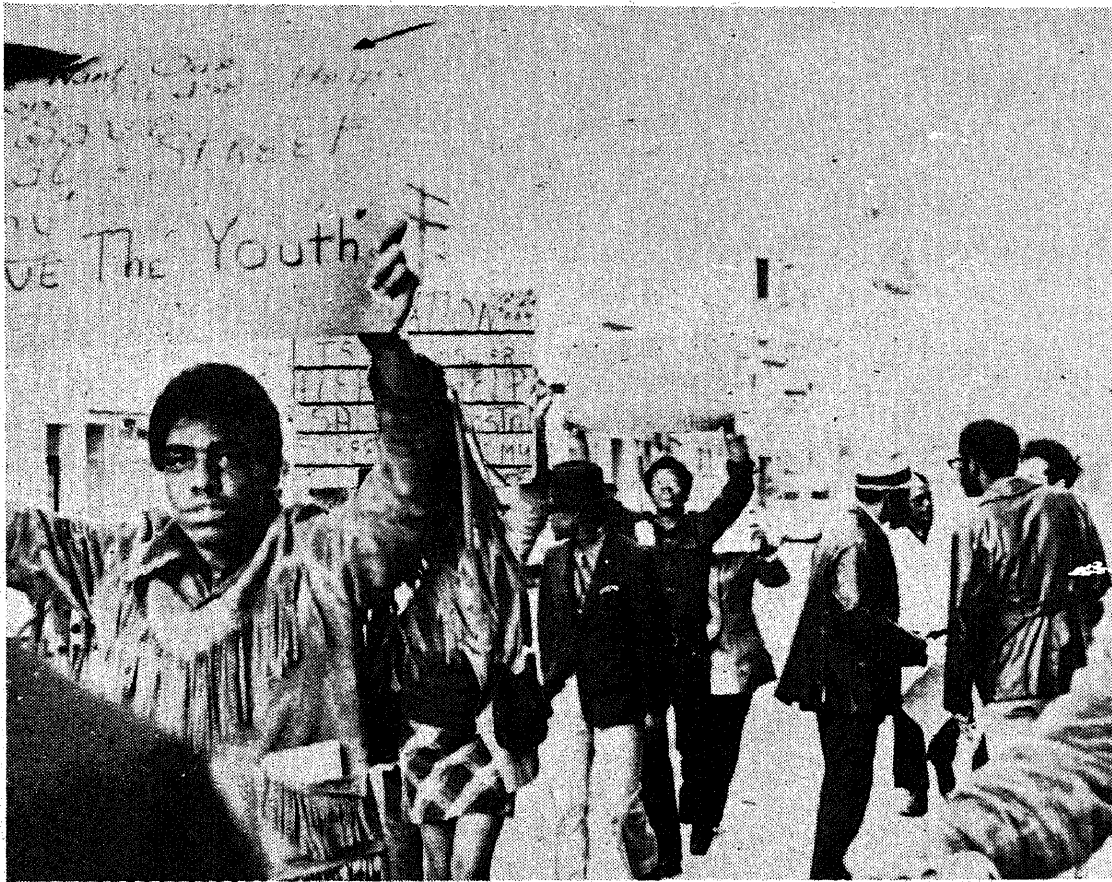
Judy Bastin. McGovern, when asked by Hearst where he stood on a North Vietnamese invasion, came out and condemned it. Bastin denounces Hearst for chopping McGovern and explains that McGovern was only playing "realistic politics" in his answer.

She concludes that the right is pressuring him and the answer is to pressure back from the left. She warns that a strong vote for Wallace enabled the right-wing to push McGovern to compromise his stance.

The CP seeks at all costs to prevent a real fight against the capitalist parties through the building of a labor party.

West Coast News

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San Francisco youth from Postal Street Academy protest cuts in federal funding.

Humphrey-McGovern Fraud Raises Need For Labor Party

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—As the presidential primary moves towards June 6th McGovern and Humphrey are throwing verbal punches back and forth trying to win votes from sections of workers.

The recently televised debate between McGovern and Humphrey won little enthusiasm from the workers in California who see that, despite all the rhetoric, these politicians are not committing themselves to anything that will change the conditions facing the masses of workers—inflation, the war, the wage freeze, and unemployment.

On the fundamental question of the attacks on the standard of living of the workers, McGovern, Humphrey and Wallace are silent.

This poses sharply the necessity for the labor movement to break from the Democratic Party and build a labor party to represent the interests of the working people and not the big corporations. This is the only answer to the threat of Wallace and the only alternative that can provide not promises but answers for the working class in its fight against the employers and the government.

As one worker, a painter, who attended a McGovern meeting

said: "All these politicians are the same. When they get in, they do nothing for the working man."

HOLLOW

The hollow bickering between McGovern and Humphrey has one main result—increasing support for Wallace's write-in candidacy. The union leaders here for the most part are throwing their support to McGovern. This only strengthens Wallace's position as thousands of workers express their dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party.

McGovern, in fact, is more and more taking up the approach of George Wallace. As he said in a press interview: "I really believe that many of the so-called little people find a voice in Wallace. And while Wallace and I are poles apart in ideology, they also know I'm listening to them."

Speaking at a huge Union Square rally in San Francisco, McGovern was praised by labor leaders from the IAM, Carpenters and ILWU. Committing himself to nothing concrete, he promised to provide jobs for all, clean up the environment, rebuild the cities and establish peace, brotherhood and equality.

While many of the AFL leaders have been sticking with the faltering Humphrey campaign, McGovern has picked up considerable labor support from Bay Area labor councils and many Black politicians have rallied to his campaign.

Chavez of the Farm Workers is going all-out to try to deliver the Chicano vote to McGovern. Many ILWU leaders have entered the McGovern camp keeping very quiet about his vote to send striking longshoremen back to work.

RIPPING UP

Humphrey has been ripping up McGovern's anti-labor record, denouncing his votes against unemployment insurance in 14B, and claiming to be a "jobs man" instead of a "welfare man."

The TV debate held between the two candidates Sunday exposed this fraudulent campaign completely. McGovern was virtually speechless, for Humphrey pointed out that their Vietnam records were identical, with McGovern voting for every war appropriations bill despite his anti-war rhetoric.

McGovern could only reply that he felt he had to vote for the entire defense budget although he opposed the war. Attacked for threatening defense cuts, McGovern put forward his World

(Continued On Page 19)

Bottlers Form Council For General Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

OAKLAND—Six hundred striking bottlers from all over the Bay Area answered the back-to-work ultimatum of the Food Employers Council with a mass meeting called despite the opposition of the labor bureaucracy.

Strike committee leaders and rank and file shop stewards called and led this meeting which was the first joint meeting since the strike began six months ago.

The ranks are furious over the refusal of the Teamster leadership to use the strength of the union to back up the strike. Calls by speakers for a general Teamster strike to shut down the Bay Area brought tremendous response from the ranks.

The employers have offered a wage increase of 5.5 percent and a few other sops but are determined to retain scab workers and refuse to rehire workers implicated in "wrong doing." In effect, this means a return to work with the best militants fired and the union virtually shattered.

The meeting shot off a telegram, which passed unanimously, to the Food Employers Council refusing to accept the victimization of a single worker.

This meeting, held in the Teamster hall in Oakland, was entirely in the hands of the rank and file with the bureaucracy afraid to utter a peep of opposition.

UNABLE

Despite the overwhelming sentiment of the ranks for a real fight, the stewards and strike committee leaders were unable to function as an alternative leadership with a strategy to propose.

Their hesitancy was reflected by the fact that they allowed Goldberger to speak and identify himself with the general strike

sentiments, without committing himself to any policy. Precisely at the point that action should have been proposed and carried through, the stewards were un-

(Continued On Page 19)

Labor Candidates Get Big Vote

BY A CORRESPONDENT

PORTLAND—The slate of candidates for the School Board put up by the Portland Teachers Union finished a strong second to the incumbent slate in the May 23 primary elections.

The union candidate for board position 2 was defeated by fewer than 2000 votes out of 100,000. The working class in Portland responded with strong support for a slate that was identified in the press as a bid for power by labor.

The capitalist press breathed a sigh of relief when the votes were in calling the near defeat of the incumbents a "vote of confidence." The Oregon Labor Press said the union candidates "placed second in a crowded field because they had labor backing."

The labor council newspaper gave extensive coverage to the teachers' slate in the weeks preceding the election. The labor campaign was really an important first step into the political arena despite the fact that the PFT leadership tied the campaign to support for a regressive

tax base measure.

This property tax increase was defeated in the election, in the face of a costly campaign in favor of passage that was organized by representatives of the ruling class in this city. What the defeat of the tax measure means for Portland teachers and students is more massive cutbacks in jobs, pay and basic courses.

The PFT leadership is proposing that teachers accept pay cuts in place of layoffs. Teachers must fight this bankrupt perspective and prepare for a strike this fall.

Even more decisive, the teachers who forced the PFT leadership to carry out the union campaign for School Board must take this political initiative into the August AFT convention in the form of a fight for a labor party in '72.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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